



UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARÁ
NÚCLEO DE ALTOS ESTUDOS AMAZÔNICOS
CURSO INTERNACIONAL DE MESTRADO EM PLANEJAMENTO DO DESENVOLVIMENTO

Hisakhana Pahoona Corbin

**BRAZILIAN MIGRATION TO GUYANA AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY:
A CASE STUDY APPROACH**

Belém
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Dissertação de Mestrado apresentada como requisito parcial para a obtenção do grau de Mestre em Planejamento do Desenvolvimento.

Orientador: Prof. Dr. Luis Eduardo Aragón Vaca

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Banca examinadora:

Prof. Dr. Luis Eduardo Aragón Vaca
Orientador, NAEA/UFPA

Prof. Dr. Fabio Carlos da Silva
Examinador interno, NAEA/UFPA

Prof. Dr. Mario Amin
Examinador externo, Unama e Ceplac

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ABSTRACT

This mixed method case study was conducted with focus on Brazilian migration to Guyana as a livelihood strategy. The study examined, described and analyzed the migration and adaptation process, and the socioeconomic and physical environmental impacts and concerns of the livelihood activities adopted by these migrants in Guyana. Questionnaires, interviews, documentaries, archival records, and observations (direct and participant) were utilized to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study. The study confirms that through a strong networking system, Brazilians from lower socioeconomic and cultural classes are able to adopt migration as a livelihood strategy, as they migrate in a step-wise manner along a well-defined route to Guyana. Maintaining this networking system, migrants have been able to respond swiftly to new livelihood activities both internally and internationally. In Guyana, mining and prostitution are the major livelihood activities that have given rise to both positive and negative socioeconomic consequences and concerns and, negative environmental impacts.

Key Terms: Amazon; Brazil; Guyana; socio-environmental impacts; livelihood strategy; mining; prostitution

RESUMO

Este estudo de caso de metodologia mista foi conduzido com foco na migração brasileira para a Guiana como uma estratégia de sobrevivência. O estudo examinou, descreveu e analisou o processo da migração e da adaptação, e os impactos socioeconômicos e ambientais físicos e as preocupações associadas com as atividades de sobrevivência destes migrantes na Guiana. Foram utilizados questionários, entrevistas, documentários, arquivos e observações (direta e participante) com o objetivo de obter um entendimento profundo do fenômeno em questão. O estudo confirma que através de um forte sistema de rede, os brasileiros de classes socioeconômicas e culturais mais baixas são capazes de adotar a migração como estratégia de sobrevivência, à medida que eles migram através de uma rota por passos (*step-wise*) pré-definida para a Guiana. Este sistema de rede permite aos migrantes responderem prontamente às novas atividades de sobrevivência tanto interna como internacionalmente. Na Guiana, a mineração e a prostituição são identificadas como as principais atividades de sobrevivência que tem gerado conseqüências socioeconômicas tanto positivas quanto negativas e impactos ambientais negativos.

Palavras-chave: Amazônia; Brasil; Guiana; impactos socioambientais; estratégia de sobrevivência; mineração; prostituição

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CELADE	Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía
CEPAL	Comisión Económica Para América Latina y el Caribe (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean)
CSME	Caribbean Single Market and Economy
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEPA	Guyana Environmental Protection Agency
GGMC	Guyana Geology and Mines Commission
GINA	Government Information Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MAPAZ	Project Environment, Population and Development of the Amazon
MERCOSUR	Southern Common Market
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America

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CHAPTER ONE

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 RESEARCH CONTEXT

Guyana, the only English-speaking country in South America, is characterized by mass migration of particularly educated Guyanese to North America, Canada, and the English-speaking Caribbean Islands (Bernard, 2005; Hughes, 2005; Alfred, 1998). As many Guyanese continue to migrate to these countries, the last three census findings show increasing migration trends among Brazilians to Guyana, where they are attracted to various livelihood activities principally in mining communities (Government Information Agency (GINA, 2005b)).

Given the fact that Guyanese have traditionally avoided mining activities, and that Guyana and Brazil continually strive to strengthen trade agreements, which seek to permit the movement of people and goods across geopolitical borders, this study documents the migration and adaptation processes, and the socioeconomic and environmental impacts of livelihood activities adopted by Brazilian migrants in Guyana. This study complies with the requirements of the project on Population, Environment and Development of the Amazon (MAPAZ) at the Centre for Advanced Amazonian Studies, and fills the need that has emerged due to an evident lack of detail in the literature regarding international migration in the Amazon region (ARAGON, 2005a).

Gaining a deep understanding of the migration and adaptation processes and the impacts of migrants' livelihood activities in Guyana is considered important in revealing the interrelationship between international migration and development. Such knowledge is necessary for policy and decision makers, so that well-crafted policies could be formulated and implemented to ensure that the rights of migrants are protected and that their livelihood activities do not undermine environment and development of the host country.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

With reference to migration research, the requirements of the MAPAZ project have specifically stated:

Pelas referências coletadas, é evidente a queda do interesse nesta problemática na Amazônia. É certo que os aspectos demográficos são considerados, hoje, como fatores intervenientes, e não necessariamente determinantes dos processos sociais e econômicos, o que tem levado a incorporar as análises demográficas em temas mais gerais, sendo, por isso mesmo, mais difícil de identificar variáveis demográficas

mais específicas (HOGAN, 2002; MERTINE, 1992). Os estudos realizados demonstram que os padrões migratórios da região caracterizam-se nos anos recentes, pela migração intra-regional, e pela concentração em cidades [...] Um fato novo é a referência à questão da migração internacional. Conforme alguns especialistas, este aspecto tende a se tornar o fator demográfico mais importante no mundo atual, considerando os processos de globalização e desemprego (PATARRA, 1995, 1996; CASTRO, 2001). Os estudos preliminares feitos por pesquisadores da Fundação Joaquim Nabuco sobre a migração indocumentada no estado do Amazonas é um ponto de início que se deve ampliar e que merece uma atenção especial de futuros estudos (ARAGÓN, 2005a).¹

Similarly, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2005) stresses that international migration has become a key issue in today's globalized world for both host and origin countries. Stressing the need for case study research, the organization further indicates:

[...] Policy makers are now expected to implement new policies in order to protect the rights of migrants, to promote their integration in the society while safeguarding cultural diversity. To face these challenges, governments and international organizations need detailed information and research. The idea of a collection of Best Practices in international migration is based on the observation that carefully documented case studies can provide inspiration for policy making and planning (UNESCO, 2005).

In spite of these recommendations for more studies on international migration, little known attention has been given to the need for studying international migration in the context of livelihoods, which could provide policy makers with adequate information for formulating these and other important migration policies. Furthermore, there are very few, if any, studies that have attempted to document the process of Brazilian migrants to Guyana, and the impacts of the livelihood activities adopted by these migrants.

The knowledge of past experiences of researchers who have undertaken migration studies in the region are important in the view of language barriers and illegal status of migrants, which have called for new approaches and careful considerations in subsequent studies on international migration (SANTOS; BRASIL; MOURA, 2001; AROUCK, 2000). Being equipped with the necessary language tools, the researcher has been awakened to his

¹Portuguese-English translation by H. Corbin: From the sources gathered, it is evident, in general terms, a *lack* of interest in this phenomenon in the Amazon. Today, it is with certainty that demographic aspects are considered as intervening factors, and not necessarily determinative of social and economic processes, which have incorporated demographic analyses in general terms given the difficulty in identifying more specific demographic variables (HOGAN, 2002; MARTINE, 1992). Studies undertaken indicate that the migratory pattern in the region was characterized, recently, by intra-regional migration, and by concentration in cities [...] A new reality is the phenomenon of international migration. Some specialists have confirmed that this demographic phenomenon is of current significant interest in the world over considering the processes of globalization and unemployment (PATARRA, 1995, 1996; CASTRO, 2001). Preliminary studies undertaken by researchers at *Fundação Joaquim Nabuco* on undocumented migration in the Amazon is a starting-point, which needs to be amplified, and merits special attention in future studies (ARAGON, 2005, p. 19).

unique contribution in attempting to fill these gaps in the existent literature on international migration in the context of livelihoods, with a specific focus on Brazilians migrating to Guyana.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this concurrent mixed methods case study was to obtain quantitative and qualitative data from Brazilians who migrated to Guyana. Quantitative and qualitative research questions were asked to gather socioeconomic and demographic data that reflected the migrants' profile. Concurrently, observations and interviews were undertaken to cross-validate and also to probe significant results obtained from quantitative data by further exploring aspects of the: (1) migration process, (2) adaptation process, and (3) social and environmental impacts of Brazilian migration to Guyana.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main concern of this study is to discover the causes, livelihood activities, experiences, perceptions and consequences of Brazilian migration to Guyana. More specifically, the following questions are the focus of this study:

1. Who are the Brazilians that migrate to Guyana?
2. How and why do Brazilians migrate to Guyana?
3. How do Brazilians adapt to Guyana?
4. What can be learnt of the socioeconomic and environmental impacts of livelihood activities adopted by Brazilians in Guyana?

1.5 HYPOTHESIS

Brazilian migration stems from a livelihood strategy as migrants adopt new livelihood activities, which give rise to positive and negative socioeconomic, and negative environmental impacts in Guyana.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study has significant implications for further research and for individuals, governments and organizations concerned with international migration and its interrelationship with environment and development. In this light, stakeholders are provided with an elucidation of a process that was employed as an orientation to gain a deeper understanding of the migration and adaptation processes, and the resulting socioeconomic and

environmental impacts of livelihood activities adopted by Brazilian in Guyana. Further, this study provides, in part, a basis for the development of policies which should ensure that migrants be registered, protected, and that their undertakings do not undermine environment and development of Guyana.

1.7 DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the purpose of this study, the following terms are defined:

1. **Adult migrant:** The term adult migrant refers to a Brazilian migrant that is eighteen years or older.
2. **Amazon:** The term Amazon refers to: “*Región integrada sobre los conceptos políticos-administrativos, ambientales y geográficos, y, que es equivalente al termino de Panamazonia. Tiene una extensión aproximada de 7.989.004 km²*” (GUTIERREZ; ACOSTA; SALAZAR, 2004, p.32)².
3. **Brazilian migrant:** The term Brazilian migrant refers to a person, in Guyana, that was born in Brazil.
4. **Brazilian garimpeiro:** The term Brazilian garimpeiro refers to a Brazilian that is engaged in mining activities. This term is synonymous with the term Brazilian miner.
5. **Migration:** Migration is defined as, “a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence” (LEE, 1966, p. 291).
6. **Place of residence:** The term place of residence refers to places or areas where migrants have been living and/ or working at the time of the study.
7. **Place of transit:** The term place of transit refers to countries or areas where migrants identify as places where they have passed through on their journey to other areas or countries, which they identify as areas of destination.
8. **Livelihood:** The term livelihood refers to how these migrants live. Livelihood comprises of the capabilities, assets, activities and strategies required and pursued by these migrants for a means of living.
9. **Livelihood strategy:** The term livelihood strategy means an organized plan of lifestyle choices, goals and values, and activities that are influenced by biophysical, political/legal, economic, social, cultural, and psychological factors.

² A region that is integrated based on its administrative, environmental and geographical characteristics, and is also referred to as the Pan-Amazon. This region has an approximate surface area of 7,989,004 km² (GUTIERREZ; ACOSTA; SALAZAR, 2004, p. 32).

CHAPTER TWO

2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study has been to investigate in depth the migration and adaptation processes and, the social and environmental impacts of Brazilians who migrate to Guyana. The nature of the research questions have influenced the research methods described. The following sections of this chapter elaborate the research approach, the researcher's role and, the research setting and design. The pilot study, the selection process, data collection and analysis, ethical considerations and limitations are also presented.

2.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

The mixed methods approach allows researchers to base knowledge claims on pragmatic grounds, and, employs research strategies which involve data collection in either a simultaneous or sequential manner to better understand the research problem (CRESWELL, 2003). While earlier adopted by Campbell and Flake (1959), who advocated the use of '*multimethod matrix*' to examine multiple approaches to data collection in research studies, this research approach has been subsequently used and advocated by other researchers on the bases that biases inherent in any single method could neutralize or cancel those of the other method (CRESWELL, 2003; SIEBER, 1973). In this light, Takhakkori & Teddie (1998) and Creswell (2003) state that being nested; quantitative and qualitative methods could furnish insights at diverse levels or units of analysis. Furthermore, the use of quantitative and qualitative methods provides a richer base for analysis, where data from each method helps to interpret that of the other (CRESWELL, 2003).

Within the mixed methods approach, the concurrent triangulating strategy has been adopted. The choice of this strategy has been in an attempt to confirm, cross validating, and corroborate findings from multiple sources of evidence in a single study (CRESWELL, 2003; GREENE et al., 1989; MORGAN, 1998; STECKLER; MCLEROY; GOODMAN; BIRD; MCCORMICK, 1992). In this light, the data acquisition using qualitative methods has been of significant importance in examining quantitative results in more detail through probing; and at the same time allowing research flexibility, particularly for change, when unexpected events occurred in the field (CRESWELL, 2003; MORSE, 1991).

The quantitative approach is premised on the postpositivist claims for developing knowledge and employs research strategies which include experiments and surveys, and

permits data collection using predetermined instruments that yield statistical data (CRESWELL, 2003). Postpositivism refers to thinking after positivism, which challenges the traditional notion of absolute truth of knowledge in recognition of the fact that researchers cannot be positive about their claims to knowledge when studying human behaviour and actions (CRESWELL, 2003; PHILLIP; BURBULES, 2000). Being a proposition of many 19th century writers including Comte, Mill and Dukheim, it has significantly been reworked by Phillip and Burbules (CRESWELL, 2003; SMITH 1983). This approach has allowed the researcher to elicit data that yields statistical analysis, with a significant focus on relevant aspects of the demographic and socio-economic status of the migrants.

Concurrently, quantitative and qualitative methods have been used in an effort of offsetting the weaknesses inherent in both methods, in order to better understand the migration and adaptation process, and its associated impacts. With reference to independent research Junor (2003) and Vulliamy & Stevens (1990) have stressed the importance of qualitative research methods. Junor (2003), Frechtling & Westat (1997) and Vulliamy & Stevens (1990) have further suggested that qualitative research is concerned with context in natural settings and is sensitive to local needs and conditions. In this light, the choice of a qualitative methodology has been to obtain data that is in-depth on the migration and adaptation process, which has been lost during the questionnaire survey. Furthermore, Junor (2003), and Crossly & Vulliamy (1997) have highlighted the suitability of qualitative methods of drawing attention to the challenges and reflections of the phenomenon under study. In this light, the participants' own expressions in the form of direct quotations and actions have been observed and described (JUNOR, 2003; EISNER, 1998; PATTON, 1990), and are used as evidence, thereby imparting a deeper understanding of how and why Brazilians migrate and their reflections and perceptions of past and present challenges, and their implication on future migration plans.

Consistent with the position of many researchers (CRESWELL, 2003; JUNOR, 2003; MERTENS, 1998; FULLAN; STIEGELBAUER, 1991; PATTON, 1990), the use of qualitative methodology, in this regard, has been appropriate in extracting, describing, and examining multifaceted details of the complex interrelationship between migration and survival strategies. Consistent with the qualitative tradition, the researcher has taken an active role in the form of participant observation, thus giving rise to a form of action research (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 1998).

In the quantitative and qualitative traditions, this study has focused on the case of Brazilians migrating to Guyana, in order to: (1) answer questions of an explanatory nature

(JUNOR, 2003), (2) examine and understand the perceptions and experiences and migration consequences of a group of migrants, which is specific and unique (JUNOR, 2003; HITCHCOCK; HUGHES, 1995; STAKE, 1995), and (3) allow a complex instance to be comprehensively understood by acquiring extensive descriptions and analysis of such instance taken as a whole and in its context (JUNOR, 2003; FRAENKEL; WALLEN, 2000; MERTENS, 1998). This approach has provided a great depth of understanding, because moving from a broad view, in terms of the various migrants [nationalities] moving along the Guyana-Brazil border, to a more specific focused one, the researcher has been able to capture important clues that may not have been achievable should a reverse approach be adopted.

2.3 RESEARCHER'S ROLE

Previous experiences in quantitative and qualitative research have enabled the researcher to develop and administer surveys, and to undertake field observations. During the study, the researcher discovered the applicability and importance of probing, and being an active listener and sharp-witted observer while administering surveys and during interviews settings, in order to collect reliable and valid data. In addition, it has been imperative that the participants recall how and why they have migrated, and their experiences of their adaptation process in shaping their future migration plans. In this way, the researcher has been able to capture data that is reliable and valid as they relate to the migrants' experiences, livelihood activities, and the consequences of their migration and adaptation process. Such reliable data has been considered important to this study considering the fact that it has been observed future migration plans are dependent greatly on the past and present experiences in using migration as a livelihood strategy.

2.4 RESEARCH SETTING

This research has been conducted in selected areas in four Administrative Regions of Guyana: (1) Demerara-Mahaica (Region 4); (2) Cuyuni-Mazaruni (Region 7); (3) Patara-Siparuni (Region 8), and (4) Upper Takutu-Upper Essequibo (Region 9), and Bonfim (Brazil). With the exception of Region 4, the other regions, in Guyana, are hinterland areas, which are characterized by small population densities, as presented in Chapter four. Using the 2002 census findings as a clues rather than definitive findings, the regions in which this study has been conducted reflect large stockings of Brazilian migrants. Bonfim, which is situated along the Brazil-Guyana border, has been selected to explore selected aspects of the migration process in more detail.

2.5 PILOT STUDY

A pilot study has been conducted to test the questions that appeared in the questionnaire survey and interview, and field observation guides. The results and reflections from this pilot study have been used to modify the questions for the main study.

2.5.1 Design of the pilot study

A pilot study has been conducted in Georgetown (Guyana) as it was most economical, while allowing the researcher to become familiar with the migrants in many social settings of different types. The purpose of this study has been to develop and refine the data collection plans with respect to both the content of the data and the procedures to be followed. In this light, the pilot study has been of significant assistance in developing relevant lines of survey questions, and the themes that have guided the field observation and interview, at the same time permitting conceptual clarification for the research design of the main study. The following sections present the selection of pilot case, the nature of the inquiry for the pilot case and the results from the pilot study.

2.5.2 Selection of the pilot case

Being the most readily accessible location, Georgetown has been chosen to conduct the pilot case. Due to its geographical proximity, this location has permitted for less structured and more prolonged relationship to be developed among the researcher and the migrants. In this regard, this pilot site has served as a 'laboratory', thereby allowing the researcher to note different phenomena from angles of different types.

2.5.3 Nature of the pilot inquiry

Covering both substantive and methodological issues of the phenomenon under study, the pilot case has allowed the researcher to improve his conceptualization of the phenomenon under study. Fifteen Brazilians at various locations in Georgetown participated in this pilot case. With permission, visits were made to the homes of some migrants. Unarranged visits were also made to work sites and places where the migrants socialized. Constant interactions in and around the Brazilian community in Georgetown were important in gaining the confidence of migrants from whom data was gathered for the main study.

Data from the pilot case was used in parallel with an ongoing relevant literature review, so that the final research design for the main study was an informed product of the prevailing theories of international migration and by a fresh set of empirical observations.

This dual source of information has ensured that the main study reflects significant theoretical issues as well as questions that are relevant to the migration of Brazilians to Guyana. Thus, the pilot case in Georgetown served as a good prototype for the main study.

2.5.4 Report from the pilot study

The benefits from the pilot study have been multi-purpose in: (1) establishing content validity of the survey (CRESWELL, 2003; YIN, 2003), (2) exploring potential questions that could be asked to elicit relevant data from a few migrants (CRESWELL, 2003; YIN, 2003), (3) practicing informal interviewing and observation techniques on a trial basis, (4) determining the most effective sequence for data collection, (5) identifying the most convenient place to conduct the main study.

Consistent with the literature review, the pilot study revealed a strong networking system among migrants and their friends and family members in Guyana and other neighbouring countries. The findings also show that the majority of the migrants interviewed are Maranhenses and Paraenses, but have lived for many years in Roraima State. Further, the pilot study permitted to identify four groups of migrants: (1) those going to Guyana for the first time, (2) the resident migrants, (3) migrants returning to Brazil, through the Lethem-Bonfim crossing, and (4) migrants returning to Guyana from Brazil through the Lethem-Bonfim crossing.

The pilot study further revealed a high level of mobility (in Guyana) and that the migration process is mainly seasonal. This observation imposed a significant limitation in acquiring an accurate sample frame. However, this and other challenges encountered in the field (such as the illegal status of some migrants), had positive impacts on both the migrants and the researcher. In this light, some migrants were enthusiastic in knowing the benefits of the research to them and if the study will have legal implications. Concurrently, the researcher has realized the challenges of not being Brazilian while undertaking such a study in a country in which illegal migration is of current concern by the government.

In many instances the migrants were skeptical of revealing personal information until they were sufficiently assured that the researcher was trustworthy, and that the research had no legal implications. Consistent with the literature review, the researcher has realized the importance of conducting informal interview techniques in ensuring validity and reliability of data while pre-testing the questions and themes found on the survey questionnaire and the observation guide.

Based on the pilot study the following decisions were taken:

- The focus of this study should be on the individual migrant, who could also give details (information) on other family members and friends in countries of origin, transit and destination.
- The Immigration Outpost at Lethem would be the most convenient place to administer questionnaires to three groups of migrants: (1) those coming to Guyana for the first time through Bonfim-Lethem, (2) those returning to Brazil, through Lethem, and (3) those returning to Guyana from Brazil through Bonfim-Lethem.
- Resident migrants should be interviewed in Georgetown, and in mining communities, particularly in Regions 7 and 8.
- Given the researcher's inability in obtaining an accurate sample frame, due to the high level of mobility among the Brazilians and the inaccessibility of many hinterland communities, cluster sampling would be most appropriate.

2.6 MAIN STUDY

Being a complex phenomenon, international migration presents a significant challenge to its researchers. Therefore, the use of a pilot study to guide the development of data collection plans for the main study has been appropriate. The following sections elaborate the selection process, data collection, data analysis, ethical considerations and limitations of the main study.

2.6.1 Selection process

Based on the results and reflections of the pilot study, 200 questionnaires have been administered to the following four groups of migrants: (a) Brazilians coming to Guyana for the first time, (b) Brazilian resident migrants in Guyana, (c) Brazilians returning from Guyana to Brazil through Lethem, and (d) Brazilians returning to Guyana through Lethem.

With the migrants identifying themselves based on their migration status, the four groups of migrants are thus defined:

1. First time migrants: these are Brazilians coming to Guyana for the first time, irrespective of purpose of travel
2. Resident migrants: these are Brazilians living and or working in Guyana at the time of the study. Time of stay and legal status are not considered in this definition.

3. Migrants returning to Brazil: these are Brazilians returning to Brazil from or through Guyana. In this case, Brazilians returning to Brazil, through Guyana, from Suriname have also been considered as a return migrant.
4. Migrants returning to Guyana: these are Brazilians that have entered Guyana at a date prior to this questionnaire survey. The reasons for traveling to Guyana [in transit, tourist etc.] for the first time are not considered in this definition.

With the migrants being thus defined, the researcher proceeded to the sampling process. As stated in the pilot study report, it was not possible to obtain a representative random sample because of two main limitations: (1) it has been difficult in obtaining an accurate sampling frame based on the last published census report, which stresses the omission of non-contacts³ due to the inaccessibility of many hinterland areas where the Brazilians are concentrated and (2) the high level of mobility and seasonality of the migration among Brazilians. Consequently, the researcher has proceeded to take a cluster sample, as advocated by Crawshaw and Chambers (1994), at specific areas in Regions 4, 7, 8 and 9, thus enabling him to acquire a significant understanding of the phenomenon under study (Figure 1). This purposive criterion for the selection of sample areas is based on the assumption that to discover, understand and gain insights one needs to select a sample from which one can learn the most (JUNOR, 2003, p.65; ROULET, 1998, p. 230; BODGAN; BIKLEN, 1998, p. 65; MERRIAM, 1988; HAMMERSLEY; ATKINSON, 1983).

In selecting the sample area, Regions 4, 7, 8 and 9, and Roraima (Brazil) reflect the first clusters. Within Region 4, Robb, Cummings and Regent Streets, located in Georgetown, have been selected to gather data for this study. As the data collection continued in Region 7, Bartica, Kurupung, and the Middle Mazaruni have been selected, while in Region 8, Madhia was selected. With the final phase of data collection being along the Guyana-Brazil border, Lethem, in Region 9, and Bonfim in Roraima (Brazil), have also been selected (Figure1).

³ There are persons who did not participate in the census survey

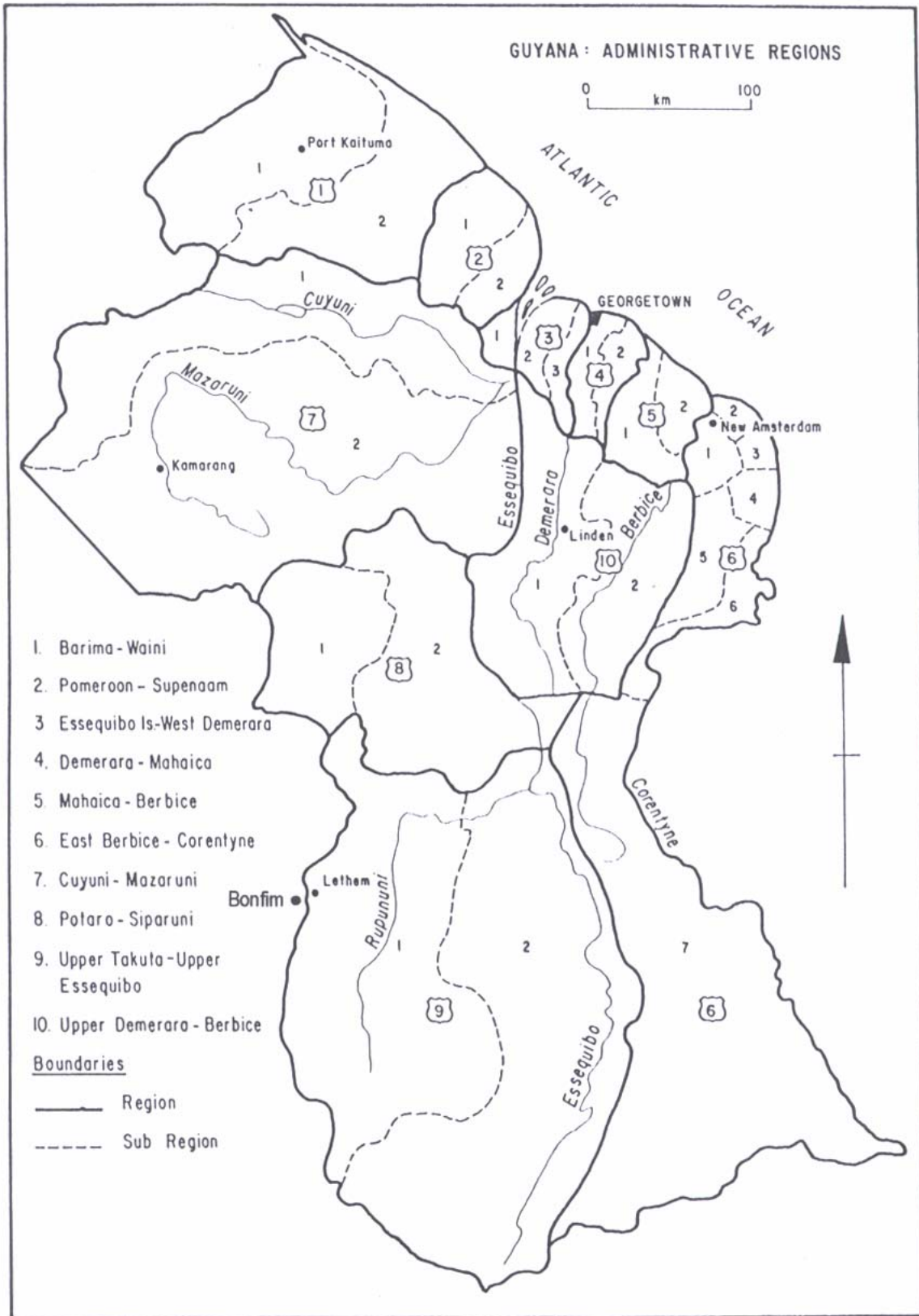


Figure 1: Sample Regions in Guyana - Regions 4, 7, 8 and 9
 Source: SAUL (1989, p. 211)

To ensure high level of participation the researcher solicited permission from the Head of the Immigration Department to administer questionnaires to groups 1, 3, and 4 of migrants at the Lethem Immigration Outpost. With permission granted, the researcher has solicited the participation of the migrants as they entered the Immigration Outpost at Lethem. Individual permission has solicited from resident migrants in Georgetown and areas earlier identified in Regions 7 and 8. Among other important details, migrants have been informed of the purpose of the study and that their participation has not been mandatory.

Thirty-seven (37) persons coming to Guyana for the first time have agreed to participate in the study. Of those returning to Guyana, 76 have participated in the study, while only 16 of those returning from Guyana to Brazil participated in the study. This low participation among Brazilians returning is a direct effect of damages to the trail (road), which has limited the availability of transportation during from June-July, 2006. However, being aggregated, 129 questionnaires have been administered to migrants passing through Lethem Immigration Outpost. In addition, questionnaires have been administered to 71 resident migrants, thus giving a total of 200 migrants who have participated in the survey.

Complementing the data gathered during the questionnaire survey, interviews have also been administered to key migrants in all areas to probe and/ or to explore selected aspects of the phenomenon under study in more detail. Interviews have also been conducted with several Officials including the Brazilian Ambassador in Guyana and the Commissioner of the Guyana Geology and Mines Commission (GGMC). Views of some Brazilians and Guyanese have been solicited in Guyana and Bonfim (Brazil), on the phenomenon under study.

2.6.2 Data collection

Before collecting data, formal letters (Appendices B1, B2, B3, and B4) have been administered to: (1) the Head of the Guyana Immigration Department, (2) the Brazilian Ambassador at the Brazilian Embassy in Guyana, (3) the Commissioner of Guyana Geology and Mines Commission, and (4) the Chief Statistician of Guyana Bureau of Statistics. With permission granted, data has been collected through questionnaire survey, interviews and observation. Permission has also been granted for the researcher to review documents and archival records, from which quantitative and other qualitative secondary data has been gathered. To ensure validity and reliability, the researcher sought multiple sources of evidence by moving towards a converging line of enquiry as suggested by Yin (2003). Proceeding in a clockwise manner, Figure 2, shows that the data collection process has commenced with the

extraction of relevant data from documents and archival records, and has concluded with direct and participant observations.

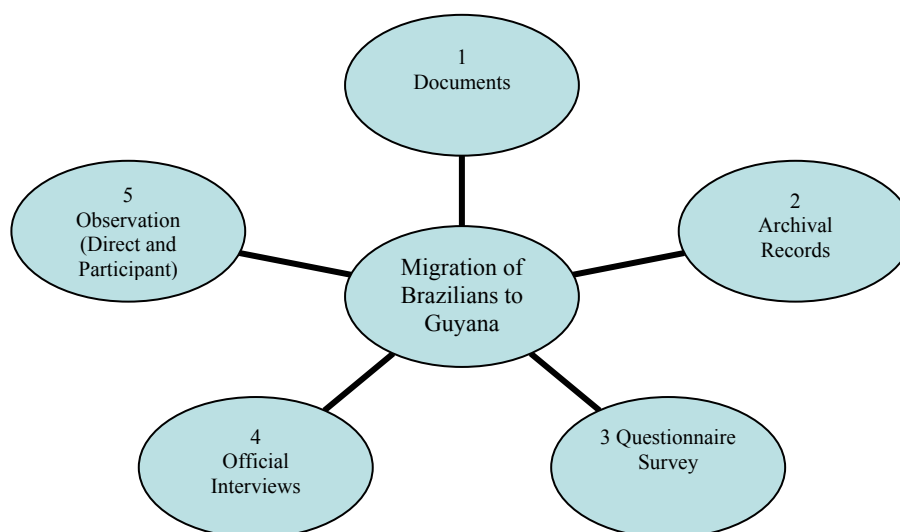


Figure 2: Convergence of evidence in a single case study

This form of evidence convergence has been adopted as the researcher seeks to have an in-depth insight of the phenomenon under study. With this focus, the researcher has created a rich dialogue with the evidence by: (1) pondering the possibilities gained from deep familiarity with some aspects of the migration process, (2) systemizing ideas in relation to kinds of information gathered from secondary sources, (3) checking those ideas in the light of that information gathered from the migrants during the questionnaire survey, and (4) dealing with the inevitable discrepancies between what has been expected and what was found by rethinking the possibilities of gathering more data (YIN, 2003; BECKER, 1998).

2.6.2.1 Questionnaire survey

After extracting relevant data from the population census and other materials, the researcher has proceeded to administer questionnaires to the migrants (Appendix A). Although the focus remains on the individual adult migrants, they have been required to give information about family members and friends who resided in Brazil and Guyana at the time when the data has been collected. Before commencement, the participants have been reassured of anonymity by changing all identifying information, thus respecting confidentiality and ethical aspects of this study.

However, the emphasis of the questionnaire has been to verify and to expand on the data gathered from the recent census and arrival and departure registers at Lethem, by determining the demographic and socioeconomic profiles of the migrants, and concurrently relevant aspects of the migration process. The questions asked have been pertinent to the research question of this study. The questionnaires have been specifically designed by the researcher, and have been administered to 200 adult migrants of four different groups as stated earlier in the selection process. While separate questionnaires have been designed for each group, some questions have appeared in all (four) questionnaires for validity and reliability purposes.

However, each questionnaire consists of a number of open and closed ended questions, which have been geared to elicit data on the demographic and socioeconomic status of the migrants. The questionnaire also contains questions that are specific to the migration and return processes, with a focus on family and friendship networks. These questions are based on the reflection of the pilot study, as earlier explained. Questionnaires have been completed by the researcher as migrants responded to each question. To ensure maximum participation and quality data, the questions have been asked in the migrants' native language (Portuguese).

2.6.2.2 Interviews

Based on the data gathered from the survey and field observation, the researcher has purposively solicited the participation of a few migrants to explore various aspects of the phenomenon under study in more detail. These, sometimes recorded, interviews have been conducted at times convenient to the migrants and the researcher. In many cases, the researcher was invited to their homes or places where the migrants socialized. Thus, there has been an important opportunity of gaining a deeper understanding of the adaptation process as it relates to the living standards among these migrants. These interviews have also served as a means of triangulating and cross-validating data earlier gathered from the survey and field notes. Having a significant view of the phenomenon under study in this regard, the researcher has proceeded to explore the perceptions and experiences of local community members that reside in areas where migrants live and work.

Further, the views of Guyanese and Brazilian Officials on the phenomenon under study have been solicited through formally arranged interviews. Consequently, the researcher has acquired a deeper understanding of policy mechanisms that are enacted to: (1) ensure that

illegal migrants are registered, (2) minimize the social and environmental impacts of Brazilian migrants in Guyana.

2.6.2.3 Field observation

In a field setting, Oliveira (1996) indicates the importance of *olhar, ouvir e escrever* (look, listen and write), in order to have an in-depth insight of a phenomenon under study. With those activities complementing each other, he states that, “*servem para o pesquisador como ... muletas [...] que lhe permitem caminhar... na estrada do conhecimento*” (p. 18).⁴ In reference to empirical studies, Geertz (1988) and Oliveira (1996) emphasize the importance of ‘being there’, “*vivendo a situação de estar no campo...*”⁵ With this focus, the purpose of the field observation has been to cross-validate data gathered from the survey; and to further explore relevant aspects of the study as they relate to the migration and adaptation processes and, their resulting social and physical environmental impacts.

With the focus, both direct and participant observations have been undertaken when the researcher assumed an active role in the research study. Field observations have been concurrent with the survey, and lasted throughout the data collection process.

Questions that were specific to the migration and adaptation process were formulated to guide the observation (Appendix B). As suggested by Bogdan & Biklen (1998) and Junior (2003), a full description of the participants, their livelihood activities, events and perceptions has been recorded. As Samani (1995) stresses, photographs have also been taken to reflect on important social and biophysical settings, where social (Appendix B2) and physical environmental (Appendix B3) impacts of Brazilians living in mining communities have been evaluated. With this focus, field notes are factual on the basis that they consist of concrete descriptions thereby avoiding unwarranted inferences.

A guide has been prepared to note the researcher’s reflective remarks (Appendix B1), before and after taking field notes, which have been recorded after administering questionnaires and interviews. The notes consist of ideas, strategies and hunches. As Creswell (2003) and Junior (2003) suggest, emerging patterns have been noted to ensure that data given by the participants is valid and reliable enough to respond to the research questions. For further validity checks, where necessary, the findings have been discussed with the respective migrants for them to confirm and/or make comments.

⁴ Translation by H. Corbin: “they serve the researcher as [...] tools [...] that permit him to seek knowledge” (p.18).

⁵ Translation by H. Corbin: “Living the reality by being there in the field ...”

2.6.2.4 Documents, archival records and other materials

Archival records which included maps and charts, and other relevant information from census reports and registers on the arrival and departure of persons at Lethem Immigration Outpost have been consulted for this study. From these registers, data has been collected for 3, 227 persons who arrived and departed Guyana from March 1 to April 30, 2006. The format used in recording this data is adopted from the system used by the Lethem Immigration Department (Appendix C). In addition, documents including formal studies, gazetteer, newspaper clippings, Guyana-Brazil trade agreements, and GGMC (Guyana Geology and Mines Commission) and GEPA (Guyana Environmental Protection Agency) memorandum of understanding have also been used in this study.

In identifying a major weakness with their use, Yin (2003) states that numerical data from archival records such as census, are not always accurate. Similarly, he posits that documents such as newspaper articles may not be lacking bias. For this reason the researcher has assumed the role of a vicarious observer, so that wherever the findings from documents and archival records proved contradictory rather than corroboratory, the problem has been pursued by further inquiry. In treating information and data from them as clues worthy of further investigation rather than definitive findings, archival records and documents have been used to corroborate and augment evidence gathered from the survey, interviews and field observations. In this light, they have proved helpful in verifying the correct spellings of the names of organizations and places that have been mentioned by the study participants during the interview and survey.

2.6.3 Data analysis

The analytical process commenced after the survey, and has been ongoing as qualitative data has been transcribed, coded, and rearranged by categories and themes for data interpretation. The transcription and coding of the data collected are presented below. A further refinement of quantitative and qualitative data is also presented.

2.6.3.1 Coding

In transforming the raw data into a standardize form, a coding scheme has been developed after reviewing the questionnaires. Quantitative data was coded manually, while qualitative data has been arranged into categories and then organized into themes. To easily organize the data by categories, Micro Soft Excel and SPSS software were utilized.

2.6.3.2 *Transcription*

After conducting interviews, the researcher started transcribing the qualitative data verbatim. On completion of the transcription of interviews, the researcher has proceeded to review transcripts, where necessary, with the respective participant for clarity of perceptions and interpretation. Field notes have also been transcribed and arranged into themes. In order to protect the confidentiality of the participants, the researcher has substituted real names for pseudonyms. However, pseudonyms reflect the gender, age, class and other demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the migrants. While the data is presented in the form of a single case study, there are four embedded cases, which have permitted a cross-analysis of the four different groups of migrants that have participated in this study.

2.6.3.3 *Further refinement*

Having analyzed the quantitative and qualitative data separately, the researcher proceeds to an analytical process of rigorous refinement, where the data was merged when necessary. During this process, triangulation of data sources was employed to provide cross data validity checks. Data from multiple sources have been merged to furnish a form of evidence convergence as Yin (2003) suggests.

In explaining the phenomenon under study, the researcher has stipulated a set of causal links, which reflect significant theoretical propositions. As the data is examined, theoretical propositions are revised, and the data is reexamined from new perspectives. Furthermore, the eventual explanation, as Yin (2003) suggests, is the result of: (1) making an initial proposition about a theory on international migration, (2) comparing the findings of the first case against such proposition, and revising such proposition, (3) comparing other details of the case against the revision, and (4) comparing the revision of the facts of the second case. The categories have been constantly reviewed and assigned to themes that are developed from the research questions and the data collected. As a result of this analytical process, the hypothesis has been tested.

2.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Before data collection, an ethical review letter (Appendix D1) of the research study was solicited from the administration at the researcher's institution (Centre for Advanced Amazonian Studies (NAEA). Formal consent was solicited from the Head of the Immigration Department and Guyana Geology and Mines Officials concerned, prior to the commencement of the research study (Appendix D2-4). Oral consent was solicited from the migrants after

obtaining consent from the relevant authorities to conduct the research. Among other pieces of vital information, the formal participation letter informed relevant authorities of the purpose and significance of the study, and that the study had no legal implications. With the addition of this information, the migrants were also informed that they could withdraw at anytime during the study for any reason.

2.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The researcher being Guyanese and many migrants being illegal imposed a setback during the early stages of this study. In fear of being deported, illegal migrants were certainly reluctant to give much personal information, which translated into a major limitation during the early stages of the study. Consequently, the researcher had to spend a longer time in the field to gain the confidence of the migrants in order to collect data that was valid and reliable. Further, the high cost and inaccessibility of many hinterland areas, and the high level of population mobility among the mining population, limited the study to a cluster sample. Therefore, the aim of this study was not to generalize, but to provide a significant description thereby enabling further researchers to assess the potential for transfer to their sites of interest (JUNOR, 2003, P. 73; ROULET, 1998). With this focus, the findings of this study provided insightful views into the migration and adaptation processes, and the social and environmental implications of Brazilian migration to Guyana.

CHAPTER THREE

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines literature related to international migration. The Amazonian context is highlighted to offer a framework for identifying, analyzing and interpreting the factors that compel people from neighbouring Amazonian countries to migrate across international borders. With Guyana being a signatory to free movement of labour agreement of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME), the context of the Caribbean, and to a lesser extent Latin America taken as a whole, has also been highlighted to offer a wide understanding of migration of people to, from and through Guyana and other countries in the region.

3.2 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE AMAZON AND THE CARIBBEAN

With a total population of over six million, or fourteen million if Haiti is included, the Caribbean is bounded on the south by the coasts of Colombia, on the west by the Central American Republics and on the north by the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, forming an island chain (JUNOR, 2003; MORRIS; THOMAS, 1980). After gaining independence, some autonomous states have persistently worked towards the consolidation of the CARICOM (Caribbean Community) trading bloc, which comprises of the following countries: (1) Antigua & Barbuda, (2) The Bahamas, (3) Barbados, (4) Belize, (4) Dominica, (5) Grenada, (6) Guyana, (7) Jamaica, (8) Montserrat, (9) St Kitts & Nevis, (10) Saint Lucia, (11) St Vincent & the Grenadines, (12) Suriname, and (13) Trinidad & Tobago (CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY SECRETARIAT, 2005b, p. 1-28).

Unlike the Caribbean region, the Amazon region is much larger and has an estimated population of 27, 979, 742 persons (ARAGÓN, 2005a, p. 17). However, it is important to note that this estimate represents only ten percent of the total population of the following countries, which constitute the Greater Amazon (1) Bolivia, (2) Brazil, (3) Colombia, (4) Ecuador, (5) Guyana, (6) Peru (7) Suriname (8) Venezuela and (9) French Guiana (ARAGÓN, 2005a). Being confronted with several conflicting definitions, Aragón (2005a) have stated that it remains a significant challenge to calculate the size, distribution, demographic composition, the growth rate, and other demographic factors that could permit researchers to analyze the population dynamics and their reciprocal relations with environmental change of the Greater Amazon.

Although scarce, the existing literature indicates that international migration is a growing phenomenon as Amazonian countries are integrated by becoming members of trading blocs such as the Andean Community, Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), which, among other things, facilitate the movement of goods and people across geopolitical borders. Consequently, international migration among Amazonian countries cannot be meaningfully understood without reference to the wider Latin America and the Caribbean region taken as a whole in its socioeconomic and geographical contexts as observed by several researchers (AROUCK, 2000, BERNARD, 2005; SANTOS et. al, 2001).

In this case, *La Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe* (CEPAL) (2005) states that the growing tourism sector in the Caribbean during the 1990s has increased the demand for workers in the service industry which, in many instances, could not be supplied by the domestic labor force of small Caribbean islands. As a consequence, workers from larger islands and neighbouring countries in Latin America, particularly Colombia and Venezuela, have migrated to offer their services. However, the organization stresses that a shortage and incompatibility of data on migration continues to hinder detailed analysis of the recent trends on intra and extra regional migration.

In highlighting the current bottleneck that hinders an in-depth understanding of the trends and patterns of international migration of people from countries in Latin American and the Caribbean, *Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía* (CELADE, 2006) argues that a shortage of appropriate and relevant data forces researchers to be dependent on the findings of Population and Living Standard Censuses at the national level. In identifying the major weakness with their use, Yin (2003) argues that census data should be treated as clues worthy of further investigation rather than definitive findings. Therefore, not being undertaken with the principal objective of adequately responding to questions often asked by interdisciplinary researchers, governments and international organizations, census findings furnish only a partial understanding of migration trends and patterns, and other dimensions of migration in Latin America and the Caribbean (CELADE, 2006).

However, three important moments in the migration phenomenon in Latin America and the Caribbean can be identified since the second half of the XX century: (1) the immigrants that proceeded from the High Seas, (2) the movement of people within the region, (3) the emigration to countries outside the region (CELADE, 2006; VILLA & MARTÍNEZ, 2004).

Klagsbrunn (1996) also highlights three phases of international migration in the context of Brazil: (1) the movement of Brazilians for the expansion of the agricultural frontier [the case of the *Brasiguaios*], (2) the movement of Brazilians to Japan and the United States and (3) the immigration of Koreans and semi-clandestine labourers from bordering countries such as Bolivia and Colombia to southern Brazil.

With Brazil sharing border with most countries in South America, the following key arrival and departure ports are identified, “Bonfim (Roraima) to Lethem (Guyana); Tabatinga (Amazonas) to Leticia (Colombia); BV-8 (Roraima) – Santa Elena do Uaiaren (Venezuela); Santana do Livramento (Rio Grande do Sul) to Rivera; Barra do Quaraí (Rio Grande do Sul) to Bella Union (Uruguay)” (PATARRA; BAENINGER, 1995, p. 84).

In the study on the reciprocal movements along the Brazil-Guyana border Pereira (2006) states that while Brazilians in Guyana are generally traders and garimpeiros, Guyanese in Roraima State are generally attracted to low skilled jobs, and better health services, which are often lacking in Lethem, which borders with Roraima (Brazil). In addition, the historic analysis of that study reveals that the migration of Guyanese to Roraima can be traced back to the 1960s. With such a historical slant of the migration among Guyanese and Brazilians in the context of the border line, Pereira’s study does not give an in-depth view of the migration process in contemporary times. In this light, this study does not consider the migration of Guyana and Brazilians in the context of the existing trade agreement, which could have furnished a deeper understanding of the migration or simply the mobility of people, goods, technology and culture across the Guyana-Brazil border, as Guyana and Brazil embrace the underlying principles of globalization.

Migration or simply population mobility along the Guyana’s international borders is not only limited to the movement of Guyanese and Brazilians across the Lethem-Bonfim crossing, for Guyana also borders with Venezuela to the West and Suriname to the East. Furthermore, the 2002 census findings reveal the presence of migrants from all of Guyana’s next-door neighbours, and also from French Guiana as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Regional Distribution of Brazil, French Guiana, Suriname and Venezuela Nationals in Guyana, 2002

Region	Brazil	French Guiana	Suriname	Venezuela	Total
Region 1	26	0	1	146	173
Region 2	22	0	43	184	249
Region 3	63	9	377	308	757
Region 4	264	89	1 109	304	1 766
Region 5	6	1	140	17	164
Region 6	15	15	821	23	874
Region 7	40	1	9	142	192
Region 8	186	2	7	12	207
Region 9	512	0	2	4	518
Region 10	35	9	64	28	136
Total	1 169	126	2 573	1 168	5 036

Source: Guyana Bureau of Statistics, 2006

As shown in the table 1, Brazilians are mostly concentrated in Regions 4, 7, 8 and 9. Except for region 4 where Georgetown is located, all other regions are located in hinterland areas where mining is one of the main economic activities. Because non-contacts⁶ have been excluded due to the inaccessibility of many hinterland areas (GUYANA BUREAU OF STATISTICS, 2006), these statistics are treated as clues worthy of further enquiry rather than definitive findings.

With Guyana and Suriname being members of the Caribbean Community and, at the same time, members of the Amazon region, international migration can also be reinterpreted in the context of the migration among Caribbean nationals to the Guianas. In this context, Guyana's 2002 census indicates an increasing trend in the foreign born population from the Caribbean and Amazonian countries. Being considered as Caribbean and Amazonian countries, Suriname, Venezuela and Brazil have been observed to be major sending countries of migrants to Guyana (Table 2).

⁶ These are persons who have not been counted in the 2002 census survey because of being located in inaccessible areas.

Table 2: Foreign Born Population in Guyana, 2002

Countries	Population	% of Total Population
Barbados	2 35	2.5
Brazil	1 169	12.6
Canada	219	2.4
China	641	6.9
French Guiana	126	1.4
India	112	1.2
Jamaica	106	1.1
Suriname	2 573	27.9
St Lucia	293	3.2
United Kingdom	314	3.4
Unites States	675	7.3
Trinidad & Tobago	475	5.1
Others	1 143	12.4
Venezuela	1 168	12.6
Total	9,249	100.0

Data Source: Guyana Bureau of Statistics, 2006

As it relates to regional distribution of these foreign born stocks by sex, Regions 4, 6 and 3, host the largest volume of Guyana's foreign born stock of both sexes (Table 3). A further disaggregating of the data reveals that region 4, where the Capital City is located, accounts for the largest stocking of both sexes. Unfortunately, the census report does not indicate whether this region has been a point or area of destination, transit or permanent residence for these foreign nationals, thus limiting further analysis of the mobility patterns, and impacts of the livelihood activities adopted by these migrants.

Table 3: Guyana Foreign Born Population by Sex and Region of Residence, 2002

Region	Male	Female	Total	Sex Ratio
Region 1	126	90	216	140
Region 2	165	168	333	98.2
Region 3	582	560	1142	103.9
Region 4	2 302	2 041	4343	112.8
Region 5	179	160	339	111.9
Region 6	679	679	1 358	100
Region 7	167	110	277	151.8
Region 8	228	62	290	367.7
Region 9	299	259	558	115.4
Region 10	212	181	393	117.1
Total	4 939	4 310	9249	114.6

Data Source: Guyana Bureau of Statistics, 2006

As shown Table 3, males dominate in most administrative regions. Given that Suriname female outnumber males from every country (Table 4), it may be possible to imagine a wider regional dispersion of migrant women of Suriname origin. When these foreign born stocks have been analyzed in terms of sex, a moderate participation among women in the migration process, from these Amazonian countries, has been observed (Table 4). When the sex ratios for foreign born population from Caribbean and Amazonian countries are compared (Table 4), it can be generally concluded that there is a higher participation in Caribbean males in the migration process to Guyana. However, the volume or stock of Caribbean nationals is significantly smaller than that of nationals from countries that border with Guyana (Suriname, Venezuela and Brazil).

Table 4: Guyana's Foreign Stock by Sex, 2002

Countries	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
Barbados	120	115	104.3
Brazil	693	476	145.6
Canada	109	110	99.1
China	374	267	140.1
French Guiana	63	63	100
India	69	43	160.5
Jamaica	57	49	116.3
Suriname	1 242	1 331	93.3
St Lucia	169	124	136.3
United Kingdom	167	147	113.6
Unites States	360	315	114.3
Trinidad & Tobago	257	218	117.9
Others	672	471	142.6
Venezuela	587	581	101.0
Total	4 939	4 310	114.6

Data Source: Guyana Bureau of Statistics, 2006

A further comparison of the sex ratio among the foreign born populations of the countries that border with Guyana reveals that a moderate participation in the movement of women from Suriname and Venezuela. While volume of Brazilian women is noticeably higher than those of women from the Caribbean, French Guiana and Venezuela, its importance has been obscured due to the higher participation of Brazilian males in the migration process, which gives rise to a sex ratio of 145.6 men for each 100 women.

In spite of this evident participation of Surinamese, Venezuelan, and Brazilian women in the migration process, there has been little or no direct attention given to gender and international migration with a focus on Amazonian countries including French Guiana.

Using historical, socioeconomic and policy data, Arouck (2000) has conducted a research with a focus on the causes and consequences of movements along the Brazil-French Guiana border. Among other important findings, this study reveals that reciprocal movements along the Amazonian frontier dates back to pre-Columbian times, and that several labour policies, subsequently, have attracted Brazilian labourers to this Guiana as early as during the 1960s. Until recently, economic factors are identified as the principal reason for Brazilians wanting to migrate to French Guiana, where they reunite with friends and family members.

Further, Arouck's study reveals that these Brazilians are principally from Pará and Amapá. Unfortunately, he does not indicate the importance of internal migration for international, that is, whether these migrants had earlier sought economic opportunities internally before taking the decision to migrate internationally. However, as the Brazilians migrate to French Guiana, he observes that they maintain contact with friends and families in their country of origin and destination.

These family and friendship networks have opened-up new perspectives for those interested in international migration research in the region. The norms and values that are transmitted in *communiqués*, as migrants establish networks, continue to contribute to a form of *'ilusão migratória'* (migration fever), which varies in intensity with the cost-benefit analysis of migrating (BRITO, 1995). Many researchers in this area (AROUCK, 2000; ARAGON, 1986; BRITO, 1995; HEFTI, 1997) have posited that these networks do not only serve to inform prospective migrants of the benefits of migrating, but also enormously assist newcomers in the adaptation process. This latter function of these networks has been so crucial in the migration process considering the social exclusion to which migrants are subjected, as in the case of Brazilians in French Guiana (AROUCK, 2000; KLAGSBRUNN, 1996; BRITO, 1995), and Caribbean immigrants in the United States of America (USA) (CELADE, 2006).

3.3 IMPORTANT GAPS IN THE LITERATURE

Studies done in the Amazon and the Caribbean region demonstrate that migration is a growing phenomenon, which needs to be carefully documented. In terms of challenges at the methodological level when interrogating illegal immigrants who are often unwilling to disclose their personal profile, in the fear of being deported, Santos, Brasil & Moura (2001, p. 479-488) have highlighted the following unexplored questions, which can furnish deeper insights into this phenomenon in the Amazon and elsewhere: "Who are the migrants?, What are their origins and their basic profile in terms of age, sex, education level etc.?, What are their motives for coming to Brazil or the Amazonian States?, What are their priorities, anxieties and fears?". However, while some studies have focused almost exclusively on the major factors causing migration, and various aspects of the adaptation process, the researcher did not find any study that has focused specifically on international migration as a livelihood strategy, and the socioeconomic and environmental impacts of Brazilian migration to Guyana.

In an effort to overcome these limitations at the research and theory building levels, several migration researchers highlight the following needs: (1) a model that is workable for

developed and developing regions (ARAGON, 1984), (2) the nesting of an integrated explanative psycho-social and structural component into a single model (ARAGON, 1984), (3) reliable and valid data to conduct empirical tests of theories and hypotheses in both developed and developing countries, where development challenges are different and thus, a multiplicity of factors may influence people to migrate (ARAGON, 1984; DEMKO et al., 1970), (4) new approaches in the age of globalization, where there is a rapid spread of information across the globe (ARAGON, 2005b), (5) an understanding of the importance of international migration in relation to internal migration (ARAGON, 2005), and (6) a model that considers individual, structural, economic, environmental (environmental quality and natural resource base) and networking variables to explore the migration and adaptation process and, the reciprocal consequences of both internal and international migration (ARAGON, 2005). In terms of the wider Latin America and the Caribbean region, CELADE (2006) stresses the need for further research into the following dimensions of migration, which have gained grounds in recent years: (1) return migration, (2) circulating migration, (3) trafficking of people, and remittances and temporal movements among migrants that proceed from the Caribbean and Latin America.

3.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Standing the test of time, Ravenstein's work on the laws of migration remains the starting point for theory building (RAVENSTEIN, 1980; DEMKO, ROSE; SCHNELL, 1970). Based on the British Census of 1881 and later, in 1889, with data from more than twenty countries, Ravenstein's propositions have been reorganized and restated by Lee (1966):

- (1) The greater body of migrants moves over short distances, while with preference, migrants traveling over long distances proceed to great centers of commerce and industry, (2) the universal population displacement generates currents of migration [...] the gaps left in the rural population are filled by migrants from more remote districts [...] the process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption, and exhibits similar features, (3) each main current of migration produces a compensating counter stream, (4) the propensity to migrate is less for urban citizens of a given country, (5) females prefer to travel over short distances, (6) migration increases following increases in means of transport, and development in commerce and manufacture, (7) economic motives mostly cause people migrate (LEE, 1966, p. 288).

These propositions are criticized on the bases that they: (1) describe a mechanical process, (2) describe, but fail to explain the migration process, (3) reduce the process to areas of origin and destination, and (4) fail to consider various forms of population mobility and migration (ARAGÓN, 2005b).

Following the line of Lee's push-pull theory, the macro theory neoclassical economists argue that spatial difference in the distribution of factors of production influence both the destination and the magnitude of migrants (SALIM, 1992; WOOD, 1982). With a parallel view, the micro theory neoclassical economists posit that rational individuals migrate in the hope of achieving a positive net return after undertaking a cost benefit analysis of migrating (SOARES, 2002). Further, Salim (1992) and Raczynski (1983) posit that in relation to the causes of international migration, the neoclassical model is premised on three basic assumptions: (1) the difference between employment opportunity at countries of origin and destination, (2) the rational analysis at the individual level of the cost and benefit of migrating and (3) being in country of origin, the migration decision rests at the individual level.

Perceiving migration as simply the mobility of labour, both the macro and micro economists (KUZNETS, 1964; SAHOTA, 1968; YAP, 1976; SCHULTZ, 1962; SJAASTAD, 1962) are criticized on the bases that their models are analogous with the exact sciences and that they overemphasize the importance of the individual at the decision level. Supporting this position, Gonzales (1979) also adds that such individual analysis limits any scientific understanding of the migration phenomenon. Furthermore, Wood (1982) states that such individual cost-benefit analysis obscures the essential macro factors that compel people to migrate.

Challenging the neoclassical notion of salary differences across borders, the New Economists emphasize the importance of family households in the decision level of the migration process. In this regard, New Economists argue that households or family members work collectively not necessarily to increase income earnings, but principally to reduce the risks should there be failures in the foreign labour market (SOARES, 2002; MASSEY, 1993). Deemphasizing the importance of the individual at the decision level, the Structural Historic scholars, such as Salim (1992), Balan (1973), Soares (2002) and Singer (1976), maintain that migration is a social phenomenon whose causes and consequences are related to other determined historical phenomena, and is related to a process of structural change (structural conditions at the social, economic and political levels) in a given social formation.

The structural changes of capitalism for the unification of the world economy, which has been greatly facilitated by advances in transport technology, intensified the rate of movement of the world's population (BRITO, 1995). Among other factors, this massive trend in international migration has been attributed to economic crises and political instabilities, which were the results of productive restructuring of the capitalist productive system.

Rethinking the phenomenon of labour mobility, Gaudemar (1977) contends that every capitalist mobility strategy is a strategy of forced mobility. In this vein, it is argued that spontaneous migration is nonexistent, and that structural factors compel people to migrate, thus giving rise to a redistribution of particularly free labour (SALIM, 1992). With a different view, the United Nations (UN) (1997) states that high rates of demographic growth in developing countries, economic stagnation, poverty, income inequalities, and violation of human rights, all impose a destabilizing effect on society, thus compelling people to migrate. In this international context, Soares (2002) highlights three principal areas of concentration on international migration studies: (1) the origin of population flow, (2) determinants of its stability and (3) adaptation of migrants in destination country.

Challenging the aforementioned position of the UN, Portes & Bach (1985), in reflecting on the world system theory with a focus on the impacts of global processes on the periphery, argue that the genesis of international migration is contingent upon the forms in which Third World countries are integrated into the world economy. With this vision, Sassen (1988) states that changes in the world economy give impetus to a massive transnational movement of workers, capital, goods, services and information especially during the 70s and 80s.

In terms of the Amazonian region, international migration has intensified during the 1980s (BERNARD, 2005; ARAGON, 2005A; ALFRED, 1998; BASSANEZI, 1995) as countries such as Brazil and Guyana have experienced prolonged economic crises while embarking on the necessary macro policy adjustments in embracing the underlying principles of economic and technological globalization.

Furthermore, Hefti (1997) states that these rapid increases in transnational flow of capital, trade and technology, which globalization necessitates, have marked their effects on international migration as migration becomes more and more attractive following a rapid spread of information by friends and families across the globe. Although some migration studies have focused on family and friendship network as early as during the 70s (BOYD, 1989), several studies (AROUCK, 2000; ARAGON, 1986; MASSEY et al., 1990) have reworked this dimension of international migration in contemporary times, where it has been observed that migrants maintain multiple relations (family, economic, social, organizational, religious and political) in countries of origin, in-transit and destination.

In the age of globalization these family and friendship relations connect the local and the global (GLICK-SCHILLER, BASCH & BLANC-SZANTON, 1992). For Tucker (1997), however, there is no such place as the global on the basis that the current usage of the term

globalization is plagued by metaphors of space, and that there is no disconnected global sphere floating above or outside that of the local. Furthermore, he states that a number of new terms, which include 'disjuncture', 'contingency', and 'creolisation' have emerged to furnish an explication of an understanding of global processes and local situations, which lead to chaos in the coherency of earlier fixed notions that refer to centre-periphery.

3.5 SUMMARY

Given the existing controversy among scholars, and the high level of mobility among Amazonian and Caribbean people, which in part is attributed to structural changes as countries within the Caribbean Community and the Amazon region continue to strive for regional integration, future researches should be cognizant of the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to migration research in order to discover the underlying causes of migration, and the impacts of migration on areas or countries of origin, transit and destination. In this light, studies should not only focus on the migration and adaptation processes, but also the impacts (political, socioeconomic, and environmental) of these processes on countries of origin, transit and destination. Taking note that little consensus exists at the theoretical level; independent researchers should proceed with a focus on theory building, where if stated propositions are accepted, such studies would lead to important contributions to theory building in the area of international migration in the context of developing countries.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 GUYANA: A BRIEF REVIEW

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines relevant aspects of the demographic and socioeconomic formation of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana. Given its extensiveness and the various angles from which it can be viewed, the Guyanese literature has been reviewed thematically rather than chronologically. After presenting the migration of Amerindians to what is currently known as modern Guyana, the coming of the Europeans, who set and controlled the conditions for the forced migration of Africans and, subsequently the immigration of Africans, Asians and Europeans is also presented. Finally, the emigration of Guyanese during Guyana's post-independence period is reviewed from the standpoint of the structural factors which have acted on the individuals, thus compelling them to emigrate. The geographical and geological status of Guyana is also presented.

4.2 GEOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

Earlier known as British Guiana, the Cooperative Republic of Guyana is self-governing and independent. Guyana is situated within the Amazonian Carton that forms the northern part of the South American continent, which comprises of the following countries: Brazil, Bolivia, French Guiana, Guyana, Suriname and Venezuela (GUYANA GEOLOGY AND MINES COMMISSION (GGMC, 2005). This Amazonian Carton consists of two Geological Shields: (1) the Guyana Shield in the north where Guyana is located, and (2) the Central Brazil Shield (Guapore) in the south. Geological evidences show that these two areas demonstrate striking similarities to that of the West African Shield, which were connected and were part of a larger continent before the opening of the Atlantic during the Mesozoic epoch. However, geologically, Guyana is fragmented into three provinces: (1) the Northern Province, (2) the Southern Province, and, between these, (3) the *Takutu Graben* (GGMC, 2005).

Upon the arrival of the Dutch in 17th century the Guiana Shield has been the only part of Guyana that was not under water. Land reclamation by this European group has facilitated human settlements on the coastlands. Being attracted to the fertile coastlands, many planters and their workers have migrated during the mid-eighteenth century to the coast, which today is the home for the greater proportion of Guyana's population. This internal migration has

occurred when it was perceived that the coast was matured after, according to Daly (1975), some 2, 000 years of deposition and accretion.

In geographical terms, modern Guyana is divided into four physical regions: (1) the Coastal Plain, (2) the Pakaraima highlands, (3) the White Sand Plateaus, and (4) the Central Peneplane (Bernard, 2005). These natural regions are further fragmented into 10 administrative regions, which, in descending order, are: (1) Barima-Waini, (2) Pomeroon – Supernaam, (3) Essequibo-Islands West Demerara, (4) Demerara-Mahaica, (5) Mahaica-Berbice, (6) East Berbice-Corentyne, (7) Cuyuni-Mazaruni, (8) Pataro-Siparuni, (9) Upper Takutu-Upper Essequibo, (10) Upper Demerara-Berbice, as indicated in Figure 3 (Bernard, 2005). While Amerindian populations dominate in Regions 1, 7, 8, and 9, which are all hinterland regions, Afro-Guyanese and Indo-Guyanese populations dominate in the other regions based as of the 2002 census. The census also reveals that Amerindians account for 9.1% of Guyana's population, while Indo-Guyanese and Afro-Guyanese claim 43.5% and 30.2%, respectively. Further, the 2002 census reveals that Region 4, where Georgetown is located, has the highest population density of 139 persons per sq. km, while hinterlands where Amerindian dominate have smaller population densities (Figure 3).

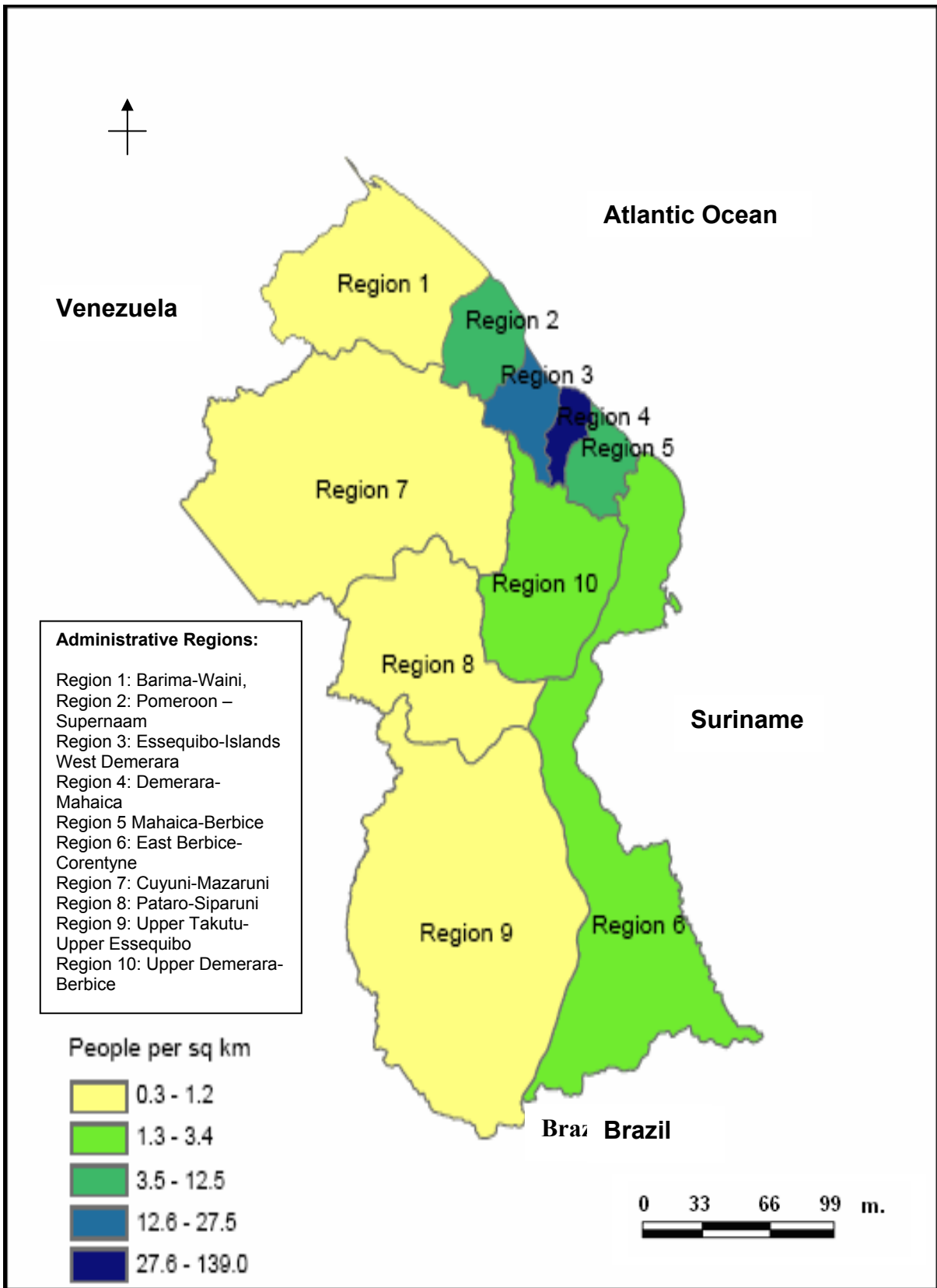


Figure 3: Guyana's population density, 2002
 Source: GINA, 2005b, p. 23

In terms of regional growth rates, the census has revealed fastest increases among hinterland regions, particularly regions 8, 1 and 9; the population of which grew at 5.2, 2.4 and 2.2 percent per annum, respectively (GINA, 2005b), which is partly attributed to the migration of Brazilians to these regions, and the low participation of Guyanese Amerindians in international migration to North America (BERNARD, 2005). Furthermore, the 2002 census indicates that mining and quarrying activities have been responsible for these population growths of Regions 8, 7 and 9 since the 1980s (Table 5).

Table 5: Regional distribution of the Guyana's population, 1980-2002

Region	Population (1980)	%	Population (1990)	%	Population (2002)	%
Region 1	18 329	2.4	18 428	2.5	24 275	3.2
Region 2	42 341	5.6	43 45	6.0	49 253	6.6
Region 3	104 750	13.8	95 9751	3.3	103 061	13.7
Region 4	317 475	41.8	296 924	41.0	310 320	41.3
Region 5	53 898	7.1	51 280	7.1	52 428	7.0
Region 6	152 386	20.1	142 541	19.7	123 695	16.5
Region 7	14 390	1.9	14 790	2.0	17 597	2.3
Region 8	4 485	0.6	5 615	0.8	10 095	1.3
Region 9	12 873	1.7	15 057	2.1	19 387	2.6
Region 10	38 641	5.1	39 608	5.5	41 112	5.5
Total	759 567	100.0	723 673	100.0	751 223	100.0

Data Source: 2002 Census Summary, p. 17

In terms of age-sex distribution, the 2002 census reveals that the Guyanese population is still in an expansive phase, which indicates a growing population (Figure 4). However, when compared with the findings of the 1980 census, the 2002 census findings show that the Guyanese population is beginning to age, as fertility rates are approaching the replacement level; meaning that Guyanese couples are only producing to replace themselves.

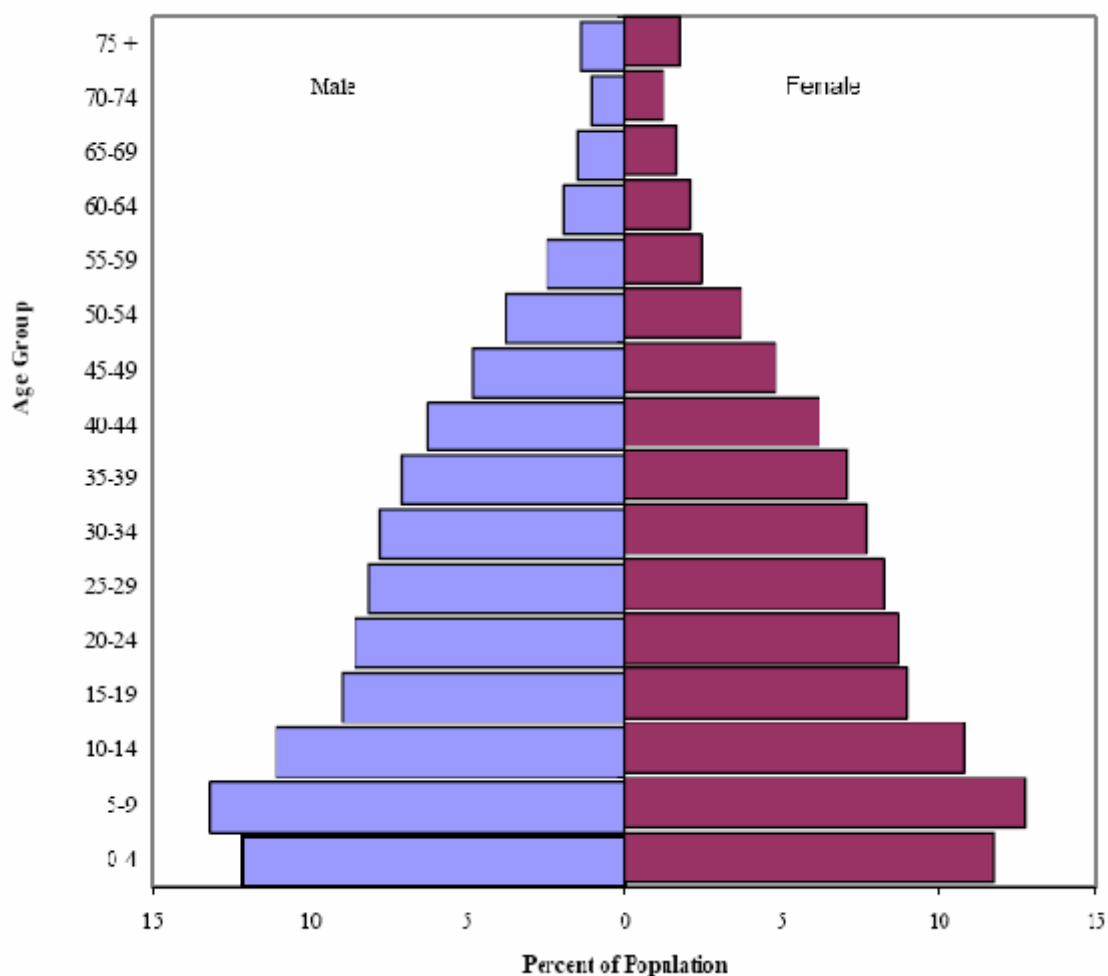


Figure 4: Population pyramid of Guyana, 2002

Source: GINA, 2005b, p. 8

This population pyramid also depicts that a 0-4 age-group is smaller than that of the 5-9; a trend which continues from the 1980 and 1991 census findings, which confirm a persistent decline in the rate of fertility since 1960, when the fertility rate stood at 6.0. This small percentage of the population in the 0-4 –age-group can be attributed to migration of young children who accompany their parents, as stated in the 2002 census.

4.3 A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF GUYANA’S DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY

Bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, on the east by Suriname, on the south and southwest by Brazil, and on the west and northwest by Venezuela, Guyana is the only English-speaking country in South America, and has an approximate population of 751, 223 persons according to the 2002 Population and Housing Census (GINA, 2005b; GINA, 2001).

While the date when the first group of Amerindians arrived is as much in dispute as to how they came, archeological evidences suggest the possibility of Paleo-Indians living in the North-West Rupununi districts of Guyana (DALY, 1975). In spite of this dispute among historic scholars, there seems to be reasonable consensus that the first ancestors of the Amerindian population have traveled from Asia to America by means of the Bering Strait, which, at that time, was an ice-bridge that joined the two continents (DALY, 1975). However, Williams (2003) indicates that by the time of Christ, Arawak horticulturists had already encircled the portion of the “Island” of Guiana that extends to the West of the Corentyne River. Concurrently, he stated, “the Karinya Caribs migrating southward from a hearth somewhere on or near the Western Guiana Littoral had initiated settlements in north Amapá, thereby compelling the occupation of the Guianas by horticulturists” (WILLIAMS, 2003, p. 410) (Figure 5).

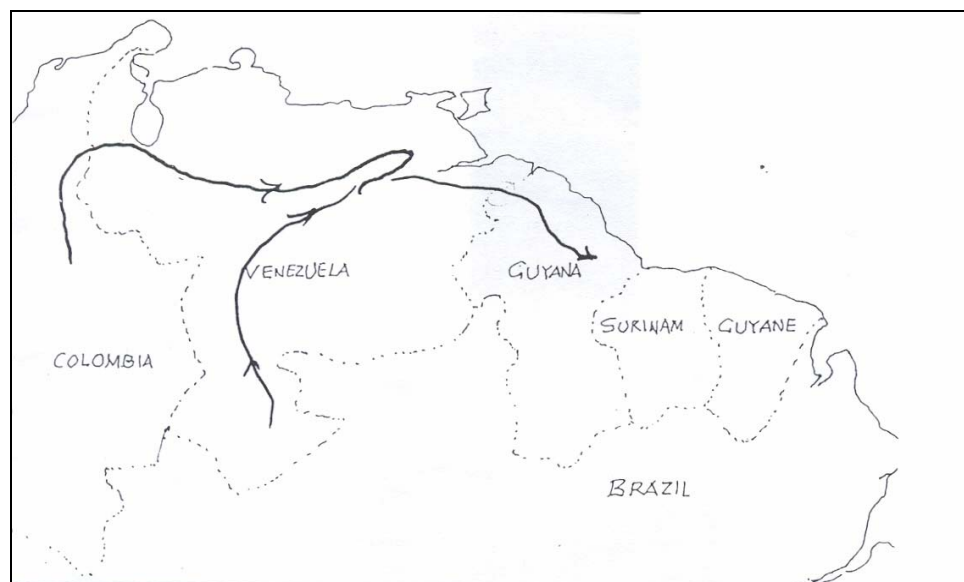


Figure 5: Horticulturist account of the peopling of the Guianas

Source: Williams, 2003, p. 411

Being the first migrants to the territory which constitutes modern Guyana, the Amerindians have been, obviously, the first to meet the European migrants. Early settlements that included Kyk-over-al at the confluence of the Essequibo and Mazaruni Rivers around 1616, and another in Berbice around 1627 have allowed the Dutch to trade essential consumer goods with the Amerindians. With a trade focus on products such as *annatto*⁷, Dutch colonies at Essequibo and Berbice required only a small slave population until during the 1650s, when the focus has been redirected to include sugarcane and sugar manufacture (MC GOWAN, 2006).

In spite of the productive potentials of the Colony, historic scholars have pointed out that its slave population remained small when compared with those of other smaller Caribbean and bordering Amazonian countries that make-up the Guianas (MC GOWAN, 2006). At the time of the British take-over from the Dutch, in April 1776, the colonies had very small stocks of slaves, where Berbice accounted for 8,232, while the population of United Colony (Demerara and Essequibo combined) totaled 38,000 slaves (MC GOWAN, 2006). In this light, Mc Gowan stated that the stockings of slaves rose considerably following the British demand for slave labour for increase production of sugar, cotton and coffee. In spite of this increase, the slave population in the British Colonies was considerably small at the slavery abolishment in 1834 with 83,000 slaves, 8,000 free blacks and coloured, and some 7,000 whites and an unknown number of Amerindians (MC GOWAN, 2006).

Another important moment in the demographic and socioeconomic history of modern day Guyana was the period of French rule. In February 1782, the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice were surrendered to the *Comte de Kersaint* (DALY, 1975, p. 93). After a period of two years, the colonies were once again ceded to the British, who reigned until the abolition period, after which there were successive waves of immigration of Portuguese, East Indians and Chinese to British Guiana.

The post-abolition period has marked another significant moment in the demographic and cultural history of modern Guyana. This period has been characterized by a purposive selection of Portuguese, Chinese and East Indian immigrants that were cheap, immobile and controllable, with preference for European immigrants (AUGIER, et al., 1960; MC GOWAN, 2006). This preference for European immigrants has not been attributed to the inaccessibility of Africans and Asians, but rather a deliberate action to deny the *dark-skinned people* any sort of economic and political powers after slavery would have been concluded in some Caribbean

⁷ Annatto (orange-yellow in colour) is a vegetable dye made from the seed coat of the tropical Annatto tree (*bixa orellana*).

and South American countries (BASSANEZI, 1995; DALY, 1975; AUGIER, et al., 1960). In spite of this preference, the immigration of Portuguese labourers has been, several times, suspended because of, (1) limited finance, and (2) the attitudes of the Maderian authorities and humanitarian concerns towards the loss of its better agriculture workers and high mortality rates among the Portuguese immigrants (DALY, 1975).

In May 1838, the first batch of East Indian labourers entered British Guiana. Severe mistreatment of this group of immigrants has forced the Indian authorities to discontinue Indian immigration to Guyana at several periods. However, by 1917, a total of 238, 960 Indian labourers have entered the colony (DALY, 1975). Finally, in 1953, British Guiana received its first batch of Chinese immigrants (AUGIER et al., 1960). Two other attempts have been made, in 1859 and 1866, but have been short-lived because the Chinese government's demand for a free return passage for immigrant labourers after five years of indenture.

Guyana is independent within the Commonwealth since 1966.

Being the home of the descendants of these six major ethnic groups: (1) Amerindians, (2) Africans, (3) East Indians, (4) Europeans (5) Asians and (6) Portuguese, Guyana is characterized by an ethnic plural society, with Indo-Guyanese and Afro-Guyanese being the two dominant groups (GINA, 2005b).

4.4 MACROECONOMIC REFORMS AND MASS MIGRATION OF GUYANESE

Until 1988, Guyana's economic policies have been characterized as 'cooperative socialism' (World Bank, 1993). However, Guyana's move toward embracing the principles of economic globalization has been effected in 1989, with the launching of an Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), with the key objectives of: (1) liberalization of the exchange and trade system; (2) removal of price controls and subsidies; (3) removal of restrictions on capital flows; and (4) reforms in tax policy and administration (GINA, 2001).

Being a new form in which this once socialist *Guiana* has been being reintegrated, during her post independence period, into the global economy, these reforms have had a devastating initial effect on the Guyanese economy with Gross Domestic Product (GDP) falling precipitously by 5 percent per year between 1989 and 1991 and a high inflation rate in 1991 (GINA, 2001). Consequently, this period has been marked by a high rate of unemployment, which has been followed by a notorious deterioration in the living standards of the Guyanese people (GINA, 2001). These economic hardships have provoked a mass migration of Guyanese to North America and other English Speaking countries, thereby

keeping Guyana's population constant with approximately 750 000 people (WORLD BANK, 1993). From 1995-1999, Bernard (2005) has observed an increasing trend in the mass departure of Guyanese (Table 6).

Table 6: Guyana – Net Migration, 1995-1999

Years	Arrivals	Departures	Net Migration	Loss per 1000
1995	184 879	192 390	-7511	-104
1996	170 885	183 483	-12598	-175
1997	161 061	177 377	-16316	-227
1998	152 834	163 178	-10344	-144
1999	178 982	191 146	-12164	-169

Data Source: Bernard (2005, p. 108)

Due to this mass migration of particularly skilled Guyanese in their prime working ages, the period that extended from the 1980s to 1990s has reflected a turning point in the demographic history of Guyana, for it marks the first time that there has been an inter-census population decline, as shown in Figure 6 (GINA, 2005b)

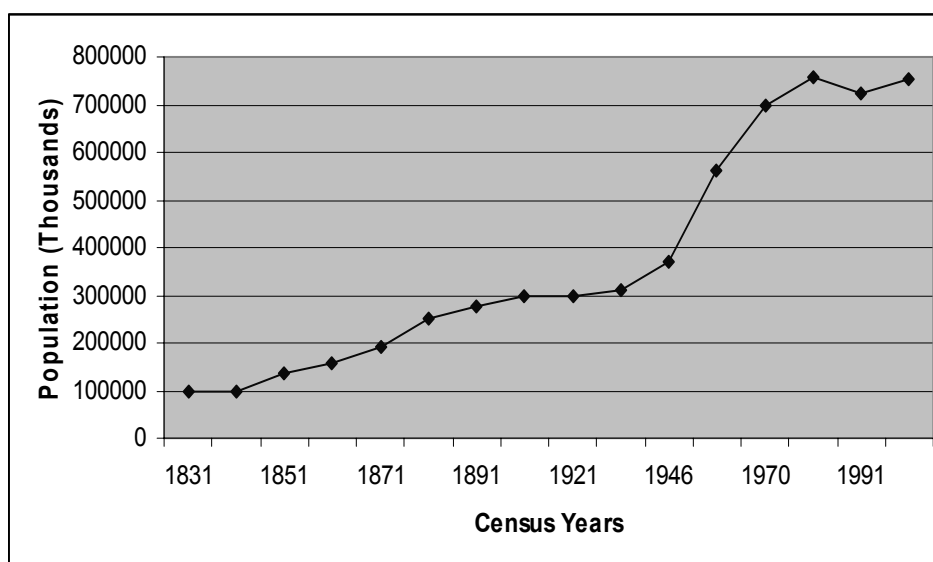


Figure 6: Guyana's population trend – 1831-2002

Data source: GINA, 2005b, p. 14

In spite of improvements in the living standards in subsequent years, Guyanese have continued to emigrate. At the structural level, this exodus of Guyana is partly attributed to the movement of labour agreement as CARICOM States seek to strengthen the region's

competitiveness in the age of globalization. Although her Northern trade linkages were not completely dissolved during this post-independence period, Guyana trade linkages have been redirected towards the English Speaking Caribbean, which sought the consolidation of Caricom trading bloc, as it is perceived that world trade is uneven and that the poorer countries are being continually exploited. Therefore, the Caribbean Community has clearly stressed:

The Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) continues to be the platform for facing the onslaught of globalization by creating the framework for increased competitiveness of our goods and services. [...] the movement of people within the Community is necessary to unlock the richness within the Region (CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY SECRETARIAT, 2005a, p.5).

Working to achieve these goals, some autonomous Caribbean states (Antigua and Barbuda; Barbados; Belize; Dominica; Grenada; Guyana; Jamaica; St. Kitts and Nevis; Saint Lucia; St. Vincent and the Grenadines; Suriname; Trinidad and Tobago) have already acceded to an agreement for the free movement of skills/labour within the region (CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY SECRETARIAT, 2005b). With their countries being members of the Caribbean Community and signatories to the free movement of skills/labour agreement, Guyanese and other Caricom Nationals⁸, who are eligible⁹ for the free movement of skills/labour certificate, have the right to seek work or engage in gainful employment in Member States of their choice.

In spite of this attempt of fully harnessing the labour force of the region, extra regional migration is a current concern of the Caribbean Community, as the organization has stated:

[...] Dr Edward Greene, Assistant Secretary-General for Human and Social Development, of the CARICOM Secretariat is advocating for the Caribbean Community to appropriate policies necessary to plug the mass migration of Caribbean professionals - especially nurses, teachers and doctors - to developed countries. [...]Referring to research findings by CARICOM in 2006, Dr Greene explained that over the past 10 years approximately 50,000 nurses migrated at an estimated loss of US\$2. 2M from the investment in training at the public's expense, and charged the conference to critically treat with the challenge of "how to contain the out migration of our medical doctors and particularly our nurses." [...] "Indeed, the shortfall in nurses predicted by the US Department of Health and Human Services (2002) will be 800,000 by 2020," he remarked. Similar studies for medical doctors, medical technicians, teachers and other trained personnel reveal startling statistics, especially for countries such as Jamaica and Guyana where an International Monetary Fund (IMF) study (2005) estimated that over 40 and 75

8Article 32.5: (A) of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas states that a Caricom National is a person who is regarded as a National of Member of State. To qualify as a Caricom National, such person must, "be a citizen of a Member of State [...] has a connection with that State of a kind which entitles him/her to be regarded as belonging to or, if it be so expressed, as being a native or resident of the State for the purpose of the laws thereof relating to immigration [...]" (CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY SECRETARIAT, 2001, p. 22-23).

9To be eligible, one must be engaged in legitimate economic activities of some sort within the Caricom Single Market and Economy.

percent respectively of trained personnel in these countries migrated during 2000-2004. [...] Dr Greene informed the Conference that the Council for Human and Social Development (COHSOD) had called for an overall policy of managed migration (CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY SECRETARIAT, 2007).

Similarly, CELADE (2006), states that this brain drain of particularly teachers and nurses presents an enormous economic challenge to small open Caribbean economies. With the assumption that a highly trained labour force is critical towards achieving increased performance of the productive sectors, the movement of labour agreement of the CSME at this point in time, seems threatening to the poorer Caribbean economies considering the high level of exodus of talented nationals as in the case of Guyanese (HUGHES, 2005; SOLIMANO, 2002). In reference to the potential social impact of this free movement of skilled nationals, concerns are expressed about the value of citizenship, sovereignty and nationality of independent Caribbean States (CEPAL, 2005). Given that each state remains independent and autonomous, and may seek to divergent socioeconomic goals, it is possible that uncontrolled movement of people results in an unequal redistribution of skilled labour, thus jeopardizing the major goal of the labour agreement which is to unlock the richness of the region as it prepares to face the competitive challenges of economic globalization.

4.5 TRADE AGREEMENTS AND MOVEMENTS ALONG THE GUYANA-BRAZIL BORDER

Guyana borders with Brazil to the south, where the Lethem-Bonfim International Crossing is being erected. Although not a new phenomenon, there has been an increasing trend in reciprocal movements along this Amazonian frontier as early as during the 1960s (PEREIRA, 2006). However, both the literature (AROUCK, 2000), and empirical observations have revealed that population mobility across the, now, Amazonian border can be traced back to pre-Colombian times, when the Amerindian populations occupied these territories.

During the last two and a half decades, migration across the Guyana-Brazil border has been on the increases as Guyana and Brazil respond to the underlying principles of globalization by directing their trade agreements to facilitate international movements of goods and people as stipulated in the Partial Scope and the International Road Transport Agreements. In reference to globalization and market integration, Castro (2001) states that the recent plans of the Brazilian Government are amplified for its integration with bordering Amazonian countries. In spite of being neighbours, Guyana and Brazil have historically maintained little or no ties in the area of trade. However, Brazil, a member of MERCOSUR

(Southern Common Market), has established two agreements with Guyana, which has historically maintained closer trade ties with Caribbean States. On October 4, 1989 Guyana and Brazil have embarked on a bilateral agreement for constructing a road linking Brazil to Georgetown thereby facilitating international transport of passengers and goods (FORTE, 1996). Considering Article 25 of the Treaty of Montevideo of 1980 which permits Brazil to accede to Partial Scope Agreements with other countries and economic integration areas of Latin America, and the 1973 Chaguaramas Agreement of which the Cooperative Republic of Guyana is a signatory, and, recognizing the importance of the Memorandum of Understanding between MERCOSUR and the Cooperative Republic of Guyana in the fields of Trade and Investment, signed at Rio de Janeiro, on the 28th of June, 1999 (, 2006), Guyana and Brazil have further acceded to a Partial Scope Agreement with the prime objective outlined in Article 1 of Chapter 1, which states:

The objective of this Agreement is to foster bilateral trade flows, by the exchange of tariff preferences between the Parties, cooperation on trade matters and increased participation of the private sector (MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 2006 p. 1).

In spite of the provision for the international movement of passengers, little or no attention is given to the issue of international migration in these agreements. In addition, the term “passenger” has not been clearly defined in the Partial Scope Agreement. However, recognizing the high level of cross border movements among their nationals, the Guyanese and Brazilian governments have realized and subsequently embarked on the removal of visa as an entry requirement in 2006, thereby facilitating easier movement of particularly “labour” across geopolitical borders.

4.6 MINING AND THE BRAZILIANS’ PRESENCE IN GUYANA

In spite of being a commercial producer of gold for in excess of one century (FORTE, 1999; THOMAS, 1998), mining has been mainly practiced at the small scale level by Guyanese pork-knockers (miners) who have lacked the technology and capital needed for large scale explorations. Since the inauguration of large scale gold mining by large scale Omai Mining Company in 1993, mining has become a significant contributor to Guyana’s economy, during her post-independence period. During the course of Omai’s operation (1993-2005), 3.7 million ounces of gold, 1.6 million ounces in excess of the production originally forecasted by the feasibility study, has been recovered (CAMBIOR Inc, 2006).

As large scale production marks a turning point in the performance of the mining sector, so do mining at the small and medium scale levels. This increased performance of

mining at the small and medium scale levels is attributed to the increasing presence of the Brazilian garimpeiros (LIVAN, 2006). Consistently, the 2002 census indicates that mining and quarrying activities have attracted Brazilian migrants to Guyana's hinterland (GINA, 2005b). Further Bernard (2005) states that while the overall population has decreased in Guyana, that of the hinterland areas [particularly Regions 7¹⁰, 8¹¹ and 9¹²] have significantly increased, which is reflected in both the censuses of 1991 and 2002; and Region 1¹³ in the 2002. His analysis of census data shows that Regions 8 and 9 have recorded higher growths between 1980 and 2002 from 4, 477 and 12, 851 to 9, 211 and 19, 365, respectively. This population increase, Bernard (2005) posits, is attributed principally to migration among Brazilians and increased fertility rates among Amerindian women living in these regions.

With the increased participation of Brazilians in mining, there has been a continuous improvement in the performance of the mining sector in both gold and diamond mining at the small and medium scale levels. The steep increase in the diamond outputs since 2000 is owing to the introduction of Jigs (lavador) and cutter head dredges by Brazilian miners in Guyana (LIVAN, 2006). Consequently, in 2002, she reveals that a total gold output of 248, 000 metric carats of diamond has been recovered after 79 years.

In US dollar terms, gold and diamond output at the small and medium scale levels seem important to Guyana's Gross Domestic Product, particularly considering the vulnerability to preferential markets for sugar in the European Union, which absorbed some 80% of Guyana's sugar (SUKHDEO, 2007). Since the closure of large scale Omai, in 2005, the role of mining by the Brazilian garimpeiros assumes greater economic importance in 2005 when small and medium scale mining have accounted for 61.9% of the total gold exported in 2005 (Table 7).

Table 7: Guyana's major domestic exports (US\$ million), 2001-2005

Export	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Gold (Total)	127.0	136.3	130.9	145.1	111.9
Gold (Small & Med)	28.4	36.6	36.8	47.1	69.3
Bauxite	61.0	35.3	44.6	44.7	62.8
Diamond	13.3	20.0	29.7	48.8	43.6
Sugar	109.2	119.5	129.2	136.5	118.0
Rice	50.2	45.4	45.3	55.1	46.2
Timber	33.0	35.6	30.7	45.0	49.6
Others	93.4	98.7	106.7	102.9	103.8
Total	487.1	490.8	517.1	578.1	535.9

Source: Livan, 2006, p. 4.

¹⁰ Cuyuni -Mazaruni

¹¹ Patara-Siparuni

¹² Upper Takuta-Upper Essequibo

¹³ Barima-Waini

However, when small and medium scale gold exports and diamond exports are compared with exports of rice and sugar, which have been the backbone of the Guyanese economy, the economic importance of the small and medium scale mining by the Brazilian *garimpeiros* is undeniable (Figure 7). In this sense, there has been a persistent increase in small and medium scale gold mining over the period. A careful observation reveals a significant increase in small and medium scale gold mining from 2004-2005, where outputs have surpassed those of Bauxite, diamond, timber and even rice, which has been a major contributor to export earnings.

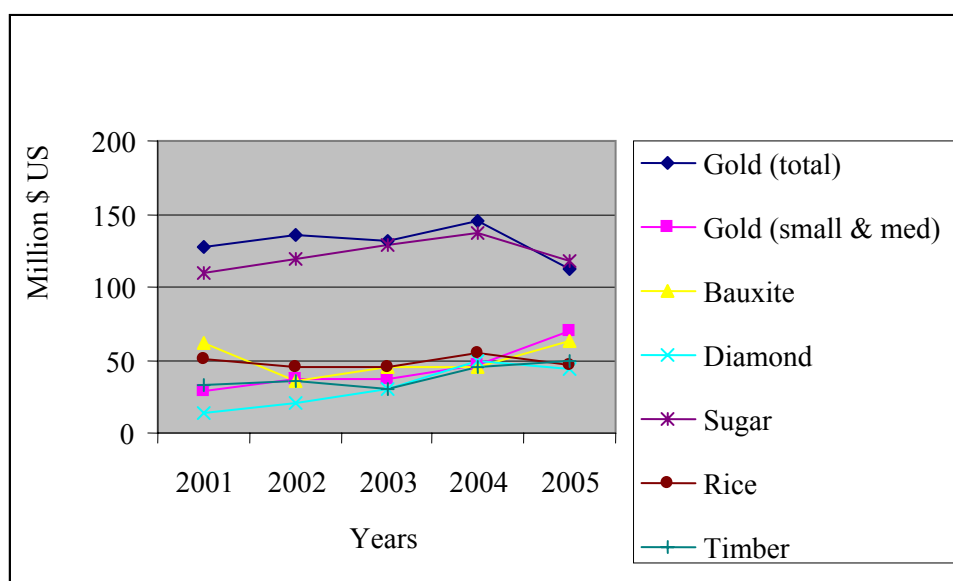


Figure 7: Guyana's main domestic exports, 2001-2005

Data source: Livan, 2006, p. 4

With this increasing performance of small and medium scale mining, the export performance of the mining industry for gold, diamond and bauxite combined, has been marginally better than that of the agriculture sector (sugar and rice and Timber combined) in 2005 with exports of 217.7 M \$US and 213.8 M \$US, respectively.

4.7 SUMMARY

The Cooperative Republic of Guyana is characterized by an ethnic plural society, which comprises of six major ethnic groups. After gaining independence, Guyana has adopted socialist development policies, and maintained closer trade ties with the CARICOM countries. During the decade of the 1980, Guyana has embarked on an Economic Recovery Programme, which had an initial destabilizing effect on the economy thereby provoking many Guyanese to emigrate, principally to North America and the English Speaking Caribbean. In spite of

improvements in the performance in the economy in subsequent years, mass migration of educated Guyanese in their prime working ages, has continues apace. In the presence of the free movement of labour agreement of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy, Guyana seems even more vulnerable to brain-drain than brain-gain. While Guyanese continue to emigrate in this endeavour, there has been a persistent increase in the foreign born population, which proceeds principally from neighbouring Amazonian countries. Except for the Brazilian migrants who are attracted to mining, little is known about migrants from Suriname and Venezuela, which are also Guyana's next door neighbours.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 THE MIGRATION PROCESS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an analysis of the migration process for the following four groups of migrants, as defined in Chapter two: (1) first-time migrants, (2) resident migrants, (3) migrants returning to Brazil, and (4) migrants returning to Guyana. Before presenting the findings from the questionnaires, the findings of the data gathered from the Immigration Department in Lethem are presented to offer a general understanding of the current trends in reciprocal movements along the Lethem-Bonfim borderline. After the general preview is given, the findings of each particular (embedded) group are presented to demonstrate the uniqueness of each group while at the same time, comparing and contrasting important findings of the other groups. The findings presented on each embedded group are fragmented into the following two broad themes: (1) the demographic profile, (2) the migration process. The names of the participants are fictitious in order to protect confidentiality. At the end of the chapter, conclusions are presented.

5.2 MOVEMENTS ALONG THE LETHEM-BONFIM BORDER

As indicated before, there has been an increasing trend in reciprocal movements along the Guyana-Brazil frontier through Lethem-Bonfim since the 1960s (PEREIRA, 2006). However, both the literature and empirical observations have revealed that population mobility across the Amazonian border can be traced back to pre-Colombian times, when Amerindian population occupied these territories (CORBIN, 2007; AROUCK, 2000). In the case of Guyana and Brazil, this study reveals that these Lethem Amerindians have maintained ancestral linkages, across the border, until today. Consequently, a unique dynamic in terms of reciprocal movements along the borderline has been observed. In many cases, many young Amerindians attend school in Bonfim, while they continue to live in Lethem. In present times, these reciprocal movements have led to the formation of a population or group of persons that take on the identity of Guy-Braz, meaning that they are neither pure bread Guyanese nor pure bread Brazilian. However, the findings reveal that population mobility along the borderline is not limited to only these Amerindians and Guy-Braz populations.

An analysis of data from the Lethem-Bonfim port reveals that 1, 723 and 1, 504 persons of 42 nationalities have arrived and departed, respectively, over a period of sixty

consecutive days (from March to April, 2006). While the majority of these persons are observed to be nationals of Amazonian countries, there have also been reciprocal movements among European, African, Asian, and Caribbean nationals along the Lethem-Bonfim border (Table 8).

Table 8: Arrivals and departures at Lethem - Bonfim crossing (March 1 – April 30, 2006)

Nationality	Arrivals	Departures	Total
Brazilian	1 000	701	1 701
Colombian	2	-	2
Guyanese	591	635	1 226
Peruvian	6	1	7
Surinamese	6	8	14
Venezuelan	10	14	24
Others	108	145	253
TOTAL	1 723	1 504	3 227

Data Source: Guyana Immigration Department Registers (Lethem), June-July, 2006

The majority of the persons that have arrived and departed at this port, during this period, are observed to be Guyanese and Brazilians. A comparison of the statistics reveals that the majority of Guyanese and Brazilians arriving and departing Lethem are between the ages of 21 and 40 years old, which indicate that both populations are migrating in their prime working ages (Table 9).

Table 9: Arrivals and departures of Guyanese and Brazilians at Lethem by age (March to April, 2006)

Age (Years)	Arrivals				Departures			
	Guyanese	% of Total Guyanese	Brazilian	% of Total Brazilians	Guyanese	% of Total Guyanese	Brazilian	% of Total Brazilians
1-20	88	14.9	48	4.8	125	19.7	34	4.9
21-40	282	47.7	590	59.0	276	43.5	411	58.6
41-60	206	34.9	355	35.5	217	34.1	246	35.1
60+	15	2.5	7	0.7	17	2.7	10	1.4
Total	591	100.0	1000	100.0	635	100.0	701	100.0

Data Source: Guyana Immigration Department Registers - (Lethem), June-July, 2006

As shown in Table 9, 591 Guyanese have returned home from Brazil, while 1,000 Brazilians have entered Guyana, legally. Concurrently, 635 Guyanese have also visited Brazil, while 701 Brazilians have returned to Brazil through Lethem-Bonfim. Given this reciprocal movement along the Lethem-Bonfim border, four important mobility patterns among Guyanese and Brazilians are observed: (1) Movement of Brazilians to Guyana, (2) Return of

Brazilians to Brazil, (3) Movement of Guyanese to Brazil, and (4) Return of Guyanese to Guyana.

In the light of this migration and return process, a large positive net migration among Brazilians is observed, while there has been a negative net migration among Guyanese migrating to Brazil; a trend which indicates that more Brazilians are coming to Guyana than returning to Brazil; and more Guyanese going to Brazil than returning to Guyana (Table 10). This trend is evident when comparing the median¹⁴ arrival and departure of Brazilians, which have been identified to be 16 and 11 persons, respectively as opposed to medians of 5.5 and 6 persons for Guyanese arriving and departing, respectively.

**Table 10: Net migration among Guyanese and Brazilians, Lethem-Bonfim
(March 1- April 30, 2006)**

Month	Guyanese		Net Migration of Guyanese	Brazilian		Net Migration of Brazilians
	Arrival	Departure		Arrival	Departure	
March	223	202	21	525	312	213
April	368	433	-65	475	389	86
Total	591	635	-44	1000	701	299

Data Source: Guyana Immigration Department Registers - (Lethem), June-July, 2006

In terms of reasons for traveling through the Lethem-Bonfim Crossing, 774 or 77.4%, of the 1 000 Brazilians have stated that “holiday” is their reason for coming to Guyana (Figure 8). However, when the length of stay granted by the Immigration Department and the departure statistics are considered, it can be concluded that: (1) Brazilians have other motives for coming to Guyana, as confirmed in the 2002 census, which identifies mining as a major attraction force and, (2) the majority of these Brazilians have visited Guyana before (at a prior date), given the fact that a stay of one month is normally given upon first entry to Guyana. This observation can also be confirmed by the possession of work permits by some migrants, in that they could have only acquired these permits if they have previously worked in Guyana before this last date of (re)entry. However, if Brazilians are indeed returning to Guyana and are attracted to mining activities as stated in the 2002 census, then it remains speculative that Brazilians either over stay their length of stay given by the Immigration Department in order to work “illegally” (without work permits) or the migration process is a seasonal one where migrants return to Brazil after working “legally” for some time which coincides with the length of stay granted by the Immigration Department (Figure 9).

¹⁴ Since very large standard deviation values have been observed, medians in stead of means are used for this comparison.

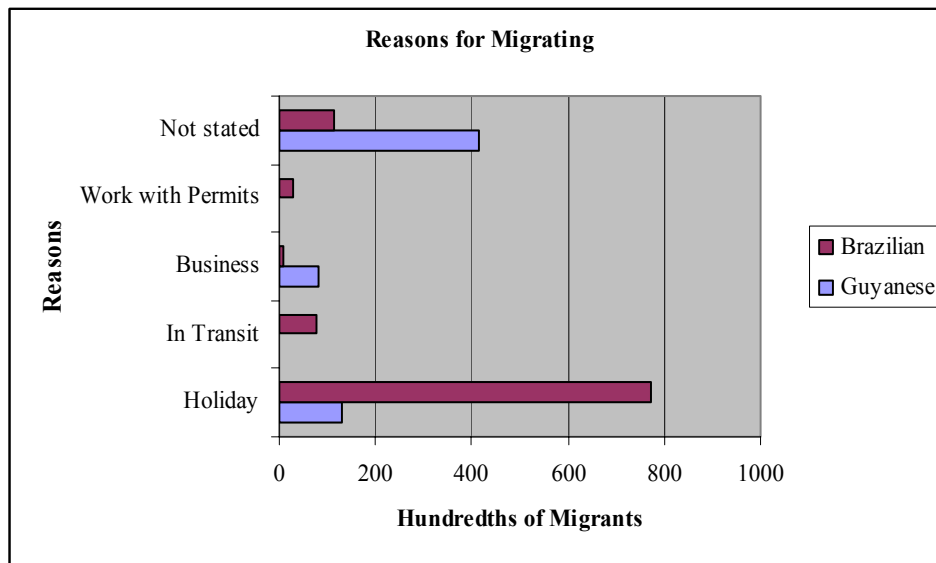


Figure 8: Reasons declared by Brazilian and Guyanese migrants at Lethem-Bonfim border (March 1-April 30, 2006)

Data Source: Guyana Immigration Department Registers - (Lethem), June-July, 2006

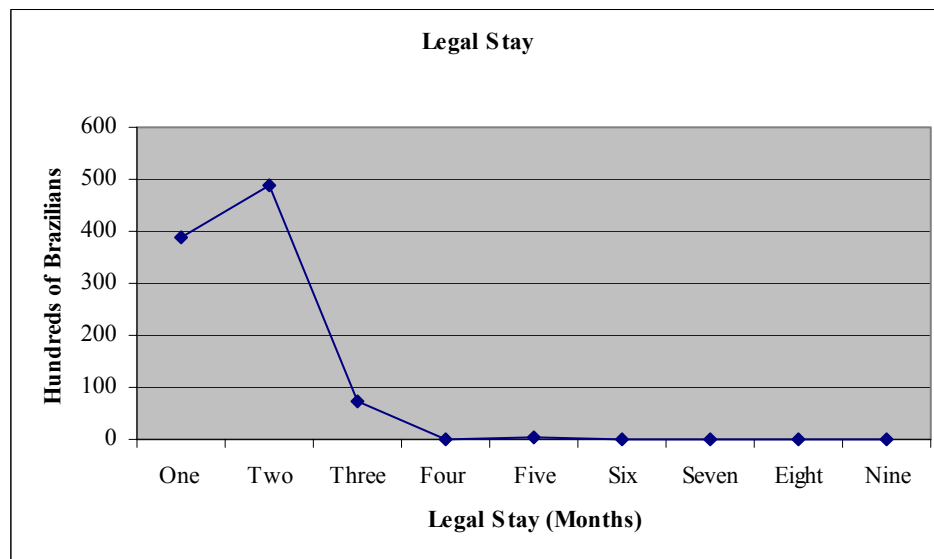


Figure 9: Months of Legal Stay Granted to Brazilians entering Guyana through Lethem (March 1-April 30, 2006)

Data Source: Guyana Immigration Department Registers - (Lethem), June-July, 2006

Guyana has been identified as both a destination and transit country for Brazilians (Figure 8). As the Brazilians have proceeded to their areas of transit and destination, the statistics show that most of these Brazilians, who entered Guyana through Lethem-Bonfim, declare to be going to Georgetown, while a few have declared to be in transit to Suriname. Upon their arrival to Georgetown, 77.6% of the 1000 Brazilians have declared that they will

stay at Brazilian guesthouses and hotels which include Rockies International Hotel and Bar, Sunflower Hotel, and Hotel Ailton, before journeying to Guyana's hinterlands or Suriname.

Before migrating to Guyana, 61.7% of the 1 000 Brazilians arriving in Guyana have last lived in Roraima State, which seems to be still a host state for a large number of internal migrants. The unavailability of data on states of birth hinders an understanding of whether there has been interstate migration among these Brazilians before they migrate to Guyana. In addition, the states of destination for 85.8% or 602 of the 701 Brazilians returning to Brazil through Lethem remain unidentified. Consequently, the data gathered from these registers do not permit an analysis of the return process of Brazilian migration to Guyana.

Similarly, the unavailability of sufficient data about Guyanese traveling to Brazil has been a major limitation in gaining a preliminary understanding of their migratory trends and patterns, although the migration of Guyanese to Brazil has not been the focus of this study. Nevertheless, when arrivals and departures are aggregated, the data shows that 29.1% and 21.3% of the 1, 226 Guyanese live in Georgetown and Lethem, respectively. Consistently, the literature reveals that Guyanese from the borderline have been migrating to Boa Vista as medical facilities and low skilled jobs are more accessible (PEREIRA, 2006). With the majority of the Guyanese going to Brazil on holiday and that no Guyanese possess permits to work in Brazil (Figure 8), it could be deduced that the majority of the Guyanese entering Bonfim during this period are from areas other than Lethem. In addition, maintaining ancestral relations across the border, many Lethem Amerindians and non-Amerindians of a Guyanese-Brazilian ancestry, possess a form of dual nationality, and thus are not required to secure work permits in order to be employed in Brazil. Consequently, this could be one of the major factors in explaining the negative net migration of Guyanese during this period.

In summary, it can be stated that Lethem-Bonfim Crossing is a major port for Brazilians migrating to Guyana, and for Guyanese migrating to Brazil. The majority of these Guyanese and Brazilians are found to be in their prime working ages. While an in-depth view of Guyanese to Brazil through Bonfim is lacking in the literature, the 2002 census states that Brazilian migration is a major factor for population increases in Guyanese mining communities. However, neither the 2002 censuses nor the arrival and departure statistics gathered at Lethem are sufficient in having an in-depth understanding of Brazilian migration to Guyana. Thus, the researcher has pursued this problem by further empirical enquiry; the findings of which are presented in the sections that follow.

5.3 AGGREGATE SURVEY FINDINGS

Before analyzing each embedded case, a general view of the aggregate data should provide a profile of the total individuals participating of the survey and their migratory trends (Table 11).

5.3.1 Migrants' profile

Aggregate data, for migrants from all groups (200) indicate that 77.5% of the migrants are males, a sex ratio of 344.4, which indicate a higher participation among males in the migration process. The majority of these migrants, 112 or 56% (60.9% males and 40.8% females), have been borne in Maranhão. With reference to regions of birth, the data indicates that the majority of migrants (65%) have been borne in states that characterize the North East (Alagoas, Bahia, Ceará, Maranhão, Rio Grande do Norte, Pernambuco, Piauí); followed by states that form the North (Rondônia, Roraima, Amazonas, Pará, and Tocantins), where 24% of the migrants have been borne.

Table 11: Summary of survey findings, total migrants by sex (percentages)

Characteristics	Male (n= 155)	Female (n= 45)	Total
	77.5	22.5	100.0
Age			
18-23	9.60	15.5	11.0
24-29	14.7	22.1	16.5
30-35	15.5	22.1	17.0
36-41	25.1	26.6	26.0
42-47	23.8	8.8	20.5
48+	10.8	4.9	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Education			
Primary	32.9	44.4	35.5
Secondary	28.4	40.0	31.0
Tertiary	3.2	4.4	3.50
None	35.5	11.1	30.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
State of Birth			
Maranhão	60.9	40.8	56.0
Pará	12.3	22.2	14.5
Roraima	1.3	13.3	4.0
Other	25.5	23.7	25.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
State of Last Residence			
State of Birth	28.4	35.6	30.0
Roraima	45.8	46.7	46.0
Maranhão	2.6	2.2	2.5
Amazonas	6.5	2.2	5.5
Pará	8.4	8.9	8.5
Other	8.3	4.4	7.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Last Occupation in Brazil			
Unemployed/ not looking	16.1	13.3	15.5
Labourer (Agriculture and construction)	38.1	13.3	32.5
Other economic activities (Domestic, vendors etc)	45.8	73.4	52.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Intended) Occupation in Guyana			
Mining	72.9	0.0	56.5
Business/Trade	5.8	11.1	7.0
Service (Domestic, waiter etc.)	1.9	48.8	12.5
Other	19.4	40.1	24.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Last Residence in Guyana			
Region 4 (Georgetown)	34.2	35.6	34.5
Region 7 (Bartica, Mazaruni, Kurupung)	48.3	37.8	46
Region 8 (Madhia)	3.9	0.0	3.0
Transit in Guyana	2.6	13.3	5.0
Other (Interior) locations	11.0	13.3	11.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Migrate to Guyana from Place of Birth			
Yes	27.1	31.1	28.0
No	72.9	68.9	72.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Year of first arrival to Guyana			
1988-1990	1.2	0.0	1.0
1991-2000	12.7	8.8	12.0
2000-2006	86.1	91.2	87.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Contact in Guyana before Migrating/returning			
Brazilian family in Guyana	33.0	42.3	34.9
Brazilian friends in Guyana	53.4	53.9	53.4
None	13.6	3.8	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

While 106 or 53% of these 200 migrants indicated that they were single, the data also shows that men dominate in both the married and single categories with 55 or 58.5% and 82 or 77.3%, respectively. The data reveals that most migrants were borne between the years that extend from 1962 to 1970, where in terms of age by sex; males and females are concentrated in the 36-41 age-group: males 25.1% and females 26.6%. Consistent with the data collected from the Arrival and Departure Registers at Lethem, survey findings reveal that 70.5% of these Brazilians migrants are in their prime working ages (between 18-41 years) (Figure 10).

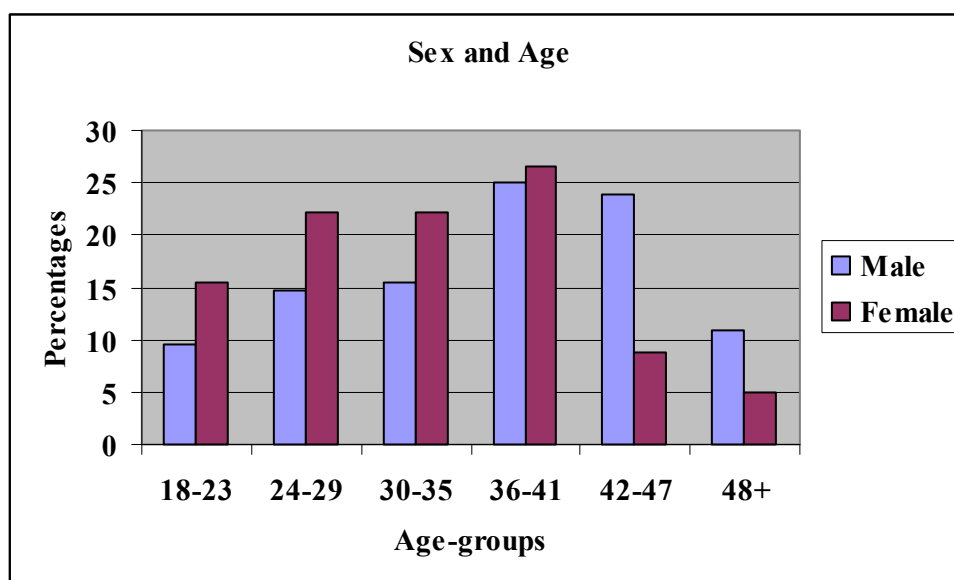


Figure 10: Sex and age of Brazilian migrants interviewed in Guyana, 2006

Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

As these Brazilians migrate in their prime working ages, the study shows that the majority of these migrants are from weak educational backgrounds, 35.5% and 31% of these migrants have only attained primary and secondary schooling, respectively; most frequently school dropouts. With this low scholastic background, 52% of these migrants have been engaged, at their last Brazilian residence, in self employed activities that most frequently characterize the informal sector. Other 32.5% has worked as labourers mostly in the construction and agriculture industries. Nevertheless, in spite of this weak educational background, only 15.5% of these migrants are identified to be unemployed before migrating to Guyana for the first time.

5.3.2 General migration trends

As shown in Figure 11, 140 or 70% of the 200 migrants have been living outside their states of birth before migrating to Guyana for the first time, where the states of Pará and principally Roraima have been more frequently cited as places of last residence. Notice that while Roraima State claims the least percentage of births (4%), this state has been the home for 46% of the 140 persons who have lived outside their states of birth before migrating to Guyana. This migratory pattern indicates that the importance of internal migration for international, where Brazilians seek to take advantage of new income earning opportunities across in bordering Guyana. While there is this *spill over* of people migrating to Roraima state, the study also confirms that 28% of the total migrants have migrated to Guyana directly from the states in which they have been borne. These are principally Maranhenses, thus indicating another important trend in the migration among Maranhenses. The first trend is characterized by Maranhenses who have migrated and resettled first between states (principally Pará, Amazonas and Roraima), while the second trend is marked by Maranhenses who migrate directly from their state of birth to Guyana.

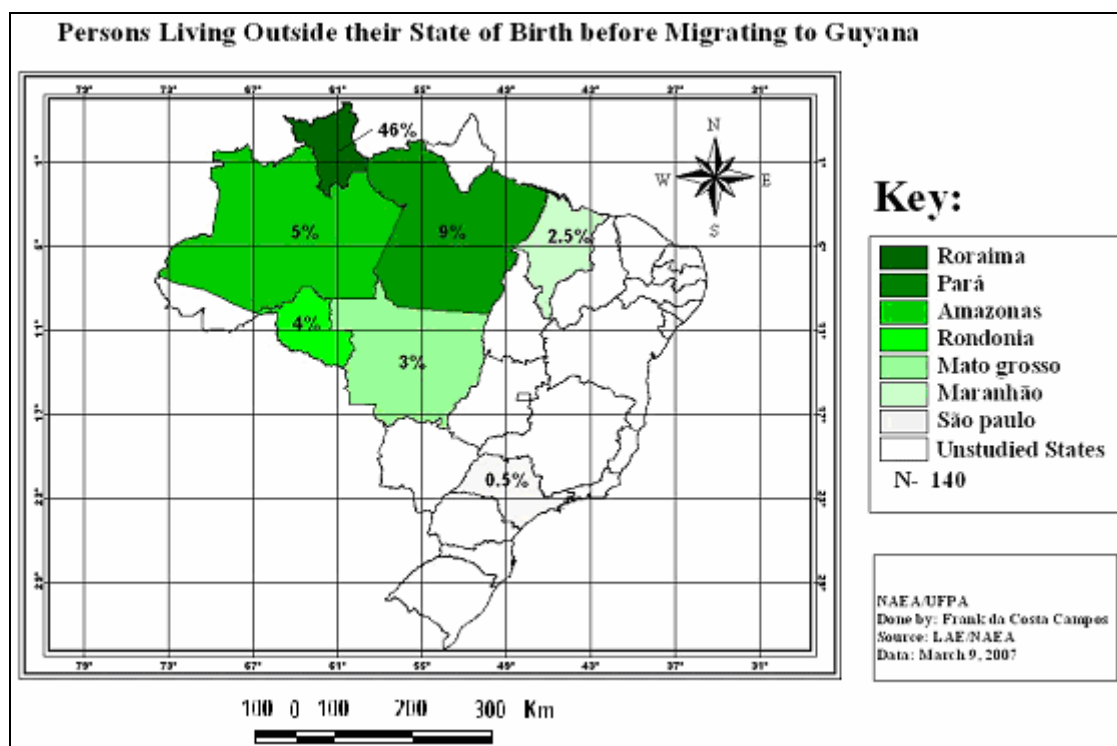


Figure 11: Persons living outside their state of birth

Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

Similar to this second migratory trend among Maranhenses, the data shows that 51.7% of the Paraenses have migrated to Guyana directly from Pará, but not necessarily from the municipalities of birth. Thus, while Pará has been a state of transit for principally Maranhenses en route to Guyana, it has also been identified as a state of origin for other migrants en route to Guyana through the states of Amazonas and Roraima, which reinforces the argument on the importance of internal migration for international. This interstate movement also indicates that these Brazilian states can be considered as states of origin, transit and destination for Brazilians migrating internally.

With economic factors motivating most Brazilians (85.5%) to migrate to Guyana, the study shows that in excess of 56.5% of these migrants (all males) are engaged in mining, which indicates a major change in the income earning activities among Brazilians migrating internationally. As the *garimpeiro* population grows, so do its demands for Brazilian goods and services. From 2000-2006, these demands have attracted sex workers, domestic labourers and even traders, who commence taking greater advantage of the Guyana-Brazil trade agreements, which sought to facilitate the movement of people and goods across geopolitical borders. The number of persons migrating to work as miners has also inflated significantly, thus 87% of the total migrants have migrated to Guyana from 2000-2006, for the first time.

With the opening up of the Bonfim-Georgetown road, Guyana is also identified as a major transit country for Brazilians en route to and from Suriname. Figure 12 and 13 offer a schematic representation of the principal migration and return route.

As shown in Figure 12, after arriving in Pará by bus, from Maranhão, the greater volume of migrants have departed Pará (Santarém) by boat as they journey to Amazonas. After arriving in Amazonas, they have further journeyed from Manaus to Roraima State (Boa Vista) by bus. Leaving Boa Vista by bus or taxi, the larger volume of migrants has then journeyed to Bonfim-Lethem Crossing, where they have been subjected to the immigration security checks. Once successful in this regard, they proceed to Guyana either by foot or by boat, in cases where the Takutu River water is high. The migrants have subsequently proceeded to Georgetown, which is observed to be an area of destination for some, while transit for other Brazilians en route to the hinterlands or Suriname.

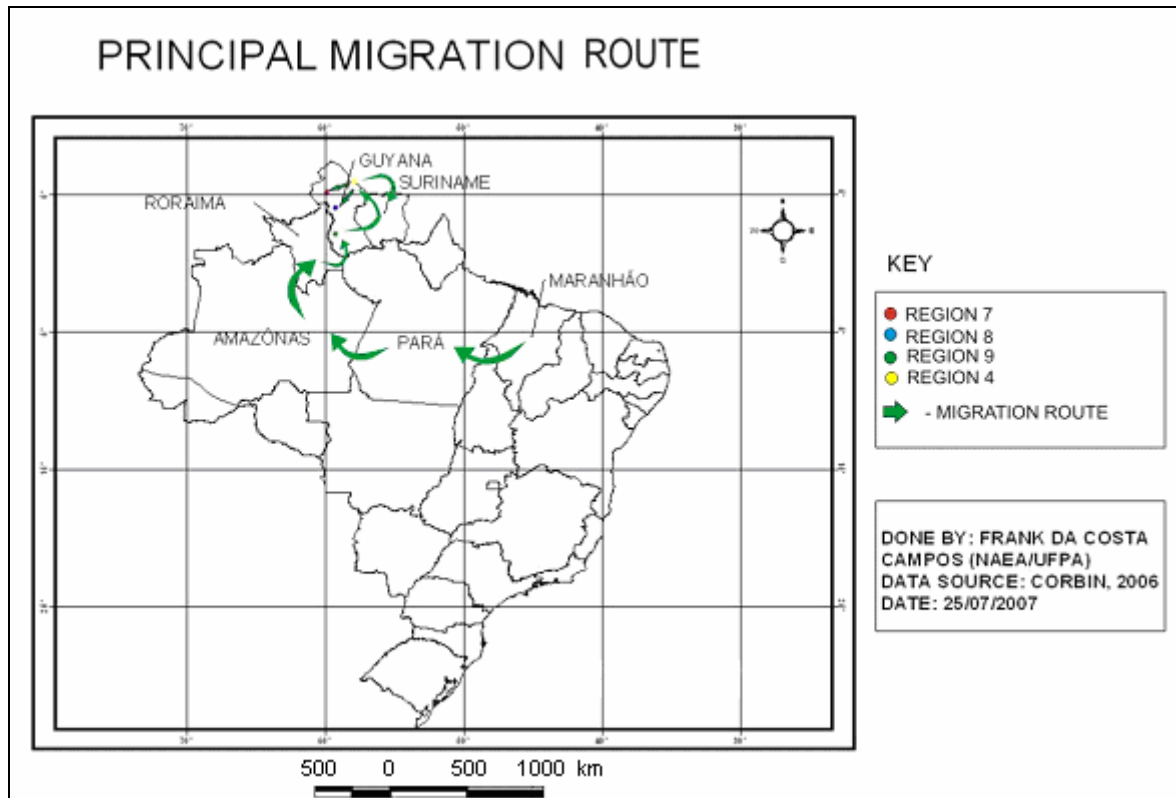


Figure 12: Principal migration route from Brazil to Guyana

Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

Returning through this well defined route, migrants first move from hinterland regions in Guyana and Paramaribo (Suriname), to Georgetown (Guyana), from where they travel mainly to Boa Vista (Brazil) though the Lethem-Bonfim Crossing (Figure 13). Note that while they were borne in states other than Roraima, the majority of migrants have been returning to Roraima state from where they last lived before migrating to Guyana.

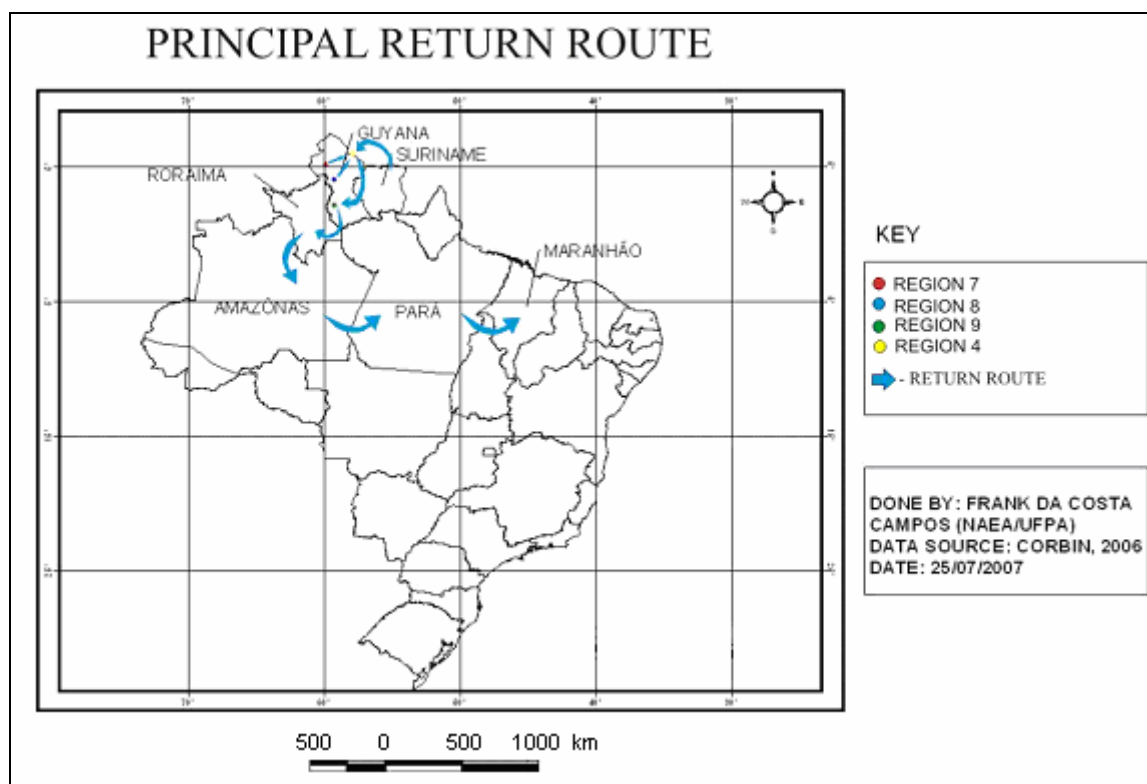


Figure 13: Principal Brazilian return route from Guyana to Brazil

Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

As Figure 13 shows, Guyana is both a host and transit country as migrants migrate and return along a well defined route, as explained in more detail in the embedded cases that follow.

5.4 EMBEDDED CASE ONE: FIRST TIME MIGRANTS

5.4.1 Demographic profile

Thirty-seven Brazilians have been interviewed as they entered Guyana for the first time at the Lethem-Bonfim International Crossing (Table 12). Thirty-one or 83.8% of the migrants are males; of whom, 22 or 70.9% are single. Consistent with the overall trend, that of this specific group reveals that most first time migrants are in their prime working ages (between the age of 18-41) (Figure 14). While 64.5% of the males are between the ages of 24-41, 50% of the females are below age 30, with the remaining females above age 30 (Figure 14).

Table 12: General Characteristics of First Time Brazilian Migrants in Guyana

Characteristics	Male (n= 31) 88.3	Female (n=6) 16.2	Total 100.0
Age			
18-23	12.9	0.0	10.8
24-29	32.3	50.0	35.2
30-35	22.6	0.0	18.9
36-41	9.6	50.0	16.2
42-47	16.2	0.0	13.5
48+	6.4	0.0	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Education			
Primary	22.6	66.7	29.8
Secondary	22.6	16.7	21.5
Tertiary	3.2	0.0	2.7
None	51.6	16.7	46.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
State of Birth			
Maranhão	67.7	33.3	62.1
Pará	16.1	16.7	16.2
Roraima	3.2	16.7	5.4
Other	13.0	33.3	16.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
State of Last Residence			
State of Birth	38.7	16.7	35.0
Roraima	32.3	66.7	37.0
Maranhão	0.0	0.0	0.0
Amazonas	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pará	3.2	0.0	2.0
Other	29.0	16.6	26.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Last Occupation in Brazil			
Unemployed/ not looking	6.5	33.3	10.8
Labourer (Agriculture and construction)	58.1	0.0	48.6
Other economic activities (Domestic, vendors etc)	35.4	66.7	40.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Reason for Migrating to Guyana			
Tourism/transit	29.0	33.3	29.6
Economic	61.3	66.7	62.3
Other	9.7	0.0	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Intended) Occupation in Guyana			
Mining	61.3	0.0	51.4
Domestic Service	0.0	83.3	13.5
Tourism	29.0	16.7	27.0
Other	9.7	0.0	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Last Residence in Guyana			
Region 4 (Georgetown)	51.6	0.0	43.2
Region 7 (Bartica, Mazaruni, Kurupung)	25.8	50.0	29.7
Region 8 (Madhia)	3.2	0.0	2.6
Transit in Guyana	6.5	33.3	11.0
Other (Interior) locations	12.9	16.7	13.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Contact in Guyana before Migrating/returning			
Family	54.8	83.3	59.4
Friends	41.9	16.7	38.0
None	3.2	0.0	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

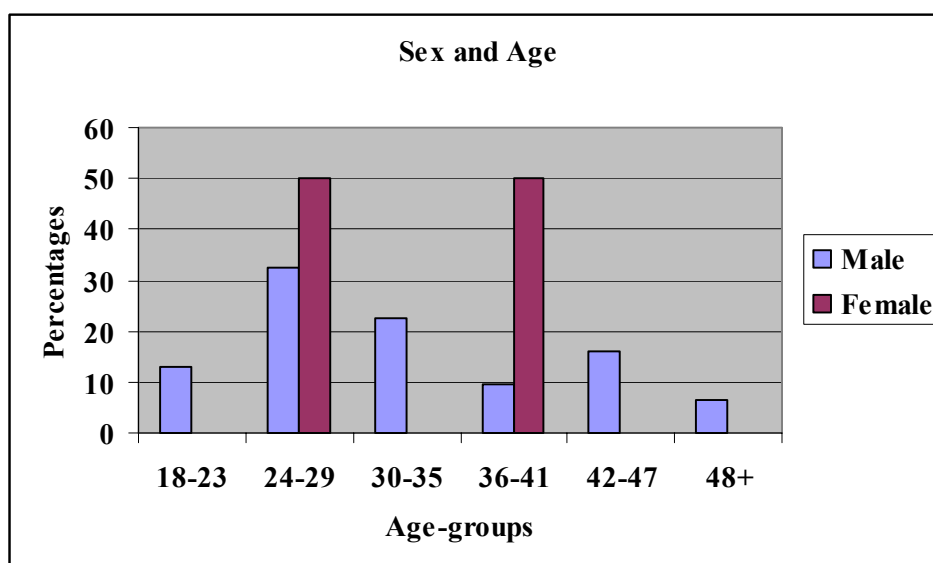


Figure 14: First time Brazilian migrants by age and sex

Source: questionnaire survey, 2006

Of these migrants, only 22 or 59.5% indicate that could read and write in Portuguese, where a higher level of literacy is observed among females; among whom 66.7% have attained at least primary education. However, 51.6% of the males indicated that they have not received formal schooling. Overall, 29.7%, 21.6% and 2.7% have received primary, secondary and tertiary education, respectively. In addition, findings show that 89.2% of these migrants do not understand English.

Consistent with the overall trend, the majority of these migrants, 23 or 62.1%, has been borne in Maranhão. In terms of gender, 67.7% and 33.3% of the males and females are Maranhenses, respectively. Aggregated, Maranhão and Pará have accounted for 29 or 78.3% of these 37 migrants by birth. However, 38.7% males and 16.7% females have last resided in their states of birth before migrating to Guyana. Aggregated data shows that thirty-nine percent (39%) of these Maranhenses have resided in Roraima before migrating to Guyana through Bonfim-Lethem.

This low level of education among Brazilian migrants, and their inability to communicate in English indicate an important trend in Guyana's migration outlook where while educated Guyanese emigrate to North America and the English-Speaking Caribbean as earlier described, there is a concurrent influx of lesser educated Brazilian migrants.

5.4.2 Migration process

The data reveals that only 14 or 37.8% of these 37 first timers have migrated directly from their states of birth to Guyana. The median ages at which these first timers have migrated from their states of birth is observed to be 20 years. In addition, the data shows that 19 or 51.3% of the 37 migrants have migrated from their state of birth between 3 and 20 years old with their parents or guardians, who took the decision to migrate. However, those who have taken the individual decision to migrate are much older and are concentrated between the ages of 21 and 39 years old. These migrants have been observed to be principally from Paraenses and Maranhenses, many of whom have maintained contacts with family members and friends, who may have facilitated this internal migration process.

After migrating from their states of birth for the first time, 35 or 94.6% of the migrants have moved between states, while 2 or 5.4% have migrated internationally, to Guyana. After leaving their states of birth for the first time, the majority, 21 or 60% have taken up residence principally in the states of Roraima, Amazonas and Mato Grosso, while 14 or 40% remain in transit (Figure 15). In areas of transit and destination, 75.6% of these migrants have been received by family members or friends as they proceeded in this endeavour.

Further, the findings show that the majority of those who resettle in Roraima have been principally involved in self-employed economic activities and as general and construction labourers, which claim 50%, and 41.6% of the migrants, respectively. A similar trend in terms of occupation is observed among those who have resettled in Amazonas, while all of the migrants who resettle in Mato Grosso have worked as agricultural labourers.

While the 14 migrants in transit between Brazilian states have continued to their destination points, and 2 migrants who have entered Guyana through Lethem have journeyed to Georgetown, 20 or 95.2% of the 21 migrants, who have taken up residence principally in Roraima, Amazonas and Mato Grosso have re-migrated. Irrespective of being in transit or destination, the mean and median times spent after the first change of residence are observed to be 4.9 and 2 years, respectively.

As the migrants have changed residence for the third time, 13 or 37.1% of the 35 migrants, who had earlier migrated between states, migrate internationally, thus giving a total of 15 Brazilians who have entered Guyana through Lethem. The 22 migrants, who continue to migrate internally, have continued to seek economic opportunities internally, but outside their states of birth, principally in the states of Roraima, Amazonas and Pará.

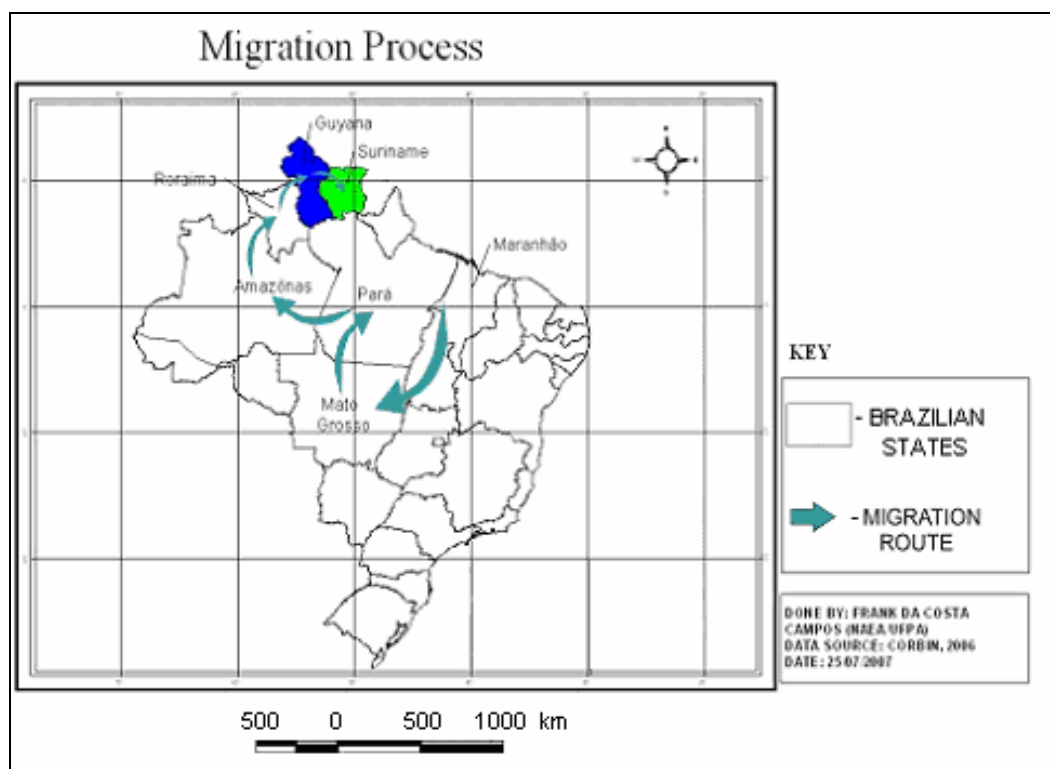


Figure 15: Migration process among first time migrants to Guyana

Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

As the migrants have changed residence or continued to areas of destination while moving between states for the third time, the data showed that all areas, both in Brazil and Guyana, where the migrants have stopped, are identified as in-transit points for 36 or 97.2% of these 37 migrants. As the migrants change residence for this third time, Roraima, Amazonas, Mato Grosso and Pará, which have been earlier identified as states of destination when the majority of the migrants changed residence for the first and second times, are now identified as states of transit as the migrants changed residence for the third time.

Concurrently, the data reveal a weak family and friendship network in these transit points, in that only 3 or 8.1% and 9 or 24% of these migrants have been received and hosted by family and friends, respectively. Thus, 22 or 59.5% of these migrants have spent only a few hours; a trend which indicates a decrease in the time spent at both transit and destination areas wherever migrants are not received by or hosted by friends and family members.

This internal movement has continued as the migrants proceed on their journey to Guyana. After making four major stops between Brazilian states, all of these migrants have finally entered Guyana through Lethem. In cases of transportation difficulties at Lethem, some migrants have been forced to spend a night on the border, where they have rented a “hammock” in which they slept before journeying to Georgetown the following day.

In summary, it should be noted that while these Brazilians are migrating to Guyana for the first time, the majority has already been in a state of motion, where they have migrated and, in many cases, resettled in states outside their states of birth before migrating to Guyana. Being in this state of internal motion, the migrants are observed to be in search of better economic opportunities for themselves, family member and children. After changing residence for the first two times, the majority of these migrants have been received by friends and families, who may have facilitated this migration process. This networking system is identified in more detail in the section that follows.

5.4.3 Areas of destination, network connections, reason for migrating and future plans

After leaving Lethem, all 37 of the migrants proceeded to Georgetown, which 43% identified as their area of destination, while the majority, 41%, proceeded to mining communities in Region 7: Mazaruni, Kurupung and, in Region 8: Mahdia, while other have headed to some unidentified interior locations in the hope of being employed in mining. Another 5% have headed to Bartica (Region 7), while 11% have journeyed to Suriname (Figure 16). Those proceeding to unidentified areas are actually clueless as to where they are going. In many cases they are accompanied by friends or family members who were returning to Guyana, which indicates that these friends and family networks do not only serve to facilitate the migration process, but also to reduce the risks of failures in the foreign labour market in the areas of mining.

Field observations in all of the areas identified in Figure 14 reveal that Bartica allows easy access to areas such as Kurupung and the Mazaruni areas of region 7 where gold and diamond mining is done by Brazilians. Therefore, Bartica, located in Region 7, is not only a destination point for Brazilians who have business establishments such as guesthouses and stores, but also a major transit point for other Brazilians as they would have left Georgetown and are en route to other areas of region 7.

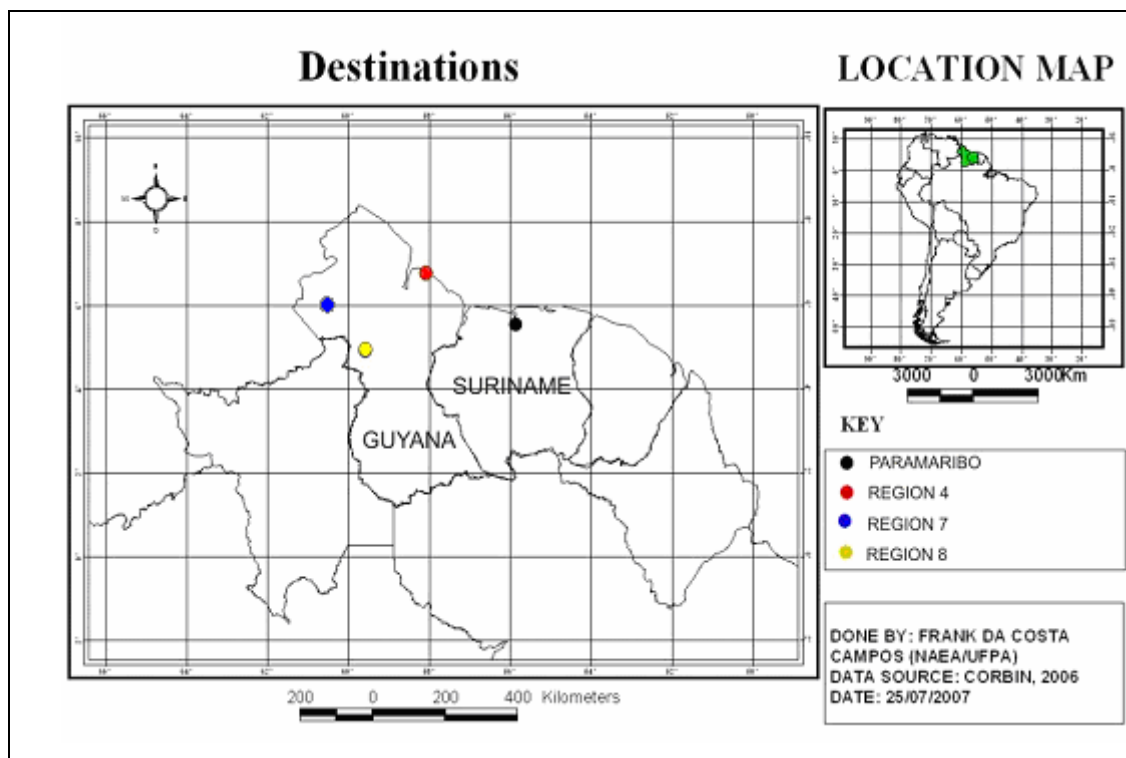


Figure 16: Areas of destination of Brazilian first time migrants after entering Lethem
Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

Alternatively, some Brazilians have proceeded to the Kurupung, region 7, by Air Service, from where they proceed to other areas within the wider Cuyuni-Mazaruni area (Region 7). Further observations reveal that “mini-buses” are the main source of transport for Brazilians going to Mahdia, which is a part of Region 8. Faced with many traumas associated with damages to the trail, the migration process to Guyana’s hinterlands has been observed to be very wearisome and risky as these migrants go in search of better income earning activities than could be achieved in Brazil. In an effort of reducing these and other risks of migrating, the majority of migrants have maintained contact with family members, who play a pivotal role in the migration and adaptation processes. More specifically, 22 or 59.5% and 14 or 37.8% of these 37 migrants have been in contact with family members and friends of Brazilian nationality, respectively. Disaggregated data shows that 54.8% of the males and 83.3% of females have been received by Brazilian family members in Guyana. Further 41.9% males and 16.7% females have been received by Brazilian friends living and working in Guyana.

In terms of purpose for coming to Guyana for this first time, 61.3% males and 66.7% females indicate that economic factors have motivated them to migrate. Overall, the majority, 19 or 51.3%, have stated plans of working in the mining industry, while 5 or 13.5% of the

migrants have expressed plans to offer domestic services. A change in occupation appears, when compared with the occupation at the last place of resident in Brazil, where the majority, 19 or 51.3% and 11 or 29.7% of these migrants have worked as labourers in the agriculture and construction industries, or have been engaged in self-employed activities, respectively. In terms of gender, data shows that 58.1% of the males and 66.7% females have been working as labourers or self-employed, respectively at their last Brazilian residence. Changing of jobs is consistent with those observed as the migrants migrated internally before migrating to Guyana. Thus, it is clear that the majority of these migrants did not migrate due to unemployment, but as a result of taking advantage of better employment opportunities having been notified and enticed by family and friends in areas of destination in Guyana.

However, further 29% males and 33.3% females have insisted on tourism being their reason for coming to Guyana. Being uncertain of the labour market in mining, the migrants refer to themselves as tourists, but are really job hunters. Thus, while tourism is often recorded in the Immigration Arrival Registers as the reason for Brazilians coming to Guyana, the migrants further reveal that they have come on tourism but, with the ultimate objective of “making money” and return home. The inability of the Immigration Officers to adequately communicate in Portuguese and the migrants’ unfamiliarity with English has certainly limited the amount and quality of the information gathered by the Immigration Officers on personal background and migration history of these migrants. In many cases, these persons who refer to themselves as tourists have entered Guyana with Brazilian goods such as food, clothing and cosmetics, which are often demanded by the Brazilian community in Guyana. Considering the possibility of uncertainties, those who refer to themselves as tourists plan to stay up to one month, while 65.2% of the employment seekers plan to work for a period of for 2 to 5 months, before returning to Brazil. Thus, it can be concluded that whenever the degree of uncertainty is high, first timers either: (1) seek alternative strategies of making money by trading Brazilian good that is demanded by Brazilians in Guyana, or (2) plan to return to Brazil within a shorter time period.

In terms of future plans, all of the migrants have indicated interest in returning to Brazil, where they have their permanent residence. However, in cases of failures in the labour market, many of these migrants have planned to re-migrate to Suriname or even French Guiana in search of a better life.

In summary, it must be reiterated that the majority of first time migrants has been in an internal state of motion between Brazilian States in search of better livelihood activities before migrating to Guyana. Possessing a low educational background, these migrants have

been attracted to jobs as labourers, which often do not demand formal contracts and fixed wages, which hinders further analyses in terms of migratory behaviour in response to changes in wages. Consequently, it remains a challenge in assessing whether their standard of living has actually been improved as Brazilians migrate to take up new income earning activities. To reduce uncertainties, it has been observed that first timers possess alternative plans where they either: (1) migrate with consumer goods which are sold to Brazilians living and working in Guyana or (2) migrate to other neighbouring countries such as Suriname and French Guiana, in search of a better life. In a further effort of reducing these risks, these migrants have been observed to maintain a strong networking system among friends and family members. Consequently, whenever networks are weak, the time migrants spend at areas of transit or destination is significantly reduced to days and even hours. Consequently, it can be concluded that networks allow migrants to respond swiftly to take up better economic activities both in Brazil and in Guyana.

5.5 EMBEDDED CASE TWO: RESIDENT MIGRANTS

5.5.1 Demographic profile

Seventy-one (71) resident migrants, as defined in Chapter two, have participated in this study (Table 13). Similar to the first time migrants, the majority (52 or 73.2%) of the residents are observed to be males, among whom 50% are identified to be single. The majority of males (73%) are at least 30 years old, while the majority of females (63.3%) are between the ages of 18-30 years old (Table 13). These ages increase the chances of being employed in mining communities, several Brazilian dredge owners prefer male workers at or above 30 years of age, with the reason being that these males “... *são mais responsáveis e pensam nas suas famílias no Brasil ... os mais jovens só bebem, gastam seu dinheiro e não pensam em suas famílias que dependem deles no Brasil ...*”¹⁵, as stated by Peter- a Brazilian dredge owner. The same age measure applies to females who seek employment as cooks in mining camps, but the reasons are interestingly different. In this case, Peter further states, “... *as mulheres menores de 30 anos só fazem prostituição ...e então ... nos preferimos as que tem*

¹⁵ “ They are more responsible and do think of their family members back home in Brazil ... the younger (males) adopt partying lifestyles, waste money and do not cater for family members depending on them back home in Brazil ...” (Peter - a Brazilian dredge owner).

mais de 30 anos ...¹⁶. Overall, 69% of these migrants are between the ages of 18-41, thus indicating a trend of migrants in their prime working ages (Figure 17).

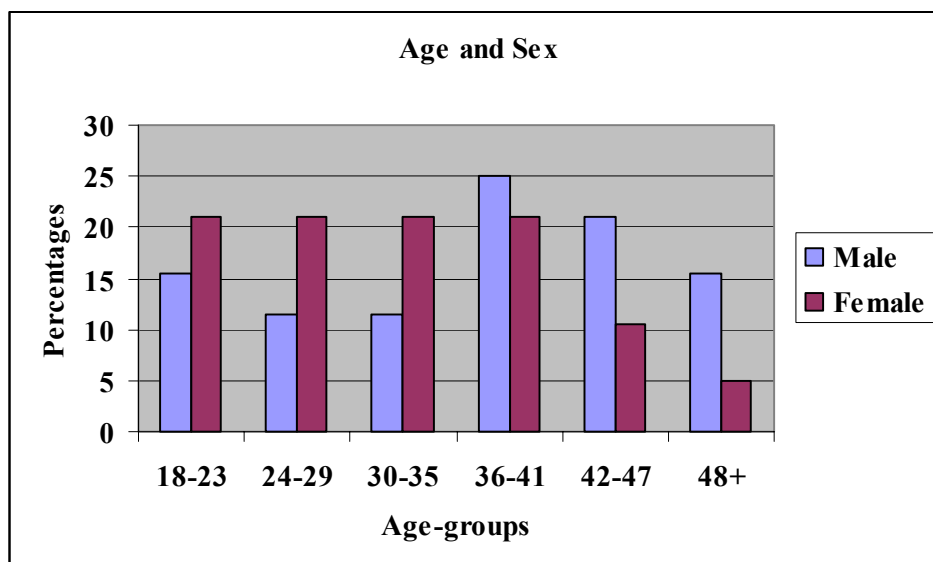


Figure 17: Resident Brazilian migrants by age and sex
Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

Reflecting a higher literacy than the first time migrants, 60 or 84.5% of these migrants affirm that they could read and write in Portuguese, of which 27 or 38% and 30 or 42.2% have received primary and secondary education, respectively. A continued trend of higher literacy is observed among females, in that 100% have received primary to secondary schooling, as opposed to 73% among males. However, only 25 or 35.2 % of these 71 migrants understand basic English. This low level of English proficiency is directly related to two factors: (1) migrants of low socioeconomic backgrounds living, working, and socializing in a Brazilian growing community and (2) these migrants all plan to return to Brazil after serving principally at Brazilian mining communities in Guyana.

¹⁶ "... the women under age 30 only participate in prostitution ... thus, we prefer women above age 30 ..."
(Peter- a Brazilian dredge owner).

Table 13: General characteristics of Brazilian resident migrants in Guyana

Characteristics	Male (n= 52)	Female(n = 19)	Total
	73.2	26.8	100.0
Age			
18-23	15.5	21.1	17.0
24-29	11.5	21.1	14.0
30-35	11.5	21.1	14.0
36-41	25.0	21.1	24.0
42-47	21.1	10.6	18.3
48+	15.5	5.0	12.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Education			
Primary	36.5	42.1	38.0
Secondary	36.5	57.9	42.2
Tertiary	2.0	0.0	1.5
None	25.0	0.0	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
State of Birth			
Maranhão	46.2	36.8	43.7
Pará	17.3	36.8	22.5
Roraima	1.9.0	0.0	1.4
Other	34.6	26.4	32.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
State of Last Residence			
State of Birth	28.8	52.6	35.2
Roraima	34.6	26.3	32.4
Maranhão	1.9.0	5.3	2.8
Amazonas	9.6	0.0	7.0
Pará	17.3	10.5	15.6
Other	7.8	5.3	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Last Occupation in Brazil			
Unemployed/ not looking	17.3	10.5	15.5
Labourer (Agriculture and construction)	32.6	31.6	32.3
Other economic activities (Domestic, vendors etc)	50.1	57.9	52.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Reason for Migrating to Guyana			
Tourism	23.1	21.1	22.6
Economic	75.0	68.4	73.2
Other	1.9.0	10.5	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Occupation in Guyana			
Mining	71.2	0.0	52.1
Business/Trade	9.6	21.1	12.7
Domestic Service	0.0	36.8	9.9
Tourism	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	19.2	42.1	25.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Last Residence in Guyana			
Region 4 (Georgetown)	23.1	42.1	28.1
Region 7 (Bartica, Mazaruni, Kurupung)	44.2	42.1	43.7
Region 8 (Madhia)	32.7	15.8	28.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Times returned to Brazil			
Never	32.7	26.3	31
One	25.0	42.1	29.6
Two	15.4	10.5	14.1
Three	7.7	10.5	8.5
Four	5.8	5.3	5.6
More than Four	13.4	5.3	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Contact in Guyana before Migrating/returning			
Family	55.8	68.4	59
Friends	44.2	31.6	41
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Future Plans on next Return to Brazil			
Remain Brazil	17.2	5.3	14
Go to other country	5.8	10.5	7.5
Uncertain	5.8	15.8	8
Return to Guyana to resume work	71.2	68.4	70.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: questionnaire survey, 2006

Similar to the first time migrants, 31 or 43.7% and 16 or 22.5% of these resident migrants are Maranhenses and Paraenses, respectively. While the majority of males (46.2%) are Maranhenses, 73.6% of females are from Maranhão and Pará, with each state claiming 36.8% of female births. Interestingly, only 1.9% of these migrants have been borne in Roraima State. Aggregate data reveals that 38 or 53.5% of these migrants have been borne in states of the North East: Bahia, Maranhão, Rio Grande do Norte, Pernambuco, and Piauí. This is followed by 21 or 29.5% of the migrants who are from: Roraima, Amazonas, Pará, and Tocantins, which characterize Northern Brazil. The remaining 12 or 17% of these 71 migrants are from the South East, West Central and Southern Brazil, and are from the following states: Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Goiás, Mato Grosso, and Brasília/ Distrito Federal and Paraná. With 46 or 64.8% of these 71 migrants living outside their states of birth, principally in Roraima and Pará, before migrating to Guyana, it remains visible that like the first timers to Guyana, these resident migrants have also been in a state of internal motion where they have migrated between Brazilian states, thus, indicating the importance of internal migration for international migration.

5.5.2 Migration process

As earlier indicated, the majority of these persons were living outside their states of birth before migrating to Guyana for the first time. Migrating internally in this regard, the findings further show that 51 or 71.8% of these 71 migrants have migrated from their states of birth, for the first time, between the ages of 1 and 20 years old, while 20 or 28.2% have migrated for this first time between the ages of 21 and 47. The majority of those between the ages of 1-20 years old have migrated with their parents. Furthermore, only 22 or 30.9 % of the 71 migrants lived in their states of birth for 20 or more years. Reflecting a similar trend to the first time migrants, the majority of the older migrants have taken the individual decision to migrate after discussing their migration plans with family members and even friends who, they indicated, have been instrumental in the migration process, which continues to indicate the importance of networks in the internal and international migration of Brazilians.

After changing residence for the first time, only 4 or 5.6% have migrated internationally, while 67 or 94.3 % migrated between states, principally to Roraima, Pará and Amazonas to a lesser extent. For these states, 19 or 28.4% persons have been in transit, while 48 or 71.6% persons have resettled. Of the four who have migrated internationally, one person has later entered Guyana through Lethem, while two others have migrated to Venezuela first, but directly from Brazil. Irrespective of purpose of migrating for this first time, the median

time spent is noted to be 3 years, before re-migrating from Roraima, Pará, Amazonas and even Venezuela and Guiana. The greater majority of these migrants (42 or 59.2%) have been received by family and/or friends in states or countries of transit or destination. The majority of the 48 migrants, who resettled in Roraima, Amazonas and Pará, either has worked as labourers in the agriculture and construction industries, or, has been engaged in some form of self-employed activities such as vendors and chauffeurs. This trend indicates that as these Brazilians migrate between states in search of better economic activities, they are more likely to migrate to Guyana after arriving and or resettling in Roraima state, where Bonfim-Lethem International Crossing is located. Thus, by the time of this second change of residence, 16 migrants have been outside of Brazil with 12, 2 and 2 in Guyana, Venezuela and Suriname, respectively.

Of the 55 persons who have continued to migrate internally, 54 or 98% have migrated between states; 44 of whom were concentrated in the states of Roraima, Amazonas and Pará. Considering the fact that these Brazilians have been borne in many states, this persistent trend is indicative that Brazilians migrating to Guyana follow a defined route, which could be attributed to the geographical location of family and friends who facilitate the migration process, and reduced cost of transporting and clearing consumer items when opting to enter Guyana through Lethem. This route of migration can be further validated as the migrants change residence for the third time. In this case Pará records a significant loss of re-settlers, while Amazonas and Roraima recover their losses with the arrival of migrants from other states, including Pará. During this third flow of migrants, 50 or 70.4% of the migrants have not been received by neither friends nor family members, thus the time spent in Amazonas and Roraima is observed to be significantly reduced to days and/or hours.

By the time these migrants changed residence for the fourth time, 36 or 50.7% persons have been already outside Brazil with the majority in Guyana (31), Suriname (3) and Venezuela (2). The majority of those remaining in Brazil has been concentrated in Roraima State, and was in transit to Guyana; a trend which further substantiates the observation made earlier that these migrants follow a definite migration route. Concurrently, those who have entered Guyana through Lethem continue to Georgetown, with a few proceeding to Suriname.

After moving for this fifth time, 85.9 % of these resident migrants have been already outside of Brazil, with the majority in Guyana (53 or 74.6 % of 71 migrants). At Lethem, all migrants have been in transit, which coincides with a very weak family and friendship network along the border line. Hence, 58 or 81.6% of these migrants have spent only a few hours on the border line before journeying to Georgetown, which is identified as a major transit

area for Brazilians in transit to Guyana's hinterland or Suriname. However, as the migrants continue to migrate and re-migrate, those who have earlier migrated to Venezuela return to Brazil and subsequently re-migrated to Guyana through Lethem, which further indicates the process of return migration among Brazilians going to other Amazonian countries, before migrating to Guyana. By the time of the seventh change of residence, all of the 71 migrants have finally arrived in Guyana.

5.5.3 Areas of destination, network connections, reason for migrating and future plans

The findings indicate that the first surviving resident migrant has arrived in Guyana in 1989, for the first time. Until 1992, only 11 or 15.4% of the migrants in this group have migrated to Guyana for the first time. While other demographic variables such as death are not considered in this study, the data reveals that the volume of migration has increased significantly after 2000. Data from Caribbean migrants living in the hinterlands has revealed that Brazilian migration has commenced during the late 80s to 90s, thus confirming the data given by these few pioneer migrants who have seldom returned to Brazil. Furthermore, the 2002 census also confirms that Brazilian migration is one of the factors responsible for population growth in hinterland communities since the 80s and 90s. Considering the fact that these Brazilians intend only to migrate to Guyana to work and return, it seems as possible that: (1) most pioneer migrants may have already died or might have returned permanently to Brazil or, might have re-migrated to other neighbouring countries such as Suriname, and (2) the rapid advancement and spread of communication technology even in the mines and the recent availability of reliable transport services around 1998 -2000 by GuyBraz Tours, and P& A Trans., and Intra Serve bus service in 2003 have been responsible for this late increase in the volume of migrations (Figure 18). Interviews with the service providers reveal that it is the availability of reliable transportation which is one of the factors governing this increase in the volume of migration. In this light, 60 or 84.5% of these migrants have entered Guyana for the first time during the years that extended from 2000 – 2006. However, only 4 or 12.7 % of these 71 migrants entered Guyana illegally, principally along the Mutum River.



Figure 18: Lethem-Georgetown bus service
 Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. Lethem, Guyana

As Figure 18 shows, there were also daily connections to Boa Vista, which indicates that the transport services are organized and reliable for Brazilians returning to Brazil and even for those (re)migrating to Guyana.

At the time of the survey, 28.1% and 71.9% of these 71 migrants have been located in Georgetown (Region 4) and hinterland areas (located in Regions 7 and 8), respectively (Figure 19). In Region 7 migrants can be readily located (resided) in areas including Bartica, Middle Mazaruni, and Kurupung, while in Region 8 a considerable number of Brazilians could be readily located in Madhia.

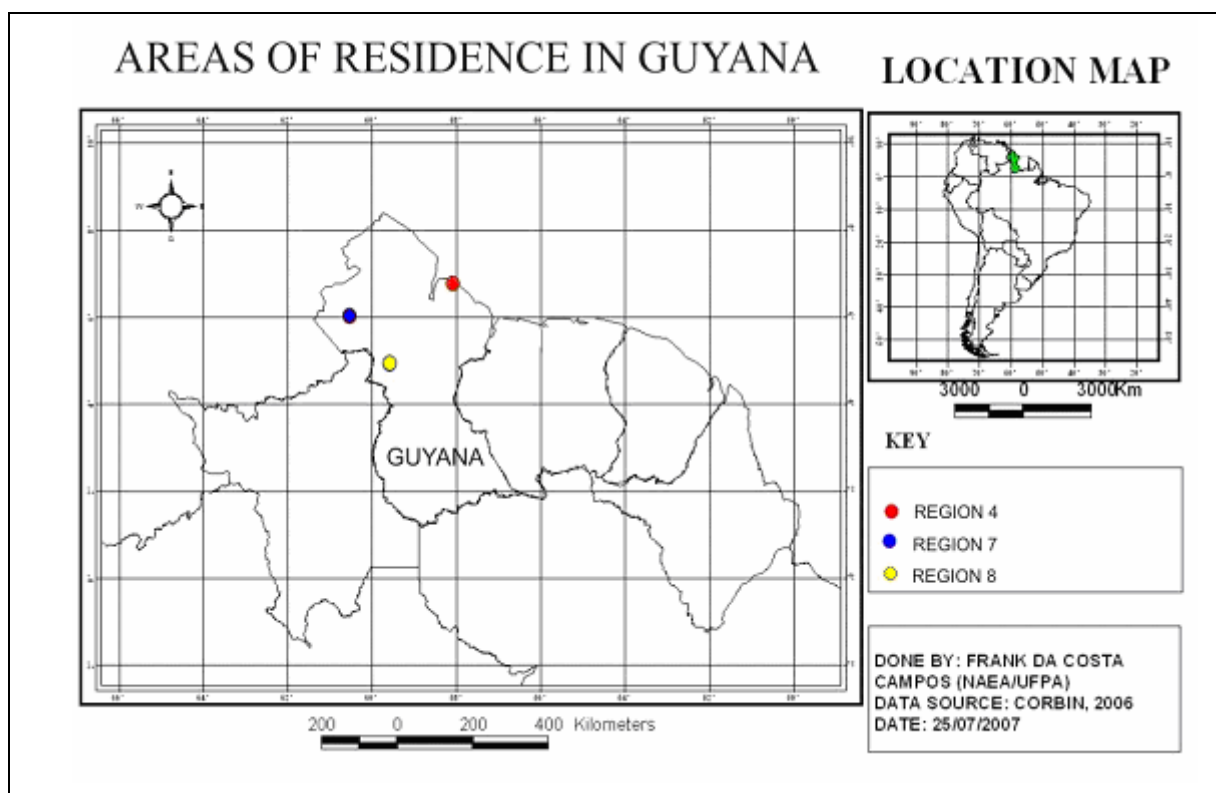


Figure 19: Stated areas of residence in Guyana at time of survey

Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

Many migrants interviewed in Georgetown have been employed in hinterland regions, particularly in Cuyuni-Mazaruni (Region 7).

Further, data shows that 22 or 31% of these migrants have never returned since migrating to Guyana, the majority (49 or 69.0%) has returned at least once to Brazil (Table 13). Overall, those who migrate from 2000 to 2006 have been more likely to make a return trip than those who have migrated earlier. Thus, it remains speculative that the longer a migrant is away from his country of origin and the more financially stable he becomes in the foreign country, the lesser he is inclined to make a return trip until being decided to return permanently. This position may not hold tightly for other Brazilians in Guyana considering the following factors which generally force them to return: (1) as a result of having nostalgia for loved ones back home, (2) failures on the labour market, (3) adverse climatic conditions affecting mining and other economic activities such as small scale trading and even prostitution, which depend directly on the proliferation of mining activities, and (4) debts and other financial commitments back home.

While most migrants migrate for economic factors, only 11 or 15.5 % of them have been actually unemployed or not involved in any form of income earning activity at their last

place of residence in Brazil. Twenty-three (38.3%) of the 60 migrants who have been employed or involved in some form of income earning activity at the last state of residence in Brazil, have worked as labourers in the agriculture and construction industries. In terms of gender, data shows that 50.1% males and 57.9% females have been self-employed before migrating to Guyana for the first time. In Guyana, 71.2% males and 36.8% females have become involved in mining and domestic labourers, respectively. A further 9.6% males and 21.1% females are engaged in trading, most often at an informal level; a trend that is indicative of constant change in jobs among these Brazilians as they seek to exploit new or better income earning activities both at home and in Guyana.

As it relates to networking, 42 or 59.2% and 29 or 40.8% of these migrants have been in contact with family members and Brazilian friends who are already residing in Guyana. More specifically, 55.8% males and 68.4% females have been received by family members, while further 44.2% males and 31.6% females have been received by Brazilian friends living and working in Guyana. Thus, while these resident migrants are now economically stable in Guyana, they have been assisted by friends and family members, who have already returned or will be returning soon to Brazil permanently, thereby marking the commencement of a new migration cycle. However, as migrants become financially stable, they establish alliances with Guyanese, particularly of Amerindian descent not only because of similar cultural traditions, but also because marrying-in often allows miners easier access to diamond and gold rich areas.

Through a strong networking system, friends and family members in Brazil are informed of the gains in gold and diamonds mining in Guyana. Consequently, the migrants travel to evaluate the prospects and challenges of surviving in Guyana. Once gaining success in this regard, many migrants return home (to Brazil) to reunite with family members, after accumulating enough financial capital, by which time they plan to undertake an investment in Brazil, as many of their family members and friends have earlier done, before remigrating permanently to Brazil. These findings are very similar to those found among Brazilians migrating to French Guiana (AROUCK, 2000).

In terms of future plans, the majority (71.2% males and 68.4% of females) prefer to remain in Guyana in the hope the Guyanese authorities do not institute stringent mining and immigration regulations. Alternatively, these migrants would prefer to re-migrate to Suriname, Venezuela or French Guiana, where both family and friends of Brazilian nationality reside. However, all migrants plan to return to Brazil to live permanently after making a few more temporary return trips to Guyana. In this light, the findings show that

those who have never returned to Brazil and those who have returned between 1 and 4 times are more likely to return to Guyana. The majority of those who have returned for six times or more are either undecided or positive about not returning to Guyana after their next return trip to Brazil

In summary, it should be noted that resident migrants reside and work both in Georgetown and the hinterlands areas. Migrants living and working in Georgetown offer services particularly to first timers and other Brazilians en route to other Guyana's hinterlands or Suriname. Possessing weak educational backgrounds, these migrants are attracted to livelihood activities that Guyanese have traditionally avoided. Being able to surmount the obstacle associated with transport, this migration process has intensified enormously since the availability of reliable transport service from Bonfim to Georgetown. Thus, the majority of these migrants move along a defined migration route principally from Maranhão-Pará-Amazonas-Roraima to Guyana. The presence of friends in these states is also responsible for migrants following this migration route. Thus, the migration process of Brazilians to Guyana is quite organized. Given that many migrants have first migrated internally to take advantage of better economic opportunities and that other migrants have migrated directly from their states of birth to Guyana, it can be further concluded that: (1) while Pará, Amazonas and Roraima are states of origin and destination for migrants, they are simultaneously states of transit for others, (2) the migration of Brazilians to Guyana is a livelihood strategy where through a strong networking system potential migrants become aware of the cost and benefits of migrating to Guyana.

5.6 EMBEDDED CASE THREE: MIGRANTS RETURNING TO BRAZIL

5.6.1 Demographic profile

Sixteen (16) migrants returning to Brazil also participated in this study (Table 14). This low volume of migrants returning to Brazil is not because few migrants return, but because of climatic and other factors which have made the trail almost impassible to vehicles for about three weeks.

Males account for the majority (13 or 81.3 %) of these migrants. Most males (84.8%) are 30 years or older, while females (64.6%) are between the ages of 18-30 years old, which continue to indicate that Brazilians migrate in their prime working ages to Guyana (Figure

20). This age difference is also indicative of the selectiveness of the labour market, which influences the livelihood activities among Brazilian males and females in Guyana. Considering that males older than 30 are generally demanded on the mining labour market, the majority (15 or 93.8%) of these migrants plan on returning to Guyana to resume work, after this return to Brazil.

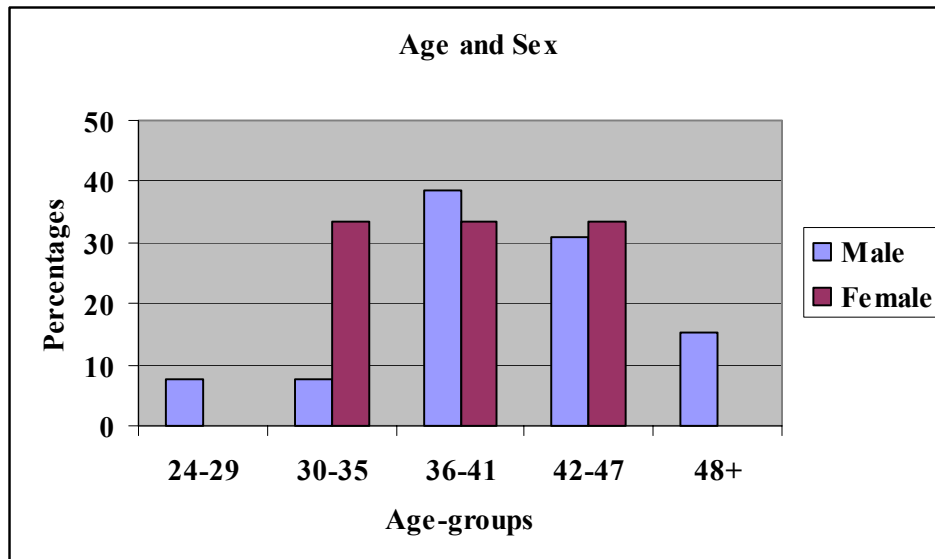


Figure 20: Brazilian migrants returning to Brazil by age and sex

Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

Eleven or 68.5% of these returning migrants affirmed that they could read and write in Portuguese. Of those who receive formal schooling, 37.7% and 19% attained primary and secondary education, respectively. Overall, 43.3% of these migrants did not receive formal schooling. Similar to the findings from the other groups, only 25% of these 16 migrants understand basic English.

Table 14: General characteristics of Brazilian migrants returning to Brazil

Characteristics	Male (n= 13)	Female (n= 3)	Total
	81.3	18.7	100.0
Age			
24-29	7.7	0.0	6.3
30-35	7.7	33.3	12.5
36-41	38.5	33.3	37.6
42-47	30.8	33.4	31.2
48+	15.3	0.0	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Education			
Primary	30.8	66.7	37.7
Secondary	15.4	33.3	19.0
None	53.8	0.0	43.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
State of Birth			
Maranhão	76.9	0.0	62.5
Pará	0.0	33.3	6.2
Roraima	0.0	66.7	12.5
Other	23.1	0.0	18.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
State of Last Residence			
State of Birth	15.4	0.0	12.5
Roraima	53.8	100.0	62.5
Maranhão	15.4	0.0	12.5
Amazonas	7.7	0.0	6.3
Other	7.7	-	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Last Occupation in Brazil			
Unemployed/ not looking	84.6	100.0	87.4
Labourer (Agriculture and construction)	7.7	0.0	6.3
Other economic activities (Domestic, vendors etc)	7.7	0.0	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Reason for Migrating to Guyana			
Economic	84.6	0.0	68.7
Tourism/transit	7.7	66.7	18.8
Other	7.7	33.3	12.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Intended) Occupation in Guyana			
Mining	84.6	0.0	68.7
Business/Trade	7.7	0.0	6.3
Domestic Service	0.0	66.7	12.5
Other	7.7	33.3	12.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Last Residence in Guyana			
Region 7 (Bartica, Mazaruni, Kurupung)	69.2	33.3	62.5
Region 8 (Madhia)	15.4	0.0	12.5
Transit in Guyana	0.0	33.3	6.2
Other (Interior) locations	15.4	33.4	18.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Times returned to Brazil			
Never	15.4	0.0	12.5
One	7.7	0.0	6.3
Two	30.8	66.7	37.5
Four	23.1	0.0	18.7
More than Four	23.0	33.3	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Contact in Guyana before Migrating/returning			
Family	0.0	32.3	6.0
Friends	100.0	67.7	94.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Future Plans			
Go to other country	0.0	33.3	6.2
Return to Guyana to resume work	100.0	66.7	93.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data source: Questionnaire survey, 2006

5.6.2 Migration process

While most migrants have been borne in Maranhão, aggregate data shows that Maranhão and Pará claim birth places for 75% of these migrants, and by regions 12 or 75% of these migrants have been borne in the North East, and are from the following states: Maranhão, Ceará and Piauí. Like the first timers and resident migrants, the majority (87.5%) of these returning migrants have living outside their states of birth, principally in Roraima state, before migrating to Guyana for the first time; a trend which indicates a considerable level of migration among Brazilians from North Eastern Brazil. This trend continues to indicate the importance of internal migration for international migration.

5.6.3 Areas of destination, network connections, reason for returning to Brazil and future plans

The data for this group indicates that all of the migrants have migrated from their states of birth for the first time between the ages of 16 and 52 years old, the majority of whom are Maranhenses, thus indicating another important trend in migratory pattern to Guyana.

In terms of last residence in Guyana, 75% of these migrants have lived in hinterland regions (Figure 21), particularly in Region 7 (Cuyuni, Mazaruni, Bartica and Kurupung) and Mahdia located in Region 8 (Pataro-Siparuni), where males have been engaged principally in mining, while females have served as cooks, traders etc. Thus, while first timers are migrating to these areas to be received by Brazilian friends and family members, other migrants are returning to Brazil principally from these areas/regions and Suriname. Note that most migrants first travel from these hinterland areas and Suriname to Georgetown, then to Lethem, where they subsequently return to Brazil through the Lethem- Bonfim Crossing (Figure 21). In these regions, 75% of these migrants have worked for a period that has not exceeded six months, before returning to Brazil, which further indicates a seasonal migratory pattern among these Brazilians.

As these migrants return to Brazil, principally to reunite with family members, they have been observed to make a few stops in Guyana while on their return journeying. In this light, all of the migrants have proceeded to Georgetown generally for 2-4 days, where they put-up at Brazilian guesthouses or hotels, before journeying to Brazil through Lethem-Bonfim.

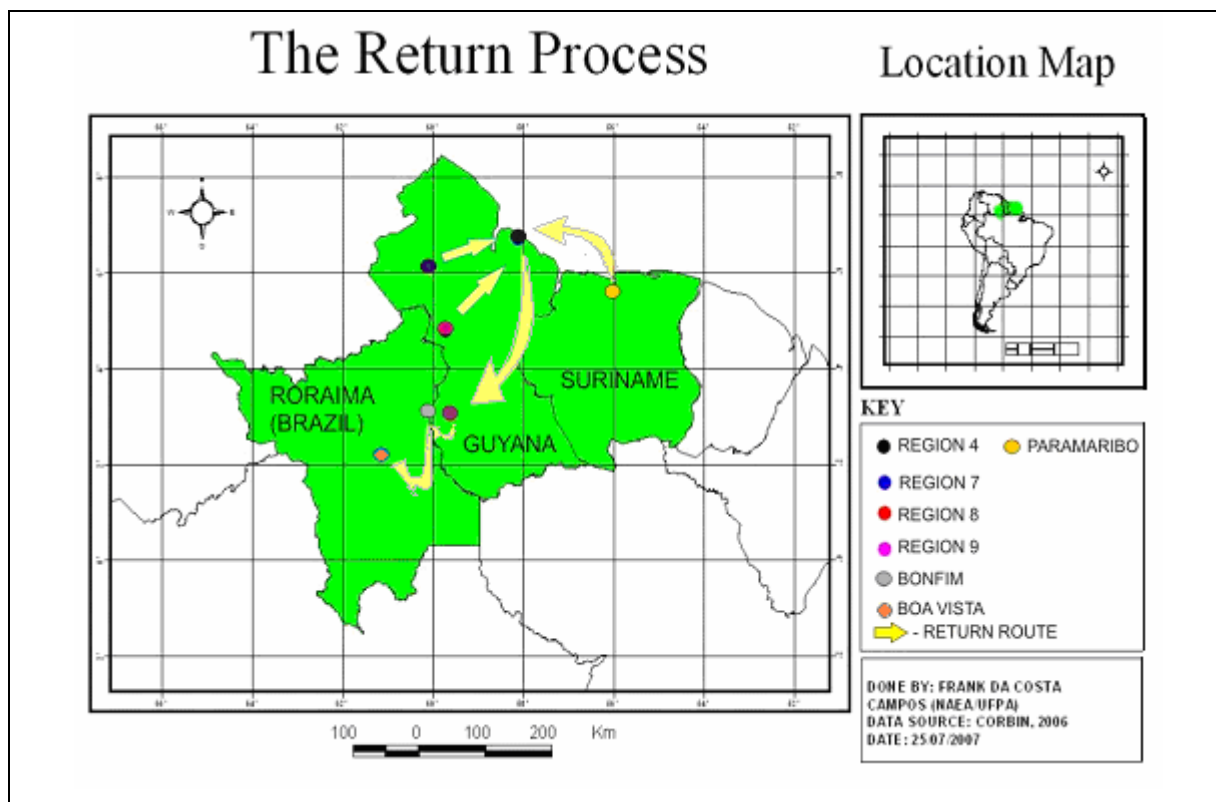


Figure 21: Stated return routes by migrants returning to Roraima State (Brazil)

Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

Georgetown is identified to be a major transit area also for Brazilians returning to Brazil. As it related to areas of destination in Brazil, 71.4% of the Maranhenses have been returning to Roraima where they have last lived before migrating to Guyana. But only 20% of the persons returning to Roraima state have been borne there; the majority (80%) has been borne in the states of Maranhão, Pará, Piauí and Paraná.

Most of these migrants (100% males and 66.7% females) express plans in returning to Guyana to resume work after an average period of 3 months. After making a few more return trips, they all plan to return permanently to Brazil. Given that the majority of these migrants have only returned between 1 and 4 times, it could be expected that like the resident migrants, these migrants will continue to make about 2-3 more return trips before returning permanently to Brazil. Thus, it seems possible that a complete migration cycle consists of at least 6 return trips.

In summary, it must be reiterated that migrants returning to Brazil possess similar demographic and socioeconomic profiles, and migratory patterns that first timers and resident migrants, which permits a holistic understanding of migration and return processes. It is observed that the migration process is seasonal as mining activities are affected by climatic

factors. With migrants deriving a livelihood mainly by serving the miners, it is further observed that all groups of migrants live in harmony as the survival of each group depends on the livelihood successes of the other groups in Guyana. After working principally in Regions 7 and 8, many Brazilians return principally to states of last residence in Brazil. It has been observed that migrants that have been successful on the labour market make at least 6 return trips before returning permanently to Brazil. As these Brazilians return to Brazil temporarily, other Brazilians are found returning to Guyana to resume work, as described in embedded case 4.

5.7 EMBEDDED CASE FOUR: MIGRANTS RETURNING TO GUYANA FROM BRAZIL

5.7.1 Demographic profile

Seventy-six (76) migrants returning to Guyana from various states in Brazil also participate in this study; 59 or 77.6% of whom are male (Table 15). Considering the selectiveness of the labour market in terms of age, this group consists of migrants of similar ages as the other groups (Figure 22).

A significant number of these migrants, 37 or 48.7%, is either married or committed to common law union; most of whom have children living in Brazil. Field observations reveal that children seldom accompany parents to Guyana.

Table 15: General characteristics of Brazilian Migrants returning to Guyana

Characteristics	Male (n= 59) 77.7	Female (n=17) 22.3	Total 100.0
Age			
18-23	5.0	17.6	7.8
24-29	10.1	17.6	11.8
30-35	17.0	29.4	19.7
36-41	30.5	23.6	28.9
42-47	28.9	5.9	23.8
48+	8.5	5.9	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Education			
Primary	35.6	35.3	35.5
Secondary	27.1	29.4	27.6
Tertiary	5.1	11.8	6.6
None	32.2	23.5	30.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
State of Birth			
Maranhão	66.1	52.9	63.1
Pará	8.5	5.9	7.9
Roraima	0.0	17.6	4.0
Other	25.4	23.6	25.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
State of Last Residence			
State of Birth	25.0	29.4	26
Roraima	61.0	52.9	59.2
Maranhão	1.0	0.0	0.7
Pará	5.0	11.8	6.6
Other	8.0	5.9	7.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Last Occupation in Brazil			
Unemployed/ not looking	23.7	11.8	21.0
Labourer (Agriculture and construction)	39.0	0.0	30.3
Other economic activities (Domestic, vendors etc)	37.3	88.2	48.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Reason for Migrating to Guyana			
Tourism	0.0	11.8	2.6
Economic	91.5	47.7	81.8
Transit	0.0	29.4	6.5
Other	8.5	11.1	9.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Intended) Occupation in Guyana			
Mining	78.0	0.0	60.6
Business/Trade	5.1	5.9	5.3
Domestic Service	0.0	47.1	10.6
Tourism	0.0	11.8	2.6
Other	16.9	35.2	20.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Intended Residence in Guyana			
Region 4 (Georgetown)	15.3	29.4	18.5
Region 7 (Bartica, Mazaruni, Kurupung)	61.1	29.5	54.0
Region 8 (Madhia)	5.1	0	3.9
Transit in Guyana	3.4	17.6	6.6
Other (Interior) locations	15.1	23.5	17.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Times Returning to Guyana			
One	1.7	0.0	1.3
Two	47.5	29.4	43.5
Three	22.0	35.3	25.0
Four	11.9	17.6	13.2
More than Four	16.9	17.7	17.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Contact in Guyana before Migrating/returning			
Family	28.8	29.4	28.9
Friends	49.2	64.7	52.7
None	22.0	5.9	18.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Future Plans on next Return to Brazil			
Go to other country	8.5	11.8	9.2
Return to Guyana to resume work	76.3	58.8	72.3
Uncertain	1.7	5.9	3.0
Remain in Brazil	13.2	23.5	15.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data source: Questionnaire survey, 2006

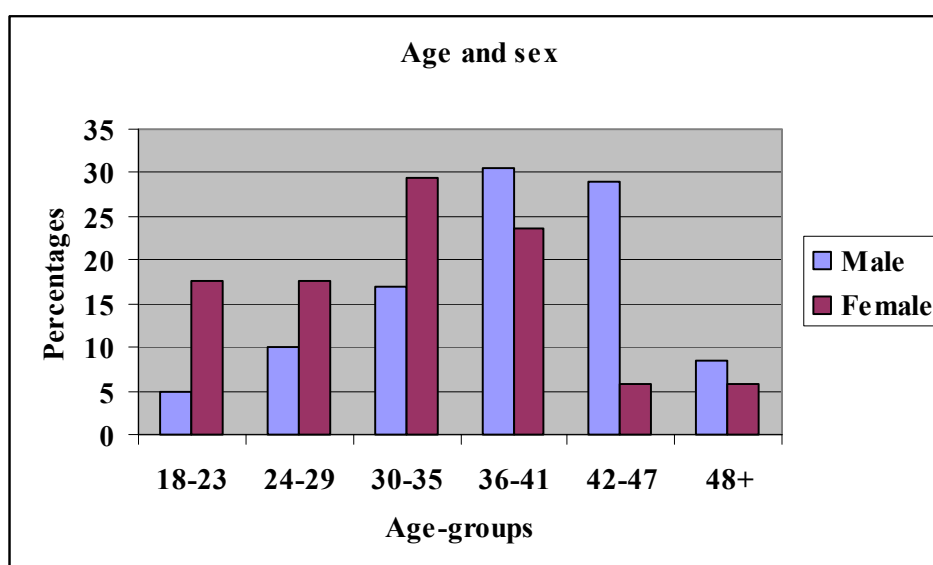


Figure 22: Brazilian migrants returning to Guyana by age
Data source: questionnaire survey, 2006

While 80.3% of these migrants indicate that they could read and write in Portuguese, only 69.7% of these 76 migrants have received formal schooling, where 27 or 35.5%, 21 or 27.6% and 5 or 6.6% have attained primary, secondary and tertiary education, respectively. Like among the migrants from the three previous groups, there is a trend of higher literacy (76.5) among females in this group. The greater majority, 52 or 68.4%, of these 76 migrants do not understand basic English.

Similar to the three previous groups, the majority (48 or 63.1%) of these migrants are Maranhenses. A further aggregation of the births by regions reveals that the majority (56 or 73.6%) of these migrants belong to North Eastern Brazil (Maranhão, Ceará and Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte, and Pernambuco), followed by 14 or 18.4% that are from the North (Pará, Roraima, Amazonas and Tocantins).

5.7.2 Migration process

The majority (56 or 74%) have lived outside their states of birth before migrating to Guyana; principally in Roraima State from which they migrate to Guyana. However, only 3 or 4 % of 76 migrants have actually been borne in Roraima State, which continues to indicate that this state is a receptor of a large number of migrants from Maranhão and Pará. While economic factors dominate the reasons of these migrants to migrate to Guyana, the data reveals that it is not necessarily unemployment, as the majority, (79%) has been engaged in

some form of income earning activity before migrating. Most frequently, these migrants have worked as labourers in the agriculture and construction industries or as chauffeurs, vendors, barbers, which is indicative of self-employed activities.

5.7.3 Areas of destination, last residence, network connections, reason for returning to Guyana and future plans

Similar to the findings about the resident migrants and the migrants returning to Brazil, the majority (61 or 80.2%) of these migrants have migrated to Guyana between 2000 and 2006 for the first time. Reflecting a similar trend among the migrants returning to Brazil, the findings also indicate that the majority (83%) of these migrants are returning to Guyana for the first, second, third or fourth times. More specifically, 43.5%, 25.0% and 13.2% of these 76 migrants have been returning to Guyana for the second and third and fourth time, respectively. Thus, it could be expected that more than 75% of these migrants are below the peak of their migration cycle, which has been earlier observed to be characterized by at least 6 return trips.

Further, the findings show that 75% of these migrants, principally of Maranhenses, have migrated from their states of birth for the first time between the ages of 16 and 46 years old. This trend is consistent with the findings from the other groups, which indicate that while some Maranhenses migrate at a younger age generally with parents or guardians, there are others migrating at an older age, generally alone, but with the assistance of family and friends, who maintain a strong international networking system. As the migrants become established or adapted to life in Guyana, this networking system is further strengthened, which indicate that a migrant's success is dependent on his or her degree of integration in the Brazilian networking system.

As it relates to countries of destination the findings show that Guyana is the host country for 71 or 93.4% of these 76 returning migrants. The other 5 or 6.5% of these migrants have been en route to Suriname, which indicate that Guyana is both a host and transit country for Brazilian migrants.

However, the majority of the migrants hosted in Guyana state that they are returning principally to Regions 7 and 8 (Figure 23) where mining is one of the dominant economic activities. In these two regions, migrants have been returning to: Bartica, Madhia, Middle Mazaruni, Puruni and the Kurupung; a trend which also reflects a further consistency with field observations, and data given by migrants of the other groups.

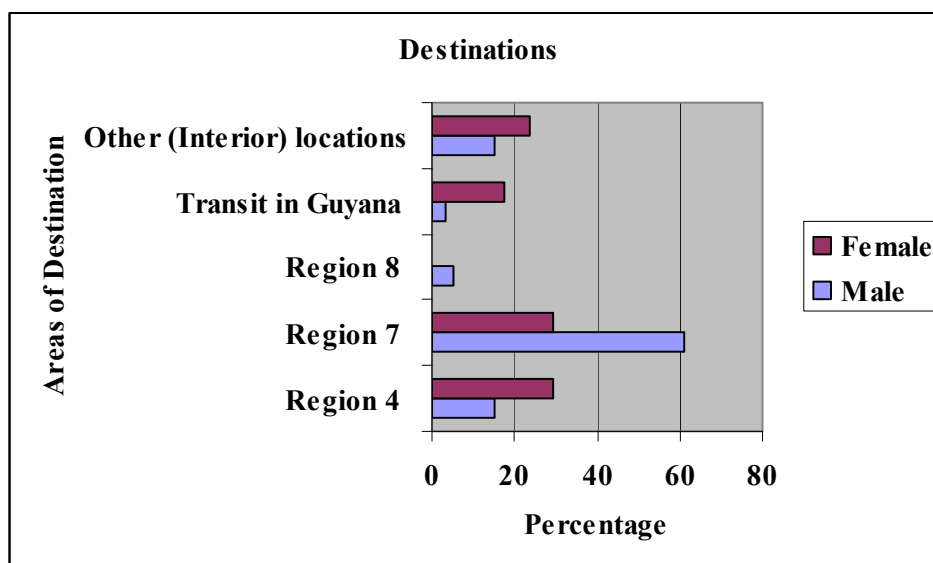


Figure 23: Stated destinations among Brazilians returning to Guyana

Data source: Source: questionnaire survey, 2006

In all these areas, the migrants have maintained contacts with friends and family members of Brazilian nationality. Overall, 81.8% of these migrants state that they are returning to Guyana for economic reasons. To hinterland areas, most males (78%) have been returning to resume work in mining, while most females (47.1%) have been returning to resume work as domestic labourers. As shown in Figure 23, these migrants are returning to hinterland areas (mainly Regions 7 and 8) and Region 4 (where the capital of the country is located) which are the most common areas where resident migrants have lived (Figure 19), and also the most common areas from which migrants returning to Brazil have last worked in mining and as domestic labourers, before returning to Brazil (Figure 21).

While traders have also been returning with Brazilian goods, it has been also observed that many other migrants including domestic labourers also return with trade Brazilian made goods in an effort of maximizing benefits from every trip to Guyana. Given the fact that Brazilians rarely consume Guyanese consumer goods their demand for Brazilian goods such as groceries, clothes, cosmetics and footwear reflects an increasing informal trading system where informal traders evade import duties, as these migrants are not subjected to any sort of checks by customs or immigration Officers, upon their arrival to Lethem Immigration Department. This failure by the Guyanese authorities reflects a significant loss of revenue.

However, in terms of last residence visited in Brazil, the data shows that the majority of the migrants have reunited with family members who reside principally in Roraima State.

The majority of these migrants are Maranhenses, who have also been in the lead among Brazilians returning to the state of birth to reunite with family members.

A further inquiry into this pattern of return migration reveals that after working for a few months, which coincides with the climatic factors, which affect mining and its related activities, Brazilians are returning to resume work in Guyana. In this sense, while miners and their workers, who depend on the rainy season to practice river mining would have returned to Brazil during the dry season, those depending on the dry season to practice inland mining would have been returning to Guyana to resume work. Thus, the migration of Brazilians to Guyana has been observed to be fundamentally seasonal. A similar seasonality is observed among sex workers and domestic labourers and even the traders, whose livelihoods are dependent on the miners.

In terms of futuristic plans, all of these 76 migrants have expressed plans in returning to live in Brazil, permanently. In this light, the migrants indicate that they simply have proceeded to Guyana to take advantage of better employment opportunities, which are unavailable in Brazil. In terms of their migration plans after returning to Brazil the next time, 15.5% of these migrants are undecided, while 72.3% (76.3% males and 58.8% females) prefer to return to Guyana to resume work provided that stringent immigration and mining regulations are not enacted. Otherwise, they would re-migrate to Suriname, French Guiana or even Venezuela.

In summary, it must be reiterated that like migrants of all other groups, those of this group reflect similar demographic and socioeconomic status. In this light, it is observed that Brazilians in their prime working age are returning to Guyana to resume work after a temporary return to Brazil at the onset of adverse conditions affecting mining activities. As the miners return to Brazil, so do their workers and all other groups of Brazilians whose livelihoods are dependent mining activities. Thus, it is observed that returning to Guyana are miners, domestic labourers, traders and all other migrant workers that depend on the miners. A similar migration pattern also may exist among Brazilians going to Suriname, as Guyana is also identified a transit country for Brazilians returning to Suriname to resume work.

5.8 SUMMARY

In highlighting the major findings of this chapter, it must be reiterated that the migration of Brazilians to Guyana was observed to be seasonal. However, the wider Brazilian community in Guyana was first founded by the *garimpeiros* who migrated to Guyana from

Roraima state during the late 1980s and early 1990s. As the years wore on, there was a dramatic increase, from 2000-2006, in the volume of migration, which marked a turning point in the migration of Brazilians to Guyana. During this period, the number of miners increased, and the mining community demanded Brazilian goods and services, which marked the migration of domestic labourers and sex workers. Taking advantage of the Guyana-Brazil trade agreements, Brazilian traders also commenced migrating to respond to the demand for Brazilian goods. In some cases, trading is done at an informal level, where migrants migrate with small quantities of Brazilian goods which are sold to the mining communities, where goods are often sold to make about 250% profits. Thus, while the quantities of goods are small, the returns are great, as migrants seek to maximize the benefits of each trip to Guyana, while at the same time reducing financial risks of migrating in search of employment.

In a further effort of reducing these risks and uncertainties, migrants maintain a strong family and friendship networking system, which allows them to become aware of better livelihood activities between Brazilian states, and in neighbouring Amazonian countries. Migrating internally to take up new income earning activities, most migrants have lived outside their states of birth, principally Roraima, before migrating to Guyana. With most migrants being received by friends and family members, Brazilians follow a defined migration and return route to and from Guyana, respectively. Where network links are weak, the average time spent at areas of transit or destination are markedly reduced to months, days and, even hours.

Migrating in their prime working ages, Maranhenses characterize the dominant subset of Brazilians in Guyana. Two important migratory patterns are observed among these Maranhenses. The first pattern is integrated by those who migrated with their guardians who took the decision to migrate, while the second pattern is integrated by adult Maranhenses who have taken the individual migration decision, after discussing their plans with families and friends, who played a pivotal role in the migration process. With this assistance from family and friends, migrants carefully weigh the cost and benefits of migrating, which is observed as livelihood strategy among Brazilians migrating to Guyana. To reduce the risks associated with uncertainties in terms of changes in Guyana's mining and immigration regulations, migrants possess alternative strategy of re-migrating to other neighbouring Amazonian countries, where they maintain contacts with Brazilian families and friends.

Choosing migration as livelihood strategy, Brazilians migrate with the principal focus of capital accumulation, and afterwards return to Brazil to undertake a micro-investment. Brazilian migrants to Guyana, therefore contribute positively towards the economic

performance of the Brazilian economy at the very local level through the injection of capital accumulated in Guyana. While the Guyanese economy benefits from mining by Brazilian miners, there are increasing concerns about the environmental impacts of mining.

CHAPTER SIX

6 ADAPTATION PROCESS, IMPACTS AND CONCERNS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the adaptation process among Brazilian migrants in Guyana, and the social and environmental impacts of Brazilian migration to Guyana. With this focus, detailed descriptions on the livelihood activities, experiences and perceptions of the migrants are presented. The findings presented are based on data collected through the following sources: (1) interviews, (2) documents and archival records and, (3) field observations (direct and participant) in the form of field notes when the researcher was in direct contact with the migrants. As the data is presented, the following major sections were incorporated: (1) the documentation process and the illegal status of Brazilians in Guyana, (2) Brazilians in Georgetown and Lethem, (3) Brazilians in mining communities, and (4) concerns of Brazilian migration to Guyana.

6.2 THE DOCUMENTATION PROCESS AND THE ILLEGAL STATUS OF BRAZILIANS IN GUYANA

As of January 2006, visa is no longer an entry requirement for Brazilians wanting to visit Guyana as tourists for a period of maximum 90 days. However, all visitors are required to possess a valid passport, and must have entered Guyana through an Official Port of Entry. After entering Guyana as tourists, some Brazilians secure further legal status through holy matrimony with Guyanese, while there are others who are required to solicit work permits from the Minister of Home Affairs to be eligible to work in Guyana.

Before securing a work permit, a Brazilian must have first obtained sponsorship from an employer in Guyana, who would have to prove to the requisite agencies that the alien is free of any contagious diseases. Having been successful in this regard, the sponsor is then permitted to register his worker at the Income Tax Department of Guyana Inland Revenue Authority. Each work permit is cancelled as the Brazilian worker changes jobs.

At the small and medium scale mining, foreign (including Brazilians) investors are not eligible to land claims in mineral bearing areas of Guyana. Lacking the investment capital, Guyanese claim owners apply to the GGMC for permission to sublet, while the Brazilian investors apply for permission to mine on the Guyanese owned claim. Among other scrutiny checks, the GGMC then proceeds to verify whether the claim exists, and whether all machines

for intended work are registered, before granting permission to a Brazilian to operate on a Guyanese land claim. Once successful, the Brazilian investor then pays 10% of his profits to the Guyanese Claim Holder.

The investor and his workers of Brazilian nationality are also required to be documented, where they complete an affidavit in support of work permit or extension of stay, which is issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Duplicates of this form are then filed along with photocopies of passports at the Clerical Section of the Mines Division, Guyana Geology and Mines Commission. Paying \$ US 50 with an additional \$ G 100 as processing and application fee for work permit, respectively, the prospective Brazilian (investor or his employee) is also required to be submitted to the GGMC authority a letter of verification from the Claim Holder on whose claim he intended to work. However, Brazilians investing in dredges costing \$ G 7 million are eligible to self-sponsorship, but have to first secure permission from GGMC to operate, and the Guyanese Claim Holder who was also required to secure permission from GGMC to sublet.

After reviewing the documents submitted by the alien, the GGMC Clerk then forwards all relevant documents to the Commissioner of GGMC for approval. All necessary documents are subsequently forwarded to the Ministry of Home Affairs for the granting of work permits. In addition to this permit, Brazilians intending to work on operating dredges are required to secure a "Mining Privilege" in cases where their earnings accounts for 18% of the minerals recovered and sold or, a "Certificate of Registration", if they receive a fixed salary. These documents are issued¹⁷ by the GGMC provided that the Brazilians have previously secured a work permit, which must be endorsed by either the Claim Holder or his representative.

Being a drawn-out process, many migrants indicate that they become frustrated as it is very costly to survive at guesthouses and hotels in Georgetown, before going to the hinterlands to work. Consequently, many first timers and even return migrants just proceed to the hinterlands, illegally, in search of employment. However, this is by no means the only factor why many Brazilians refuse to be documented, in spite of repeated appeals by the Ministry of Home Affairs. In this light, many illegal Brazilians, who are employed by Brazilians, refuse to be documented in an effort to evade taxes, and to conceal illegal economic activities. As indicated above, all workers must be sponsored by a "legal employer", who must pay income taxes. Therefore, a worker could not be sponsored by an illegal employer. After accumulating enough capital, these illegal migrants return to Brazil,

¹⁷ Mining Privilege is issued at a cost of \$ G 500 per year, while Certificate of Registration is issued for a period not exceeding a year at a cost of \$ G 1, 000.

where they would undertake a micro investment. All assets are subsequently sold to friends and family members, and a new migration cycle commences. These findings in Guyana are similar to those of another study done by Arouck (2000) on Brazilians migrating to French Guiana, which indicate the economic and even environmental vulnerability of the Guianas as Brazilians continue to migrate to explore particularly mineral resources.

6.3 BRAZILIANS IN GEORGETOWN AND LETHEM

The Brazilian community in Georgetown appears to be a closely knitted one. Although scattered around Georgetown, large groupings of Brazilian can be seen within the vicinity of Robb and Cummings streets as the migrants are very familiar with all Brazilian establishments, which include Rockies International Hotel and Bar, Casa Brasileira, Mato Grosso Grocery Store, *Churrascaria*, *Passarela* footwear store, Sunflower Hotel, and Hotel Ailton. In many cases, business entities reflect names and even symbols that are specific to their states of origin, thereby reflecting cultural variations within the Brazilian community in Georgetown.

In the vicinity of these business establishments which, according to many Guyanese, are places wanted to be visited, are two Brazilian Protestant Churches. From several visits and discussions with Brazilian migrants, the researcher has become aware that young Brazilian women accounted for the greater part of the congregation. This religious institution is headed by a male Brazilian Pastor, who has earlier administered to Brazilians in Suriname, before migrating to Guyana. So, as the migrants move, so do the church.

Confirming the findings from the survey and data from the Immigration Registers at Lethem, field observations reveal that most migrants entering Georgetown, put-up at Brazilian guesthouses or hotels. Consequently, Georgetown is identified a major transit area for Brazilians en route to the mining communities, Suriname or even back home to Brazil.

After about 20 to 30 days in the *mines* the miner migrants and/ or their workers travel to Georgetown for one or a combination of the following reasons: (1) to sell gold and diamond, (2) to transfer money to Brazil, (3) to purchase food-stuff imported from Brazil, for their Brazilian employees, (4) to prepare the necessary financial records, (5) to relax after hard work in the mines or, (6) simply take a return trip to Brazil via Lethem. Considering these flows in the migrant population, it must be reiterated that not all Brazilians arriving to at these guesthouses in Georgetown on a daily basis are actually new comers or return migrants, but in fact have proceeded from hinterland regions.

At these Brazilian guesthouse and hotels, rooms are rented at the following daily rates:

1. One room with fan: G \$ 3, 000
2. One room with fan and television: G \$ 4, 000
3. One room with fan, television and DVD: G \$ 4, 500
4. One room with fan, television, DVD and *Frigobar*: G \$ 5, 500

Many other services are offered at these guesthouses and hotels, where migrants have access to: (1) internet services to communicate with family and friends back home and even in neighbouring Suriname and French Guiana, (2) radio services to communicate with other Brazilians in the hinterlands, (3) laundry services, (4) Salon, and (4) restaurants, which offer Brazilians cuisine.

Being in Georgetown for an extended period, the researcher has been fortunate in interviewing some migrants who work in the mines as cooks, mechanics, and miners. Repeatedly, migrants in Georgetown have indicated their familiarity with hinterland areas such as Barlow Landing, Kurupung, Apaika, Black Water and Mahdia, Ready Money, Monkey Mountain, which have provided important insights on the migration and adaptation processes, which have been subsequently cross checked and verified. However, it is imperative that Brazilians be documented with the Ministry of Home Affairs, before proceeding to the hinterlands to work.

6.4 BRAZILIANS IN MINING COMMUNITIES: CUYUNI-MAZARUNI AND PATARO-SIPARUNI (REGIONS 7 AND 8)

Interviews in the field reveal that Brazilians have arrived to Regions 7 and 8 as early as during the late 1980s, when Brazil *fechou* (closed) mining activities. Consequently, the few pioneer *garimpeiros* remaining in Guyana state that they have proceeded to neighbouring Venezuela, French Guiana and even Suriname before migrating to Guyana. Consistently, the 2002 census reveals a persistent increase in Brazilian migrants, who are attracted to mining activities in particularly regions 7 and 8, since the 80s. Confirming the information provided by “pioneer” St. Lucian migrants [from the English Speaking Caribbean], whose presence in Mahdia can be traced back as far as during the 1950s, state that they have witnessed the recent arrival of the Brazilians to Mahdia, Region 8, as Mr. Thompson states:

At age 21, I was brought from Choiseol Village, St Lucia to Guyana by my mother who lives here from the past 51 years [...] Upon my arrival to Mahdia in 1973, I remember vividly that St Lucian migrants constituted approximately three-quarter of the population at Mahdia in this region [...] in this region these migrants were principally involved in mining, and worked with the BG Company [...] I witnessed the continuous arrival of the Coast Lander miners and sex workers as the years went by [...] and subsequently, the first arrival of the Brazilian miners and sex workers in 1992 [...] Life in Guyana is better than that in St Lucia, however, there

has been little infrastructural developments since my arrival in this region [...] As you would notice that we still lack electricity and roads [...] (June 29, 2006, 6: 02 pm)

With the pioneer miners creating a livelihood base for other Brazilians who have not been necessarily miners in Brazil, it is evident an important socioeconomic spin-off of stringent mining policies in Brazil, which have forced miners to seek a livelihood in neighbouring Guyana, which is characterized by an abundance of natural untapped natural resources. For example, Kurupung, where many migrants can be located, has recorded high productivity during the early diamond booms around 1918 and 1920 at Takuba Creek, located in Region 7. Because of high costs, which deter them from undertaking mineral exploration surveys, Brazilian miners repeatedly speak of the financial risks in investing in diamond and gold mining. Therefore, working in a close association, garimpeiros become aware of shouts, calling their attention to gold and diamond rich areas. On hearing the diamond recovery “shouts”, garimpeiros move from one area to another within Guyana’s hinterlands and even from French Guiana and Suriname to Guyana.

When the miners move, so do the Brazilian sex workers, business men and all other interest groups that indirectly depend on mining activities, which give rise to new settlement areas as shown in Figure 24. For example, Barlow Landing, located in the Middle Mazaruni, has been first occupied in 2003 by Brazilian migrants. By 2006, Brazilians have continued to dominate, where they live in temporary constructed buildings as indicated in Figure 24. Like in other areas, such as Kurupung, temporary buildings are usually abandoned or demolished as the gold and diamond shouts continue, and the mining population is relocated.



Figure 24: Settlement in the Middle Mazaruni, Barlow Landing, 2006
Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. Barlow Landing (Region 7), Guyana

The remaining Guyanese and Brazilian residents at Kurupung indicate that eight years ago Kurupung Landing had a larger Brazilian population, some of which has later resettled at Barlow Landing (Figure 24). The Brazilians who remain at Kurupung Landing are most commonly those born to Guyanese parents or have established stable relationships with Guyanese through marriage and trade ventures.

Interviews with Indigenous Guyanese residents reveal that this spatial mobility among both the Brazilian *garimpeiros* and Guyanese miners also has impacted on the spatial mobility of traditional populations. For example, an Amerindian male, Mr. Jones, of Akawaio descent states that upon the arrival of Coast Lander miners, many Amerindians have migrated from Kurupung Landing to other areas along the Middle Mazaruni River. In reflecting on his past, Mr. Jones further states:

I am 71 years old. As a child, I was told by my parents that this area was earlier occupied by the Akawaio tribe, who, as a result of cultural difference, migrated to other areas such as Kamarang along the Mazaruni River [...] following the invasion of the Coast Landers who practiced mining [...] Mining was a dominant economic activity upon my arrival to Kurupung as a child [...] As far as I am aware, mining in Kurupung dates as early as during the 1914/1920 period [...] I am still able to write in Akawaio, but my grandchildren are no longer interested in maintaining the traditional culture [...] and are more like the Cost Landers [...] I find it comfortable living among the Coast Landers and Brazilians, but derive a living from the sale traditional products such as cassava and as cassava bread [...]. (June 10, 2006, 11:00 am).

The presence of many closed bars and discothèques bear evidences of a kind of modernization of these hinterland areas since the arrival of Guyanese Coast Landers, Brazilians, and St. Lucian migrants from the Caribbean. Even in the absence of much infrastructural development in terms of light and water, these migrants have tapped alternative energy and water supply to lead a normal *modern* life to which they have been accustomed before migrating to Guyana's interior. In reflecting on his recent visit to Kurupung, an ex-Guyanese miner has observed a gradual transformation of building and the arrival of the Brazilians with new mining technologies and ethics, as he states:

[...] Most of the shop owners I knew back in the late '70s were dead - Fernandez, Marcilline, CC Joseph, to name a few - and so were the old pork-knockers, Cash Morgan, Marius Morline and Alvin Mahaica; even Dancing Master had passed on. I could not help but notice the Brazilian presence. I was told that the Brazilians were responsible for many of the new buildings I saw. The old Kurupung was gradually passing on. [...] It was decided that I should take a trip up the river to witness the process of land dredging. I've heard so much about it. In the old days - the '70s going back - there was no land dredging going on; it was all about hand work: shovels, spades and pickaxes, bend and straighten or the occasional Briggs and Straton, as Mohan reminded me in the old bush humour. [...] The other was the fact that since the use of the lavadore, mining was now far more rewarding as more

diamonds were to be found. The lavadore was introduced by the Brazilians. They were themselves posing a kind of cultural problem in respect of bringing the ethnic attitudes of Brazil to Guyana. [...]The encounter with Lear, an Islander/Guyanese who has spent over fifty years in the gold/diamond fields was an eyewitness talk on the first years of Kurupung as a formal landing, at a time when the area was shaped by men like Frederick Mahaica (Braithwaite, Stabroek News, 2006).

Preserving their own cultural identities in terms of foods, clothes, dance, symbols etc., the Guyanese, Brazilians and St. Lucian migrants seem quite tolerant to each other's culture. Indicating a climate of peace and love, which served as a kind of "Forest Motto", the poster shown in Figure 25 has been written and mounted by a Brazilian migrant living in Mahdia.



Figure 25: Forest motto for Guyanese and Brazilians, Mahdia, 2006

Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. Mahdia (Region 8), Guyana

Maintaining the Brazilian identity, many migrants appear less inclined in integrating into the Guyanese culture. In spite of this fact, Brazilian youths seem to be more appreciative of the Guyanese (Caribbean) culture. For example, at Barlow Landing, a group of Brazilian young women have been quite exited in perfecting Caribbean dances such as the "back-ball" and "Passa Passa" for which the older Brazilians appear to have little or no appreciation. In exchange, Guyanese miners have been delighted to dance to the rhythm of Brazilian "Forró, Calypso, and Brega"; under the instructions of the Brazilian sex workers.

6.5 CONCERNS AND IMPACTS OF BRAZILIAN MIGRATION TO GUYANA

6.5.1 Physical Environmental Impacts of Mining by Brazilian Garimpeiros

As the Brazilian garimpeiros have proceeded to Guyana, so did their mining ethics and technologies, which have permitted reworking of rivers earlier mined by Guyanese pork-knockers (small scale miners), thereby increasing the output performance of Guyana's mining

sector. While small and medium scale river mining with the use of the Draga¹⁸ is still practiced (Figure 26), there has been a greater focus on inland mining (land dredging) over the last five years.



Figure 26: River mining by draga, Middle Mazaruni River

Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. (Region 7), Guyana

Moving along the rivers, this mechanically operated equipment collects and processes mineral bearing alluvial deposits as shown in Figure 27. As the rivers have become less productive, greater emphasis is placed on inland mining, which necessitates forest cover removal. With the availability of an excavator, pits are excavated following the removal of forest cover, in order to tap the subsurface mineral resources. In many cases, this tailings consisting of sand, clay and rock deposits are disposed directly into rivers, which indicates a breach of the mining regulations as tailings of critical turbidity exceeding 30 NTU (Nephelometric Turbidity Units) should have been transferred/pumped into an old pit for reuse after being settled.

¹⁸ This is a mechanically operated heavy duty mining equipment that allows miners (gold and diamond) to extract the mineral bearing alluvial deposits along the rivers.



Figure 27: Draga extracting the alluvial deposits, Mazaruni River

Source: Photo by Peter Harry (Brazilian Miner), 2006. (Region 7), Guyana

Traveling along the Middle Mazaruni River, many sand banks are discernible, following the release of waste sediments directly into the receiving environment (Figure 28).



Figure 28: Draga emitting tailings, Mazaruni River

Source: Photo by Peter Harry (Brazilian Miner), 2006. (Region 7), Guyana

Further observations reveal that some mining operations result in a complete clearing of the forest cover along the river banks (buffer areas), as shown in Figure 29. Being required to maintain a distance of twenty metres of the low water mark of a river bank, this practice is in violation of Part XXVII: 251(a) of the Regulations made under the Mining Act.



Figure 29: Clear Felling along River Bank, Middle Mazaruni, 2006

Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. (Region 7), Guyana

Further environmental impacts become apparent as sloping land is jetted for forest cover removal (Figure 30). Currently, there is no known practice of removing and safeguarding the topsoil for reuse in environmental reclamation or restoration. With this substandard mining practice, the organic layer and the topsoil are both wasted away into the nearby rivers thereby increasing the sediment load of such water bodies. At the abandonment stage of mining, the landscape looks very much disturbed and vulnerable to the agents of soil erosion.



Figure 30: Jetting the land to remove forest cover, Mahdia, 2006

Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. (Region 7), Guyana

In some areas in Mahdia, trees in adjoining areas have died as the nutrient rich organic layer and top soil has also been washed away, thus causing wilting of trees (Figure 31). Consequently, this technique of tree felling presents a serious threat to the environment, and occupational safety of mine workers, who sometimes encountered fatal injuries while felling trees.



Figure 31: Death of forest cover in Adjoining Areas, 2006

Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. (Mahdia, Region 8), Guyana

Because of uncertainties due to lack of mineral exploration surveys, quite often mining pits prove unproductive after extensive forest cover removal (Figure 32).



Figure 32: Forest Cover Removal for Land Mining, Kurupung, 2006

Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. (Region 7), Guyana

In the absence of environmental restoration and or recuperation, these uncertainties, which result in a high level of mobility among the garimpeiros, may pose a serious threat to the environment in that too much natural resources are used up in the present for activities with little net socioeconomic benefits to the Guyanese society.

In addition, this high level of mobility among garimpeiros, as observed during this study, seems to represent a further environmental challenge where there is poor environmental monitoring by the Guyana Geology and Mines Commission. For example, garimpeiros are occasionally found working close to public roads, which indicates a further breach of Part XXVII: 251(b) of Regulations made under the Mining Act for the protection of buffer areas (Figures 29 and 34). According to the Regulations Made under the Mining Act of 1989, buffer area means, “land on either bank of a river or watercourse from the low watermark of the bank to 20 metres inland, and extending from the mouth of the river or navigable watercourse to its source; or any area within 30 metres of a public road; or 100 metres of approved residences, commercial or industrial development; or 1 kilometres of any approved nature reserve park” (OFFICIAL GAZETTE, 2005, p. 117). Upon the arrival of the GGMC monitoring team, all activities have been complete and the garimpeiros have been gone to another location in search of another productive mining ground. Thus, there is a high mobility of Brazilians in mining regions; for example in Regions 8, Brazilians are very dispersed in mining areas (Figure 33).

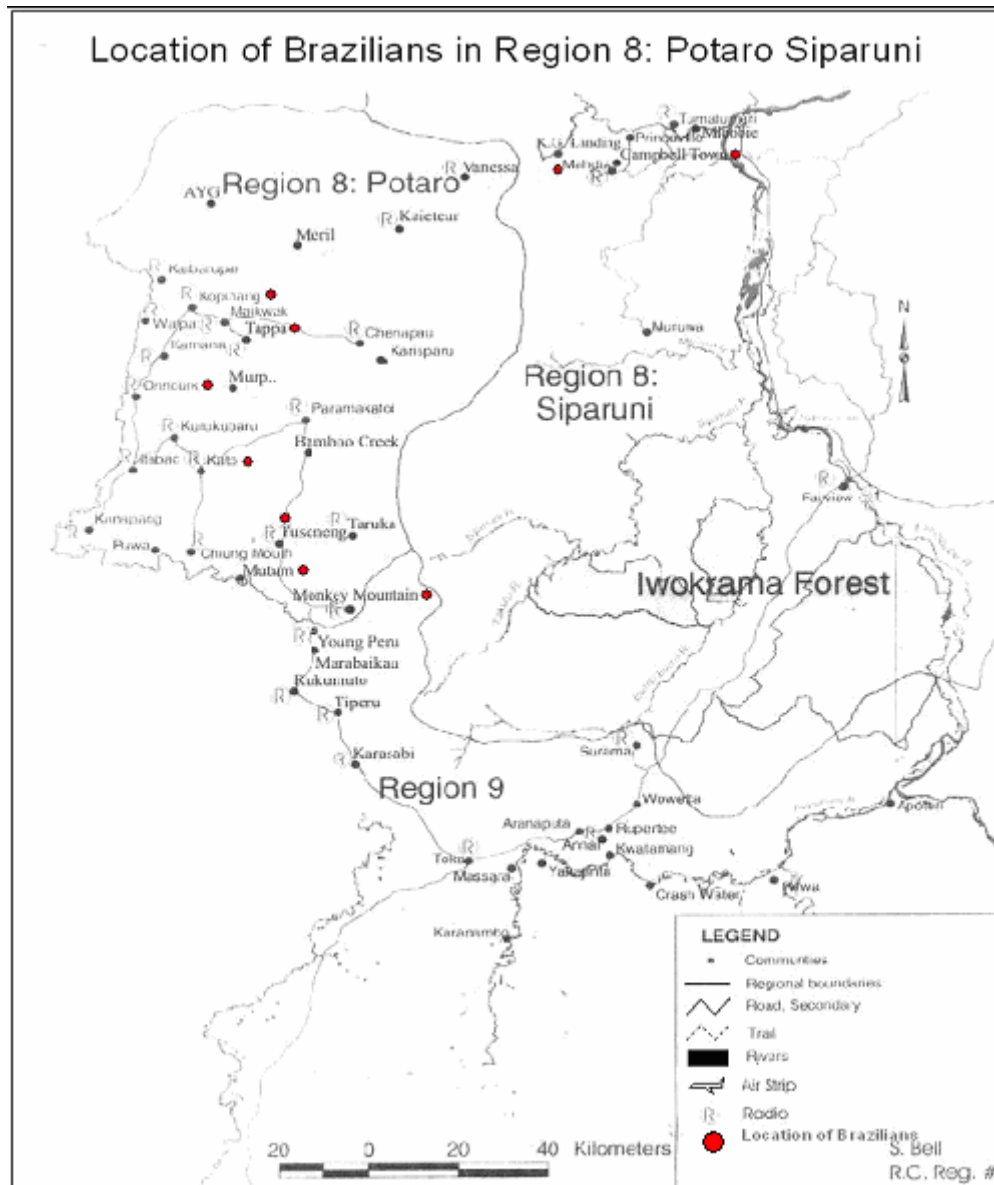


Figure 33: Areas where Brazilians are located in Region 8
Map source: Cartographic Unit, Department of Geography, University of Guyana, 2006

Furthermore, this study reveals that uncontrolled mobility of miners and in some cases, unregulated mining practices are threatening to the environment of this region, where poor monitoring and enforcement of the mining regulations have allowed Brazilians the opportunity of mining in protected areas (Figure 34).



Figure 34: Illegal Mining in Buffer Areas, Mahdia, 2006

Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. (Region 8), Guyana

Unsustainable in-land mining practices, particularly on sloping lands, are threatening to nearby aquatic ecosystems as creeks sometimes become sediment and their formations altered (Figure 35). In terms of terrestrial ecosystems, injudicious forest cover removal may also be threatening to keystone species in these areas. Sedimentation of water bodies impact on particularly traditional populations living in nearby villages, as Haynes, an Amerindian community leader from Region seven, highlights in the Press following a meeting bringing together Amerindian Community leaders and Parliamentarians:

Mining activities in Cuyuni/Mazaruni (Region Seven) have destroyed the way of life for many of the Amerindian communities as a result of the environmental hazards, including the pollution of the rivers and creeks. [...]Toshao John Andreas and Lawrence Anselmo outlined these points for the members of the Parliamentary Committee on Natural Resources during a special hearing at the Public Buildings yesterday that was convened to take evidence on pollution of rivers and creeks as a result of mining. [...]Anselmo had also been a leader of the village for twenty-two years, and he felt that very little recognition has been given to the rights of the local people in the mining areas. He said since the increase in mining in the early 90s in the Upper Mazaruni there has been great damage inflicted on the communities and it has now assumed such proportions that it can be seen as a great threat to their survival. In addition to the overlapping of concessions into titled lands, he cited the cross-border penetration by Brazilians. [...]He said the polluted waters have also seen the decline in the fish population as it affected the aquatic life that residents depend upon for sustenance. He gave a similar account of the game that once populated the areas and blamed the destruction of their habitat and their dwindling numbers on the pollution. He said the use of mercury for extraction by small-scale miners has also alarmed the residents who are well aware of the implications for their health.

Andreas complained that officials charged with monitoring mining in their communities were unaware of what was taking place on the ground, although he saw two causes for this problem. In the first instance, he said mining rangers have little authority on the ground. Added to this, are the deliberate attempts by the

miners to hide the negative practices of their occupation. He explained that when officials visit the sites, miners take care to ensure that nothing detrimental is done until the end of the inspection. And as a result, there was nothing to prevent the pollution in the communities. He named Kamaru, Kamarang and Waramadong as just some of the communities that are suffering as a result of the turbidity of the creeks and other water sources. (Haynes, Stabroek News, December 3, 2005).

This study confirms the claims made by Amerindian community leaders, which indicate that the environmental impacts of mining continue apace, and are also extended to other areas in Regions 7 and 8 (Figure 35 and 36).



Figure 35: Sedimentation of the Salbora Creek, Mahdia, 2006

Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. (Region 8), Guyana

However, while re-vegetation of these areas could reduce the accumulated impacts of such forest cover removal, mined out areas are often left abandoned (Figure 36). Consequently, these areas are left to the agents of erosion, which can cause a reduction of the infiltration capacity of soils, and a deterioration of the soil structure, which can be followed by a further increase in sedimentation of nearby water ways due to erosion of un-vegetated lands with unstable soil structures.



Figure 36: Abandoned Mined-Out Pits, Middle Mazaruni, 2006

Source: Photo by Corbin, 2006. (Region 7), Guyana

These inappropriate mining practices have also translated not only into a damages to landscape, but also into the creation of favourable breeding sites for the proliferation of malaria mosquitoes, which are common in these areas.

6.5.2 Concerns among Guyanese and the Guyana Geology and Mines Commission

As the Brazilians proceed to Guyana with a significant focus on mining, Guyanese express concerns about the environmental impacts of mining, employment and, the disturbing effects of prostitution among Brazilian women on the Guyanese society.

Concerning employment, many Guyanese males are denied jobs on Brazilian owned mining operations in spite of the GGMC requirement that all Brazilian investors must provide employment for Guyanese living in mining communities. On the other hand, Brazilian investors indicate that they find less profitable employing Guyanese because of differences in culture and work ethics. This cultural dimension of unemployment among Guyanese often forces many Guyanese males to migrate to other hinterland or even urban areas in search of employment.

At the level of the environment, some Guyanese observers are quite worried about the future integrity of the environment, and the level of uncontrolled migration of Brazilians to Guyana, where prominent observers indicate:

- *When we think of Brazilians in Guyana we must remember the issue of “Living Frontiers” ... Within the next 50 years, the issue of Brazilian migrants will be more pronounced in this regard (Peter, June 5, 2006, 5: 20 pm). – A travel writer and businessman living in Lethem.*

- *The major problem with the Brazilians is that their work ethic translates into bad news for the environment. There is an injudicious use of mercury which is threatening to the environment [...] as I traveled along the Mazaruni River, the river appears dead [...] as not a single aquatic species was visible. Strikingly is the fact that the miners do not seem concerned about the impacts of mercury on their own health (Bain, July 24, 2006, 11: 40 am) – A Guyanese Research Scientist.*

However, an interview with the then GGMC Commissioner reveals that this environmental problem is not purely Brazilian induced. In addition, the Commissioner stresses the importance of the Brazilian migrants who play a crucial role in the output performance of mining at the small and medium scale levels. In stating his perceptions on the presence of Brazilians in Guyana and views posited by local Guyanese in the Press, he indicates:

Researcher: I am interested in exploring the views from the Ministries concerned with the social, economic and environmental consequences of Brazilian migrants in the hinterlands. Therefore, I would be grateful for your views on the current issues in mining communities, and the role of the Brazilian miners in Guyana's mining sector.

GGMC Official: The Brazilians have rejuvenated the mining industry of Guyana particularly at the small and medium scale. Today, the mining focus at these levels has shifted with greater emphasis on inland dredging. In less than ten years, the registration statistics of licensee have shifted from 300 to 1,5 00. As a result of their modern technologies, the Brazilians play a crucial role in Guyana's mining sector, which contributes significantly to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Researcher: What are the environmental challenges with the aforementioned technology? Are the mining activities undertaken in conformity with Guyana's environmental regulations?

GGMC Official: The environmental challenges of mining in Guyana are not only attributed to the presence of the Brazilians. Like the Brazilian miners, the Guyanese miners continue to breach the environmental regulations. The problem, however, is that the Guyanese often blame the Brazilians for their wrong doings. [...] The environmental problem is therefore not "a Brazilian" induced problem.

Researcher: Several articles have appeared in the Press on the impacts of mining on traditional communities in the hinterlands. Can you comment on this issue?

GGMC Official: While mining activities are yet to be perfected, I must make it clear that a number of articles appear in the Press to appeal to particular interest groups. While some trails have been extended and others newly opened, the impacts on traditional communities do not seem [based on monitoring] to be as is often stated in the Press. What is most evident is that of a conflict among Brazilians and Guyanese for various reasons. As a requirement of this regulating entity, all Brazilian investors must provide employment for Guyanese, who should account for 50% of all employees. Often, Guyanese report that they are marginalized by Brazilian investors in that they are denied employment opportunities, which are awarded to workers of Brazilian nationality. On the other hand, the Brazilian investors report to the Commission that their reason for denying Guyanese employment is because of their indiscipline working attitude and that given the openness of the Brazil-Guyana border, it is most convenient for dredge operators to secure a more productive labour force from bordering Brazilian States. Furthermore, 30 Guyanese nationals were awarded land claims to mine at Oranapai Back Dam in the Mazaruni. On my recent visit, I have realized that the Guyanese have sold the lands to the Brazilian miners [...] then the very Guyanese have complained that the Brazilians have been occupying the mining frontier of their country. So, when we read the articles in the Press, it is imperative that we understand the deeper context in which the cultural and environmental problems exist.

Researcher: Many Brazilians are often seen in Georgetown as well. Are they mostly related to Mining?

GGMC Official: As we are aware, there are some 1,500 Brazilians in Guyana, which does not seem alarming. Most Brazilians in Guyana are either directly involved in mining or are in some form of relation or association

with the miners. On the contrary, there are some 30, 000 Guyanese living in Brazil states, which include Amazonas and Roraima. In Suriname, of course, the Brazilian community is much larger. Not all the miners and their workers are really migrants. Since a productive labour force is necessary for development, we should be happy if some of these workers in the mines are indeed migrants. Nevertheless, the Brazilians working in the mines include the miner workers, cooks and shop keepers.

Researcher: Many Guyanese complain that Brazilian small and medium scale miners do not record the true quantities of gold and diamond extracted. What are your views on this issue?

GGMC Official: While I must reiterate that outputs in gold and diamond have increased dramatically since the coming of the Brazilian miners who have advanced technologies, the Commission is aware of the discrepancies in the production records, which the miners declare. In this regard, it is estimated by the Commission that only 70 – 80% and 30 – 40% of the diamond and gold is declared, respectively. This discrepancy is believed to be related to economic factors as even if an area is unproductive; miners are required to pay land rent at 10% of their production, 5% of royalties on gold, 3% royalties on diamond, and another 2% tax to the Revenue Authority (May 16, 2006, 2:30- 3:30 pm).

With Brazilian rejuvenating mining at the small and medium scale levels, it remains clear the low participation among Guyanese in mining. Therefore, while mining by Guyanese may have caused some level of environmental damage, mining by Brazilians also presents serious environmental challenges for the reason that: (1) unsustainable mining activities have intensified since the arrival of the Brazilians ethics and technologies, which result in widespread pollution of rivers, extensive forest clearing for inland mining, and little or no environmental restoration, (2) the lack of mineral exploration surveys, which increases the number of failed mining operations, and a rapid depletion of forest cover in the present, and (3) poor monitoring and enforcement of environmental regulations, which increases the chances of Brazilian mining in protected and buffer areas, as earlier described.

Moreover, other Guyanese have perceived the recent Guyana-Brazil agreements as steps towards socioeconomic prosperity for these two South American countries, as a Guyanese writes in the Press:

Dear Editor,

Guyana is the gateway into the Brazilian heartland. As the Brazilian government continues to open up its interior, goods will flow from North America, the EU, the Far East, Caricom and Venezuela into Brazil through Guyana due to the expansion of the road network, and vice versa. This will be of significant benefit to our service industries (especially banking) and, to a lesser extent, our manufacturing industries, meaning more job creation and more foreign exchange for the economy.

Yours faithfully,
Sean Adams (STABROEK NEWS, December 25, 2004)

Further, other Guyanese perceive the migration of Brazilians and the establishment of Brazilian commerce in Guyana as a form of protection from Venezuela considering the long standing border dispute. Expressing these views in the Press, a Guyanese writes:

Dear Editor,

I urge the government not to pursue any venture or agreement with Venezuela until they lay off their claim for Guyana's Essequibo region. Building a road would only make it easier for their tanks and equipment to roll into our territory, in the event of an invasion.

The Venezuelans are worried that the Guyana-Brazil road would give the Brazilians a lot of influence in Guyana. I urge the government to go full ahead and build that road and a deep water harbour. They also need to encourage Brazilian companies to invest in the Essequibo region. Venezuela would think twice about invading Guyana if the Brazilians are here, because Brazil would not let them interfere with their commerce.

This government needs to stop bending to Venezuelan pressure. We do not need permission to develop any part of Guyana. If Venezuela were to invade Guyana they stand to lose the most, the sanctions that would come down on them from the United Nations and the US would cripple their economy which is already hurting. Just see what sanctions did to Iraq after they invaded Kuwait. They also know the US is watching them.

Lastly, this government needs to start funding the military more and to increase recruitment. We need to put more soldiers at our borders. Government needs to be more proactive when it comes to Guyana's security. Dis-mantling the National Service was a very foolish thing to do.

Yours faithfully,
H. Colin (STABROEK NEWS, February 26, 2004)

From the content of this letter, it can be further deduced that permitting Brazilian commerce in Essequibo would provoke another wave of Brazilian migration, as military weak Guyana seeks shield in her territorial fight with Venezuela.

6.5.3 Concerns by the Ministry of Home Affairs

Concerns about the documentation process and migration of Brazilian women are expressed in the following document which has been disseminated in Portuguese throughout Mining Communities by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Atenção todos os brasileiros residentes na Guiana!

O Ministro das Relações Internas (Home Affairs Ministry) gostaria de alertar a todos os brasileiros residentes neste país que as presentes recomendações são importantes e de interesse daqueles que desejam trabalhar ou entrar na Guiana através de um porto de entrada oficial, assim como requerer junto ao Ministério a prorrogação de permanência necessária à obtenção de emprego.

Para aqueles que pretendem aceitar ofertas de emprego na área de mineração, é imprescindível que o façam perante companhias registradas junto à Comissão de Geologia e Minas da Guiana (GGMC), vez que se observou que as empresas não registradas ou que não detenham permissão para atuar no setor de mineração, costumam se oferecer para auxiliar os brasileiros a viabilizar as permissões de trabalho nas áreas de mineração no interior, sendo de conhecimento do Ministério que, para tanto, chegam a cobrar US\$ 200,00 (duzentos dólares americanos) somente para dar entrada na documentação. O que significa um acréscimo no valor real de US\$ 200, 00 (duzentos dólares americanos) cobrado pela Pasta de Relações Internas.

Assim, com o intuito de reduzir abusos e explorações nesse segmento, evitando-se um agravamento da situação existente, o mencionado Ministério, as Forças Policiais Guianeses, a Comissão de Geologia e Minas de Guyana, Gold Board da Guyana e Associação dos Garimpeiros de Ouro e Diamantes, todos concordaram em

apoiar o novo processamento das permissões de trabalho, que precisará ser submetido à avaliação previa da GGMC para verificar se aquele empregador preenche os requisitos para trabalhar naquela área de mineração. Infelizmente, até a presente data, a maioria das companhias tem se esquivado de atender ao chamado da GGMC para tanto.

O Ministério está extremamente preocupado com algumas companhias que vem requerendo permissões de trabalho em nome de um número significativo de mulheres brasileiras no setor de mineração, sendo que, na realidade, a maioria sequer está naqueles distritos, induzindo-as a erro, fazendo com que pensem que a única maneira de trabalhar legalmente no país seja mediante permissão de trabalho em mineração, o que não coincide com a realidade.

Gostaríamos, ainda de alertar que os brasileiros, assim como pessoas procedentes de qualquer outro país, uma vez estando legalmente na Guiana podem requerer permissão de trabalho em áreas diferentes da mineração, desde que seja em atividades econômicas legais. A prorrogação da permanência e mesmo as permissões de trabalho podem ser negadas, por exemplo, caso a pessoa não esteja legalmente na Guiana ou se tiver com problemas com as autoridades locais, ou quando haja mão de obra suficiente para desempenho de determinada atividade naquela região, ou quando o empregador estiver em questão.

O Ministério está trazendo essas preocupações ao conhecimento de todos os brasileiros, em especial, as mulheres brasileiras, pedindo a todas que compareçam ao Ministério de Relações Internas (Home Affairs Ministry), a fim de regularizar sua situação na Guiana. Se já estiverem empregadas em restaurantes, como costureiras, ou como cabeleiras [cabelereiras], ou como tradutoras, etc, mas, se em suas permissões de trabalho constar que estão trabalhando para companhias de mineração, solicitamos que venham até o Ministério (Home Affairs Ministry) com os respectivos documentos de seus reais empregadores e/ou patrocinadores para que a situação na Guiana seja regularizada. Para as que estão sem documentação e ilegais, solicitamos que adotem as providências necessárias para urgente regularização de sua condição, sob pena de serem encaminhadas a seu país de origem.

Como resultado, o Ministério de Relações Internas (Home Affairs Ministry) juntamente com a GGMC estarão promovendo uma campanha de regularização nos distritos de mineração, no mês de março de 2006, para assegurar que atuem nesse setor estejam legalizados e corretamente documentados.

As pessoas que requerem permissões de trabalho no ano 2005 na área de mineração, através de varias companhias e que também pagaram para a taxa de processamento de sua permissão de trabalho no MOHA, solicitamos que venham até o Ministério com uma carta de seu real empregador, para que possamos tentar regularizar sua situação.

O Ministério de Relações Internas deseja, por meio destes procedimentos, garantir que os brasileiros, os quais reconhecemos como trabalhadores esforçados, sejam conhecedores dos processos de imigração e, portanto, tornem-se devidamente documentados, permitindo, assim que residam e trabalhem legalmente em nosso país.” (Ministry of Home Affairs, July, 2006)

Field observation reveals that some migrants do not take these concerns seriously in an attempt to evade paying taxes and to conceal illegal economic activities, as earlier stated. Consequently, while the Ministry is willing to ensure that migrants are documented and protected under the laws of Guyana, these migrants seem disinterested as they do not plan to remain in Guyana, but to return to Brazil after “earning money” in Guyana. Given that many young Brazilian women are engaged in prostitution, it remains a significant challenge for them to be documented for working purposes. Consequently, as the document states, mining companies solicit work permits on behalf of these women, hence generating concerns by this Ministry.

6.5.4 Concerns among migrants and Brazilian Embassy officials

In terms of illegal migration and border controls, the Guyana-Brazil border line is considered very long and porous. While some proceed to Guyana illegally, most migrants interviewed in Georgetown and the hinterlands have entered Guyana legally; most frequently as tourists, who later apply for work permits. Because of bureaucracies at the Ministry of Home Affairs, as earlier stated, some Brazilians indicate that while they have intended to follow the lawful documentation process, they just proceed to the hinterlands to work, illegally, as it is very costly to “put-up” at guesthouses in Georgetown for extended periods.

Quickly spreading the word, illegal migrants know whenever the immigration department is on campaign against illegal migrants. This strong networking among Brazilians in Georgetown and the hinterlands presents a serious challenge to the Guyanese legal authority.

Faced with such a delay at the Home Affairs Ministry and not being able to communicate in Basic English, many Brazilians seek Legal Advisers, who, quite frequently charge exorbitant sums of money, and yet often fail to ensure that these migrants secure work permits. Not wanting to contact their local Embassy in Georgetown because of their perception that the Embassy exists only to deport illegal migrants, Brazilians cannot take legal action.

Officials at the Brazilian Embassy reveal that when caught by the police, illegal migrants are deported at the cost of the Embassy. Thus, while the embassy is willing to look into concerns among Brazilians in Guyana, it remains a common perception among migrants that the Embassy operates with the primary objective of deporting illegal Brazilians. Thus, most migrants have been quite reluctant in being registered at the embassy to cast their votes at the 2006 general elections. Consequently, only 10 males and 11 females, who are principally diplomats and other employees of the Brazilian Embassy, have registered.

As it relates to prostitution, Brazilian religious leaders express serious concerns on issues related to abuse and vulnerability of young Brazilian women, as well as to the risk of Sexual Transmitted Diseases. Consequently, the Brazilian *Deus é Amor* Church plays an active role in providing counseling services for sex workers.

6.6 SUMMARY

The most common concerns associated with the Brazilians' presence in Guyana are centered on mining and prostitution and the documentation of illegal Brazilians. On the positive side, the Brazilian *garimpeiros* have continued to play an important role in rejuvenating Guyana's mining sector at the small and medium scale level, which has been crucial to the Guyanese economy considering its vulnerability in the age of globalization when preferential markets, particularly for sugar, have been threatened. In addition, some Guyanese are very optimistic about the mutual socioeconomic benefits that Guyana and Brazil could enjoy as they continue to foster trade agreements.

Further, it must be reiterated that a strong networking system was pivotal towards a smoother transition to a new life in Guyana. After arriving in Guyana through Lethem, the greater volume of migrants proceeded to Georgetown, which was identified both point of destination and in transit point for Brazilians that were en route to the hinterlands or Suriname. As the migrants proceeded in their daily endeavours, a high level of spatial mobility was observed. In hinterland regions where mining, trade and prostitution were the dominant livelihood activities among Brazilians, such as high level of mobility was observed to have the following effects: (1) the establishment of new housing/business settlement areas (Landings), (2) the reworking of rivers more intensely and increasing sandbanks, altering the river flow, (3) injudicious clearing of tracks of forest to work mineral deficient areas, (4) the disturbance to both aquatic and terrestrial ecosystems, with a potential for the extension of tropical deserts, and (5) subtle conflicts that resulted from job displacement among Guyanese sex workers by those from Brazil.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7 BRAZILIAN MIGRATION TO GUYANA AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter relates the findings to the research questions stated in Chapter one. These questions are discussed and interpreted in view of empirical findings and relevant literature. Though responses sometimes overlap, each question is discussed separately.

7.2 QUESTION 1: WHO ARE THE BRAZILIANS THAT MIGRATE TO GUYANA?

The majority of the Brazilians migrating to Guyana are from Northern and North Eastern Brazil, where the majority of the migrants are Maranhenses. Following a defined route, the majority of these migrants have changed residence for about four times, where they finally resettle in Roraima State, from where they migrate to Guyana. These findings are consistent with those of Arouck (2000) who observes that Brazilians migrating to French Guiana are from Amapá and Pará, given the geographical proximity of the areas of the countries of origin and destination.

The majority of migrants to Guyana are from lower socioeconomic classes in Brazil. In this light, some 30% of these migrants have not receive any formal schooling, while 35.5% and 31.0% have attained primary or secondary education, respectively. In many cases, those who received formal schooling were actually school dropouts. Brazilians of this lower socioeconomic class are observed to be in an internal state of motion as they searched for better economic opportunities, where they first migrate internally before migrating to bordering Amazonian countries.

Contrary to Lee (1966), this study reveals that migration and distance are independent of sex. However, Brazilian males dominate principally because the labour market demands more males who work as *garimpeiros*. While not observed in this study, there may be other instances where the participation among Brazilian women in the migration process is higher, depending on the demands of the international labour market. This selectiveness of the labour market and cultural factors are observed to have a restricting effect on the income earning activities among migrants in Guyana. For example, because they are more likely to be engaged in prostitution, females under age 30 are often denied employment as domestic labourers in mining communities. However, when asked about their occupation during the survey, many of these females have been less inclined in stating “prostitution” or even, more modestly, sex worker. However, direct and participant observation and, interviews with

religious leaders who provide counseling for these women have confirmed that younger females are principally engaged in prostitution in Georgetown and in mining communities. Thus, mining and prostitution are the two main economic activities among poor Brazilians migrating to Guyana.

Leaving children, wives and husbands behind, Brazilians migrate in their prime working ages to work for a few months after which they return to reunite family members. Consequently, four groups of Brazilians are identified in this migration process. The first group is characterized by the first time migrants, the majority of whom are Maranhenses living in Roraima state. While these migrants are coming to Guyana for the first time, they have already been in a state of internal motion in seeking better economic opportunities in Brazil. In an effort to reduce the risks or cost associated with uncertainties of the labour market in Guyana, first time migrants have acquired a general knowledge of areas of destination through a strong networking system with resident migrants, who make up the second group of Brazilians in Guyana.

Resident migrants engaged in mining can be considered the keystone group in facilitating the migration and adaptation processes for first timers, who may be potential miner workers, prostitutes, traders or domestic labourers. As the miners have been constrained by harsh mining regulations in Brazil, they have migrated to Guyana where the environmental regulations and their enforcements, are evidently lax. As these miners become established, they create the conditions for the migration of friends and family members, who are, in most cases, already in a state of internal migration between Brazil states in search of better livelihood activities. Forming a strong networking system with migrants in Guyana, internal migrants in Brazil are thus able to react swiftly in taking advantage of better livelihood activities internally and internationally, where they adopt migration as a livelihood strategy.

With the mining investors controlling this dominant livelihood activity among Brazilians, the successes among the traders, sex workers and domestic labourers directly depend on the successes among miners. Being economically established and possessing deep familiarity with the environmental and socioeconomic and political outlook of Guyana, resident migrants exert a significant control over the migration among potential migrants in Brazil. With mining being a seasonal activity, the miner migrants make a number of return trips to Brazil, which characterize the third group of migrants. Being dependent on these miners, their workers, traders and sex workers make a number of return trips, simultaneously. As these migrants return to resume work in Guyana, the migration process is characterized by

a fourth group of migrants. However, as resident migrants return to Brazil permanently, returning migrants assume the status of resident migrants, who now set the conditions for the migration and employment for first time migrants, thus, another cycle commences.

7.3 QUESTION 2: HOW AND WHY DO BRAZILIANS MIGRATE TO GUYANA?

A step-wise migration process is observed as migrants move between Brazilian states before migrating to Guyana. For the greater volume of migrants, a well defined migration and return route has been followed, as the majority of migrants moved from Brazil to Guyana. During this step-wise process, two important patterns are observed. The first pattern is such that after leaving states of birth, some migrants resettled in three or four other states as they moved from Maranhão, Pará and Amazonas to Roraima, all of which are states of destination. For other migrants traveling directly to Guyana, these very states are found to be areas of in-transit, which characterize the second pattern of step-wise migration among Brazilians migrating to Guyana.

Migrating along this well defined route, 98% of these migrants (200) have entered Guyana through Bonfim-Lethem Crossing. During this process, it is observed that Roraima state has been a major state of destination and transit for Brazilians going to Guyana. Thus, it should be expected that migrants from other states including Maranhão and Pará, constitute a significant proportion of the population in Roraima State, which has been identified as one of the fastest growing Brazilian states following discoveries of mineral resources (PEREIRA, 2006). With the remaining pioneer migrants entering Guyana along the border line, for example along the Mutum River, it is conclusive that this group of Brazilian miners to Guyana has been characterized by displaced garimpeiros principally from Roraima state, Suriname and even Venezuela during the 80 and early 90s.

As those migrants have become established in Guyana, subsequent contact with friends and families has led to the establishment or strengthening of an inter-state and international networking system thereby carefully defining the migration and return routes where after arriving in Belém (Pará) from Maranhão, the greater majority of migrants travel to Amazonas through Santarém (Pará) by boat, and from Manaus (Amazonas) to Boa Vista (Roraima) by bus. Taking a taxi or a bus to arrive in Bonfim (Roraima), migrants then travel by boat (when the Takutu River water level is high) across the Brazil- Guyana border. From Lethem, migrants proceed to Georgetown going to the hinterland regions. A few others remain in Georgetown, while others continue to Suriname. This indicates that Guyana is a destination country for some Brazilian migrants and concurrently, a transit country for others

en route to Suriname, as further confirmed by a Brazilian migrant, “[...] *many people simply pass through Guyana on the way to Suriname [...] there are far more Brazilian miners in that country than this*” (PRABHALA, 2002). This observation reinforces the idea that under globalization all states or countries are now considered as areas of origin, destination and transit for migrants (DEWEY, 2005).

In Guyana, displaced *garimpeiros* have established a “Brazilian *garimpeiro* community”, which serves as a livelihood base for Brazilians friends and family members, who have already been migrating between Brazilian states after been notified of better economic opportunities. Therefore, Brazilians who have been agricultural and construction labourers and, self employed businessmen in their country have later become involved in mining in Guyana. Thus, having heard of the gold and diamond shouts, in Guyana, the state of flux is redirected, where migrants respond quickly to better economic opportunities in Guyana and reacted swiftly to diminishing opportunities in Brazil. When asked about their reasons for migrating to Guyana for the first time, migrants have responded as follows:

- *Notícias do garimpo em Kurupung e Puruni* (news of mining in Kurupung) – 48 years old male Maranhense who last resided in Pará
- *Aventura que se torna pior* (adventure that proved unsatisfactory) – 36 years old male Maranhense who last lived in Mato Grosso
- *Para visitar a minha família que mora na Guiana, e para ver a possibilidade de trabalhar por alguns meses* (to visit my family living in Guyana, and to evaluate the feasibility of working for a few months) – 27 years old male Maranhense who last resided in Boa Vista
- *Para vender roupa* (to sell clothing) – 39 years old female Maranhense who last resided in Boa Vista
- *Melhor emprego... só quem está formado pode ter emprego bom no Brasil* (better job ... only those who have higher education can secure employment in Brazil)– 44 years old male Maranhense who last resided in Boa Vista
- *Condições financeiras* (financial reasons) – 44 male Maranhense who last lived in Boa Vista
- *Para trabalhar no garimpo porque Brasil fechou* (to work in mining having being constrained to do so in Brazil) – 45 years old male Maranhense who last resided in Boa Vista

- *Para tentar melhorar a minha situação de vida* (in an attempt to improve my standard of living) – 49 years old male borne in Piauí but last lived in Boa Vista
- *Para cozinhar no mato* (to cook on mining camps) – 33 years old female Maranhense who last lived in Boa Vista

These responses indicate the importance of networks, and internal migration in shaping Brazil's international migration outlook, where Brazilians from the lower socioeconomic class depend on migration as a livelihood strategy. In terms of networks, both the literature and empirical findings reveal that great attractions from the gold and diamond shouts in Guyana have led to resettlements among Guyanese Coast Landers, Islanders and more recently Brazilian migrants, in Guyana's interior. As the Brazilian *garimpeiro* population has increased in Guyana, so does its demand for Brazilian goods and services, which has provoked successive waves of migration, which are characterized by the sex workers, domestic labourers and traders, who took advantage of the Guyana-Brazil trade agreements. Here the structural view of migration become visible in the light of the Guyana-Brazil Partial Scope and Road agreements, which together have been instituted in an effort to foster greater trade ties through preferential market treatments and, facilitating the movement of people and goods across geopolitical borders.

This increase in transport and developments in commerce have contributed to the intensification of Brazilian migration to Guyana and or their transit to Suriname. These agreements are crucial towards an understanding of the macro factors which were responsible for the international movement of Brazilian labour, capital and technology. Thus, the process of international migration of Brazilians is also affected as Guyana and Brazil embrace the underlying principles of globalization.

Proceeding in this regard, visa is not longer a requirement for Brazilians entering Guyana. This fact, coupled with poor enforcements of immigration and environmental regulations have certainly impacted on the volume of Brazilians in Guyana. Therefore, if checks are not imposed in this regard, the volume of migration and its accompanying social and environmental impacts will certainly continue to increase over time.

Confirming Lee's proposition (1966), this study reveals that each migration stream is followed by a counter stream, where most migrants plan on returning to Brazil permanently after making several return trips to Guyana. Below are the most common responses given when migrants have been asked about their return to Brazil:

- *Por ser o meu país onde nasci* (for Brazil being my country of birth) –30 years old male born and last lived in Maranhão
- *Porque sou brasileiro e quero morar lá* (being Brazilian, I want to live there) – 22 years old male born and last lived in Mato Grosso
- *Para meus estudos e também pelas saudades* (because of my studies and nostalgia) – 18 years old female borne in São Paulo, but last resided in Roraima
- *Porque eu moro no Brasil e porque a minha família mora lá também* (because myself and family live in Brazil) – 32 years old female Maranhense who last resided in Pará
- *Porque é o meu lugar... Eu amo o meu país* (because I have a place in Brazil... I love my country) –33 years old female Paraense who last resided in Maranhão
- *Porque estou com saudade do meu filho* (because I have nostalgia for my son) – 26 years old female Paraense who last resided in Pará
- *Porque é o meu país de origem* (because it is my country of origin) – 35 years old female from Bahia who last resided in Boa Vista
- *Sempre volto ao Brasil no final do ano para passear com minha família e, voltar à Guiana* – (I always return to Guyana after visiting my family, in Brazil, at the end of the year) 48 years old male Maranhense who last resided in Pará
- *Para ver meu médico... Não falo inglês, então tenho que ir* (to visit my doctor ... I do not speak English, therefore I have to go) – 48 years old female Maranhense who last resided in Boa Vista
- *Vou a cada cinco meses... que é onde tenho meus filhos* (every 5 months I return to Brazil ... as my children reside there) – 39 years old male Maranhense who last resided in Boa Vista
- *Porque lá tenho o meu emprego fixo... Vim para cá de aventura e não dá certo; então vou voltar e não volto mais à Guiana* (because I have my permanent job in Brazil ... I came to Guyana in quest of employment opportunities, which proved unsatisfactory. I am therefore returning to Brazil and will not return to Guyana) – 36 years old male Maranhense who last lived in Mato Grosso

From these responses it can be deduced that: (1) the Brazilians are patriotic to Brazil being their country of origin and where they have acquired cultural values *de ser brasileiros*. Thus they intend to return to Brazil to live permanently, (2) the migration process is cyclical, and seasonal as migrants return to reunite with family members after working in Guyana for a

defined period, and (3) while some Brazilians are almost certain of being employed in Guyana, there are others who migrate with greater uncertainties, which sometimes result in deception and return to Brazil or other neighbouring Amazonian countries. For other Brazilians returning home from Guyana, this counter stream is not attributed to the total “disappearance” of positive factors at areas of destination as posited by Lee, but rather due to the onset of adverse climatic factors which give rise to a seasonal migratory pattern among Brazilian migrant workers in Guyana. This influence of climatic factors is directly related to inland and river mining activities, where while the dry weather is attractive to inland miners and their workers, it was repulsive to river miners and their workers. Thus, each stream is followed by an accompanying (seasonal) counter stream, where the majority of the migrants returned to their respective states of residence to reunite with family members, after which they return to resume and to continue the migration cycle.

Therefore, evolving from the findings, the migration and return processes can be schematically represented as shown in Figure 37, and explained below.

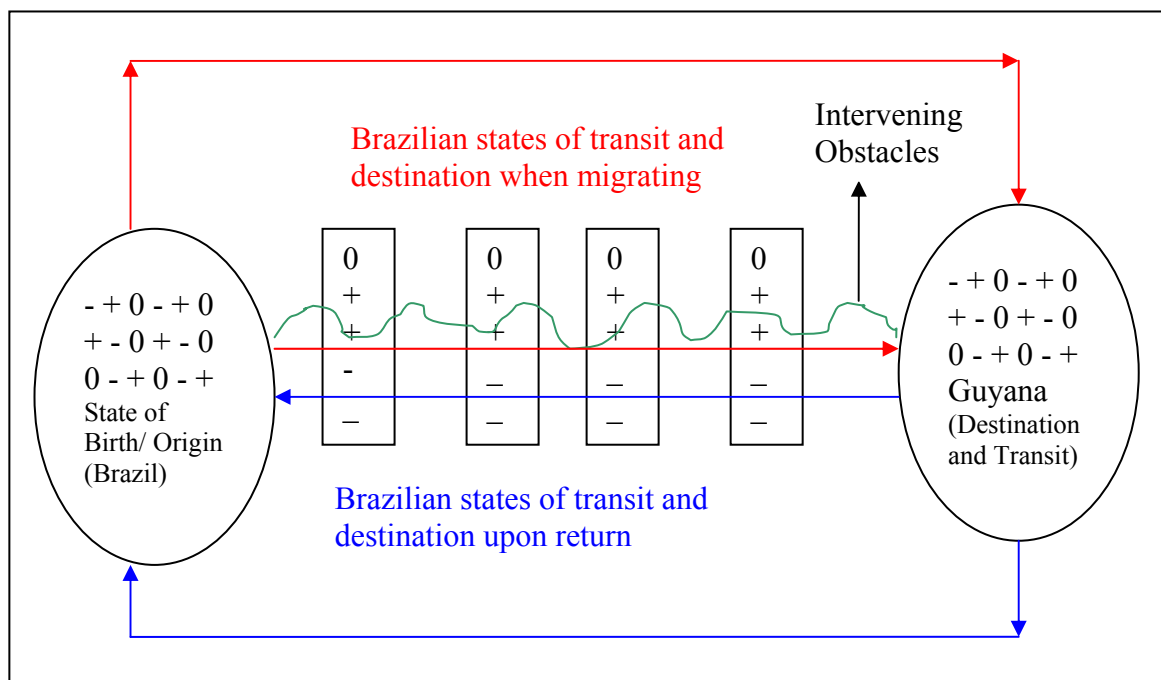


Figure 37: A schematic representation of Brazilian migration to Guyana

Note: this is based on a schematic representation by Lee (1966, 291)

Where:

- the red and blue lines represent the migration and return process, respectively,
- + represents the factors pulling migrants to a given state or country. During this process, the major factors pulling migrants are: (1) better economic opportunities

between Brazilian states and in Guyana, and (2) accompanied migration where children migrate with parents or guardians. A strong inter-state and international networking system among Brazilian friends and family members reduces the costs and risks associated with uncertainties.

- c) – represents factors pushing migrants from a given state or country. During this process, the major factors pushing migrants or provoking their return from Brazil and Guyana are: (1) lack of better economic opportunities in Brazil; (2) adverse climatic factors, in Guyana, which have given rise to the seasonality of employment activities in Guyana, and ultimately the migration process; (3) the selectiveness of the labour market for Brazilians migrating to Guyana, which sometimes results in disappointments and migrant's return to Brazil.
- d) 0 represent factors that do not have any migration effect in causing a person to migrate from a state or country.
- e) The green line represents intervening obstacles in the migration process, which are reduced since the enactment of Guyana-Brazil road and trade agreements, and in the presence of poor enforcements of immigration and mining regulations.

Based on these pull and push factors, it should be noted that the migration of Brazilians to Guyana is not limited to the individual level of analysis, as also observed by structural historic scholars who criticized the notion of the cost-benefit analysis at the individual level as laid down by neoclassical economists (GONZALES, 1979; WOOD, 1982). Like the structural historic scholars, this study reveals the influence of the Guyana-Brazil trade agreements and cooperation efforts between the Brazilian and Guyanese Governments in removing visa requirements, thereby reducing some interviewing obstacles that earlier existed in the migration process. Like the New Economists, this study reveals the strong influence of family and friendship networks in reducing the risks associated with failures in the foreign labour market.

7.4 QUESTION 3: HOW DO BRAZILIANS ADAPT TO GUYANA?

The adaptation process of Brazilians in Guyana is deeply intertwined with the migration process, during which migrants maintain a strong friend and family networking system in areas of origin, transit and destination. Through this networking system, potential migrants became aware of the prospects and challenges of migrating at a particular time.

Consistent with previous studies (ARAGON, 1986; AROUCK, 2000; BRITO, 1995; CELADE, 2006; HEFTI, 1997; KLAGSBRUNN, 1996), the findings of this study reveal that these networks do not only serve to inform prospective migrants of the benefits of migrating, but also enormously assist first timers in the adaptation process considering language barriers and other social and cultural challenges, which have also been observed by other researchers among Brazilians living in French Guiana (SIMONIAN; FERREIRA, 2005).

With the miners representing the keystone species, a mutually symbiotic relationship is evident among miners, sex workers, traders, domestic labourers and of, course, religious leaders. As opposed to migrants dispersed in mining areas, those in Georgetown live and work in closer association. However, this does not mean that there is a lesser social organization among Brazilians in the hinterlands, for migrants do maintain contact via radio systems, thereby sharing information on gold and diamond shouts and, periods of environmental monitoring.

However, living arrangements vary with the type of livelihood activities in which migrants are engaged. Except for hinterland areas where the mobility among the mining population is considerably high thus forcing most seasonal migrants to live in mining camps, the living conditions among Brazilians in Guyana are considerably better than those described by Arouck (2000), among Brazilians who live in *favelas* in French Guiana. In Georgetown, the living arrangement and conditions are quite different, as the migrants stay in hotels and guesthouses. These buildings (hotels) are actually rented from Guyanese by Brazilian investors, who in-turn rent single rooms to Brazilians. Located in close proximity are the Brazilian owned restaurants, salons, bars and stores, which compliment the supply of goods and services, offered to the Brazilian community in Georgetown. All goods and services reflect the Brazilian cultural identity, thus particularly first time migrants find it less challenging to adapt to a new life in Guyana.

As they live and work in Guyana, migrants in the most remote location in Guyana maintained frequent contact with friends and family at home. While telephone is most frequently used, there are instances where migrants preferred to send letters. Those who cannot read or write are assisted by a literate Brazilian, but at a cost \$G 2 000 per letter. With illiterate migrants surmounting this barrier, they are also able to maintain contact with other friends and family members in neighbouring Amazonian countries, where they become aware to the prospects and challenges of remigrating should the Guyanese labour market proved unsatisfactory. Consequently, the time period over which Brazilian migrants remain in Guyana is contingent upon several factors including: (1) a migrant's ability to secure

employment, (2) the abundance of gold and diamond, (3) the stringency and enforcement of mining regulations, (4) immigration control of illegal migrants, and (5) better economic options and migration conditions in other neighbouring Amazonian countries, which include Venezuela, Suriname and French Guiana. But, even if favourable working conditions always exist in Guyana, the majority of migrants do plan on returning permanently.

7.5 QUESTION 4: WHAT CAN BE LEARNT OF THE SOCIOECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES ADOPTED BY BRAZILIANS IN GUYANA?

Three major impacts are associated with the presence of Brazilians in Guyana. Concerning the economic impacts, this study reveals that advance mining technology, which accompany the Brazilian garimpeiro migrants, contribute significantly towards the output performance of the Guyana Mining sector in the area of gold and diamond production. This contribution has been more pronounced during the last five years (2000 – 2006) as posited by Livan (2006). In this regard, she argues that, in 2002 a total output of 248, 000 metric carats of diamond has been recovered after 79 years. Confirming the economic impacts of the Brazilians on the Guyanese economy in 2005, the Guyana Gold and Diamond Miners Association (GGDMA) states:

Brazilians have helped re-energise Guyana's mining - gold and diamond - industry making it a major contributor to the economy.

This is the view of Executive Director of the Guyana Gold and Diamond Miners Association (GGDMA) Anthony Shields, who has called for a closer working relationship among the industry's stakeholders who include the police, the Guyana Gold Board, the GGDMA and the government, so as to fight crime in the mining districts.

Mr Shields is the guest on the weekly Demico House-sponsored half-hour One on One interview programme which is broadcast every Sunday night at 7 O'clock and rebroadcast the following Tuesday on NCN television.

The GGDMA top official dismissed as nonsense, unproven claims that Brazilians pose a threat to Guyanese in the industry. He explained that the Brazilians work on claims owned by Guyanese.

Mr Shields said the industry also owes its development to "these people" who have introduced sophisticated equipment to mine gold and diamonds. (STABROEK NEWS, 2005a).

However, at the small and medium scale levels, no foreigners are entitled to land for mining, thus, as Executive Secretary of the Guyana Gold and Diamond Miners Association (GGDMA reveals above, Brazilians mine on lands [claims] owned by Guyanese. Letters in the Press by Guyanese miners indicate their discontentment with Brazilians not employing

Guyanese and Brazilians taking over the interior, by having dredges registered in the names of well to do Guyanese with whom they enter into a partnership, as stated by a Guyanese who has been a miner for the past 30 years:

I have been a miner for over thirty years. I have observed over the years the influx of Brazilian miners. If something is not done immediately, they would not only outnumber the Guyanese miners but also work out all our land without paying royalties to the government. If they were contributing significantly to our economy it wouldn't be a problem but they are not. [...] I know of one Guyanese who has over thirty dredges registered in his name that are owned by Brazilians. When the mines officers or police visit this work site where these dredges operate, the dredge owner pays a bribe to them for the Brazilian workers that do not have their documents in order.

The majority of the land dredges in Guyana are owned by Brazilians. Most of their dredges are registered in Guyanese names. Most of their dredges are working on the areas of well to do Guyanese who hold the majority of mining land. [...]

Most of these workers on the Brazilian dredges are Brazilians. They only employ Guyanese for security reasons, and they would not receive the same salary or percentage as the Brazilian workers. The Amerindian workers are the ones who are being exploited the most by them.

These dredge owners would work their dredges until they accumulate a large amount of gold and diamonds. They then slip across the border back home into Brazil with their gold and diamonds. Back home they would either bank their money or invest it in a business.

Our government is of the opinion that they are foreign investors. They are not. The majority of people they employ are fellow Brazilians. They are not really creating employment for Guyanese, nor paying much taxes to the state.

In reality, they are foreign extractors. The only people that benefit from them are a few shop owners, the people that prepare their work permits and these rapacious well to do land owners who own the land they work on. (MC KNIGHT, *Stabroek News*, January 14, 2006)

While partnerships among Guyanese and Brazilians may not be a matter of concern by the GGMC, concerns raised by Guyanese miners living in hinterland regions should be of important interest to policy making bodies for development of hinterlands regions. In spite of the increased economic performance of mining in hinterland regions, rural interior locations remain highly undeveloped with a marginal decrease in poverty between 1993 and 1999, when poverty gaps of 46.1% and 44.9%, respectively have been recorded (GINA, 2001). With mining being one of the dominant livelihood activities in these areas, Brazilian investors do not provide much employment for Guyanese residents, thus it is perceived by many Guyanese that there is the establishment of a Brazilian mining industry, employing principally Brazilian nationals, on Guyana's territory.

These marginal reductions in poverty in these areas, when compared to the Georgetown and other Urban areas (GINA, 2001), indicate that foreign earnings from resource extraction in rural interior locations are diverted for the development of non-

hinterland regions. These have been some of the concerns of Guyanese residents at a meeting on July 4, 2006 bringing together the President of Guyana, the Minister of Amerindian Affairs, the Commissioner of GGMC, the Regional Chairman of Region 8, the Regional Education Officer, Guyanese residents and the Caribbean and Brazilian migrants. This meeting, at which the researcher was present, has been part of the Cabinet Outreach Programme, residents have been concerned about infrastructural and socioeconomic developments of the region, with significant focus on lack of educational and employment opportunities, which provokes a wave of internal migration among youths, who seldom return to contribute to the development of these areas. Particular attention has also been placed on the lack of electricity, reliable potable water supply, and improvements in the Post-Office system. In addition, residents have expressed concerns about the environmental impacts of mining on the creeks, from which they depended on water for domestic uses. Although they have participated in given the warmest welcome to the President Jagdeo and his delegation to Madhia, Brazilian migrants did not express any issue of concern. From these concerns among Guyanese residents, it can be deduced that little attention is placed on the development of rural interior areas. Thus an institutional framework which places greater emphasis on increased participation among local Guyanese, Brazilian miners (investors) and the state, should be at the heart of any programme for development of rural interior areas.

Considering the closure of a major large scale mining operation (Omai), Livan (2006) stresses the economic importance of the Brazilian garimpeiros whose output has contributed to 61.9% (69.3 million US dollars) of the total gold exports in 2005. When compared with 46.2 million US dollars from rice, which has been, traditionally, one of the major sources of foreign earnings, the economic importance of the Brazilian garimpeiro community in Guyana became more visible. Considering Guyana's vulnerability of preferential market prices, for sugar, on which the economy significantly depends (ROHEE, 2005), dependency on mining particularly by the Brazilian garimpeiros may become greater. Thus, while globalization has supposed to bring the poorer countries in line with the developed countries, it is clear that its trade sanctions have been forcing countries such as Guyana to become dependent on migrants, in this case the Brazilian labour, to power Guyana's GDP following the mass migration of Guyanese to the North America and the Caribbean. With the observation that under globalization, poorer countries should be sending goods instead of people, Stalker (2007) posits that the process of globalization is occurring in a distorted fashion.

Consistent with this significant contribution of the Brazilian garimpeiros to the export earnings from gold and diamond over the last five years (2000 -2006), this study reveals that

the volume of migration has increased dramatically since 2000, which indicates that it is not only the introduction of more efficient technology, which contributes to increased performance of the gold and diamond outputs among Brazilian *garimpeiros*, but also a significant increase in the number of migrants who became involved in mining in Guyana. With the majority of migrants proceeding from Roraima state, these findings are consistent with those of Pereira (2006) who has observed a sharp increase in the volume of Brazilians resettling in Roraima state since 2000. With the population of Roraima State growing at a rate that exceeded 3% per annum between 1991 and 2000 as a result of migration (*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (IBGE), 2000), it could be possible that the sharp population increase after 2000 is attributed to resettlements of internal migrants who have subsequently re-migrated to Guyana. As there is a *spill-over* of Brazilian migrants to Guyana, interview with a GGMC Official discloses that in less than ten years the registration statistics for licensed dredging operations have jumped from 300 to 1,500 due to an increased participation in Brazilians in mining in Guyana.

This dramatic increase in the number of legal operations presents a significant environmental challenge in terms of forest cover removal and environmental change. The lack of exploration surveys, which creates a high degree of uncertainty, has also exacerbated the vulnerability of the hinterlands since the coming of the Brazilians *garimpeiros* as extensive unproductive areas are being deforested. Because Brazilian *garimpeiros* concentrate on the short run profit maximization before the implementation and or enforcement of stringent environmental regulations, Guyana's hinterland seems even more vulnerable, where, using conservative estimates, in 5 years, there could be a loss of 206,250 acres of forest cover for only areas that prove unproductive¹⁹. Coupled with that for productive areas, the total forest cover removal could be even larger. At the policy level, this injudicious land clearing has represented a resource-specific policy failure, which has been resulting in the allocation and use of too much natural resources in the present.

The environmental challenges of extensive forest cover removal could be greater where miners fail to practice environmental restoration or recuperation activities. Further, the GGMC Official warns that this environmental problem has not been entirely induced by Brazilian miners, as Guyanese small and medium scale miners have also provoked similar environmental concerns. Nevertheless, it can be reasoned that without the Brazilian *garimpeiros* and their accompanying technologies, the environmental impacts resulting from

¹⁹ Loss of unproductive forest cover/year = 27.5 acres/dredge × 1 500 dredging operation

this small number of Guyanese small scale miners, in terms of forest cover removal and sedimentation of creeks, would be minimal to provoke parallel environmental concerns. However, many Guyanese miners have now adopted the Brazilian technologies, as the Guyana's Prime Minister Hinds commends Guyanese and Brazilians on output performance and, at the same times, on the need to maintain the integrity of the environment:

Miners are being encouraged to clean up their operations as the Guyana Geology and Mines Commission (GGMC) seeks to impose measures aimed at reducing turbidity in several waterways close to mining areas. [...]

This was one of several challenges thrown out by Prime Minister Samuel Hinds as he reviewed the performance of the sector in 2003, while touching on projections for 2004.

In a press statement coming out of his office he commended the record diamond production. Declarations reached some 406,808 carats, a record for production over the last decade.

He noted the contributions of miners from neighbouring Brazil and the adoption by Guyanese miners of the Brazilian equipment- lavadors - as well as other techniques. [...] (STABROEK NEWS, January 13, 2004)

With the Brazilian technology and mining techniques posing the major threat to the environment, Rupununi residents have stated:

These garimpeiros are bad news for the environment. They concentrate on the headwaters in order to work to ox-bow area (the loop). The Makushi and Wapishana miners with whom I spoke maintain that after the Brazilians garimpeiros are through with the stream it is muddied and sullied for a long time thereafter. The deer and other wild animals also have a hard time after the course of the creek has been changed. How do the Brazilians know where to go in the Kanukus? ... a Guyanese Makushi or Wapishana may point out a potential goal bearing area to his Brazilian friend(s) who may finance a joint venture, as it were. Once the Brazilian has learned the route, they maintain, he will return on his own bringing other Brazilians with him (FORTE, 1996, p. 75).

According to the Press, these new techniques introduced by the Brazilians have been impacting negatively on the livelihoods of traditional communities in the hinterlands, as the Executive Secretary of CGDMA explains:

[...] Executive Secretary of the Guyana Gold and Diamond Miners Association (GGDMA), Edward Shields, told this newspaper yesterday that issue of river pollution was a serious one and did not affect the Amerindian communities alone but the country as a whole. [...] Of primary concern, too, is the increasing illegal presence of Brazilian miners. [...] There are Brazilians operating three river dredges in the Mazaruni area and two more are expected to begin work there soon. Shields disclosed there are many Brazilians working on the dredges without proper documentation. [...] Shields said the Amerindians also complained that miners were being issued licences to work on traditional lands they use for hunting and fishing. [...] He stated that miners from the neighbouring country have "imported" to Guyana habits which are found to be wanting. It was observed that the Brazilians

defecate into the rivers [...] The Amerindians reported that they are not catching as many fish as before and that this was because of contamination. They also said that the river channels were blocking up as a result of the mining operations” (STABROEK NEWS, February 20, 2000).

With the interest of implementing environmentally sound practices for the exploitation and development of mineral and petroleum resources, Guyana Environmental Protection Agency and GGMC have agreed to a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). Though this MOU, the GEPA delegated in writing some of its responsibilities under the Environmental Protection Act, in so far as they related to mining and petroleum exploration, exploitation and development projects, to the Environmental Unit of the GGMC (GEPA; GGMC, 1997). However, this study finds that lack of coordination and enforcements of the current mining regulations and, the high level of *clandestine* mobility among the garimpeiros all remain major challenges for accomplishing the objectives of the MOU.

With respect to social impacts and concerns, Brazilians represent a distinct subset of the foreign born population in Guyana. This can be attributed to their loose lifestyles, particularly among Brazilian women. In this case, the level of prostitution has been of current concern among Guyanese residents in the hinterlands and Georgetown. In addition, the Ministry of Home Affairs is quite concerned about the large number of applications received in the names of young Brazilian women seeking employment in mining communities. Expressing further concerns about the exploitation of illegal migrants, the ministry urges illegal migrants to be registered, so that they could be eligible to live and work, legally. Further, there have been talks and collaborative efforts among the Government of Guyana, the Brazilian Ambassador, the Police and the Ministry of Home Affairs on having all Brazilians visiting or working in Guyana registered (GINA, 2005a). In spite of repeated pleas, most illegal Brazilians have refused to become documented, for several reasons.

First and foremost, is Brazilians’ attempt to conceal illegal mining and other economic activities thereby evading taxes. Consequently, migrants simply ignore the documentation process as they intend to work in Guyana just for a few months, after which they expect to return to their country, and then return to Guyana if they find it necessary. In a further effort of evading taxes when sending remittances, these migrants have established a strong networking system among businessmen in Brazil and Guyana, where migrants deposit money in Guyanese dollars to Brazilian agents in Guyana, who subsequently instructs, by telephone or internet, his agent in Brazil to deposit the equivalent into the client’s account at a Bank in Brazil. This represents a significant loss of Guyana’s Revenue.

The second reason is related to the drawn-out process at the Ministry of Home Affairs for migrants to secure work permits, and the high costs for migrants to survive in Georgetown. Consequently, many migrants have become frustrated and have proceeded to the hinterlands to work, illegally. In some cases illegal migrants have been remanded to prison (STABROEK NEWS, 2005b), before being deported at the cost of the Brazilian Embassy in Georgetown. This situation is of current concern by the Brazilian Embassy Officials in Georgetown. However, due to extreme leniency by the Guyanese Immigration Department/Police, as observed in Lethem and Bartica, deportation of Brazilians from Guyana is less frequent than observed by Arouck (2000) among illegal Brazilians entering French Guiana. Furthermore, in relation to Guyana's porous border line, the Ministry of Home Affairs has expressed concerns about the illegal economic activities as thus stated in the Press;

Minister of Home Affairs Gail Teixeira confessed that Guyana's borders are "wide open." She is convinced that illegal cross-border trade between Guyana and Suriname facilitates the passage of guns, narcotics and other prohibited substances and contributed to an upsurge in crime and violence. So what has she done about this and other borders?

The Guyana-Brazil border, for example, the longest border at nearly 1,120 km, has been characterized largely by negative issues. There is traditional official tolerance of indigenous people entering and leaving at will but, much worse, there is also trans-border narcotics-trafficking; gun-running, illegal mining of gold in Regions 7 and 8 by Brazilian garimpeiros; and trade in household goods, including motor cycles. [...]

The 743 km Guyana-Venezuela border is as porous as anywhere else. Forced to rely on expensive aeroplane flights or the filthy, rickety North-West steamer, residents for decades have bought illegal fuel, plastic household utensils, beer, textiles and other consumer goods from their oil-rich neighbour.

Ports such as Kumaka in Region One, Charity in Region Two and Parika and Morasi in Region Three became notorious and prosperous centres of contraband in the 1980s but, in the 1990s, they also became centres of narcotics-trafficking, wildlife-smuggling and people-trafficking. Along with the lucrative drugs trade, illegal weapons were brought in to protect the contraband business.

On the Guyana-Suriname border, contraband trade has benefitted from the proximity of a large concentration of population on both sides. As this newspaper reported in an investigative article last month, the Corentyne River is a choice route for both illegitimate and legitimate businessmen who cannot be bothered with the bureaucratic humbug of the official Canawaima ferry. Common criminals move from Guyana to Nickerie and onto Cayenne with ease. The wanted man Shaheed 'Roger' Khan used this route to evade local law-enforcement authorities. [...]

Ms Teixeira admits that effective border security requires an investment in expensive surveillance capabilities by air, sea and river, and on the ground and that the Police Force and Coast Guard need to have the vehicles and vessels to develop the capacity to stop gun-running by land, sea and air. But isn't it cheaper to prevent criminal violence than to endure its consequences?

Few places along Guyana's over 2,460 km land borders with its neighbours, and 460 km Atlantic coastline, can be considered secure and, with such porous borders, it is no wonder that crime in Guyana cannot be controlled. The only wonder is that crime is not much worse. (STABROEK NEWS, 2006b)

From this situation, it seems that collaborative efforts among Guyanese, Brazilian, Venezuelan and Surinamese authorities are critical in ascertaining more effective border controls in reducing illegal economic activities and illegal migration.

However, the last reason is related to the high number of work permits solicited in the names of Brazilian women. As earlier stated, Brazilian women older than 30 are, generally, granted employment as cooks in the mines, thus any further attempt to sponsor a large number of younger women would be related to implicit trafficking of women. In fact, such trafficking of young Brazilian women has been a concern among some Guyanese and even Brazilian migrants, where underage Brazilian women are sometimes abused as expressed in the Press:

According to reports, on a given night each week, the connoisseurs know which night it is, certain night-clubs offer young Brazilian strippers for its patrons' pleasure. And there are certain people, who, for a consideration, can procure "a girl", often under-age, to work as a housemaid, nanny, waitress as well as at other unmentionable professions at well below the minimum wage or for nothing at all if food and board are provided[...] (STABROEK NEWS, June 10, 2006a).

Interviews with Guyanese males frequenting these establishments reveal that these Brazilian sex workers often cannot speak English, but have been trained by someone to "recite" a price depending on the service performed. While this phenomenon need to be studied in more detail given its implications for violation of human rights, this study reveals that there are many establishments in Georgetown and the hinterlands where many young women perform prostitution. Expressing concerns about the level of crime in the mining communities, Prime Minister Hinds, as stated in the Press:

[...] Hinds said that crime was a particular concern in the sector last year and from reports he had received was being aided through establishments, which provide alcohol, drugs and prostitutes (STABROEK NEWS, January 13, 2004).

There have also been legal concerns about Brazilian women engaging in striptease in Georgetown, when five Brazilian women have been appeared in Court:

Five Brazilian strippers yesterday appeared in the Georgetown Magistrate's Court charged with performing indecent acts after police swooped down on the Red Dragon Sports Club last Friday.

Despite lengthy submissions and pleas by their lawyers, Aurelaide de Souza, Maria Karlene da Vodoso, Patricia Conarata de Silva, Kenis de Sausa Paira and Cristyelen Barros Primienta were remanded to prison by Magistrate Gordon Gilhuys. They all pleaded not guilty to performing an indecent act.

It is alleged that on September 8 at the bar located on Robb Street, a place to which the public has access, the defendants danced and stripped off their clothing in full view of patrons. [...] In adding to his colleague's statement, Nandlall stated that the defendants live at Lot 53 Robb Street. He said the landlord was present in court on

his clients' behalf. "In my view this is not even an offence in law. Everybody goes there with the intention of seeing these women strip. You go there knowing the quality and type of service" (STABROEK NEWS, September 12, 2006c).

7.6 SUMMARY

In summary, it must be remembered that maintaining through a strong networking system; Brazilians of a lower socioeconomic and cultural class are able to adopt migration as a livelihood strategy. The livelihood activities adopted by Brazilians migrating to Guyana give rise to social, economic and environmental impacts and concerns at all level of the Guyanese society. Among social concerns, prostitution by young Brazilian women and deportation of undocumented migrants are concerns of the Brazilian Embassy Officials, Guyanese Ministries concerned and Brazilian religious leaders. In spite of the social concerns, Brazilian miners continue to play a leader role in rejuvenating mining in Guyana at the small and medium scale levels, thus contributing meaningfully to the Guyana's export performance of gold and diamonds. In spite these investments in mining activities, there has been marginal improvements in the living standards among Guyanese living in mining communities for two apparent reasons: (1) Guyanese are denied employment opportunities as Brazilian investors prefer to employ Brazilian nationals irrespective of them being legally documented for work, and (2) too little financial resources generated from the extraction of natural resources in these regions return for local/regional development, these regions lack the most basic infrastructural developments. Consequently, unemployment remains high, and many youths migrate to urban areas in search of better educational opportunities; and seldom return to contribute towards the development of these regions.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8 CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

8.1 FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Based on this study, it can be concluded that the hypothesis proposed in Chapter one is accepted. Brazilian migration stems from a livelihood strategy as migrants adopt new livelihood activities, which give rise to positive and negative socioeconomic, and negative environmental impacts in Guyana.

Following the enactment of stringent mining regulations in Brazil, the displaced garimpeiros have migrated to Suriname, Venezuela and French Guiana, after which, they migrated to Guyana. In so doing, they have established a livelihood base for other Brazilians who have already been seeking better livelihood activities between Brazilian states, and are willing work in Guyana, principally in mining. As the number of garimpeiros grew, so do their demand for Brazilian goods and services, thereby provoking successive waves of migration, which are characterized by traders, sex workers and domestic labourers; the majority of whom have already been in a state of *internal motion* as they respond quickly to better economic activities outside their states of birth, following a defined migration route. This strong networking system plays a crucial role in the adaptation process, particularly among first timers in Guyana.

This migration process is identified to be seasonal, as miners' economic activities are constrained by climatic factors. After making several return trips to Guyana, successful migrants prefer to return permanently to Brazil and as these migrants return permanently there is the beginning of a new cycle, which is characterized by first time migrants, and retuning migrants, who were, most often, friends and family members of Brazilians that have previously accumulated capital in Guyana.

Being principally involved in mining, Brazilians have rejuvenated mining at the small and medium scale in Guyana. Considering the closure of large scale Omai in 2005 and the vulnerability of preferential sugar markets in the European Union, Brazilians miner migrants represent a grater economic importance. However, the gains to the Guyanese society, particularly in mining regions, could have been greater from this process had the necessary institutional framework been instituted, to the extent that in spite of their significant contribution to the Guyanese economy, Brazilian investments creates little employment for

Guyanese living in mining regions, where the level of poverty is higher in spite of improvements in the macroeconomic performance of the Guyanese economy since the Economic Recovery Programme in the 80s. Thus, while the exploitation of resources from hinterland regions contribute significantly to Guyana's GDP, little financial resources earned from exports of gold and diamonds are injected into the local economies for infrastructural and social development of these regions. Thus, there is a continued underdevelopment of these regions for the development of non- hinterland regions in Guyana; a situation which requires an institutionalist framework for stimulating local and regional development of particularly hinterland communities/regions.

The nature of mining by Brazilians and weak monitoring and enforcements of the mining regulations present a significant challenge in balancing socioeconomic and environmental conservation goals. Consequently, too much renewable and non-renewably resources are allocated to small and medium scale mining which on the long run, can provide low net socioeconomic benefits to the Guyanese society, with the greater effect being felt by the hinterland population, who will also bear the negative externalities of mining.

With Guyana and Brazil embracing the underlying principles of economic globalization, the establishment of the Roraima Lethem road and the removal of visa requirement, have allowed Brazilians to surmount some intervening obstacles, thus converting Guyana to both a major host and transit country. With the prostitution and trafficking of young Brazilian women being a major concern among Guyanese and Brazilian religious leaders, the governments of Guyana and Brazil should cooperate in fights against violation of human rights, and create the necessary policy mechanisms to protect the right of immigrants.

Coupled with the delay at the Ministry of Home Affairs and the seasonally of the migration process, many migrants refuse to become documented in a further effort of concealing illegal economic activities, which translate in a loss of revenue to the Guyanese economy. Serving the mining community is a growing informal sector characterized by unregulated business activities, where some Brazilians goods enter Guyana by *informal traders*, who often escape paying customs duties in Lethem, as they declare tourisms as their reason for visiting Guyana. However, while there is certainly need for better border control, the study indicate that a considerable number of migrants enter Guyana legally, but sometimes fail to become documented for work, legally.

8.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study, the following suggestions are for stakeholders in Amazonian and other countries with a similar migration outlook:

- *The Immigration Departments could computerize all data on the arrival and departure at all international ports.* With this focus, data on sex, age, purpose of travel, country and state of birth, areas of last residence, occupations and so on, could also be solicited from persons entering and leaving these countries. This could allow particularly independent researchers wider and easier access to data of better quality, thereby increasing the comparability of data on international migration at the national and regional levels so that informed policies could be crafted to benefit all stakeholders.
- *Monitoring of arrivals and departures along the Amazonian frontier.* In an attempt to make efficient and effective use of data gathered from migrants, for better border control and detection of particularly trafficking of women, the various Immigration Departments (particularly along the borderline) could work collaboratively towards the implementation of an international surveillance programme,
- *An institutionalist framework for structural change and long-term development of the hinterlands* – Any attempt to foster development of hinterland regions should place greater attention on the necessary institutional framework to steer the development process while considering the social, economic, cultural and environmental situations or conditions of these territories, and at the same time fostering greater stakeholder participation in the planning process – where if mining is seen as the best alternative to spur economic development, then an institutional framework should be put in place to ensure development of these regions, rather than capital accumulation by Brazilian migrants, and the development of non-hinterland regions from the exploitation of natural resources from the hinterlands.
- *It is necessary to have more collaboration among stakeholder agencies in controlling the number of illegal migrants and illegal economic activities among Brazilians in Guyana.* Any attempt of controlling the problem of illegal migration would require greater efficiency of the Ministry of Home Affairs in processing work permits, and stronger enforcement of the Immigration Laws by the Guyana Immigration Department. Given that the majority of migrants are concentrated in mining communities, there should be greater collaboration by the GEPA, GGMC, the Guyana

Immigration Department and even the Guyana Revenue Authority in fights against illegal economic activities and illegal migration. With this focus, it may be necessary to have a formal immigration policy that seeks to regularize Brazilians who are interested in mining, or working the mining community as cooks, traders, domestic labourers, sex workers and so on, so that the rights of the various classes of Brazilian workers could be protected, and at the same time ensuring that they pay due taxes to the Guyanese state.

- *More effective environmental monitoring of the hinterlands and enforcement of mining regulations.* Given the high level of mobility and nature of mining by Brazilian garimpeiros, it is recommended that Guyana Environmental Protection Agency and the Guyana Geology and Mines Commission undertake collaborative environmental monitoring and evaluation. Being an efficient tool, Geographic Information System/Remote Sensing could be used to monitor, among other things, the spatial relationships among population mobility, forest cover removal and land degradation. In enforcing the mining regulations, these agencies should ensure that: (1) miners possess mine reclamation and closure plans and are engaged in environmental restoration and or recuperation. In so doing, greater attention should be placed on the stripping and stockpiling of topsoil for use in reclamation, replacement of vegetation and the restoration of water course where appropriate; (2) the critical turbidity remains below 30 Nephelometric Turbidity Units (NTU). Where mining is done on sloping lands, miners should receive training on the art and practice of sound land management practices in terms of reducing soil erosion while channeling water across or down sloping lands so that the impacts, in terms of sedimentation, on creeks and other water bodies could be significantly reduced, (3) miners do not conduct mining activities in protected areas such as within 20 meters of the low water mark of a river bank, and (4) miners (both small and medium scale) lodge an environmental bond, which could be used to restore the environment in cases where the restoration of the environment is not done as stipulated by the regulations made under the Mining Act.

8.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

With increasing foreign-born population from neighbouring Amazonian countries, and a high level of concern about the migration of young and sometimes adolescent Brazilian females, further research studies are needed:

- To further document and compare the migration and adaptation processes among Brazilians migrating to Guyana and Suriname, which are both self-governing and independent Amazonian countries,
- To document and compare the migration and adaptation process and impacts of nationals from other Amazonian countries in Guyana,
- To document the population dynamics along Guyana's international borders, and their interrelationships with environment and development of communities situated along these borders,
- To investigate the causes and effects of the increasing participation of women in international migration,
- To analyze the spatial relationship between international migration and environmental change in the Amazon.

These studies could be conducted by researchers that have an interest in comparative and or collaborative research, thereby offering analyses of greater depths on the population dynamics and environmental change, and their implications for the crafting of sound national and regional development policies, as these countries seek to respond to the onslaught of globalization by permitting the international movement of people, goods, capital and technology across borders.

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⁴País: _____

5. Sabe ler e escrever português?

¹[] Sim. Anos completos de estudo _____ ²[] Não

6. Do you understand English? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

7. O quê você pretende fazer na Guiana (ocupação, emprego) _____

8. Em que lugar da Guiana pretende morar? _____

9. Com quem você teve contacto para decidir vir a Guiana? ¹[] Parente
²[] Amigos

10. Você pretende retornar ao Brasil? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

11. Quando pretende retornar ao Brasil? _____

12. Porquê pretende retornar ao Brasil? _____

13. Você veio diretamente do seu lugar de nascimento para a Guiana?

¹[] Sim ²[] Não

14. Quantos anos você tinha quando saiu de seu lugar de nascimento para morar em outro lugar pela primeira vez? _____

15. Em que lugares você parou entre seu lugar de nascimento e a Guiana? (*Se mais de dez paradas agregar folha deste quadro*)

Parada	Lugar (iniciar pelo lugar de nascimento e terminar com o lugar de destino na Guiana*)	Tempo de permanência / ou que vai permanecer	Forma de transporte ao sai/ ou que vai usar para chegar ao destino	Tinha ou tem Parentes / amigos neste lugar (anotar parentesco)	O que você fazia ou vai fazer?	Por que saiu ou vai sair ?
¹ Nascimento						
² 02						
³ 03						
⁴ 04						
⁵ 05						
⁶ 06						
⁷ 07						
⁸ 08						
⁹ 09						
¹⁰ 10						
¹¹ 11						
¹² 12						
¹³ 13						
¹⁴ 14						
¹⁵ 15						

* Incluir todas as paradas, inclusive aquelas feitas em outros países.

Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e sua paciência. Meu nome é Hisakhana Corbin, um amigo da Guiana.

APPENDIX A

(2)

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARA
NUCLEO DE ALTOS ESTUDOS AMAZÔNICOS
CURSO INTERNACIONAL DE MESTRADO EM PLANEJAMENTO DO
DESENVOLVIMENTO

Dissertação: “**BRAZILIAN MIGRATION TO GUYANA AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY: A CASE STUDY APPROACH**”

Researcher: Hisakhana Corbin
Orientador: Prof. Dr. Luis E. Aragón

Questionário

GRUPO 2 Entrevista No. _____

Residentes brasileiros em:

¹[] Georgetown – Region 4

²[] Kurupung, Middle Mazaruni – Region 7

³[] Bartica – Region 7

⁴[] Mahdia – Region 8, Guiana

Local e lugar da entrevista: _____

Data da entrevista: _____

Hora de início: _____

Hora do fim: _____

1. Sexo: ¹[] Homem ²[] Mulher

2. Estado civil: ¹[] Casado (a) ²[] Solteiro (a)

³[] Divorciado (a) ⁴[] União estável

3. Data de nascimento (dia/mês/ano) _____

4. Lugar de nascimento: ¹Cidade: _____

²Município: _____

³Estado: _____

⁴País: _____

5. Sabe ler e escrever português?

¹[] Sim. Anos completos de estudo _____ ²[] Não

6. Do you understand English? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

7. O quê você faz atualmente (ocupação, emprego)?

8. Quando você chegou pela primeira vez a Guiana? _____

9. Que meio de transporte você utilizou essa vez para chegar a Guiana?

10. Por donde entrou essa vez para Guiana? _____

11. Por que veio essa vez para Guiana?

11. Quanto tempo faz que você mora na Guiana _____

12. Porquê você veio à última vez a Guiana?

13. Você tem parentes morando na Guiana? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

Parentes morando na Guiana (*se tiver mais filhos(as) ou irmãos(ãs) agregar folha deste quadro*)

Parentes	Lugar de residência na Guiana	Estado Civil	Idade aproximada	O que ele(a) faz?	Sabe ler e escrever português?	Entende inglês?	Teve contato com ele(a) para decidir vir à Guiana?
Pai							
Mãe							
Irmão (a) 1							
Irmão (a) 2							
Irmão (a) 3							
Irmão (a) 4							
Irmão (a) 5							
Filho (a) 1							
Filho (a) 2							
Filho (a) 3							
Filho (a) 4							
Filho (a) 5							
Conjuge							

14. Além de parentes você tem amigos morando na Guiana? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

15. Esses amigos são ¹[] Brasileiros ²[] Guianenses

16. Onde eles moram? ¹[] Brasileiros em _____
²[] Guianenses em _____

17. Teve contato com eles para decidir vir para Guiana? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

18. Você tem parentes morando no Brasil? a) ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

b) Parentes morando no Brasil (se tiver mais filhos(as) ou irmãs(ões) agregar folha deste quadro)

Parentes	Lugar de residência no Brasil	Estado Civil	Idade aproximada	O que ele(a) faz?	Sabe ler e escrever português?	Entende inglês?	Teve contato com ele(a) para decidir vir à Guiana?
¹ Pai							
² Mãe							
³ Irmão (a) 1							
⁴ Irmão (a) 2							
⁵ Irmão (a) 3							
⁶ Irmão (a) 4							
⁷ Irmão (a) 5							
⁸ Filho (a) 1							
⁹ Filho (a) 2							
¹⁰ Filho (a) 3							
¹¹ Filho (a) 4							
¹² Filho (a) 5							
¹³ Conjuge							

19. Você tem parentes morando em algum outro país? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

20. Que país _____

21. Você pretende ir da Guiana para outro país diferente do Brasil?

¹[] Sim, para onde _____ ²[] Não

22. Porquê pretende ir para esse país?

23. Você pretende retornar ao Brasil? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

24. Porquê pretende retornar ao Brasil?

25. Se você retornar ao Brasil você pretende:

¹[] Ficar no Brasil

²[] Voltar novamente para a Guiana

³[] Ir para outro país. Qual? _____

26. Quando você veio pela primeira vez para Guiana você veio diretamente do seu lugar de nascimento para a Guiana? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

27. Quantos anos você tinha quando saiu de seu lugar de nascimento para morar em outro lugar pela primeira vez? _____

28. Em que lugares você parou entre seu lugar de nascimento e sua última chegada à Guiana? *(Se mais de dez paradas agregar folha deste quadro)*

Parada	Lugar (iniciar pelo lugar de nascimento e terminar em Georgetown)*	Tempo de permanência	Forma de transporte ao chegar	Tinha parentes neste lugar (anotar parentesco)	O que você fazia?	Por que saiu ?
¹ Nascimento						
² 02						
³ 03						
⁴ 04						
⁵ 05						
⁶ 06						
⁷ 07						
⁸ 08						
⁹ 09						
¹⁰ 10						

* Incluir todas as paradas, inclusive aquelas feitas em outros países, e paradas anteriores na Guiana.

29. Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e sua paciência. Meu nome é Hisakhana Corbin, um amigo da Guiana. Qual é seu nome?

Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e sua paciência. Meu nome é Hisakhana Corbin, um amigo da Guiana.

5. Sabe ler e escrever português?

1[] Sim. Anos completos de estudo _____ 2[] Não

6. Do you understand English? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

7. Qual ano você chegou pela primeira vez a Guiana? _____

8. Quantas vezes você já retornou ao Brasil? _____

9. Você pretende retornar novamente à Guiana após esta viagem ao Brasil?

[] Sim [] Não

10. Quando pretende retornar novamente à Guiana? _____

11. Porquê pretende retornar novamente a Guiana?

12. Se você retornar novamente à Guiana pretende ficar aqui ou voltar novamente para o Brasil?

¹[] Ficar na Guiana

²[] Voltar novamente para o Brasil

³[] Viajar para outro país. Qual? _____. E por que? _____

13. Quando você veio pela primeira e a última vez para Guiana você veio diretamente do seu lugar de nascimento para a Guiana?

Primeira vez: ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

Última vez: ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

14. Quantos anos você tinha quando saiu de seu lugar de nascimento para morar em outro lugar pela primeira vez? _____

15. Em que lugares você parou entre o lugar de residência na Guiana e agora que está retornando para o Brasil? (*Se mais de dez paradas agregar folha a este quadro*)

Parada	Lugar (iniciar com lugar de residencia na Guiana e terminar com o lugar de destino no Brasil)	Tempo de permanência/vai permanecer	Forma de transporte ao sair/ou a usar para chegar ao destino	Tinha parentes/amigos neste lugar (anotar parentesco)	O que você fazia ou vai fazer?	Por que saiu ou vai sair?
¹ Última residência						
² 02						
³ 03						
⁴ 04						
⁵ 05						
⁶ 06						
⁷ 07						
⁸ 08						
⁹ 09						
¹⁰ 10						
¹¹ 11						
¹² 12						
¹³ 13						
¹⁴ 14						
¹⁵ 15						

* Incluir todas as paradas, inclusive aquelas que vai a fazer em outros países

Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e sua paciência. Meu nome é Hisakhana Corbin, um amigo da Guiana.

5. Sabe ler e escrever português?:

¹[] Sim. Anos completos de estudo _____ ²[] Não

6. Do you understand English? ¹[] Sim ²[] Não

7. Qual ano você chegou pela primeira vez a Guiana? _____

8. Com quem você teve contato para decidir retornar agora à Guiana essa última vez? ¹[] parentes ²[] Amigos ³[] Ninguém

9. Quando você foi para o Brasil a última vez e por quanto tempo de permanência?

10. Porquê você foi a última vez para ao Brasil?

11. Depois de quanto tempo você pretende retornar novamente ao Brasil?

12. Por que pretende retornar novamente ao Brasil?

13. Se você retornar novamente ao Brasil pretende ficar lá ou vir novamente para Guiana?

¹[] Ficar no Brasil

²[] Vir novamente para a Guiana

³[] Viajar para outro país. Qual? _____. E por quê? _____

14. Quando você veio pela primeira vez para Guiana você veio diretamente do seu lugar de nascimento para a Guiana?

¹[] Sim ²[] Não

15. Quantos anos você tinha quando saiu de seu lugar de nascimento para morar em outro lugar pela primeira vez? _____

16. Em que lugares você parou entre seu último lugar de residência no Brasil e este retorno à Guiana? (*Se mais de dez paradas agregar folha deste quadro*)

Parada	Lugar (iniciar pelo último lugar de residência no Brasil e terminar com o lugar de destino na Guiana)	Tempo de permanência/ ou que vai permanecer	Forma de transporte ao sair/ ou vai usar para chegar ao destino	Tinha parentes/amigos neste lugar (anotar parentesco)	O que você fazia ou vai fazer?	Por que saiu ou vai sair?
¹ Última residência						
² 02						
³ 03						
⁴ 04						
⁵ 05						
⁶ 06						
⁷ 07						
⁸ 08						
⁹ 09						
¹⁰ 10						
¹¹ 11						
¹² 12						
¹³ 13						
¹⁴ 14						
¹⁵ 15						

* Incluir todas as paradas, inclusive aquelas feitas em outros países.

Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e sua paciência. Meu nome é Hisakhana Corbin, um amigo da Guiana.

APPENDIX B

(1)

Guide for Researcher's Remarks to Help Memory

Field Notes

Jottings to help memory

Participant: _____ Survey/Observation/ Interview Date: _____

Type: _____ Phone call Time of Survey/Observation/ Interview: _____
 _____ In person Site: _____

Written by: _____ Today's date: _____

Description of the Site:

Description of the Participant:

Description of the Researcher:

Researcher's remarks made before survey/observation/interviews:

Remarks made after survey/ observation/ interviews:

(Some questions were adapted and modified from Creswell, (2003); Junor (2003); Yin (2003) and Bogdan & Biklen (1998)

APPENDIX B

(2)

Guide for Researcher's Reflective Remarks on Social Issues and Concerns

Field Notes

Reflective Remarks

Participant: _____ Survey/ Observation/Interview Date: _____

Type: _____ Phone call _____ Time of Survey/Observation/Interview: _____

_____ In person Site: _____

Written by: _____ Today's date: _____

Common social concerns (*Conflicts and dilemmas, rational concerns between cultural values, population displacements, cultural alterations etc.*)

Analysis (*what you have learnt, themes and patterns emerging, adding ideas*)

Researcher's Frame of Mind (*Opinions, beliefs, attitudes and prejudices*)

Points of clarification (*asides or clarity to something confusing (informational error)*)

(Some questions were adapted and modified from Creswell, (2003); Junor (2003); Yin (2003) and Bogdan & Biklen (1998)

APPENDIX B

(3)

Physical Environmental Impact Assessment Checklist

Impacts	River Mining	Land Dredging	Follow-up Comments
	Yes No	Yes No	
Water: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Sedimentation ○ Flow reduction ○ Change in river formation ○ Death of aquatic species ○ Other: 			
Soil: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Swamp formation ○ Drainage Problems ○ Erosion ○ Loss of organic matter and top soil at commencement stage ○ Other 			
Vegetation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Excessive loss of forest cover ○ Loss of forest cover in buffer/protected areas ○ Loss of vegetation in adjoining areas ○ Other 			
Aesthetic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Damage to landscape ○ Inappropriate reclamation ○ No reclamation 			

APPENDIX D

General Letters Requesting Permission

(1)

NAEA/UFPA
February, 2006

Dear Sir/Madame,

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Mr. Hisakhana Pahoona Corbin is a current Master of Science in Development Planning candidate at the Center for Advanced Amazonian Studies of The Federal University of Pará (NAEA – UFPA). He is conducting a research study entitled: “**BRAZILIAN MIGRATION TO GUYANA AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY: A CASE STUDY APPROACH**”

This study has been approved by the Director of the postgraduate programme in Sustainable Development for the Humid Tropics, and is in conformity with the requirements of the aforementioned programme.

I would be grateful for your assistance in allowing this research student access to your resource institution, and/or providing him with any information that is relevant to his research. All information provided will be strictly confidential. Please note that the findings of this study are not intended for legal purposes whether individually or collectively against the local communities, the migrants or countries involved. In addition, all names will be replaced by pseudonyms in the report and future publications based on this study.

I would greatly appreciate your willingness, time and cooperation.

Yours truly,

.....
Professor Dr. Armin Mathis

APPENDIX D

(2)

**NAEA/UFPA
June 16, 2006**

**The Commissioner of Police,
Police Headquarters,
Kingston,
Georgetown.**

Permission to Conduct Research Study at Immigration Outpost in Lethem

Dear Mr. W. Felix,

I am a Master of Science in Development Planning candidate at the Center for Advanced Amazonian Studies of The Federal University of Pará (NAEA – UFPA). I am conducting a research study entitled: “**BRAZILIAN MIGRATION TO GUYANA AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY: A CASE STUDY APPROACH**” This study has been approved by the Director of the postgraduate programme in Sustainable Development for the Humid Tropics.

I am seeking permission to conduct a research at the Immigration Outpost in Lethem for a period of three weeks. The reason for seeking permission to conduct this research at the aforementioned site is that it will be the most convenient place to solicit the participation of Brazilian migrants that are returning to Brazil and Guyana. In addition, I am kindly requesting a copy, hard and digital, of any documentation that provides statistical data on Brazilian immigrants in Guyana.

The findings from this study will be of importance to stakeholders (migration researchers, planners, policy and decision-makers) in the Pan-Amazon region. The knowledge and implications of this study will assist these stakeholders to further formulate migration policies, which should ensure that Brazilians in Guyana are registered, protected and that their activities do not undermine Guyanese environment and development.

Your written consent will give me permission to administer a questionnaire, which is expected to last for twenty minutes, to adult Brazilian migrants returning to Brazil and Guyana. If for any reason migrants would like to withdraw from this research study, they can do so without penalty or negative consequences.

All individual responses provided will be strictly confidential. Please note that the findings of this study are not intended for legal or evaluative purposes whether individually or collectively against your organization or the migrants. In addition, all identifying names will be replaced by pseudonyms in the final report.

I would greatly appreciate your willingness, time and cooperation.

Yours truly,

.....
(Research Student)

Contact information:

APPENDIX D

(3)

NAEA/UFPA
May 16, 2006

**The Commissioner of Geology and Mines,
Upper Brickdam,
Stabroek,
Georgetown.**

Permission to Conduct Field Visit with Monitoring Team

Dear Mr. Benn,

I am a Master of Science in Development Planning candidate at the Center for Advanced Amazonian Studies of The Federal University of Pará (NAEA – UFPA). I am conducting a research study entitled: “**BRAZILIAN MIGRATION TO GUYANA AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY: A CASE STUDY APPROACH**” This study has been approved by the Director of the postgraduate programme in Sustainable Development for the Humid Tropics.

Given the importance of both qualitative and quantitative data for successful execution of this research, I am kindly soliciting permission to undertake a field visit with your monitoring team to the hinterlands. More specifically, I would be interested in observing the quality of the biophysical environment in which small and/or medium scale mining is done by Brazilians garimpeiros. Additionally, I would be grateful if your entity could furnish me with any documentation on the environmental impacts of mining as undertaken by the Brazilians.

The findings from this study will be of importance to stakeholders (migration researchers, planners, policy and decision-makers) in the Pan-Amazon region. The knowledge and implications of this study will assist these stakeholders to further formulate migration policies, which should ensure that Brazilians in Guyana are registered, protected and that their activities do not undermine Guyanese environment and development.

All data provided will be strictly confidential. Please note that the findings of this study are not intended for legal or evaluative purposes whether individually or collectively against your organization or the migrants.

Please note that, if permission is given, I would be grateful to undertake this field visit at a time that is most convenient to your entity.

I would greatly appreciate your willingness, time and cooperation.

Yours truly,

.....
Research Student

Contact Information:

APPENDIX D

(4)

**NAEA/UFPA
August 9, 2006**

**The Commissioner,
Guyana Geology and Mines Commission,
Georgetown.**

Digital and Hard Copies of Maps

Dear Mr. Benn,

I am a Master of Science in Development Planning candidate at the Center for Advanced Amazonian Studies of The Federal University of Pará (NAEA – UFPA). I am conducting a research study entitled: “**BRAZILIAN MIGRATION TO GUYANA AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY: A CASE STUDY APPROACH**” This study has been approved by the Director of the postgraduate programme in Sustainable Development for the Humid Tropics. In order to complete the cartographic aspect of the aforementioned study, I would be very grateful if your entity could provide me with digital and hard copies, if possible, of the following:

- Mineral Exploration Map of Guyana [1: 3, 200, 000]
- A map showing the administrative divisions and major roads of Guyana
- A listing of the all the areas in Guyana in which Brazilian dredges operate at present.

All data provided will be strictly confidential. Please note that the findings of this study are not intended for legal or evaluative purposes whether individually or collectively against your organization or the migrants.

I would greatly appreciate your willingness and cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

.....
Hisakhana P. Corbin (Research Student)

Contact information: