"YOUNG BROWN AND DOWN:" SECOND-GENERATION INDO-GUYANESE AMERICANS CONSTRUCTING THEIR ETHNICITY IN NEW YORK

by

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Abstract

"YOUNG BROWN AND DOWN:" SECOND-GENERATION INDO-GUYANESE AMERICANS CONSTUCTING THEIR ETHNICITY IN NEW YORK

by

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This study offers a new approach to understanding the role of nostalgic performances carried out by second-generation Indo-Guyanese Americans through ethnic institutions as a route into the American mainstream. The Indo-Guyanese are an Indian Diaspora group who arrived in the Caribbean during the Indian Indenture and who have been "twice removed from India." They have limited or no ability to speak Hindi, but their religious beliefs (Hinduism and Islam) have enabled them to maintain certain Indian traditions (e.g.. wearing saris). However, they have also adopted several Caribbean cultural practices, such as musical tastes, that have augmented their cultural hybridity. There has been a significant Indo-Guyanese migration to Queens, New York since the early 1990s, which has led to the creation of an Indo-Guyanese ethnic enclave which facilitates the provision of cultural goods, services and houses of worship. Taking Gans' (1979) concept of symbolic ethnicity a step further, my research shows how the American born children of this unique immigrant group carefully select traditions from their hybrid mix of Indian and Afro-Caribbean cultures to attain racial recognition in New York. Additionally gendered expectations significantly shape the Indo-Guyanese identity. Gendered pressures create and

augment disparities between men and women in the second generation as they move towards negotiating their ethnicity within the American mainstream. Inter and intra-generational gendered expectations usually place women in the position of maintaining ethno-religious traditions, which may set limits on their ability to achieve an assimilation status similar to second-generation Indo-Guyanese men within the American mainstream. Therefore, I show how New York provides a space for ethnic navigation and negotiation with gendered constraints.

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requests for members of the second generation above age twenty five. They provided crucial insight into the identity construction of Indo-Guyanese New Yorkers who grew up in a time with fewer ethno-religious cultural institutions and how their ethnicity has transformed through increased Guyanese migration and the ethnic enclave development.

My parents, Rehana and Shahid, sister, Shaleeza and niece, Sameera have all played significant roles in helping me with this project. My parents offered their first-hand accounts of living through the racial contention in Guyana and helped me answer questions about race and ethnicity that may not have been clear during my fieldwork. My sister provided a tremendous amount of research assistance during several field observations. She also assisted me with the photography in this dissertation. Her perspective as a member of the elder cohort helped me connect the bridge between ethnicity development and the availability of cultural institutions. My niece Sameera provided much needed support for my dissertation throughout the fieldwork, writing and revision phases. With every chapter completed, Sameera achieved a new milestone in her infant and toddler years. Watching her learn to speak, walk and ride her bike motivated me to develop and defend this manuscript.

Lastly, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to a pioneering feminist and activist who promoted women's rights and racial equality in Guyana, my Nani (maternal grandmother) Jasoda Somwaru. Jasoda was a second-generation East Indian Guyanese born in 1914. Her family arrived on one of the last vessels from Calcutta during the Indian Indenture in the early 1900s. She rallied against the racial injustice in Guyana in the 1960s and raised her grandchildren while her children obtained visas to migrate to America, England, Canada and Suriname. Jasoda maintained a transnational relationship with her family in Guyana and America as she traveled

back and forth in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Like so many of my participants, my nani raised me during my early childhood years in Queens.

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Introduction

Contemporary Debates on Second-Generation Assimilation Patterns

The Indo-Guyanese[1] migration to America is the focal point of this project. This dissertation addresses the impact of the Indo-Guyanese immigration to the United States on the ethno-religious and racial identities of the second generation. First-generation Indo-Guyanese American immigrants arrived in the United States with a heightened awareness of their racial and religious identities, based on their colonial and post-colonial experience in competing with the Afro-Guyanese for socio-economic and political mobility in Guyana. This project takes the Indo-Guyanese American immigration experience a step further, by examining how second-generation Indo-Guyanese Americans, most of whom have never visited Guyana because of the intense racial contention between the Afro and Indo-Guyanese, construct their ethno-religious and racial identities in New York.

Walking along the streets of New York City, your senses will be heightened with masala[2] aromas and the cacophony of hybrid international ethnic beats. New York continues to be one of the primary destinations of re-settlement for immigrant and Diaspora groups. As in the first wave of European immigration, post- 1965 immigrants from Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean are reshaping urban life. Although food, music and language are overt illustrations of cultural production across NYC, there are vast differences in the meanings of how immigrants and their children use, interpret and reproduce ethnic symbols (Gans1979). Intergenerational

[1] A brief History of the Indo-Guyanese migration in its historical context is provided in Appendix I
[2] Masala is the Hindi word meaning spice.

variations in cultural rituals occur across class lines and are also augmented by gendered expectations. Analyzing how these differences are shaped by mainstream American influences, such as popular culture, is vital to understanding how the second-generation constructs their ethnicity and their understanding of racial identity.

Unlike the first influx of European immigration, post-1965 groups do not follow a straight line or melting pot trajectory towards assimilation. Racial formation and assimilation vary among post-1965 immigrants, because of the diversity of their national origins, and cultural practices and their stratified access to education and employment opportunities (Portes 1997, Kasinitz et al 2004, 2007, Foner 2000, 2005). Newer immigrant groups also have the ability to maintain connections with their sending countries because advanced technology facilitates the rapid transmission of cultural products. Scholars[3] have also found that increased transnational flows also enable immigrant groups to develop hybrid ethnic identities that are comprised of selective adaptations of different cultural performances from the parents' natal country .(For example, immigrant groups can purchase imported grocery items at ethnic stores in the U.S. to recreate meals that are associated with specific traditions such as religious holidays.)

The post-1965 American-born children of immigrants are coming of age and grappling with satisfying the demands both of mainstream American society and of their parents' expectations. Norms and values generated by family, peers, the education system and the media provide a navigation system for second-generation Americans' daily interactions as they negotiate the expectations place on their behaviors by each of these institutions. Length of

[3] Alba and Nee (2003), Kasinitz et al. (2004), Maira (2002) and Waters (2001).

residency in the United States, immigration status, transnational connections, English language skills and residential location also influence the second generation's ability to assimilate into the American mainstream. Immigration scholars, such as Gans (1992), Portes and Zhou (1993), Alba and Nee (2003) and Kasinitz et al (2004, 2008) vigorously debate the various trajectories the second-generation follow towards assimilation and economic mobility in America.

Gans' (1992) research discusses the economic and social decline of post-1965 children of immigrants in the United States. His analysis suggests that children of immigrants from lower class backgrounds may experience less economic success than their parents and middle class counterparts. He argues that deindustrialization and the rapid shift from manufacturing to service sector employment in the United States have created new job requirements to achieve middle class wages. Racial discrimination and structural barriers in the education system (such as lack of tutoring services or ESL assistance that would provide an easier transition to gain access to higher paying jobs) prevents access to middle class employment for lower class immigrant groups. He developed the term "second generation decline" to address the scenario where individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds are less likely to escape poverty because they have limited educational and economic opportunities for advancement. Additionally, their close contact with working class native whites and other minorities may cause the second-generation to adapt negative ideals of socio-economic advancement in America and remain in lower level jobs.

The research of Portes and Zhou (1993) suggests a similar decline for the children of immigrants from lower socioeconomic backgrounds through their development of the "segmented assimilation" model. According to this analysis, children of immigrants who engage

in close relationships with poverty-stricken native populations will develop similar forms of limited educational and employment opportunities if the first generation cannot offer a means of preventing their children from poor educational performance or provide them with upwardly mobile economic opportunities (such as immigrant niches). Unlike Gans (1992) who focuses on the shift in the U.S. economy and reduced access to middle class jobs for some immigrant groups, Portes and Zhou (1993) argue that cultural institutions play a significant role in shaping the educational and economic outcomes for the children of immigrants. For example, their research shows that Chinese parents and extended family members emphasize the connection between educational advancement and access to higher paying employment opportunities. They also uphold strong immigrant ties which provide cultural network support (such as family members encouraging ideals aimed at resisting peer pressure which may deflect their educational goals) that increase their opportunities for advanced educational outcomes. Portes and Zhou view immigrant assimilation as segmented, where some groups will experience economic decline and others will advance based on both economic and cultural opportunities.

Alba and Nee's (2003) research suggests that the segmented assimilation model "overlooks the variety of cultural models found among urban African Americans and inflates the magnitude of the underclass populations." [page?] The American mainstream is constantly redefined by historical events that incorporate various racial and ethnic groups (Alba and Nee 2003). For example, immigrants and native minorities benefitted from the civil rights movement through increased educational, employment and political participation opportunities. Moreover, Alba and Nee (2003) also show increasing forms of assimilation as the second-generation intermarries with native whites or moves into middle-class, white neighborhoods. The

segmented assimilation model focuses on the negative pressures that will limit or reduce immigrant incorporation in America and does not significantly address avenues for advancement (Alba and Nee 2003).

Kasinitz et al. (2004, 2008) recognize that immigrant groups will experience varying forms of assimilation based on class and cultural characteristics. However, Kasinitz et al. (2004, 2008) found that lower class, post- 1965 second-generation Americans do not necessarily experience a decline in assimilation, as Gans (1992) argues, because they select cultural ideas from both their parents' and the American mainstream as a means of American incorporation. Kasinitz et al. (2004, 2008) use the term "second generation advantage" to define the opportunities available to the second-generation that increase their ability to assimilate in America. For example, The City University of New York (CUNY) is what Kasinitz et al. call a "second chance institution" that offers children from immigrant groups an affordable college education. As college and university tuition at private and other state schools continues to sky-rocket, thus presenting a financial burden to working class immigrants, CUNY offers a low-cost form of higher education. Additionally, Kasinitz et al. (2008) found that culture significantly shapes how the second-generation views their ethno-racial and economic position in America. Their study shows that "culture counts," because the children of immigrants are highly influenced by the religious beliefs and cultural practices transmitted by the first generation and immigrant community. Although some immigrants may experience an economic decline, ethno-religious values and second chance institutional opportunities promote what Kasinitz et al. term the "second-generation advantage." These are coping mechanisms (such as ethnic niches) that

enable the second generation to assert their ethnicity, and thus improve their economic position, thus facilitating assimilation into the American mainstream.

Race, ethnicity and assimilation are important issues at the forefront of current immigration research. In the tradition of the research by Kasinitz et al. (2004, 2008) and Alba and Nee (2003), this dissertation grapples with the impact of immigrant cultural institutions, “the second generation advantage” (Kasinitz et al. 2004, 2008), race, gender and religion on assimilation trends. Race and ethnicity provide a critical analytic framework in immigration research because they demonstrate how structural and institutional constructions of race promote variation in assimilation patterns. Racial and ethnic boundaries are also established and re-defined by immigrant groups within the spaces of their interactions (such as the household or with non co-ethnics) and within the American mainstream. Additionally, this dissertation focuses on gendered expectations and the influence of the American mainstream on dating, sex and marriage options on assimilation trends. Indo-Guyanese Americans offer a complex example of the negotiation of racial identity and ethnicity in the United States because they are an ambiguous racial and ethnic group with a hybrid combination of West Indian and Asian Indian ethnic identities.

Developing a Guyanese Enclave in Richmond Hill

Growing up in Queens, NY in the 1980s and 90s, I watched the rapid influx of Indo-Guyanese immigrants and the various assimilation patterns of the second-generation in this locale. Although I attended Catholic schools, which limited my contact with Indo-Guyanese New Yorkers before undertaking this project, my family and I lived in a location with an

increasing Guyanese migration. I witnessed the racial, religious and business transformation of Richmond Hill, Queens. The Italian, Irish, German and Polish neighbors on my block slowly begin moving out in the mid to late 1980s and Indo-Guyanese immigrants purchased their homes. I was not aware of my Indo-Guyanese identity when I was younger. I was raised in an inter-faith family. My family consists of Muslims, Hindus and Christians. I had a heightened sense of religious differences growing up because my father's relatives practiced Islam, while my mother's family followed both Hindu and Christian beliefs. Racially, I knew I was brown and not Euro-American, but my parents did not dwell on this fact as they were more concerned about preserving my Muslim identity because of my enrollment in Catholic school.

Although our house was located about nine blocks from the epicenter of Indo-Guyanese businesses, my family rarely frequented the newly developed Indo-Guyanese ethnic grocery stores because we were accustomed to eating pasta dishes or sandwiches. After moving out of the enclave for a decade, I visited my old neighborhood and felt overwhelmed by the abundance of Indo-Guyanese businesses. Grocery stores, restaurants, nightclubs, bars, West Indian bakeries, ethnic fast food and religious institutions catering to the needs of this group emerged in places which once housed pizzerias, Italian bakeries, laundromats, a variety store and a Chinese restaurant. The businesses sprawled outward toward my old block, eradicating my previous vision of Richmond Hill. The space underneath the elevated A train is now as saturated with similar shops as the streets beyond the train line. I watched the commercial transformation from a distance and wondered how other Indo-Guyanese immigrants and their children utilized this new ethnic market. Observing the impact of the Indo-Guyanese immigration on the transformation of urban space in Richmond Hill, NY was a starting point for this dissertation.

Queens, New York has been the primary location of post-migration settlement for the Indo-Guyanese since the 1970s. According to the Census Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) and American Community Survey, approximately 39, 996 Indo-Guyanese individuals reported residing in New York City in 2010.[4] Close proximity to two major airports, affordable housing and a quick train ride into Manhattan attracted many first generation Indo-Guyanese to the real estate market in this location. Upon arrival, the Indo-Guyanese also encountered other South Asian groups with previously established ethnic businesses that satisfied some of their consumption needs. Settling near South Asian religious institutions and ethnic markets provided an "ethno-religious assimilation buffer" for newly arrived Indo-Guyanese immigrants in New York. Since the 1990s, the Indo-Guyanese have established ethnic enclaves in Richmond Hill and Queens Village, New York (Holder in Waters and Ueda 2007). Like their their South Asian counterparts who established ethnic businesses in the 1960s and 70s, the evolution of Guyanese American ethnic business and niche markets (especially homecare attendants) began in the late 1980s. However, there are also burgeoning Indo-Guyanese populations and ethnic institutions in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Nassau County.

Indo-Guyanese New Yorkers are four or five generations removed from India. The cultural values and mores which the first generation Americans transmitted to their offspring in the United States often exhibited a fossilized representation of their inherited culture. Indo-Guyanese Americans are twice removed from India and had already experienced racial and ethnic assimilation into Guyanese society (Jayawardena 1980).[5] Unlike their Asian Indian

[4] Please refer to the Residential Neighborhood table in the Appendix

[5] A brief history of the Indian Indenture and settlement in Guyana is located in the appendix. .

counterparts who migrated directly from India to America, the Indo-Guyanese Diaspora arrive in America equipped with a Guyanese assimilation ideology which assumes that racial differences will require advanced educational attainment and cultural integration as important means of upward social mobility. Some members of the first generation have also migrated to other countries prior to their U.S. migration, such as England or Canada, which complicates the assimilation trajectories and racial definition of this group. Indo-Guyanese immigrants and their children mostly reside on the East Coast with convenient access to transnational goods, services and travel to and from Guyana, which facilitates ethnic retention or re-creation in America. Unlike the early twentieth century European immigrants who had limited transnational connections to their sending countries, the Indo-Guyanese and other post-1965 immigrants have a stronger connection to their parents' natal cultures because of technological advances and are approaching assimilation by selecting attributes both from the American mainstream and from their ancestral culture to define their ethnicity in America.

How do second generation Indo-Guyanese define their racial and ethnic identity in America? Members of the second-generation encounter a conflict between pleasing their parents by accepting their interpretation of being Guyanese and being drawn to the mainstream American values they acquire from their peers and popular culture. They provide a crucial bridge between their parents' definition of Guyanese and mainstream American society. Understanding the trajectories which the American born, children of Guyanese immigrants follow towards integration into the American mainstream demonstrates the impact of constraints such as religion, gender, race and class on their assimilation patterns. Immigrant caregiving social networks available to the second generation also play a significant role in shaping their

ethnicity and racial identity (Hagen 1998). For example, several first generation immigrants rely on Guyanese kinship networks for child rearing during their employment hours. One of my participants, Reshma, commented on the importance of being reared by Guyanese family members. "My mom and dad worked during the day and they asked my aunt to take me to school and assist me with my homework until they arrived home. Being around other Guyanese people made me feel comfortable because they make the same food and follow the same rituals as my parents," Reshma stated. During childhood, the second generation may have been cared for by their grandparents or other relatives who arrived more recently from Guyana than the first generation parents. This scenario offers an additional layer of Guyanese ethnic socialization not available to members of the second generation who were cared for by non-Guyanese caregivers. The respondents who were not engaged in co-ethnic networks often befriended other racial and ethnic minorities who experienced similar forms of racial alienation from white peers at school. This dissertation approaches the racial construction and assimilation of second generation Indo-Guyanese Americans by comparing their integration trajectories to other immigrant groups and racial minorities to understand how ethno-racial ambiguity affects Guyanese assimilation patterns and group affiliations. The central questions in this project include: How do the second-generation Indo-Guyanese use their involvement in ethno-religious rituals within the immigrant community to combat racism and gain racial recognition in America? How do these ethnic spaces serve as both a means of ethnic re-creation and of mainstream assimilation?

This project also grapples with the second-generation construction of a "Guyanese" ethno-racial identity that distinguishes them from Afro-Caribbeans and Asian Indians because of their hybrid use of Asian Indian and Caribbean cultural practices. Additionally, the Indo-

Guyanese commonly refer to themselves as simply "Guyanese" which displaces Afro-Guyanese and other ethnic Guyanese from this racial category in New York. The Afro-Guyanese may identify more as African American or Afro-Caribbean, which are categories that marginalize Indo-Guyanese. Although the Indo-Guyanese develop pan-ethnic affiliations with Asian Indians and South Asians, the struggle for ethno-religious authenticity remains a barrier for the Guyanese to assimilate into a South Asian identity. Lastly, this analysis is also structured around a gendered interpretation of assimilation. The participants' gender roles and expectations significantly shape their assimilation trajectories. Indo-Guyanese women are often expected to uphold traditions and religious practices. The Indo-Guyanese women in this study take these expectations to another level by transforming some expectations into a form of empowerment to achieve their mainstream desires (i.e. females using their boyfriends as male chaperones to attend late night events).

The Role of Race, Assimilation and Nostalgic Performance in Defining Ethnic Boundaries

Historically, the construction of racial and ethnic categories has varied over time and with group origin. As mentioned earlier, the melting pot and straight line assimilation model of Anglo-conformity seen in the first wave of European immigration, from about 1882-1924, is not entirely applicable to post-1965 immigrants. The cessation of immigration from 1924-1965 enabled European groups to amalgamate ethnically and they ultimately became part of the white population. Although immigrant European groups such as the Italians had to work on their "whiteness" and were considered non-white upon their arrival, the United States enacted federal and local policies which deepened the alienation of African Americans and forged alliances among European groups (Roediger 2005). Jim Crow legislation and the "one drop rule"

prevented African Americans from accessing the jobs and educational institutions which were guaranteed to European immigrants and their children. The segregation of African Americans and the termination of immigration enabled the evolution of the "white, American mainstream" (Wilson 1980).

Assimilation occurs within the structures of society, including its economic, social, political, marital and cultural dimensions. Several immigration and race relations theorists who observed assimilation patterns before 1965 discussed assimilation and upward mobility as the inevitable trajectory for most immigrants and their successors (Gordon 1964, Park 1950). This may have been the trend for 19th and early 20th-centuryEuropean immigrant groups and their subsequent generations, but newer immigrants from Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean may not follow this path. As mentioned previously, other scholars argue that post-1965 immigrant groups experience segmented assimilation based on their network affiliations and their access to institutions which promote socio-economic mobility. According to Zhou (1997), Portes and Rumbaut (2006), immigrants and their children experience segmented assimilation that usually follows one of two trajectories: upward mobility or downward assimilation. Immigrants with limited professional skills and economic stability, who settle in poverty-stricken urban locales, will adopt the adversarial values and behaviors of their native born neighbors. Segmented assimilation occurs among immigrants, both inter and intra-group, and is mostly dependent on economics and adaptation rather on being part of a specific group (such as the so-called model minorities).

In contrast to proponents of segmented assimilation, Kasinitz et al (2002, 2004, 2008) argue that segmented assimilation is an "unsophisticated model" for explaining inter-group

contact, conflict and discrimination. They counter this ideal by emphasizing the importance of minority promotion programs in schools and government assistance which are mechanisms of socio-economic advancement for immigrants and their children. Downward assimilation may occur for some members of the second-generation in working class neighborhoods. Confirming the analysis of Kasinitz et al. (2008), several Indo-Guyanese participants in this study stated the importance of familial and ethnic networks as mechanisms for integration and coping with racial ambivalence. Although the second-generation strive towards socioeconomic mobility through educational programs in America, they often experience racial antagonism with non co-ethnics and seek co-ethnic (i.e. religious) networks to ease the pain and anxiety associated with the discrimination they endure from non co-ethnics.

The majority of post-1965 immigrants originate from Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean with severe ethnic and racial distinctions which place them on the margins of the American Black and white racial hierarchy. Assimilation for second-generation Indo-Guyanese is usually carried out by emulating mainstream economic and cultural aspirations, while redefining their parents' understanding of ethnicity in America. Others may temporarily distance themselves from their own ethnic group in favor of cultural and structural assimilation with Euro-American groups. Social class, religion and residential location are pivotal variables which influence co-ethnic distancing. "I was born in New York and moved to Florida when I was 8. I lived in a predominantly white suburb and liked being one of the only Guyanese kids at school. My family moved back to New York and although there are more Guyanese people here I do not hang out with them or join a campus group," stated Shivani. Shivani felt awkward around her Guyanese peers because she did not grow up listening to Indo-Caribbean music or speaking

Guyanese Creole. Her social circles mainly consisted of family members, non-Indo-Guyanese peers or Guyanese peers who also experienced co-ethnic distancing.

Herbert Gans (1979) uses the term symbolic ethnicity to portray first wave third-generation Euro-Americans' ability to retain certain cultural signifiers from their ethnic heritage. His research indicates that first and second generation Americans usually shed their European ethnic identities in favor of American assimilation. However, the third generation is "characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behavior" (Gans 1979). Therefore, the third generation has the ability to choose between behaviors associated with mainstream society and those of a particular ethnic group to maintain affiliations in both arenas. In contrast to Gans' (1979) research, which states that second-generation Americans sever their ethnic ties and only begin to exhibit ethnic revival in the third generation, I argue that second generation Americans,especially among post-1965 non-European groups from Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America, experience ethnic heritage nostalgia and utilize this desire to reconnect with their parent's home country as a marker for specific ethnic affiliations or performances in America such as cultural festivals. Indo-Guyanese second-generation children often carry out cultural performances through music, dance, linguistics and food. These performances can take place during religious holidays or at events hosted by college student associations.

The Intersections of Familial, Ethno-Religious, and Educational Socialization in Re-Defining Ethnicity in America

Dasgupta (1997) suggests that immigrant children are primarily socialized by their family unit. In their attempt to reclaim their South Asian (SA) identities in the U.S., first-generation South Asian American (SAA) parents (those who migrated to America from countries such as India and Pakistan) usually socialize their children with South Asian values that are not necessarily representative of contemporary South Asian culture. Parents often use their understanding of South Asian cultural values to create distance between what they believe are "American" values and the South Asian traditions which they want their children to follow. The first generations' trepidation that their children will renounce ethno-religious traditions in America propels them towards enforcing rigid cultural and religious practices which may be already obsolete in the country of origin. Foner (1997) also highlights the development of a creative culture in migrant families where traditions of the past are acted out in the present to prevent the "Americanization" of members of the immigrant community. The observance of cultural practices, such as arranged marriages, demonstrates South Asians' desire to create ethnic boundaries and expectations for their children. However, Foner also claims that the second-generation utilizes social norms from the mainstream, such as dating tactics, to defy their parents' expectations in favor of assimilation.

Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2005) found that the children of immigrants drift towards three categories of adaptation as they navigate their social, cultural, political and economic identities in the U.S.: "ethnic flight," "adversarial" and "bicultural" Ethnic flight refers to second-generation children who renounce their parents' cultural identifiers (i.e. language or religion) and adapt behavior patterns associated with the dominant culture. Second-generation members usually adapt this behavior in an effort to reduce negative social interactions

with this group and to eventually gain acceptance by the dominant culture. Adversarial style adaptation refers to children of immigrants who are rejected by the dominant culture and develop a defensive, often marginalized, attitude towards the dominant culture with peers in the same predicament. These children are also unable to communicate with their immigrant parents about their feelings and may also feel alienated from their families. Countercultures such as gangs usually emerge as a coping mechanism for their alienated status. Bicultural adaptation refers to second-generation members who fluctuate between behavior patterns associated with the dominant culture and those exhibited by their immigrant parents'. Members of this adaptation group are able to interact with members of other ethnic and racial groups while maintaining a close connection to their familial responsibilities (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2005).

Suarez-Orozco (2005) also reported that school provides the first exposure that second-generation children have to each other and to members of the dominant racial/ethnic group. Peer relationships with both members of other immigrant groups and Americans intensifies the conflicting value system between mainstream American ideals and the mores that immigrant children are expected to uphold within their households. Immigrant parents often cope with this confusion by advising their children against mimicking the behavior of other children at school. However, this transient behavioral strategy does not resolve the ethnic uncertainty that children of immigrants grapple with.

Durham (2004) suggests that "for children of immigrant diaspora groups, adolescence is a particularly complex juncture, calling for a sophisticated grasp of cross-cultural dialectics and the socio-political dimensions of Otherness that will mark their adult lives" (141). Adolescence is often thought of as a "coming of age" experience, where impressionable children cross over

the threshold into adulthood. Children in both the early stage of adolescence (around age 13) and late stage (around age 18) are influenced by racism, cultural differences from mainstream American values and their desire to assimilate into the American mainstream. The college and university setting provides an opportunity for children of immigrants to relocate themselves outside of immigrant neighborhoods and interact with peers of different ethnic and racial backgrounds. Both commuter and students who reside on campus have the opportunity to practice various ethnic and cultural behaviors which shape their ethnic identity. Some college students and graduates may choose to join cultural groups or associations which reflect their parents' country of origin and others may distance themselves from avenues of ethnic development in favor of acquiring more mainstream values.

In addition to ethnic development through cultural rituals, Kasinitz et. al. (2004) discuss the importance of culture-based influences on educational and career goals for the second-generation. According to their study, Chinese migrants and their children aspire towards higher educational attainment and stereotypical "Asian" occupations (for example, in the business sector) to ensure their economic survival in America. The two Chinese American sample groups in the study were taken from disparate locales, suburban and urban ideologies were compared regarding educational achievement and financial survival in America. Despite their class and residential differences, both groups demonstrated similar perspectives regarding these issues. The children from urban residences chose what they considered, typical Asian occupations because they were "safe" and would most likely ensure employment after graduation. The children from upper-middle/upper-class families in suburban households felt that entering into "Asian" occupations was natural because other family members held positions in those

occupations. Similarly, second-generation Indo-Guyanese may enter into certain professions, such as accounting, finance, engineering and nursing, because their first generation family members are involved in these fields or promote them as financially stable occupations. In the Caribbean, Indo-Guyanese associate class status advancement with upward social mobility and usually transmit this ideology to their children in America (Waters 2001).

Gendered Assimilation: Re-Enforcing Patriarchal Traditions that Mark Ethnic Boundaries

Adolescence is usually classified as a growth period producing anxiety and uncertainty regarding identity issues. According to Ahmed (1999), adolescence in America is associated with a child's individuation and separation from their family unit. Most immigrant families usually perceive adolescence as a marker of gendered role recognition in the household. Since the family is the primary mode of socialization, most South Asian women are often conflicted by the rigid values their parents enforce. Ahmed posits that South Asian families socialize their daughters to base their own actions on the possible consequences for the entire household unit. After puberty, South Asian women are expected to remain chaste to uphold their family's honor within their ethnic community. Families often exercise rigid surveillance over their female members' actions, both inside and outside of the household, to enforce their requirements for f South Asian women's behavior in America. South Asian men do not experience the same vigilance over their bodies as females because women are usually viewed as cultural preservers and families do not want their female members deviating from their expected roles (for example, wearingmodest attire sometimes including wearing a Hijab) in America. Engaging in activities outside of their expected roles normally results in females being disowned by other family members on account of the familial shame induced by their deviant actions.

Dasgupta's (1997) study discusses South Asian American women's resistance to gendered disparities within their families. Her informants "related bitter confrontation with their parents who instituted themselves in authorial positions about the 'right' culture. Moreover, they found themselves constantly negotiating their allegiance to their parents' natal culture and the culture of their adopted home [America]" (585). Assimilation into mainstream American society places immigrant women in a difficult position which requires both cultural retention and mainstream assimilation (Levitt 2001). With increased educational expectations placed on second-generation Indo-Guyanese children, women's roles are changing and certain expectations such as cooking on an everyday basis are no longer applicable as markers of womanhood. However, during religious festivals (such as. Diwali[6]) second-generation women are expected to assist their mothers and elder female relatives with food preparation.

Espiritu (2001) discusses immigrant women's inability to evade the gendered expectations of patriarchal households. Immigration studies normally focus on how newer immigrant groups are viewed by the American mainstream. Espiritu takes this concept a step further through her analysis of how the immigrant community views the American mainstream and uses a form of "reverse racism" to retain ethnic cultural expectations. Espiritu's (2001) research indicates that within the immigrant community, first and second generation Filipina women usually assimilate economically in America through advanced education and employment opportunities. However, Filipina women simultaneously maintain patriarchal household expectations (such as cooking and raising children) without male assistance. Espiritu

[6] Diwali is a holiday celebrated by Hindus which involves reverence to Gods through a candle ritual, dietary restrictions and dance presentations. This will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

(2001) suggests that the Filipino immigrant community uses racial and ethnic stereotypes to retain patriarchal expectations within Filipino households. According to the study, the Filipino immigrant community views white American women as autonomous and sexually expressive, while Filipina women are seen as family-oriented and sexually modest. Filipina American women are expected to resist American assimilation, which is held to be equivalent to white American women's behavioral stereotypes, in order to preserve their ethnic position in the United States. Therefore, Filipina women gain economic independence and assimilation in America, yet their household positions remain similar to pre-migration norms.

Despite their native born status, second-generation Indo-Guyanese American women grapple with the same gendered expectations as the Filipina women in Espiritu's study. I argue that second-generation Indo-Guyanese women's gendered expectations are parallel to their mothers'. Regardless of economic status and mobility, second-generation Indo-Guyanese women have limited opportunities to engage in mainstream activities (such as extracurricular activities) compared to their male counterparts because parents expect their daughters to perform "good girl" behaviors. The role of the "good girl" requires Indo-Guyanese women to remain closely tied to their family members and household. Engaging in late night activities outside of the household by themselves or with other females will cause shame on their families because these behaviors are perceived as "wild" and will reduce their eligibility and range of partner selections for marriage (Waters 2001).

"Purifying" the Diaspora Through Dating, Sex and Marriage

Kallivayalil (2004) reported that the SAA women in her study are prohibited from dating by their parents and South Asian communities. The participants who engaged in dating relationships usually did not inform their parents and adopted covert strategies to maintain their relationships. Several of the participants "reported that dating was not talked about explicitly in their homes at all, that they 'just knew' what they were supposed to do and what they weren't" (Kallivayalil 2004). Sexual inexperience is a sign of purity in South Asian ethno-religious traditions. Women, more than men, are targets for enforcing sexual purity because of the fear that premarital sex will result in an unplanned, unwanted pregnancy which may ruin their career or marriageability. Most of the SAA communities in the United States are tightly knit and everyone is aware of personal affairs within the community. Even if a SAA woman does not become pregnant from engaging in premarital sex, her participation in a sexual act prior to marriage stigmatizes her for betraying her "chaste" gender expectations as a SAA woman. In contrast, SAA men are not viewed in this light by their community because they do not physically experience pregnancy and are not expected to renounce their career goals if they impregnate a woman.

Furthermore, both the SAA woman and her family are stigmatized for her "unethical" sexual behavior by their SAA community because of the family's inability to prevent their daughter from "Americanization." All the women in Kallivayalil's (2004) study "denied ever having had sex". It appears that the women in Kallivayalil's study wanted to preserve their image as the "chaste SAA woman" by withholding information regarding their sexual behavior. Bhatia (2002) cites Dasgupta's claim that "the main casualty of our communities' efforts to reformulate homogenous "authenticity" are women… South Asian women in America are given

the task of perpetuating anachronistic customs and traditions" (70). Bhatia claims that first generation South Asian parents' values surrounding sexuality and virginity in America conflict with popular cultural views about these issues. These families view the loss of virginityupon marriage as a South Asian tradition that their daughters should practice to ensure the continuity of South Asian cultural beliefs in America. Practicing religious rituals and transmitting dogmatic traditions onto the second-generation provides the first generation with a form of reassurance that their children will not become too "American" because they are preserving ancestral traditions (Eck 2007). However, peer pressure and media influences create tension for the second generation in negotiating between their own sexual desires in America with their parents' expectations.

Sangeeta R. Gupta (1999) argues that "dating is the number one cause of conflict and stress between parents and their adult children in Asian-Indian communities." Intergenerational conflicts between South Asian children and their parents regarding dating originates from the ways the second generation constructs and negotiate their ethnicity. Additionally, the family's acceptance of their children's dating relationships varies from one family to another. Gupta's analysis also reveals that first-generation SAAs are forced to address issues that are considered taboo in SA traditions such as dating and premarital sex. Compared to mainstream American society, "Dating is … not an established nor recognized part of the [South Asian] culture and has only recently become an issue within their immigrant communities" (Gupta 1999). Asian Indian immigrant parents have difficulty grappling with dating and premarital sex because of their lack of exposure to or experience with these issues.

Perlmann and Waters (in Foner and Fredrickson 2004) also agree that generational differences influence dating and marriage tactics. Their study reveals that second-generation Asian Americans are more likely to intermarry than their immigrant counterparts. They also concluded that the rate of Asian/White cohabitation (as an alternative to marriage) is on the rise for Asian Americans. Their choice to cohabit rather than marry non co-ethnics reveals that they are reducing the social distance from Euro-Americans. However, close family ties within Asian American communities and familial disapproval of non co-ethnic partner choices may prompt the second-generation to cohabit, as an alternative to marriage, as a means of negotiating their own desires. Are these fixed or transient relationships? Is this also applicable to South Asian groups? How do casual dating relationships differ from expected marriage partnership relationships for the Indo-Guyanese? Do members of the Indo-Guyanese second-generation make this distinction?

In the studies by Gupta (1999), Maira (2002) and Kallivayalil (2004), the participants' parents are disconnected from their daughters' desire to date or find their own mate because most of the first-generation parents had arranged marriages. Since most first-generation SAAs were not exposed to dating and premarital sex during adolescence, they are unable to relate to their daughter's desire to date in order to find a husband. In contrast, Indo-Guyanese families may be more open to their children's dating relationships because several members of the first-generation engaged in dating before marrying their spouse. Arranged marriages in Guyana were not as prevalent as in India because people were selected from various castes during the Indenture. The caste system eventually disintegrated upon arrival to the Caribbean because economically rooted racial divisions with the Afro-Guyanese replaced caste hierarchies.

Additionally, the racial contention with the Afro-Guyanese facilitated inter-religious and inter-caste marriages among the East Indians (such as Hindus marrying Muslims) as they used caste amalgamation to preserve and reproduce the Indian race (Jayawardena 1980).

Premarital sex continues to be an uneasy topic for intergenerational discussions in Indo-Guyanese households because similar expectations of premarital chastity prevail throughout the Indian Diaspora in religious texts[7]. This study also indicates that the first generation Guyanese American immigrant community condemns premarital sex as a sign of "American" behavior that is a symbol of "shame" and "disrespect" for their ethno-religious beliefs. Similar to the findings of Espiritu (2001), the Indo-Guyanese use race or the immigrant community's depiction of "American" behavior to retain cultural traditions in the United States. Women within the Indo-Guyanese community are under constant ethnic surveillance by their extended family members and immigrant community because an unplanned, premarital pregnancy is an explicit symbol of ethno-religious disobedience that will disgrace the female and her entire family. In contrast, Indo-Guyanese men do not endure similar forms of ethnic surveillance because they are not physiologically designed to become pregnant, and a double sexual standard excuses them from blame for causing someone else to become pregnant

Recent Research on Indo-Guyanese Americans

Most of the current research on Indo-Guyanese immigrants and second-generation Americans places all ethnic groups under a single "Indo-Caribbean" pan-ethnicity. Researchers

[7] Biblical, Quranic and Hindu Scriptures denounce premarital sex. Sexual intercourse is depicted as an act between heterosexual, married couples in these texts.

have not carefully distinguished among Indo-Trinidadians, Indo-Guyanese and Indo-Surinamese groups to understand how the political, cultural and racial histories of these distinctive Indian Diaspora groups impact their ethnic construction and assimilation patterns. Scholars of South Asian studies (Khandelwal 2002 and Maira 2002) briefly mention Indo-Guyanese immigrants and their children without detailed analysis of their ethnic identity development. These scholars primarily focus on addressing Asian Indian, Pakistani and other South Asian identities without a concrete account of Indo-Guyanese immigration and assimilation patterns. While these studies offer a starting point for further investigation and discussion of Indo-Guyanese identity construction trends in the U.S., they also place Indo-Caribbeans under the South Asian rubric of immigration studies. However, Indo-Caribbeans may not agree with or accept this academic categorization because of their complex racial and ethnic identity.

Camacho-Gingerich's (2002) edited publication *Coping in America: The Case of Caribbean East Indians* discusses the migration history of Indo-Caribbeans through a compilation of essays which offer Census data, and a qualitative analysis of education and employment trends, racialization, and assimilation patterns of Indo-Caribbeans in the United States. This collaboration is the resultof a conference sponsored by St. John's University and several Indian and Guyanese Associations in New York City. This project highlights the migration patterns, racial and inter-generational conditions experienced by Indo-Caribbeans in America. However, the authors do not present the number of interviews collected, nor do they give details on how they sampled the Guyanese population. Although this conference offers a starting point for discussing Indo-Guyanese history, migration and American assimilation, the methodological constraints limits the studies' reliability because it is unclear how they recruited

their participants. Additionally, this study lacks a significant discussion of the Indo-Guyanese assimilation patterns within current immigration debates, which is necessary to understand how other post-1965 groups compare to Guyanese assimilation trajectories.

Currently, the most significant research with second-generation Indo- Caribbean American youth has been conducted by Natasha Warikoo. Warikoo's (2005, 2004) studies with second generation Indo-Caribbean youth in New York City found that this group develops a "cosmopolitan identity" based on gendered differences that are established within the household and modified through peer or media encounters. In contrast to my dissertation Warikoo's studies do not specifically differentiate between Indo-Guyanese and other Indo-Caribbean ethnicities. She uses the pan-ethnic Indo-Caribbean identity to frame and locate their ethnicity in New York. The historical condition for East Indians in Guyana varies from those in Trinidad and other Caribbean nations. Using this pan-ethnic label to define East Indians of Caribbean descent negates their unique historical conditions of racism and how the Indian Indenture in each Caribbean nation shapes their ethnicity in America. Warikoo's study is also limited to members of the second-generation who live within the ethnic enclave and does not discuss those who live outside of this ethnically saturated locale. Although her participants developed a cosmopolitan ethnic identity through interactions with non-Indo-Caribbean peers, most of them had a strong understanding of Indo-Caribbean ethnic traits because of their residence in the ethnic enclave (i.e. the presence of Indian DVD stores enabled her participants to purchase current DVDs and film songs which they incorporate into their identity). Warikoo found that although Indo-Caribbeans have a "thick" understanding of their hybrid identity, their identity remains fluid because of their interactions with non-Indo-Caribbean peers and media influences.

Unlike Warikoo's (2005, 2004) studies, this research "Young, Brown and Down[8]" discusses how second-generation Indo-Guyanese who leave the ethnic enclave for higher education and employment or do not live in close proximity to the ethnic enclave develop a different understanding of an Indo-Guyanese American identity. These youth grapple with understanding their ethnic identity through music, food, language and mainstream pop culture. Residing in or attending schools within the ethnic enclave places Indo-Guyanese youth within closer range for reproducing certain cultural traits that they receive from their family members such as language or food choices. This study seeks to explain how leaving the ethnic enclave for education and employment increases second-generation Indo-Guyanese cultural assimilation into the mainstream, while re-defining "Guyanese" in America. As mentioned earlier, the second-generation Indo Guyanese develop a "Guyanese" ethnic label in New York to gain racial recognition and distinguish themselves from Asian Indians and Afro-Guyanese. Additionally, these youths may return to the ethnic enclave as residents or consumers that remain immersed in their ethnic community because of the increased experience with racism they endure through interaction with non-Indo Guyanese populations. Moreover, their connections with Indo-Guyanese ethno-religious traditions may become a mere performance which does not match the first-generation's understanding of these rituals (for example, remixing classical Indian Dance routines with hip-hop dance moves – See Chapter 5). Although in Warikoo's studies these youth interact with non-Indo-Guyanese peers within the ethnic enclave, the amount of time spent at home and parental influence over behavior is greater for high school students than their college

[8] The title for this dissertation has been inspired by a chapter from the ethnography *Desis in the House*, Sunaina Maira entitled Young, Brown and Hip. Additionally, my participants often refer to themselves as "brown people" and use the term "down" to represent their interpretations of "cool" ethnic and mainstream behaviors in New York.

counterparts (this also varies by gender and religious involvement). As in Gans' (1979) discussion of symbolic ethnicity, the second-generation Indo-Guyanese youth do not demonstrate these Guyanese rituals in their "everyday" identity but return to these rituals on specific occasions which require the performance of this identity (for example dancing to soca music at an Indo-Caribbean party).

This study seeks to augment the research on South Asians in America by adding to the limited research previously conducted on Indo-Guyanese Americans (Khandelwal 2002, Maira 2002, Warikoo 2005, 2004), while filling in the gaps in the literature on understanding how the second generation Indo-Guyanese construct their ethnicity on their path to mainstream assimilation. Generally, the Indo-Guyanese second-generation has been severely understudied in both the South Asian and West Indian sub-categories of immigration research. The current literature on Indo-Guyanese populations mentioned above classifies this group with the South Asian racial/ethnic category. However, members of the second-generation may not define their ethnicity according to this label because of the ethnic tension between Asian Indians and Indian members of the West Indian Diaspora regarding authentic "Indian" behavior. These groups have disparate understandings of authentically "Indian" rituals. Placing the Indo-Guyanese under the South Asian ethnic category may stem from the racial tension between Afro-and Indo Caribbeans in the West Indies or may be an attempt by scholars to create a pan-ethnic South Asian identity for socio-political solidarity in the U.S. (Espiritu 2004). Indo-Guyanese populations may define themselves as West Indian culturally but Indian or Guyanese racially. This complicates our understanding of this group and this study will contribute significantly to deconstructing the racial and ethnic categories associated with Indo-Guyanese populations.

Additionally, this study grapples with contemporary issues in gendered immigration and assimilation. Although first and second generation Indo-Guyanese American women are expected to uphold and impart Guyanese ethno-religious traditions, their desire for mainstream assimilation encourages their resistance to patriarchal expectations. Indo-Guyanese women engage in what I term transient patriarchy to satisfy ethnic expectations while achieving their mainstream goals. For example, the second-generation Indo-Guyanese females in this study reported that their fathers were reluctant to allow them to gain employment because it may subject them to working late hours which could increase their contact with dangerous situations (such as having their purse stolen while riding the subway late night). In contrast, their male counterparts do not experience this gendered restriction over their desire for financial independence, because their parents assume that males are stronger and capable of defending themselves. Several of the female respondents discussed this disparity and used increased Hindu religious dance participation as a mechanism for negotiating their desire for increase autonomy within their households. "I told my dad that I would continue going to dance classes if he let me work during the summer. I want to make money to buy things that my parents don't want to get me [such as an iPhone]. My mom works and she also tried to convince my dad that I need to earn my own money," stated Deepika. First and second-generation Indo-Guyanese American created an inter-generational alliance to combat gendered disparities within the Indo-Guyanese community. This dissertation details the progressive changes that have resulted through this alliance and the limitations that continue to affect Indo-Guyanese women's mainstream assimilation.

Lastly, this study takes place in New York which is often classified as a gateway city for immigrant reception. Most of the participants in this study have never traveled to Guyana because their parents do not want to revisit their homeland because of the racial contention between the Afro and Indo-Guyanese. Second-generation Indo-Guyanese Americans have the advantage of utilizing the ethnic enclave for goods and services (such as dance clubs promoting soca music) which allow them to remain engaged in redefining Guyanese cultural attributes. My dissertation analyzes how the availability of these cultural institutions contributes to the second-generation's identity development. Are they attending these institutions because they genuinely want to engage in interactions in these environments or do they attend these venues because they feel like "inauthentic" Guyanese if they do not participate in these activities? By and large, the Indo-Guyanese are participating in activities in ethno-religious sites such as Guyanese Student Associations, Hindu dance recitals, pan-ethnic organizational alliances with long-established and financially endowed Asian Indian groups because they enjoy celebrating and constructing their Guyanese ethnicity. Most of the Indo-Guyanese participants in this study have a political agenda of gaining racial recognition through these ethnic sites, but there are a few individuals who occasionally interact with co-ethnics at these locations. The occasional participants do not feel ethnically inauthentic about their reduced interaction in these social circles nor do they feel pressure by their peers to attend. They usually enjoy spending time with co-ethnics but work and educational constraints prevent their regular engagement with these activities. However, some individuals view their interactions in everyday life (such as eating curry and roti) as a sufficient form of ethnic representation and do not require membership in student organizations or ethnic activities to identify as a Guyanese American. Overall, New York provides several conduits for

second-generation Indo-Guyanese to construct their ethnic and racial identity. Understanding their intentions in utilizing certain institutions will augment our understanding of how the American born children of immigrants navigate mainstream integration.

Overview

This dissertation is divided into four chapters which reflect the intergenerational, gendered complexities Indo-Guyanese Americans grapple with in working on their ethnic and racial construction. Chapter One, Growing Up Brown, discusses how the second-generation negotiates their ethnic and racial identity when confronted with conflicting means of socialization from their parents, class background, peers and the education system. This chapter also illuminates the racism experienced by the Indo-Guyanese who did not grow up in the Queens ethnic enclave and the challenges this presented in their daily activities. Chapter Two, "Re-Defining Religion in Everyday Life." discusses how intergenerational, gendered and mainstream assimilation agendas affect how the second-generation practice religious rituals and dogmas. This chapter focuses on how interfaith families transmit religion to their children and how some families become compartmentalized because of religious differences. Chapter Three, "Transnational Ethnic Consumption and Performance,"shows how the second-generation reproduces characteristics of their parents' interactions, in rumshops[9] and in various events and nightlife activities involving Caribbean music. This chapter tackles their ethnic identification as specifically "Guyanese" and not simply "Caribbean." This chapter also grapples with how the Guyanese Student Association on college campuses in New York provides a space for ethno-

[9] A rumshop in Guyana is the equivalent to a bar or pub in America.

racial recognition and mainstream assimilation. Chapter Four, “Gendered Struggles: Power, Autonomy and Liberation,” coveys how gendered expectations create significant discrepancies in the second-generation’s ability to assimilate into the American mainstream. Gendered differences also shape how the second-generation define their ethnic and racial identity in America. For women, intergenerational alliances and level of religious involvement are two major factors influencing their ability to use dating relationships as a mechanism of limited power and autonomy within the household. The Conclusion connects the Indo-Guyanese experience to the larger study of post-1965 immigrant assimilation patterns and ethnic identity construction.

Methodology and Definition of Terms

For this research, I conducted in-depth interviews and ethnographic participant observation field research with student members and affiliates of Indo-Guyanese college organizations in the New York Metro Area from Fall 2008- Fall 2011 to investigate how second generation Indo-Guyanese students (age eighteen to twenty four) develop their ethnicity in the context of mainstream assimilation. The ethnographic college campus field observations occurred at two campuses in New York City, Sunny College and Winter University[10]. Sunny College is a public university that has had a widely recognized Guyanese Student Association (GSA) within the Indo-Guyanese Community since 1975. I gained entrée with this group as a Graduate Teaching Fellow, presenting myself to the students as a second-generation Indo-Guyanese graduate student interested in understanding how the GSA shapes their ethnic identity. There are about 40 regular members, as well as over 75 Indo-Guyanese students who sporadically attend meetings and GSA sponsored events from time to time. I have conducted fieldwork, both on and off campus, with the students from Sunny College from 2008-2011 (even as I wrote this dissertation). Winter University is a Catholic university with a less sizable GSA with about 17 regular members and 40 students who occasionally attend GSA meetings and sponsored events. Institutional Review Board constraints at Winter University limited my on campus contact with this group to the Spring semester of 2010. I was able to conduct in-depth or conversational interviews with most of the GSA members while on campus. A few of the GSA

[10] The actual names of these institutions have been replaced with pseudonyms to protect the privacy of my participants.

members from Winter University occasionally attended events at Sunny College which enabled me to view their interactions with Guyanese co-ethnics on a different campus.

As mentioned in the Introduction, teaching at Sunny College gave me the opportunity to conduct fieldwork between and after teaching my classes. As a member of the Indo-Guyanese second-generation, I gained entrée into the student associations by approaching group members with the goals of my project and explaining the limited research conducted on the Indo-Guyanese population to date. Mentioning the significance of researching this group for comparison with Asian Indian second-generation identity development also enabled me to relate to the students' conflicting, hybrid ethnicity as members of the Indian Diaspora. My close age proximity to the informants also facilitated my entrée into the Guyanese Students' Association (GSA). While teaching at Sunny College, I was able to conduct field and participant observations with informal conversations. I felt that my position as a Teaching Fellowship might have intimidated most of the GSA students from conducting in-depth interviews. I tried to downplay my faculty role with my quirky personality and deep interest in learning more about Indo-Guyanese rituals that I had never been exposed to before. I used my own isolation from the ethnic enclave as a starting point of my inquiry and the GSA students were more than willing to answer my questions. However, a few female students who I gained almost immediate rapport with conducted interviews with me during my last semester of teaching.

Although there was an initial hierarchy that my students felt between their student status and my position as a Graduate Teaching Fellow, my participation in club activities slowly diminished this distance. Teaching and conducting fieldwork simultaneously became a tedious process and I took a leave of absence from my fellowship to work on my project fulltime. This

enabled me to gain better rapport with my participants at Sunny College because they no longer felt threatened by my role as a teacher. I became one of them as a fellow member of the GSA. This crucial career decision at the end of 2009 placed me closer to my participants because many of them conducted one-on-one, two hour in depth interviews with me after I stopped teaching.

I had a completely different relationship with the GSA at Winter University. Unlike my experience at Sunny College, the students were not as intimidated by my presence initially because I was not a faculty member on their campus. I presented myself as a graduate student who wore jeans, a t-shirt and sneakers. My casual attire and laid back personality made me seem approachable. My youthful appearance and close age proximity to the students also help me gain their rapport. Most of my interactions with this group took place on campus but, unlike my initial contact with the GSA at Sunny College, the students were more open to my project and creating friendships with me since I was viewed as a fellow student.

It was imperative to establish rapport and gain the trust of the participants in this study. I established this connection by attending the organizations' sponsored events and interacting with students during their free hour in the club designated area on campus. Participating in events such as cultural dance shows and club fundraisers enabled me to maintain relationships with informants as a group member contributing to the club's activities. Additionally, communicating with students who are not specifically part of the organization but have friends who are affiliated with the group also provided information about Indo-Guyanese students who choose not to join or are not regular attendees at club meetings. This project also required me to engage in off campus events with students in locations such as the students' homes, dance clubs, restaurants, parks and religious institutions. Interacting with family members in the students' homes allowed

me to verify the reliability of the information the students provided about their family members and to uncover details about cultural expectations which the participants might not have considered significant (for example Indo-Guyanese women are expected to wear Indian dresses at religious functions while men have the option to wear Indian attire or a dress shirt and pants). Most of the participants viewed wearing ethnic attire as a routine performance without thinking about the significance behind this gendered expectation. These events enabled me to understand and deconstruct how the second generation developed their ethnicity outside of the university setting.

Working specifically with GSA students created limitations to the scope of my project and I decided to use snowball sampling and online South Asian listservs to broaden the range of participants. I conducted in-depth interviews[11] and ethnographic research with members of the second generation who are age 25-34, through GSA snowball contacts and online Indo-Guyanese and South Asian groups, to understand how age and advanced life experiences growing up in America influenced their identity. Several of these interviews were conducted over the phone to accommodate the participants' work schedules. The elder cohort of the second-generation has similar ideals to the first generation regarding linguistic, religious and gendered expectations as compared to their college-aged counterparts. The mid-twenties and thirties participants provided crucial insight into the future incorporation of the Indo-Guyanese population because they grew up during an era with limited ethno-religious institutions and a sizable co-ethnic population. Understanding their perspectives on assimilation allows me to make comparisons

[11] All of the in-depth interviews conducted lasted between 1-2 hours. I also considered informal conversations a form of "in-depth" interviewing. The total number of interviews in this category is 150.

between the advanced second-generation and college students as to their level of integration. I am aware that recruiting participants through GSA and South Asian sources limits my study to those who are affiliated with these cultural groups. There are several participants who are not associated with these groups who but responded to my study through third-party contacts or group members. It would also have been difficult to reach out to this population without approaching these cultural organizations.

Despite my efforts to provide the perspective of second-generation Indo-Guyanese from varying class backgrounds, most of the participants are middle and upper middle class. I initially expected to find class variations between the students attending public and private universities. However, both groups share a similar class status and live in similar neighborhoods in New York City. The participants from the elder cohort are also middle and upper middle class, with a few moving into upper class professions (i.e. medicine and financial analysts at top financial firms in Manhattan). Although my participants mentioned struggles over race, ethnicity and gendered autonomy, issues of class or financial instability were never mentioned.

Using several research methods provided different levels of understanding of how the second-generation Indo-Guyanese create and transform boundaries to develop their ethnicity. I have included demographic statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau 1980, 1990, 2000 PUMS and American Community Survey (2006-2010 Combined File) with the help of Joseph Pereira, Director of CUNY Data Service and Peter Frase, Research Assistant, at the Center for Urban Research, The Graduate Center CUNY, to show population information about the Indo-Guyanese in NYC. In 2010, Peter Frase assisted me with acquiring the preliminary data set and setting the statistical parameters to racially define the Indo-Guyanese ancestry for the initial

output. In 2011, I decided to update the demographic information in this project to include the 2010 Census data and show a longitudinal progression of the Indo-Guyanese migration since 1965. However, Peter relocated to Europe and was unable to provide the updated information. Under the advisement of Philip Kasinitz, I contacted Joseph Pereira to continue the analysis. I incorporated the statistical information from Joseph's analyses in this project. I have included the data tables, Joseph's parameters for defining the Indo-Guyanese and the limitations to this data in the Appendix. The most notable limitation to this demographic information has been defining Indo-Guyanese ancestry, because the racial categories on the Census have changed significantly from 1980-2010. However this data set has helped me to explicate how residential location has assisted the development of the ethnic enclave and enabled me to reach a large number of non-student participants through snowball sampling.

The combination of demographic residential information and ethnographic research enables me to explain how the second generations' everyday interactions provide an environment for them to construct boundaries that shape their ethnicity and mainstream incorporation in New York. I have also taken photographs of various campus and family events that will add an additional layer of analysis for identity construction. My incorporation of photographs taken during my fieldwork brings to life the descriptions about the events and adds another dimension to understanding ethnic construction through visual images.

Although most of the participants interact with peers from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, their membership in the Guyanese cultural groups signifies their dedication in understanding their cultural backgrounds and defining their ethnicity within the American mainstream. At times, the students within these organizations demonstrated their willingness to

forego Guyanese cultural attributes and accept mainstream habits or behaviors (such as selling cupcakes instead of Guyanese pastries at a fundraising bake sale). Most of the participants share similar ethno-religious beliefs and linguistic skills, which serves to encourage their Indo-Guyanese cultural awareness amidst their culturally diverse interactions. These groups provide spaces for the students to interact with other members of the second-generation who grapple with similar identity issues and share their desire for self-expression amid familial and societal constraints over their behavior. Conducting interviews, observations and participating in club activities allowed me to collect data aimed at interpreting critical complexities which may seem "normal" or taken for granted by my participants (for example, Christian GSA members celebrating Hindu rituals).

Informants who are not members of Guyanese associations may interact with non-Guyanese peers or have work schedules that do not permit their attendance or affiliation in these groups. Conducting in-depth interviews with the non-group members enabled me to deconstruct the meanings behind their non-affiliation with these groups. Residential location and social class may impact the participants' ability or desire to join Guyanese associations or forge friendships with Guyanese peers. Moving into or outside of the enclave residentially or for education and career goals affects the informants' understanding of their ethnicity. Again, time and space are crucial components in understanding how ethnic construction and mainstream assimilation are fluid concepts that may change throughout the participants' life course. As the second-generation move away from the ethnic enclave they may engage in interactions with more non co-ethnics (particularly middle class native whites) which may either increase their mainstream assimilation by exposing them to new cultural rituals. The second-generation may also feel a

sense of alienation because of their ethno-racial differences outside of the enclave and choose to return to the enclave as a coping mechanism against feeling ethnically displaced. Although the second-generation desire mainstream assimilation, they are cautious about managing the racism they endure from non co-ethnics during the process of integration.

The second-generation Indo-Guyanese may reside outside of the ethnic enclave, dorm away from home, spend most of their time taking courses at schools which are away from the ethnic enclave and develop friendships with non-Indo-Guyanese peers. For the 18-25 cohort, Indo-Guyanese students who are members of Indo-Guyanese campus organizations represent these disparate identities. For the 25-34 year old cohort, I explained the how residential location, family and peer relationships shape their ethnicity. I also tracked their post college career objectives, dating and marriage prospects. This research project grapples with how the disparate forms of ethnic and peer socialization impact the second-generations' ability to re-create Guyanese rituals and assimilate into the American mainstream.

There are a few other limitations to this project that are noteworthy. Although this is a study of second-generation Indo-Guyanese ethnic identity construction in America, my study is limited to the voice of the second-generation. Throughout this dissertation, I have discussed inter-generational conflicts and differences that arise in the everyday lives of the second-generation. Interviewing members of the first-generation and understanding their relationship with the second-generation's mainstream assimilation in the United States will enable me to gain more insight into inter-generational differences. I spoke with several members of the first-generation during off-campus field observations and will incorporate this analysis in future research projects—especially regarding gendered expectations.

As an in-group member, I have the advantage of understanding and expressing some of the racial and ethnic complexities endured by this group. My close ties to this culture as an in-group affiliate poses a methodological concern because I may take for granted intricate ethnographic details. For instance, Caribbean music is commonly played during Indo-Guyanese events. However, recognizing the significance and meaning behind the genre of Caribbean music used among different audiences is an important component of the ethnographic account. To counter issues related to in-group affiliation, I have maintained a certain amount of distance from the scene or interview to present the data in an objective manner. Additionally, my sister accompanied me to a few field observations, such as cultural shows and off-campus family events. My sister is part of the elder cohort and her experience growing up in America with fewer Guyanese peers and institutions than mine was invaluable to this research. Her presence during field observations allowed me to gain an additional perspective on the scene and make inferences as to how the influx of Guyanese immigrants and development of Richmond Hill serves members of the younger cohort (for example the intersection of Guyanese nightclubs and immigrant youth culture). Her attendance at GSA events reduced my appearance as the "researcher" to individuals who were not GSA participants, particularly at family gatherings, by engaging in conversations with members of the first generation and elder cohort. She also provided her excellent photography skills for this project.

Another limitation to this project is the lack of gay and lesbian voices. I contacted a potential participant through a snowball sample who identified as a lesbian. However, we scheduled a telephone interview twice and she was unresponsive both times. None of the men and women I conducted in-depth interviews with discussed homosexual sexual behaviors. This

may be an indicator of homophobia within the Indo-Guyanese community and the stigma associated with being gay or lesbian. I will make more attempts to locate and include the voice of gay and lesbian second-generation Indo-Guyanese in future research.

Ethnographic observations and in-depth interviews with second-generation Indo-Guyanese students from varying class backgrounds, age cohorts, residential locales, college majors, and religions allowed me to compare these variables to understand how these factors affect the ethnic options available to these students. This study acknowledges Guyanese as a distinct ethnicity to understand cultural similarities and differences with South Asian and Afro-Caribbean group. I am not attempting to displace other races and ethnicities that also identify as Guyanese in New York but have chosen to use this ethnic label in the context of the way it was presented to me by my participants. I use the terms Guyanese, Indo-Caribbean, East Indian, Indian and Indo-Guyanese throughout this project to signify individuals of Asian Indian ancestry who migrated to Guyana during the Indian Indenture. I also use these terms to discuss the immigrants and second-generation American Indo-Guyanese who are the American born descendents of this group. There are several examples of religious rituals and holidays throughout that provide insight into whether or not tensions exist between Hindu and Muslim students.

This project also analyzes the creation of ethnic boundaries from a gendered perspective that reveals how gender disparities within the Indo-Guyanese community shapes the selection of mainstream American ideals that Indo-Guyanese families incorporate into their changing familial value system. Gendered expectations are especially visible during club sponsored events which usually divide responsibilities (such as selling goods) along gender lines. Interviewing

participants about observations regarding gender, religion and other issues mention above is vital to understanding how the second-generation develop their ethnicity in New York.

My reflexive voice is embedded throughout this project to contextualize my position within the various scenes of fieldwork. My reflexive account is especially important because most of my participants are Hindu and I had limited interaction with non-relatives in the Indo-Guyanese American community in New York prior to this project. Religious differences did not present any significant problems during my fieldwork because of my inter-faith family background. Although I am a Muslim woman, I do not wear a Hijab and tended to dress in a trendy style, similar to that of my participants, during my fieldwork. My informants were also eager to allow me to participate in Indo-Guyanese ethnic performances and define the meaning of ethno-religious practices because of my limited previous contact with Guyanese co-ethnics.

I have remained in touch with a few of the group members via Facebook and have interacted with them off campus since my work at Winter University during 2010. Since 2010, the GSAs have collaborated and assisted with each other's Guyanese cultural shows. Although there are several on campus events at both schools, the on-campus Cultural Shows have attracted large numbers of non-student Indo-Guyanese populations to their campuses. Working collaboratively on the cultural shows has also enabled both student organizations to extend their definition of "Guyanese" in New York to wider audiences on both campuses.

I have recorded, transcribed and written detailed field notes from my participant observations and interviews. My goal in this project is to show how my second-generation Indo-Guyanese American participants develop their ethnicity, create racial boundaries based on their

gendered experiences and assimilate into the American mainstream. I also divided the participants into two age cohorts, (18-24) and (25-34), and recruited respondents from several sources to increase the reliability of the data by including variations in religion, residential location and educational background. Throughout this journey with my participants, I relived some of my own experiences with racism and discrimination (especially the antagonism with Asian Indians) and learned more about different types of Indo-Guyanese celebrations and musical traditions. My hope for this dissertation is that I have provided a detailed account of the everyday, social world of the second-generation Indo-Guyanese from multiple vantage points.

Chapter One: Growing Up Brown

Immigration, Settlement and The Role of Social Networks in Shaping Ethnicity

Immigration and integration into a host society are often considered highly stressful processes filled with anxiety, ethnic negotiation and the creation of ethno-racial distinctions in the United States. Although some immigrant groups arrive in America with one understanding of their ethno-racial classification, their perceptions of race may be altered by the discrimination they experience while attempting to fit between the Black/white American racial classification system (Foner and Fredrickson 2004). The immigrant community, comprised of extended family members and co-ethnics, provides a space for first and second-generation immigrants to manage the racial discrimination and ethnic stereotypes they endure as they construct their ethnicity in America. Additionally, many first and second generation immigrants use the interactions within the immigrant community as a space to preserve and impart ethnic traditions, which they fear will disintegrate as the second-generation desires mainstream American assimilation. While immigrants and their children usually celebrate economic assimilation and mobility in America, cultural assimilation into the American mainstream evokes mixed emotions. Second-generation Americans view mainstream American assimilation as a means of gaining racial recognition in the United States. For example, speaking only English in the household or providing English language tutors to the second-generation will increase their verbal scores on standardized tests. My participants stated that linguistic assimilation will not only broaden their employment opportunities but also places the second-generation in closer proximity with non co-ethnics,

particularly whites, which will allow them to gain racial recognition as Indo-Guyanese Americans.

In this chapter, I will discuss how racial construction for second-generation Guyanese Americans is shaped by immigrant social networks, linguistic assimilation, American nationalism, the education system and the struggle between mainstream assimilation and ethnic authenticity. Racially defining post-1965 groups in America is a complex process because today's immigrants have a multiplicity of phenotypical, linguistic and religious characteristics that cannot be placed into the fixed Black and white racial categories established before their entry to the United States. For example, some Dominican immigrants have Afro-Dominican features such as darker skin and curly hair, while others are lighter skinned with straight hair. Although both groups consider themselves Dominican, the group with African descent phenotypical characteristics may be considered racially Black by non co-ethnics. This group of Dominicans may emphasize their Spanish-speaking ability to avoid the social and structural discrimination endured by African Americans (Bailey 2000).

This chapter also discusses how the performance of rituals from other ethnicities, or what the participant define as "American" holidays, is seen as a function of mainstream incorporation that is separate from their Guyanese identity. The process of American assimilation further complicates immigrants' ability to re-define their ethnic position in the United States because immigrants are adapting mainstream American behaviors (such as hosting with family barbeques on American Independence Day without claiming an "American" identity) while they struggle to maintain their ancestral identities (such as religious practices). Upon arrival to the United States, first-generation immigrants are faced with ethnic, racial and religious discrimination from non

co-ethnics and have developed several coping mechanisms for managing assimilation in America. Immigrant groups often develop the “ethnic” / “American” dichotomy to prevent their second-generation, American born children from adapting behaviors that are unfamiliar within the ethnic group (Kasinitz et al 2004, Waters 1990).

Migration networks are important mechanisms of immigrant integration into the host economy (Pessar in Hirshman et al. 1999). Immigrant social networks normally provide a source of economic, ethnic and social assimilation into the American mainstream. Most of the participants’ parents arrived in New York and settled in Queens, the Bronx, Brooklyn and Long Island. The first set of Indo-Guyanese immigrants who arrived in the late 1970s and early 1980s were usually “immigrant pioneers” to America. They did not have advanced social or kinship networks to mitigate their immigration experience. By the mid-1980s and 1990s, the accelerated immigration of Indo-Guyanese into the New York area increased the size and number of networks available to this group. As with other groups of immigrants, the Indo-Guyanese first generation settled in locales with other relatives and friends or within commutable distance to their workplace (Logan in Waters and Udea 2007). As mentioned earlier, living among other co-ethnics provides a source of child care for members of the first generation. Aside from shared cultural experiences among immigrants, the economic constraints of childcare have influenced the use of co-ethnic childcare networks (Stack 1974, Uttal 1999). Several immigrant and minority groups choose co-ethnic care for their children as a way of adapting in America (Harrison et al 1990). Newly arrived immigrants may forge kinship relationships with co-ethnics who are not related biologically or through marital unions because they share a common cultural background and are reluctant to develop close relationships with non co-

ethnics. They may also want to preserve their depiction of the sending culture in America and impart these values on the second-generation (Foner in Hirshman et al 1999).

Many immigrant parents are employed fulltime and use co-ethnic childcare networks to supervise their children. Several scholars have reported the use of co-ethnic surveillance of the second-generation to prevent Americanization and mitigate assimilation anxieties (Maira 2002, Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Co-ethnic social networks are particularly used for the retention of ethno-religious rituals. Additionally, first-generation immigrants usually reinforce co-ethnic contact among second-generation Americans as they enter the education system because this is usually the second-generation's first exposure to non ethnic affiliates. As in Maira's (2002) discussion of South Asian immigrant parents enforcing extreme vigilance over their children to prevent American behavior, the Indo-Guyanese community also fears a complete loss of culture and morality if their children remain unsupervised by co-ethnics. Co-ethnic social networks offer a space for the second-generation to cope with the ethno-racial discrimination they may encounter at school.

Although the Indo-Guyanese first-generation have established co-ethnic migration networks in religious and ethnic institutions that engage the second-generation with Guyanese rituals, Warikoo (in Kasinitz et al 2004) found that the Indo-Guyanese high school students in her study also developed a cosmopolitan identity from peer influence. The second-generation may adapt cultural practices from other groups (i.e. wearing yellow on Cinco de Mayo or green on Saint Patrick's Day), however, they do not consider this behavior as part of their Guyanese ethnicity. The second-generation considers non-Guyanese cultural adaptations to be part of their "American" identities. Their exposure to different cultures in New York allows them to adopt or

celebrate different cultural traditions as a form of American assimilation. However, the participants clearly understand that these cultural performances are time and space sensitive and not related to their definition of a Guyanese ethnicity because their parents do not participate in these rituals. Therefore, Guyanese rituals are usually associated with ethno-religious traditions that are celebrated inter-generationally.

The participants view Guyanese culture as composed of distinct rituals and practices such as language, food, music and religion. However, unlike the second-generation black West Indians (Waters 2001) who emphasize their Caribbean accents to distance themselves ethnically from African American, the Indo-Guyanese second-generation desire mainstream assimilation by renouncing their Caribbean accents. By rejecting their Caribbean accents, the second-generation creates a rigid boundary between themselves and those they term “FOB” (Fresh off the Boat), or newly arrived Indo-Guyanese, individuals who are specifically marked as recent immigrants through their heavy Caribbean accents. Lopez and Estrada (in Walters and Ueda 2007) claim that “the U.S. has always been very efficient at stamping out other languages and quickly assimilating the children of immigrants linguistically.” They discuss the political enforcement of “English only” policies in educational curriculum in states, such as California, which aim to eradicate bilingual education in favor of providing a mainstream linguistic platform for the children of immigrants.

While the education system can be seen as a way of assimilating the children of immigrants into mainstream American society, the Indo-Guyanese parents also associate higher education with social mobility in America. As in Kasinitz’s (2008) discussion of the Russian Jews who migrated in the 1970s, first-generation Indo-Guyanese parents usually encourage their

American born children to excel academically and professionally to achieve upward mobility in the United States. The first-generation usually encourage their children to engage in study groups with co-ethnics or other racial minorities who share similar educational goals.

However, several of the Indo-Guyanese participants reported racialization from non co-ethnics at school. Similarly, Nasir et al (2008) discusses the importance of neighborhood and schools on the formation of ethnic and racial identities for African American students. Their research suggests that African American children have the ability to develop their ethno-racial identities based on individual experiences and environmental influences. Similarly, the Indo-Guyanese also develop their racial identities based on their interactions at school. Respondents who lived in the ethnic enclaves and attended schools with a sizable Guyanese population usually established close friendships with co-ethnics. The participants who attended schools with limited Guyanese populations either forged friendships with Asian Indians, other racial minorities with similar academic goals or developed an adverse relationship with their school peers because of racialization and retreated to their peers in the ethnic enclaves during weekends and holidays. Some of the participants reported conforming to norms in the presence of non co-ethnics to avoid stigmatization and marginalization. Goffman (1959) discusses the importance of impression management in everyday life. He claims that some actions are based on integration and avoidance of alienation. Individuals may use front stage behavior or engage in performances based on the expectations of their audience (usually to "fit in"). Some of the second-generation Indo-Guyanese participants reported passing in group situations to achieve their mainstream goals (i.e. conforming to a dress code). Nevertheless, the second-generation Indo-Guyanese employ several methods of coping with radicalization and assimilation anxieties.

While socio-economic background is an important variable in locating and defining ethnicity, it appears that second-generation Indo-Guyanese Americans vary in the relationships they establish. Although some Indo-Guyanese members of the elder cohort live in upper middle-class Euro-American neighborhoods, they feel culturally alienated and seek friendships from ethnic minorities. They may also feel a sense of "ethnic removal" when relocating from the ethnic enclave to a suburban neighborhood with non co-ethnics and desire reunification with members of their ethnic community. Forging friendships with other ethnic minorities or maintaining strong social bonds within the ethnic community when placed at a distance from co-ethnics enables the Indo-Guyanese to maintain their racial identities in New York.

The participants' parents and extended family members shaped their initial development of an Indo-Guyanese American identity but the participants' mainstream desires, exposure to popular culture and non co-ethnics at school have heightened their awareness of other cultures and racism against brown individuals in America. This exposure has increased the participants' awareness of the variation in their roles and expectations in different cultural spaces (that is, co-ethnic and non co-ethnic). This chapter also discusses how they negotiate these social pressures for racial recognition in America.

The Role of Care Networks in Ethno-racial Formation

Some of the Indo-Guyanese immigrants from the elder cohort were responsible for their siblings' well being and became caregivers during elementary school. "My parents didn't know anyone well enough to hire a babysitter. My mom stayed home with my sister and I when we

were younger. She went to work when we both started school. I had to care for my little sister. Our neighbors became curious about two minors staying home alone but we never answered the door when they rang the doorbell after school," claimed Asha. Some of the participants lived in fear that their parents would end up losing custody or being deported because they did not have adult supervision after school. These participants were usually dependent on their siblings for homework assistance and meals while their parents were at work. These latchkey members of the second-generation also gravitated towards their peers for understanding their ethnicity in America. Although the participants who shared this experience did not join street gangs, they often played in the streets and local parks after school with other children of immigrants.

One of my participants, Deodat, stated that he was "raised in the streets" because his parents were at work and the children at the playground became his family. Deodat grew up in a predominantly white, middle-class neighborhood. Although his urban residence did not have a sizable Indo-Guyanese population, he became dependent on his Latino and African American friends for understanding his ethno-racial position in America. The shared experience of growing up without parental supervision and being "brown" or "not white" brought Deodat closer to his friends despite their linguistic and ethnic differences. "We [Deodat and his friends] didn't want to get into trouble. We knew our parents were at work trying to making a living and a future for us. Although my friends and I played basketball or baseball at the local parks after school, we always made sure we finished our homework. We helped each other out when we didn't understand something. Our parents were so tired after work that they couldn't help us with our homework or they just didn't know how to help us because they didn't learn the same things at school. Some kids get caught up in the wrong type of street life that leads to crime and

violence. My street life was more of a family that watched out for each other until our parents got home." After school, Deodat felt disconnected from his white peers because they were usually cared for by their mothers who assisted them with their homework and encouraged playdates with other children who were cared for by their mothers. Deodat's mother worked full time, from nine o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the evening, and was unable to coordinate playdates with the other mothers. Rather than developing academic apathy in response to the lack of parental involvement in their educational needs and extracurricular activities, Deodat and his peers developed coping strategies (such as after school sports activities and homework assistance) to increase their chances of mainstream academic assimilation through peer group activities.

Fatima also forged friendships with her non-white peers in her predominantly white, suburban neighborhood. "My parents got divorced when I was eight and I moved with my father and his new wife to a white neighborhood [(they relocated from the Guyanese ethnic enclave)]. I hated living there. We were the only brown people on our block and I was one of the few brown kids at school. Our neighbors confused us for being Indian and I had to explain what Guyanese is— and it's not an ethnicity from Africa! The other white children made fun of me for looking different and I prayed for the weekend so I could visit my mom and friends [in the ethnic enclave]. Most of my friends in our new neighborhood were Latino or Black because they also felt isolated from our white peers. I still felt closer to my Guyanese friends." Fatima maintained strong co-ethnic relationships with her friends in the ethnic enclave because she felt extreme cultural distance from her white peers because her white peers were permitted to attend birthday parties or after school play groups. Fatima reported that her parents were "strict" and did not

allow her to engage in social activities with her white peers because they practiced Islam and feared that her interactions with non Muslims would deter her from practicing religious customs (such as reading the Quran). She also recalled being taunted for certain characteristics such as wearing braided, long hair (as many young Guyanese girls do) or smelling like curry even if her stepmother rarely cooked curried dishes. Although her parents encouraged social distancing from her non-Guyanese peers, Fatima also recognized how her upbringing differed from that of her white counterparts and embraced her parents' expectations of friendship management. Like Deodat, Fatima grew up in an environment where her ethnicity was influenced by non-Guyanese individuals. Both Deodat and Fatima grew up in mostly white, upper middle-class neighborhoods but they gravitated towards non-white populations because phenotypically and culturally they felt closer to non-white children.

Most of the second-generation participants in the younger cohort were cared for by other relatives who arrived from Guyana at the same time as their parents (mid-1980s) or soon after. Most of the younger cohort participants are from working, middle and upper-middle class backgrounds and live within the ethnic enclave. Living in the ethnic enclave places them in closer proximity to co-ethnics and the increase in migration and sponsorship of family member in the late 1980s and 1990s also expanded kin-based networks. The increased presence of grandmothers and aunts with limited education levels introduced a new "familial niche" within the Indo-Guyanese community. Like other immigrant groups, such as Mexicans (Uttal 1999), the Indo-Guyanese rely on kin care providers because they usually provide low-cost childcare in a safe or familiar environment. "My nani [maternal grandmother] lived with our family and took care of my brother and I when we were growing up. She never charged a fee for caring for us

because in Guyana elder women usually care for their grandchildren while their parents work," Anjali stated. Several participants echoed this statement about receiving childcare from grandmothers free of charge. Grandmothers not only provided childcare but also cooked meals and cleaned the house while the participants' parents were at work. Most of the informants who were raised by their grandmothers claimed that they did not request monetary compensation for their childcare services because they were content with shelter and legal residency in the United States. Several participants mentioned that their parents were raised in extended family households and inviting their mother/mother-in-law to live in their household in the U.S. mimicked this pattern. However, the respondents who were raised by their aunts usually reported that their parents paid a small weekly stipend for childcare to assist them with rent or groceries. Their aunts usually lived in a separate household with their husband and children and used the babysitting compensation as a source of informal income. Several participants stated that there are about one or two aunts in their family who provided childcare for other women in the family to obtain jobs outside of the household. Kinship childcare networks facilitate the process of integration and adjustment for members of the second-generation because they provide a familiar space within the family for the second-generation to explore their ethnicity and discuss their interactions with non-coethnics. Some of the participants reported being cared for by their stay at home mother until high school or college because their father could afford to support their family on a single income. "I loved having my mom at home. My siblings and cousins all attend the same school and she would pick us up after school was over. I never had to wait until the weekend or on holidays to see my family like some of my friends at school. I got to see them every day," Vishalla explained.

Although some of the informants participated in non co-ethnic social networks in childhood and early adolescence, the majority of the Indo-Guyanese participants grew up in tightly-knit Indo-Guyanese communities. Aside from using co-ethnic, kin-based networks as a method of childcare that enables some first generation members to secure mainstream forms of economic subsistence in the host society (for example secretarial, nursing, accounting, machine repair, bio-technology positions), several immigrant parents are terrified of cultural assimilation into the dominant culture and seek these networks as a method of cultural preservation. Immigrant parents usually fear that their children will have a loss of culture, religion or ethnic identity if their children interact with non co-ethnics. Family and other members of the immigrant community usually exercise close supervision over American born children to prevent "Americanization." "I was not allowed to go to the mall by myself in junior high school because my parents feared that I would get into trouble [e.g. teenage pregnancy or participating in crimes] ….but my parents never had a problem with me going to stores on Triangle Avenue [located in the ethnic enclave] because they believed I was safe because relatives or family friends worked or shopped in the area," stated Karen. Although most of the respondents reported limited independence in co-ethnic social circles, their parents do not view cultural assimilation as a mechanism of upward mobility in the U.S.

The second-generation Indo-Guyanese's ability to negotiate their independence outside of the household parallels Maira's (2002) discussion of ethnic limitations placed on Asian Indian second-generation youth culture. Like Asian Indian families, Indo-Guyanese families make rigid distinctions between "American" or white American, and Guyanese behavior. The second-generation Indo-Guyanese reported that their parents encouraged their participation in cultural

events and social circles that fostered co-ethnic interaction. "My parents are really involved in the Guyanese community in Queens. They are always planning events or taking us to parties with other Guyanese people. Our family is very well known in the community and I feel obligated to maintaining our family image in the community. My parents do not want me to interact with the black students from school or in our neighborhood. I believe they still feel uncomfortable around black people even though they are not in Guyana. They are really sensitive when it comes to how I behave around them and my family. I can't talk on my phone or text when we are at family events because they see this as an 'American' behavior because it is rude to ignore other guests. They assume Americans are rude and don't want me to end up that way," said Devika.

Several respondents stated that their parents and other first generation members of the Guyanese community establish close supervision over their behavior— especially within the ethnic enclave. "Everyone knows everyone in the Guyanese (American) community. If you do something out of line, it's bound to get back to your parents and then you'll get a lecture about how you 'should behave,' reported Greg. Therefore, the ethnic community plays a significant role in shaping the second-generation's ethnicity and understanding of brownness by rejecting what they believe is "American" and enforcing punishment (such as reducing or revoking cell phone usage) when the second-generation defies acceptable "Guyanese" behavior.

Thus far, space appears to be a vital source of ethnic identity development. The respondents reported that their parents consider the ethnic enclave a safe haven for cultural preservation and reproduction. Most of the respondents utilize these locations as consumers or secure their position in the enclaves by maintaining close friendships with Guyanese individuals

because they share common experiences and expectations from the first generation that helped them cope with assimilation in New York. Several informants who do not live in the ethnic enclaves reported visiting one or both of the enclave neighborhoods to purchase goods, enjoy the nightlife scene, participate in prayer services or visit family and friends.

The family, Guyanese community and ethnic enclave provide the primary avenues for ethnic integration in America. However, the second-generation usually devise their own integration strategies when confronted with non co-ethnic and mainstream cultural expectations. The next section discusses how the education system and non co-ethnic peer interactions at school shape how the Indo-Guyanese define their racial and ethnic position in America.

Defining Ethnicity and Nationality Though Phenotypical and Linguistic Assimilation

Most of the participants, particularly the women,[12] stated that their parents enforced rigid curfews and friendship restrictions. "My parents preferred that most of my friends were Guyanese but I also had a few black, Indian, and Latino friends," Marissa stated. The participants' parents recognized that their children would be exposed to diverse ethno-racial populations in the school system and used social network strategies to cope with their exposure to non co-ethnics. The respondents recalled that attending family gatherings on weekends and attending religious institutions promoted co-ethnic bonding in New York.

Almost all of the informants reported that they spent most of their free time outside of school within the Indo-Guyanese ethnic community. The respondents in this study understand

[12] The gendered disparities that are produced in relation to autonomy and curfews are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

that they are ethnically Guyanese or Guyanese American but insist that they distance themselves from what they believe is "typical coolie[13] behavior" in their daily lives. According to my respondents, their understanding and performance of being "Guyanese" is situational and is usually represented in their daily lives though contact with their parents and other Guyanese or Trinidadian peers. Most of my informants insisted they are American or Guyanese American which is distinct from "Fresh off the Boat" (FOB) Guyanese individuals. Carlie, a member of the elder cohort, shares her experience about American identity. "When I tell people about my ethnicity I usually refer to myself as Guyanese if I'm with another brown person or Guyanese American if I'm speaking to a white person. I was born here and consider myself American by nationality but Guyanese ethnically," said Carlie. The respondents in this study are particularly concerned with being viewed as "American" by non-Guyanese populations. Most of the women in this project claimed "I don't speak with a Guyanese accent." The second generation Indo-Guyanese are distancing themselves from being considered immigrants or FOBs. They have a strong sense of U.S. national identity because they are native born Americans.

For the Guyanese American born children of immigrants, being born on U.S. soil is not only a privilege but also a sign of social mobility within the Indo-Guyanese community. I attended a family gathering for Eid-al-Fitar in 2009 and my aunt initiated a conversation about how many American born children we have in the family. She and other members of the first generation reminisced about the first American born member of our family and the successes of all the college graduates. As my participants expressed their intense emotions about being American born, I remembered my family's conversation and realized that, like other immigrants,

[13] Coolie is a colloquial term used among the Indo-Guyanese referring to their ethnicity.

the American dream of socio-economic mobility thrives in the Indo-Guyanese community. The family and ethnic community provide an immense amount of support for academic and professional excellence among the Indo-Guyanese. However, members of the first generation are cautious about how their children define their American status. The participants reported that their parents welcome the social mobility they correlate with being native born but do not want the second-generation to adopt "American" behavior.

Several participants in this study mentioned that their parents emphasized the importance of a well rounded education that will increase socio-economic mobility. However, engaging in what the first generation perceives as "American" behavior is unacceptable. "I am not allowed to go out with my friends unless all of my homework is done. If my homework isn't complete and I ask to go out to dinner or partying with my friends my parents accuse me of wanting to be like 'these Americans'," said Savitree, a GSA member of the younger cohort. Most of the participants complained that their parents enforce unreasonable expectations on their behavior—especially during high school and college. The members of the second-generation reported that their parents make rigid distinctions between "Guyanese" and "American" behaviors. Traveling to Guyana would not reveal this distinction because transnational connections have facilitated similar behavior patterns among Guayanese in language and fashion as among their American counterparts. Several of the participants in this study have never been to Guyana and do not have any desire to travel there. Although some second-generation Indo-Guyanese were born in Guyana and migrated at an earlier age or were born in America and visited Guyana during their childhood, they have minimal recollections of their parents' homeland. Others who recently traveled to Guyana, mostly the males in this study, view Guyana as a vacation location and do

not connect their own identity to this location. "My parents took me to Guyana and it looked so "run down." Nothing like what I expected. It was hot and it smelled funny when we stepped off the plane. Everything is backwards or primitive in that country. I never want to go there again" Arjun exclaimed. As in Maira's (2002) findings, second-generation Indo-Guyanese construct their ethnicity based on parental and mainstream expectations in America. Therefore, the American/Guyanese behavioral dichotomy is re-defined by the first-generation and re-interpreted by the second-generation to accommodate their assimilation desires in United States.

The participants usually define their ethnicity based on their audience and "brownness" in America. Several respondents reported not feeling completely "American" because they associate this ethnic label with white Americans. Greg, a member of the younger cohort during an off campus informal gathering at Sunny College, discusses his definition of American.

> Nazreen: What does American mean to you?
>
> Greg: American means white people. I don't consider myself American because no one looks at me this way. If I told someone I am American they would probably look at me and say "no, where are you really from."

The respondents usually do not mind answering questions about ethnicity but some are annoyed at having to explicate their ancestry to those who are not familiar with the Indo-Guyanese. Carol, a member of the elder cohort, occasionally responds to questions about ethnicity by stating "I'm Indian." She claims that "it shuts people up so I can get on with my business [such as grocery shopping]."

Aside from phenotype, cultural practices such as language use, ethnic food and gendered expectations influence the creation of a Guyanese ethnicity in New York. I began to investigate the use of Indo-Guyanese creoles among the second-generation during one of my reconnaissance trips to Fremont, California in search of Indo-Guyanese in the Bay Area. I met a Fijian woman, Alayiah, who shared similar questions about her ethnicity as the Indo-Guyanese. She felt closer to her Indian roots because she and her family used common Hindi root words in her native language[14]. Unlike Alayiah, most of the Indo-Guyanese respondents stated that they could not speak Guyanese Creoles or "Raw[15]." Although some of the words the Indo-Guyanese use may derive from Hindi words (e.g. Chaddar meaning a sheet or blanket), most of the second-generation respondents do not consider Guyanese Creole as a primary or secondary form of communication. During my observations I noticed that the second-generation usually speak Creole in a humorous or playful manner and not as a form of daily communication.

In the spring semester of 2010, I attended the general body meeting of Winter University's Guyanese Student Association (GSA). They were planning their GSA food day and the president, Julissa, announced that they will be serving "typical" coolie food such as chow mein and chicken curry. Speaking in "Raw," Julissa stated "coolie people try na to get curry stain on ya shirt because ya know it don't come out." The students at the meeting chuckled and agreed that curry stains are stubborn to remove and will create yellow stains on light clothing.

[14] See section on Indo-Fijian migration in the Introduction for more information about ethno-political differences between Fijians and Guyanese.

[15] Raw is a colloquial term used among the Indo-Guyanese which refers to the Indo-Guyanese Creole.

Several students at Sunny College also use “Raw” references in a joking dialogue. During Sunny College’s general meeting in the fall 2009 semester the Vice President, Lindsey, discussed a list of upcoming events for the year and the students were particularly interested in mocking one of their peers about his cooking skills.

> Lindsey: We’re going to have a cooking demonstration where Marvin will show us how to prepare some type of Guyanese food— probably curry or roti.

Some of the students in the room began laughing at Marvin and one of the female members shouted out “Cookman.” Several other GSA members chimed in and started listing a few Guyanese dishes that he might prepare.

> Joe: Eh man [directed at Marvin], ya gon cook some duck curry? (Hey man are you going to cook duck curry[a popular Indo-Guyanese dish]?

Marvin’s culinary talent defies male expectations among his Indo-Guyanese peers. Although his mother usually makes most of the family meals, his father is able to make roti or curries for family gatherings and religious occasions. Marvin stated that his family practices a semi-egalitarian ideology in the kitchen and his father occasionally makes dinner. Most of the other members in the GSA reported that their mothers usually cooked the meals in their households. Most of the GSA members are socialized with female culinary expectations and usually mock Marvin because they believe that his defiance of “male behavior” is abnormal. His peers’ use of the Creole word “cookman” places him on the margins of his peers’ gendered expectations. Marvin actually feels privileged that he has acquired culinary skills because some of the female members celebrate the idea that Marvin practices egalitarian ideas. Some of the female

participants mentioned that they surreptitiously encourage the other male members of the GSA to engage in cooking responsibilities. However, they feel that openly acknowledging their presence in the kitchen will result in the "cookman" label.[16]

In addition to using loaded ethnic terms with gendered association, the second-generation may perform what appear to be humorous mini-skits using complete sentences or phrases in Indo-Guyanese creole. During the dress rehearsal for the GSA's culture show at Sunny College, two of the male members tried to make light of a tense situation where only about twenty-five percent of the participants in the show arrived on time for the dress rehearsal. About two days before the rehearsal, the GSA board members alerted the members and show participants through a Facebook message that the dress rehearsal would be held in a ballroom in the student union. The day of the dress rehearsal, the GSA members and show participants received text messages stating that the organizers had relocated the rehearsal to the designated GSA club room. However, the dress rehearsal actually took place in the ballroom. Lindsey, the event organizer, became disgruntled with the disorganization of the event and two of the male participants, John and Jerry, decided to make light of the situation while everyone waited for the rest of the cast.

> John: Wah yuh wan me fi do bai? [What do you want me to do man/boy?]
>
> Jerry: Me na know what fi do. Dem coolie dis neva de pan time. [I don't know what to do. These coolie people are never on time.]

The young men performing this comical skit evoked an ethnic stereotype commonly used among Guyanese and other South Asian groups, which holds that they are always late for family

[16] The additional use of Indo-Guyanese creoles and gendered power relations will be discussed at length in Chapter Four.

functions and the events usually start an hour or two after their estimated starting time. Several students in the GSA imitated stereotypical jokes about Indian or Guyanese Americans from the Indo-Canadian comedian Russell Peters. They often refer to YouTube videos which contain references to ethnic linguistics, stereotypes and gendered humor. One of Peters' YouTube videos entitled "On Jamaicans, Trini's Guyanese and More" grapples with the use of ethnic jargon and linguistic representations. Peters discusses an encounter while waiting at a bus stop with a Guyanese woman who shouts out "Eh Bai, ya see that big skin gurl?" The woman's use of the Raw term big skin translates to fat or obese and plays on ethnic terminology used to mock individuals such as the use of the term "cookman" earlier. The "linguistic cool" is situational and usually occurs when the second-generation are surrounded by co-ethics who are able to understand the humor behind the terms or skits. Again, gender plays an intricate role in the use of the linguistic cool. Unlike the Asian Indian scholars (Maira 2002; Dasgupta 1997) who claim that women are the upholders of language, the second-generation Indo-Guyanese men are more likely to speak Creole than the females. Although women are more likely to adhere to parental expectations about their moral behavior, such as dating and sex, their parents do not assume language transmission in the second generation. The majority of female respondents claim that their parents actually encourage speaking "American English" because it will accelerate their socio-economic integration in the United States. The male respondents claim that they are comfortable speaking both Raw and English because their parents are less rigid about their linguistic expectations. Why is there such a discrepancy in language transmission and performance between men and women in the second generation? As mentioned earlier, the second-generation usually mimics popular culture figures such as comedians or musicians who

discuss the Indo-Guyanese or creoles. These cultural icons are usually male which may correlate with the creole linguistic usage among the male participants. Is this a form of gendered linguistic consumption?

This reminds me of the popular Nickelodeon show *Dora the Explorer*. My niece Sameera enjoys all three of her large daily meals watching an episode of *Dora the Explorer*. Aside from teaching moral lessons, math skills and female independence, Dora also teaches young children (particularly girls) basic bilingual English/Spanish vocabulary. My niece usually says the English word that corresponds to her actions (e.g. jump). However, she occasionally uses the Spanish terms she learns from Dora to describe her behavior (e.g. salte meaning jump). This show is geared towards a female audience and speaking Spanish in addition to English is seen as an "adorable" trait in my household. We are not alarmed because she does not speak Indo-Guyanese creole as frequently as Spanish because she is exposed to this pop culture show that teaches cognitive development and interaction skills that are fundamental skills for her academic progression. Similarly, the Indo-Guyanese popular culture figures in music and entertainment offer the second-generation the opportunity to connect with their parents' language and cultural expectations. However, since most of the performers are male it appears that it is more acceptable for males in the second-generation to reproduce their linguistic patterns and use cultural stereotypes. Although the female members of the second generation are aware of these stereotypes and terms, they are less likely to demonstrate these skills in public because it is viewed as a male domain. Nevertheless, both genders view Raw as a form of comical communication and not a formal language.

Maintaining strong co-ethnic social networks during childhood also facilitates the transmission and use of Raw. Although some of the participants conditionally use Raw words or sentences, other informants claim that their parents never spoke to them in Raw and they are unable to speak the language. “I can understand everything my parents say when they speak Raw with my aunts and uncles but I can’t speak Raw. My parents always spoke to us in English because they wanted us to speak properly,” stated Judy. Jennifer echoed Judy’s experience and added: “I listen to the Caribbean music [referring to Calypso or Soca] because the beats are good to dance to. I don’t really know what they are saying.”

> Nazreen: Do you want to learn to speak Raw?
>
> Jennifer: No I don’t really have any desire to learn because most of my friends and co-workers speak English.
>
> Nazreen: Oh, so what about language transmission? Do you think it is important to pass on this language to future generations so they can understand a part of their ancestry?
>
> Jennifer: No, similar to my parents, I don’t believe that Raw will assist them [other Indo-Guyanese Americans] in getting anywhere [in employment or school] in America. My parents speak Raw to other family members. Everyone in my age group speaks English and my aunts and uncles speak to me in English so I don’t need to speak Raw to talk to anyone.”

Unlike the second-generation black West Indians (Waters 2001) and Dominicans (Bailey 2000) who use their Caribbean accents and Spanish language skills to evade the racism endured by African Americans, the Indo-Guyanese emphasize their English competency when communicating. Most of the Indo-Guyanese participants in this study have a “New York” accent in their speech. Residential location, social class, education and gender do not impact the

second generation's desire to perfect the English language with what they perceive as an "American" accent. Although most of the participants' parents encourage interactions in co-ethnic networks, the second-generation creates distinct boundaries that separate their behavior from the first-generation and recent immigrants from the same age cohort. The fear of being marginalized for linguistic differences, particularly at school, accelerates the second-generation's desire to renounce their ability to speak Indo-Guyanese creole. They want non co-ethnics to recognize their English competency as a symbol of their native born status and ability to integrate in America.

Unlike immigrants and their children who speak languages such as Spanish or Cantonese which may challenge their ability to learn English, Indo-Guyanese creole is essentially "broken English" with a mixture of Hindi words. Guyanese children are not shuffled into ESL classes like their Spanish speaking counterparts. Yet their overall refusal to retain, learn and maintain Raw also correlates with their desire to resist structural racism against brown individuals. Lopez and Estrada (in Walters and Ueda 2007) suggest that America does not provide a support system which encourages the use of the English language in public settings and the maintenance of ancestral or ethnic languages in the home or among co-ethnics. This forces the second-generation into the English linguistic vacuum. Although the participants' main goal is to achieve English competency, their participation in popular cultural activities which foster selective ethnic linguistic affiliation provides a space where they can celebrate their ancestral language without fear of being marginalized or considered "un-American."

The Role of Ethnic Authenticity: Grappling with Hybrid Identities Through Peer Relationships and Social Activities

When the children of immigrants are placed in the school system in New York, their perception of race usually changes—even though some parents attempt to prevent change through the social network strategies mentioned earlier. The respondents in my study explained that attending public and Catholic schools in their locale influenced the types of friendships they forged and their ability to integrate into the mainstream. Several informants reported that high school was a major turning point in their ethno-racial composition. "I attended the local elementary and junior high schools in my neighborhood. You know so many coolie kids went to school with me. I already knew some people from school because they lived in the neighborhood—even if they didn't attend the same elementary school [but attended the same junior high school]. When I got to high school, there were more Latino, black and a few white kids," stated Marin. Some of the participants attended specialized high schools in NYC that require an entrance exam and are located outside of their residential neighborhood. "I went to Magnolia high school. This was the first time I was able to travel to and from school on my own without parental supervision. My parents had to work and were unable to find other adults to take me to school. I was commuting on my own for the first time in my life", exclaimed Amir. Most of the participants who attended high school away from the ethnic enclave reported losing contact with several of their Indo-Guyanese friends because they forged new relationships with non co-ethnics in their new schools. Some of the participants also reported that they developed a different understanding about themselves within the American mainstream because increased interactions with native born white populations placed them within closer reach of mainstream

ideals. They developed different cultural tastes from their parents and Guyanese peers in music and entertainments (for example, enjoying the ballet or opera).[17]

Some of the participants attended private or Catholic schools from the start of their academic career and were only in contact with their co-ethnics outside of school on religious holidays or family gatherings. "My family [referring to her extended family] complains that I am 'white washed' because I don't speak Raw and I am not a huge fan of Caribbean music. Don't get me wrong, I listen to Soca or something if they're playing it [at a party] but I don't know who is the newest artist or what the latest song is," Jenny remarked. Engaging in friendships with non co-ethnics in a school shapes how the second generation perceives and absorbs popular culture. Living in the ethnic enclave and attending schools with non co-ethnics creates a form of ethnic displacement. Some of my participants discussed the physical and cultural removal they felt from their co-ethnics when they established friendships with non Guyanese peers. "I didn't know who to make friends with at first in high school. It was easier to hang out with the [Asian] Indian kids because they were brown too. I also made friends with the Chinese kids because we all had the same academic pressures from our parents," stated Sarah.

Several social scientists have discussed Asian Indians and other Asian groups as "model minority" immigrants who are marked with the label of being extremely intelligent (Maira 2002). The first wave of Asian Indians who arrived to the U.S. post 1965 were medical and academic professionals who achieved prestige in math and the sciences. Some Asians continue to experience this stereotype in schools and forge friendships based on similar academic

[17] Pierre Bourdieu (1986,1977) suggests that cultural consumption, our tastes and cultural practices depend on our experiences and may correlate with social class or exposure to diverse classes (especially in the education system).

expectations. The participants who reported this experience became distant from their co-ethnics because they immersed themselves in homework on the weekends and their social networks changed from Guyanese peers to the non co-ethnics at school. "I didn't have time to hang out with my Guyanese friends or extended family members because my parents [pushed me towards achieving my educational goals. Getting good grades [As and Bs] meant more to my parents than being involved in weekend Guyanese activities and parties because I had a better chance of getting into college or graduate school" stated Diane. As mentioned earlier, aside from cultural preservation, the first generation Indo-Guyanese encourage socio-economic mobility through academic excellence in the United States. Peer relationships are usually influenced by my informants' experiences in the education system. However, most of the informants reported reconnecting with co-ethnics on major religious holidays. Despite their academic goals, the second-generation remains connected to the ethnic community during religious occasion – particularly because they don't share these holidays with their school peers.

Some members of the second-generation who felt culturally and socially disconnected from co-ethnics in college and graduate school felt an ethnic resurgence after they completed their education and used their academic skills to assist the Indo-Guyanese community. "I went to medical school in the Caribbean but there were very few Guyanese students on the Island. I made friends with the Indian students and we celebrated similar ethno-religious holidays (such as Holi[18]). They provided a great way to stay connected with my faith [religion] but I longed to come back to New York to be with my family and Guyanese friends. I am going to Guyana with my advisor [from a rotation at a NY hospital] to conduct research on heart problems in the

[18] Holi is a Hindu religious holiday celebrated with dancing and throwing colored powder on participants.

community," reported Joya, a member of the elder cohort. Although Joya established friendships and participated in religious practices with Asian Indians in medical school, she was unable to fill the void of performing these rituals with Indo-Guyanese influences (e.g. seven curries[19] or Caribbean music). Joya also plans to assist the Indo-Guyanese in New York with medical services because she felt physically and culturally divorced from the community in medical school and would like to use her professional training to re-engage with co-ethnics. Joya's parents are also encouraging her to work in the Indo-Guyanese community by traveling with her to research sites to ensure her safety and provide any administrative support during her research.

As with Joya's experience, most of the participants reported that their parents encouraged continuous contact with co-ethnics but accepted their interactions with non co-ethnics in the education system as a means towards upward mobility. Some of the participants' parents in the younger cohort enabled their children to interact closely with their non co-ethnic peers in high school as a means of increasing their academic potential. Most of the elder cohort respondents reported substantial interaction with native born non co-ethnics (particularly Euro Americans) because they attended the local public schools before the establishment of the Indo-Guyanese ethnic enclaves. Their contact with the Indo-Guyanese intensified during and after the mid 1990s because of increased Guyanese immigration. However, both groups reported that their parents were cautious about their relationships with non co-ethincs because their cultural beliefs may conflict with the mores first generation Indo-Guyanese Americans impart to their children. Some of the participants stated that their parents were eager to support their children's

[19] Seven curries are vegetable curries, such as spinach or potato, which Hindus cook on religious holidays or before religious rituals.

mainstream integration and celebrated what they considered "American" holidays, such as Hallowe'en and Valentine's Day, to increase their children's adjustment in America. Although the second-generation eagerly desires mainstream integration, they also use their Caribbean roots to create ethno-racial recognition in New York.

On a warm Autumn afternoon in Fall 2009, the GSA at Sunny College sent out a Facebook message inviting its webpage affiliates to their Hallowe'en Bakesale. As a member of their group, I received and accepted it immediately. I arrived early and watched the students set up their table and Dee-Jay equipment in the corridor adjacent to the cafeteria. The GSA board members stated that this was an optimal space for their bake sale because most of the faculty, staff and students walked through this hallway on their way to lunch and they hoped their pastries offered an enticing dessert. Most of the regular GSA members attended the bake sale and stood around the table chatting as the foot traffic from lunch and bake sale consumers flowed between the table and their small social circles. The female board members were responsible for handling the merchandise and monetary transactions, while the male members entertained the crowd with music and dance. Some of the male members solicited passersby to purchase their baked goods which contributed towards funding future GSA events and activities. Walking towards the bake sale, I wondered about the selection of pastries the students prepared for the fundraiser. After I greeted the students, I noticed that they purchased doughnuts from Dunkin Donuts, baked brownies, and provided a mix of sodas and milk for a nominal fee of a dollar.

> Nazreen: I like your choice of baked goods. Did you consider purchasing some Guyanese pastries for the sale? What about pine tarts, cheese rolls or Chinese cakes?
>
> Sandra: We wanted to appeal to a wider audience. We figured that people wouldn't buy things they don't know about and our main goal is to raise money for future events.

Although there are a lot of Guyanese people on campus, we want everyone to buy from us, not only a select group of people.

Nazreen: I understand. What about your choice of playing Caribbean music?

Sandra: We are the GSA so playing Caribbean music would be expected. Right?

I think people like to experience a little bit of "exotic" cultures sometimes.

Figure 1

American Baked Goods at the Halloween Bake Sale

The DJ played Soca and Calypso music in the background to lure curious individuals towards their bake sale. Although the GSA sold their interpretation of mainstream baked goods at their sale, they also played Caribbean music to attract customers who may not be familiar with the

Indo-Guyanese. Although the students played Calypso and Soca they did not incorporate Hindi film music into their musical selection because they felt it would marginalize their group and deflect customers away from their fundraiser.

> Nazreen: Do you have any Hindi songs on your laptop? If so, why aren't you playing a few?
>
> DJ: Nah, I don't want to play any Hindi songs at this event. People might think it's boring or be confused because it's not in English… [laughing]… we might even scare away customers because they don't know the songs. I'm playing a few Sean Paul[20] reggae songs that most people heard on the radio.

The DJ's choice of playing Reggae music to appeal to potential customers demonstrates an important component of the ethnic selection and options available to the Indo-Guyanese. Although the second-generation has the choice to identify with their South Asian or Caribbean roots, they carefully select which ethnic affiliation to display depending on their environment and how they think they will be perceived by others. In this instance, the Indo-Guyanese GSA members are selecting what I call their ethnic demonstration by relating to fellow students to gain recognition on campus. Attracting

[20] Sean Paul a popular Jamaican reggae artist.

Figure 2
GSA student member playing Reggae music at the Valentine's Day Bake Sale.

customers towards their bake sale is one aspect of demonstrating their Caribbean identity but we are merely scratching the surface of ethnic construction if we stop here. They want to be accepted as American by appealing to others using mainstream, Reggae music. In this light, Reggae music becomes the point of integration for the Indo- Guyanese because it has now

become mainstream and is recognized by non co-ethnics[21]. Additionally, the GSA's attempt to celebrate Halloween by wearing costume accents at their bake sale also demonstrates their desire to celebrate "American" holidays and receive recognition by fellow students and faculty for their attempt at mainstream assimilation. However, I was struck by the ambivalence some of the students expressed against playing Hindi film music or Bhangra at the fundraiser. Why do second-generation Indo-Guyanese Americans ethnically differentiate and distance themselves from Asian Indians?

The participants in this study recognize that their ancestral roots originate in India but their ethnicity and cultural identity closely track what they define as "Guyanese." According to my participants, the ethnic label "Guyanese" does not simply correlate with originating from Guyana but is redefined as a Guyanese New Yorker. The definition of Guyanese takes on a new meaning for the second-generation. In New York, Guyanese means Guyanese American or American born Guyanese of Indian descent. They do not associate Guyanese with the Afro-Guyanese or any other non-Indian racial group with Guyanese ancestry. This became a critical point of discussion in my project because I shared this sentiment with my participants until I met my first Afro-Guyanese friend in high school. Both age cohorts, regardless of residential location, correlated Guyanese with Indian roots. In fact, almost every individual I have encountered who is aware of Guyanese individuals (including White Americans) refer only to those with Indian origins.

> Nathanial: I know that there are Black Guyanese people but I have never met one. My parents and grandparents sometimes mention their experiences living with Black

[21] The correlation between music and integration will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

> Guyanese people back home [in Guyana] but never discuss Black Guyanese over here [in New York/America]. Did they come to NY also?
>
> Nazreen: Yes, there is a sizable Afro-Guyanese population in Brooklyn and in South Eastern Queens. Depending on social class, the majority of Afro-Guyanese tend to settle with other Afro-Caribbeans or in African American neighborhoods. Indo-Guyanese usually reside near other South Asian groups.

According to the Census PUMS and American Community Survey (ACS)[22], the Afro and Indo-Guyanese groups have created residential clusters in separate boroughs in NYC. By and large, the Afro-Guyanese predominantly live in Brooklyn, while the Indo-Guyanese reside in Queens. Although these groups also reside in the same borough[23], they are less likely to come into contact with one another because they might be residentially segregated within boroughs. In this light, the second-generation Indo-Guyanese who attend local public schools are less likely to encounter their Afro-Guyanese counterparts in large numbers because school zoning may not merge these two groups. However, the college scene provides a crucial point of group intersection. Usually the college and university environment in NYC offers students the opportunity to meet other students from diverse backgrounds. Students from different neighborhoods in New York State and other locales in America typically convene at NYC colleges and universities. Despite this opportunity to forge friendships with non co-ethnics, the Indo-Guyanese usually remain segregated from Afro-Guyanese and other Afro-Caribbeans in college. Some Indo-Guyanese also refrain from forging friendships with Asian Indians or other South Asians because they feel culturally alienated from these groups, while others who do not have access to Guyanese student groups maintain Indo-Guyanese connections through groups that have online discussion forums.

[22] ACS data table provided in the appendix.

[23] See the Jamaica, Queens example in Residential Neighborhood Table.

"I got accepted to Law School in Atlanta and wanted to stay connected with the Indo-Guyanese community at home in NY. Although I visit frequently, I belong to a women's group that gives me a voice in the community and has empowered me to strive towards my professional goals," stated Mira. The internet and particularly Facebook provides a space for the second-generation to stay connected to co-ethnics— even if they are also forging friendships with Euro-Americans or non co-ethnics. There are some Indo-Guyanese members of the second-generation who do not desire connection with other Indo-Guyanese in adulthood because their job and educational requirements place them in close contact with non co-ethnics but the majority of the participants in this study have some connection (either online or through the consumption of music and entertainment) with co-ethnic circles.

Ethnic Construction, Selection and Social Engagement

Throughout this chapter I have stressed with the importance of social networks and relationships in the everyday lives of second-generation Indo-Guyanese Americans. Their ethnicity and racial identity are shaped by family members, co-ethnics, mainstream integration and their ability to select and display their ethnicity in various spaces. Learning to be "brown" or specifically "Guyanese" is relative to residential location and their interactions with co-ethnics and non co-ethnics outside of household and ethnic enclave. The ethnic enclave provides a protective barrier against ethno-racial antagonism not available to those who reside elsewhere (such as Deodat who developed an alternative coping mechanism to achieve educational integration with his white peers). Members of the elder cohort did not have access to the ethnic enclave in childhood and often developed other strategies of integration and understanding their "brown identities." Peer relationships provide substantial insight into understanding how the

second-generation navigates their parental expectations and peer pressure. Although the second-generation may develop friendships with non co-ethnics, they often place their parental expectations at the forefront of their behaviors. Educational success appears to be the primary goal for the second-generation. The second-generation also realize that educational attainment will accelerate their integration into the mainstream because it leads to financial stability and mobility. The Indo-Guyanese view academic achievement and success as a form of racial integration into the American mainstream because it places them in closer proximity to non co-ethnics which enables them to gain racial recognition and distinction from Asian Indians. Although some members of the second-generation experience racial antagonism with their white counterparts, they usually seek out co- ethnics for support in their educational and career trajectories. Nevertheless, brownness creates distinct boundaries for the second generation as they develop coping strategies towards mainstream integration.

Chapter Two: Re-Defining Religion in Everyday Life

Several scholars have noted that religion has a significant role in defining and shaping ethnic identities in America (Kurien 2005, Maira 2002, Khandelwal 2002, Kasinitz et al 2004, 2008). Religion can be used to develop a sense of nationalism and as a coping mechanism against racialization in the United States (Kurien 1999). Eck (in Waters and Ueda 2007) also suggests that "religious affiliation enables immigrants to secure their sense of identity and also gain acceptance in the wider society." When immigrants and their children experience racial antagonism from non co-ethnics, religious circles provide support for integration into American society.

By and large, the second-generation's Indo-Guyanese experience with non co-ethnics usually involves proving the distinctiveness of a Guyanese ethnicity. Several of the respondents reported the importance of establishing racial authenticity and recognition through religion. In most interactions, the participants use Hindu practices mixed with Caribbean culture to distinguish themselves from Asian Indians in America. They want non co-ethnics to recognize that their phenotypical similarities to Asian Indians is not an indicator of identical cultural characteristics. Although Hinduism is a common ground for both the Indo-Guyanese and Asian Indians, each group has their own way of celebrating these rituals (different regions in India also have their own particular celebrations).

Several scholars[24] also discuss how religion redefines gendered and ethnic positions in the United States. Some immigrant groups use religious dogma as a mechanism for

[24] Chong (1998); Min and Kim (2005); Portes and Rumbaut (2006)

distinguishing between what they consider to be "ethnic" and "American" behaviors respectively. For example, first and second-generation Korean Americans utilize religious organizations to impart and absorb gender specific Korean values. Chong (1998) discusses the high rate of Korean church attendance and how first-generation members use the church to recreate gender roles that are specially "Korean" and not "American." The second generation American Koreans in his study reported gendered expectations such as women being passive or shy and not communicating with males at Church. Some of the second-generation members in Chong's study initially defied these gendered expectations but members of the congregation became aggressive about maintaining traditions that are distinct from what they viewed as "American." The first generations' gendered prescriptions curtailed the behavior of the second generation within the walls of the church. However, most of the females in this study reported socializing with the opposite sex outside of this ethno-religious space as a means of achieving their mainstream assimilation desires in America.

The second-generation Indo-Guyanese usually echo this trajectory of creating rigid distinctions between "American" and "Guyanese" behaviors in their daily interactions. Like the second-generation Korean Americans, the Indo-Guyanese participants also use several mechanisms to negotiate between their parental expectations and mainstream desires (i.e. partying late Saturday night and waking up early Sunday morning to attend religious services). Religion plays an important role in shaping how the Indo-Guyanese define their ethnicity in New York. Although the participants reported following Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, most of the respondents often defined Indo-Guyanese values through specifically Hindu rituals. Muslim and Hindu participants also engage in Christian rituals, such as exchanging presents on

Christmas. However, none of the non-Muslim respondents reported participating in Muslim holidays, such as Eid al Adha[25] because they considered Muslim holidays separate from being "Guyanese." The Indo-Guyanese have adopted Hindu and Christian rituals as a celebration of their Guyanese ethnicity. Hindu rituals were seen as a celebration of their East Indian identity in Guyana and practicing Christian rituals is a source of assimilation in both Guyana and America. However, Muslim rituals are viewed as specifically religious and do not have a cultural attachment to their Guyanese identity. The negative depiction of Muslim Americans post 9/11 may also limit the Guyanese Muslim participants overt performance of Islamic rituals. Additionally, I found that some of the non-Hindu participants engage in Hindu rituals as a coping mechanism against racialization from non co-ethnics. Although they are not Hindu by religious affiliation, they celebrate Hindu rituals as a form of belonging or in-group ethnic behavior.

The line separating Hindu religious practices and Guyanese cultural traditions is almost invisible because Hindu rituals are deeply rooted in how most of the second-generation define their Guyanese identity. In addition to the decline in caste association, the Indian Indenture also facilitated a heightened sense of race in Guyana. The East Indians also developed a form of ethno-religious amalgamation because several Indo-Guyanese engaged in inter-faith marriages to preserve the Indian race. East Indian Hindu/Christian marriages are more common that intermarriages with Muslims because of the extensive history of religious strife between

[25] Eid al Adha or Bakra Eid celebrates Abraham's commitment to obeying the command of Allah through his willingness to sacrifice his son Ishmael. Ishmael is also commended for his submission to the will of Allah by agreeing without hesitation to be sacrificed. Allah showed mercy on the two of them for their faith and granted them a sheep to sacrifice in place of Ishmael. On this holiday, Muslims around the world sacrifice an animal (i.e. sheep, cow or bull) on behalf of their families as a sign of faith and commitment to Allah and their dedication to Islam. The meat is usually eaten by the families or shared with underprivileged Muslims worldwide.

Muslims and non-Muslims that occurred in India. Marriages between Muslim males and non-Muslim females are more common than the reverse because Islamic marriage rites provide an easier route for men to marry non-Muslim women. Inter-faith unions and racial divisions in Guyana facilitated the widespread use of Hindu rituals in Indo-Guyanese traditions such as listening and dancing to Chutney music. Moreover, the first and second-generation Indo-Guyanese also form pan-ethnic alliances with Asian Indians in New York to gain racial recognition.

This chapter addresses how the second generation Indo-Guyanese develops and interprets ethno-religious values as a means of developing their ethnicity. The second-generation use gendered religious expectations to establish alliances and boundaries with family members, co-ethnics and non co-ethnics, relationships that shape their identities. I will also discuss how the Guyanese use Hindu religious rituals and holidays as a platform for creating pan-ethnic identities as a means of achieving their ethno-racial agendas in NY. Lastly, I address how the second-generation negotiates intergenerational and gendered differences in religious practices that conflict with their achievement of mainstream desires.

Religion or Culture: Crossing The Boundaries Between Ethno-Religious Traditions

"My mother and father both had full time jobs ever since I was a toddler. Our family moved from New York to Florida and there weren't any other Guyanese people in our community. My grandmother came to the United States soon after I was born and moved in with our family to help raise me and my siblings after my mother returned to work. My parents aren't too involved in the Hindu religion. They don't eat beef and occasionally attend services on

holidays but they don't pray on a daily basis. My grandmother taught me and my siblings prayers and rituals. Every morning she woke me and my siblings up at seven to begin our religious lesson. We showered for purification and begin chanting prayers in front of a bush outside of our house. My grandmother taught us to respect nature and was more of a spiritual Hindu who also followed the Arya Samaj[26]. We did not have an elaborate altar inside our house with statues of the Hindu Gods dressed up with flower necklaces. However, my mother prays to the Hindu murthis[27] when she chants prayers. My mother and her family also enjoy bhajan[28] singing as a form of religious worship and encouraged my siblings and I to participate during religious rituals. I never went to church[29] often because my parents and grandmother preferred to pray at home. They enrolled me in classical dance classes[30] when I started school to keep me involved in Hinduism and make other friends with similar cultural and religious backgrounds," stated Indra.

Religious participation and performance for the second-generation Indo-Guyanese is primarily shaped by parental and grandparental expectations. Most of the participants in this study reported that they received their religious training from their mothers and grandmothers but their fathers often reprimanded them or enforced punishment when the respondents

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[26] Arya Samaj is a reform movement within Hinduism.

[27] Murthi is a statue or idol form of a Hindu God.

[28] Bhajans are songs written in Sanskrit which Hindus sing at during religious holidays or prayer rituals such as Pujas, Hawans and Jhandis.

[29] Church in this instance means a Hindu Temple. Several of the Hindu participants used the term church to describe their religious house of worship rather than Mandir or Temple.

[30] Classical dance in this chapter refers to classical Hindu dance forms such as Bharatanatyam, Kathak, Kuchipudi and Odissi.

committed a religious infraction. In the absence of a large co-ethnic community, the second-generations' religious and cultural practices were usually shaped by their parents and extended family members. As mentioned earlier, the second-generation befriended other immigrants and minorities if they lived in locales or attended schools without Guyanese co-ethnics. By and large, most of the participants engaged in religious activities within co-ethnic circles during daily and occasional rituals.

Figure 3
Hawan, Hindu prayer ceremony celebrating the participant's grandmother's birthday.

The first-generation parents and grandparents usually enrolled the second-generation in religious classes that took place about once a week at their local house of worship. The participants in this study are predominantly Hindu but there are also about 5% Muslim and 3% Christian informants. As mentioned in the Preface, these percentages are similar to those in Guyana. Despite the Hindu majority, there is often an intense overlap among Indo-Guyanese ethno-religious practices. As mentioned in the Introduction, the Indo-Guyanese eliminated caste system beliefs in favor of ethno-racial solidarity in Guyana because of their initial minority status. Interreligious marriages burgeoned as the East Indians married members of their own race to increase their population. All of the participants reported having interreligious families that celebrate interfaith holidays.

"I have all types of people in my family. My parents and I are Hindu but we have Christians and Muslims as well. We come from a pretty mixed family but I mostly keep in touch with my Christian and Hindu relatives. The Muslim cousins are distant. My mom said that my uncle [her maternal uncle] was brainwashed by my aunt [through marriage] into becoming Muslim and giving up his Hindu practices," stated Jaya. Jaya's mother echoes most of the sentiments felt by the parents of the second-generation participants in this study. Several Hindu and Christian participants reported a familial divide that occurs upon marriage with a Muslim individual. They usually refer to the Muslim family members as relatives by genetics not by close social relations. As a Muslim, I have never experienced this religious divide or separation from my non-Muslim family members. My mother's family is a mixture of Hindu and Christian relatives and my father's family is Muslim. When we visit my non-Muslim relatives' homes,

they normally cook Halal[31] meat for us so that we can all enjoy the meal without feeling alienated from each other. My family also attends inter-faith prayer rituals during birthdays and weddings. However, most of the Hindu and Christian participants in this study do not share this relationship with their Muslim relatives.

Ashweenie, a Hindu GSA member from Sunny College who lives in the Indo-Guyanese enclave, discusses the interactions between Hindu, Christian and Muslim family members in an excerpt from one of our conversations below. She explains the rigid divisions between her Muslim relatives and family members of other faiths and the tension experienced because of religious differences.

> Nazreen: How do you feel about the religious divide in your family? Why is it easier to relate to the Christian members in your family than the Muslims?
>
> Ashweenie: The Christian members in my family come to our religious work [events] and practice the Puja. We also join in Christmas celebrations with them. The Muslim relatives are usually distant and on their own because they do not "mix" [perform rituals associated] with other religious holidays. I don't really hang out with my Muslim cousins as much as my Hindu and Christian cousins because their father [who is Muslim] does not allow them they [Ashweenie's Muslim cousins] to go clubbing and are not allowed to hang out with us [the Hindu and Christian family] outside of family functions. My aunt converted to being a Muslim when she married my uncle and my mom said it made her become distant from the family [because she cannot attend religious events because of her new faith].

[31] Halal (lawful) in Islam is usually defined in terms of acceptable meat that has been sacrificed in the name of Allah during the slaughtering of the animal. Meat such as chicken, lamb or beef is Halal if it has been prepared according to Islamic law. The consumption of pork is not permitted in Islam. Any meat that is forbidden or was not slaughtered by Islamic rites is considered Haram or unlawful.

Interfaith interactions vary among second-generation Indo-Guyanese Americans. Although Ashweenie did not engage in close relationships with her Muslim family members because of religious differences, some of the Muslim participants reported celebrating interfaith holidays with their friends. Umran, a Muslim participant from the elder cohort, stated that his family participates in Hindu events such as Pagwa or Holi[32] with their Hindu friends and neighbors. "My parents used to fly kites on Easter Sunday in Guyana and play Pagwa. They brought those traditions here to the United States and my siblings and I participate in these holidays in New York," said Umran. Umran and his family celebrate Hindu and Christian holidays as part of "Guyanese" culture and do not assign religious connotations to these rituals. Zeltzer-Zubia's discussion (in Kasinitz et al. 2004) of the cultural association with Jewishness among some of her second-generation Russian American participants is comparable to the Indo-Guyanese view of religious rituals as being part of their "ethnicity" and not as a form of "religion." Zeltzer-Zubia's research suggests that some of her Russian Jewish American participants adopt a Jewish ethnicity without observing Judaism or claiming Jewish rituals as a form of cultural identity and not as religious dogma (e.g. having family over for dinner on Yom Kippur). Similarly, some of the second-generation Indo-Guyanese adopt the practices of exchanging gifts on Christmas and playing Holi as cultural activities that bring family members and friends together.

> Nazreen: Since you celebrate interfaith Christian and Hindu holidays, do your non-Muslim friends participate in Muslim holidays such as Eid?

[32] Pagwa (the Indo-Guyanese term for Holi) is a Hindu religious holiday which participants usually dress in white and throw colored powder on each other.

> Umran: No. Most of my friends don't really understand the significance behind Eid[33]. It's a holiday after Ramadan[34] which is important to Muslims but if you aren't into the fasting or prayer rituals then you can't enjoy it.

Although some of the Muslim participants celebrate Hindu and Christian holidays, there are other Muslims who remain in Muslim co-ethnic circles and forge relationships with other Guyanese Muslims. Raheema recalled spending Saturdays during childhood and adolescence with her Muslim peers engaged in Madrasa[35] classes at a Masjid[36] in Queens. "I loved meeting my Muslim friends on the weekends. My grandfather was the Mauzin[37] of the Masjid and my father was involved in the founding of the Masjid so I grew up around Islamic rituals. Although I went to public schools with non-Muslims, I mostly spent time with my Muslim friends outside of the classroom. My dad used to look down on Hindu people by claiming their ideologies and practices were inferior to ours [(Muslim)] and I built up that mentality growing up. I had to move out of Queens into a neighborhood with mostly white families so I had to erase the Guyanese during the week and spent the weekends catching up with my Guyanese, Muslim friends. When I moved back into the ethnic enclave I realized that although there are religious differences among Guyanese people, the color difference between Guyanese and white people makes me feel more intimidated or different." Raheema moved back into the ethnic enclave

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[33] Eid(al Fitr) holy day celebrating the end of a month long fas (Ramadan)

[34] Ramadan is a month on the Islamic calendar during which Muslims usually fast from sunrise to sunset.

[35] Madrasa classes are religious classes aimed at teaching Muslim students Islamic prayers, Quranic recitations rituals and the Arabic language.

[36] Masjid or Mosque is the Muslim house of worship.

[37] Mauzin- is the title of the individual who calls the Azan (call to prayer in Arabic before each of the five prayers and special prayers on religious holidays).

after briefly relocating to a white suburb on Long Island and began to think about her ethno-racial identity in America. Raheema increased her participation in religious rituals and classes at the Masjid because of the racial marginalization she experienced from her white peers during her temporary Long Island residence. She became infuriated and frustrated with her white peers' ignorance towards "brown people." Pheneotypical and cultural differences produced intense friction and augmented the racial divide between Raheema and her white peers. Relocating from the ethnic enclave produced ethnic anxiety for Raheema and challenged her ability to express herself because of cultural differences with her peers. The Masjid provided a safe haven or coping mechanism for her to develop a Guyanese American ethnicity in New York. Her in-group interactions provided a retreat from the racial marginalization she felt outside of the enclave.

Similar to Raheema, most of the respondents reported that they were involved in religious activities, particularly in childhood and adolescence, because their parents assisted in the development of their house of worship. Religious institutions and practices usually play a pivotal role in socialization and ethnic mobilization for most of the second-generation. In addition to providing a coping mechanism against racism from non co-ethnics, Indo-Guyanese religious institutions also transmit cultural values and expectations.

Ethno-Religious Authenticity and Pan-Ethnic Mobilization

"My parents and other Guyanese families helped to start the church [Mandir] that we attend. We belonged to another church but there was a political dispute over funding and power within the church. We [(Asha and her family)] broke away from them and started this one. The

families who started this church donated money, murthis[38] and instruments so that we can pray and sing bhajans. The other girls and I usually take turns cleaning up the room and the statues after the service on Sundays. The other girls and I normally sing bhajans[39] during the ceremony and on religious holidays. Most of the women in my family are bhajan singers," said Asha. As mentioned earlier, women play a dominant role in transmitting religious and cultural values within the Indo-Guyanese community. Similar to the Chongs' (1998) discussion of gendered roles in the Korean church, women in the mandir usually display ethno-religious authenticity through entertainment such as music and dance. Males are normally the religious leaders, Pandits or Imams[40], who lead the congregation in prayer and religious ceremonies. Unlike Pandits who are highly specialized in their religious dogmas and in performing "healing" or "blessing" rituals, bhajan singers and dancers are usually viewed as a form of social entertainment that transmits religious traditions. The dancers and bhajan singers do not hold the same religious authority as Pandits because they cannot conduct rituals that are actual blessing practices. Therefore, the bhajan singers' and dancers' play a marginal religious role and are adapted as a central cultural role within the Indo-Guyanese community. In this scenario, the line between defining "ethnic" and "religious" traditions becomes blurred and Hindu traditions become absorbed or transformed into a Guyanese identify.

Several of the Hindu female participants reported that their parents encouraged their participation in classical dance and singing during childhood and adolescence. Payal, a GSA

[38] Murthis are statues of Hindu Gods.

[39] Bhajans are Hindu religious songs that are sung in Hindi.

[40] Pandit is the title for a male who studies Hinduism and Sanskrit and can perform Hindu religious ceremonies. Imam is the title for a male who studies Islam and leads Muslims in prayer and religious rituals.

member from the younger cohort, discusses the role of an Indo-Guyanese Hindu dance school in shaping her ethnic identity. "I love dancing. My parents are the co-founders of a classical dance school in Queens. We are one of the most well known Guyanese dance troops. We perform here in New York, Florida and in Guyana. There are a few males in our classes but it's mainly female. I started dancing early from about age three or five. I have been certified in Kuchupudi dance—one of the hardest dances to master. I learned from other Guyanese girls who were at more advanced levels. The school started out in the students' living rooms. We [the dance students] used to practice on weekends and in our spare time after school at each other's homes. The first set of dancers are in their thirties [age cohort] and learned classical dance from an Indian woman who learned dance in India. She was sympathetic to Guyanese Hindu women learning to dance and trained us," stated Payal.

> Nazreen: Why do you feel that the Indian dance teacher was "sympathetic" to the Guyanese females' desire to learn Indian classical dance?
>
> Payal: You know how those Indian girls are… or Indian people in general. They don't think we are really Indian or have Indian roots. But we [Guyanese] know how to dance better than those girls [Asian Indian dancers]. I even learned Hindi and Sanskrit while dancing because the dance moves and background music are in these languages. They [Asian Indian dancers] don't have anything on us [Guyanese dancers] because we know the moves better.
>
> Nazreen: Can you describe an experience with Asian Indian dancers?
>
> Payal: Right here at Sunny College!!!! We [female Indo-Guyanese student dancers at Sunny College] dance in competitions against the Indian girls [dance group] at school. They always think that we can't dance classical or Bollywood[41] style dances because we're Guyanese. The shows give us the opportunity to put them in their place and show them that we can do it too—and better."

[41] Bollywood is the Indian Hollywood, located in Mumbai (Bombay) India. This is the production location of major Indian/Hindi films.

Payal also mentioned that her dance troop faces contention with Asian Indian dancers during off campus competitions. During a phone conversation and e-mail exchange, the President of the New York Chapter of the Association of Indians in America (AIA) claimed that the only Indo-Guyanese who participated in this Asian Indian sponsored event was Payal's dance troop. However, their performance was not widely publicized in the local Guyanese/Caribbean Newspapers or among the GSAs where I conducted my participant observations. Although Payal's dance troop participated alongside Asian Indians, they did not disseminate information about their performance to Indo-Guyanese networks because her dance troop performs for the Indo-Guyanese within their own cultural spaces and events (such as nightclubs or Guyanese sponsored activities). The Diwali Mela at the South Street Seaport is considered an "Indian" event by most of the participants who mentioned attending or their awareness of this festival because the vendors sell Indian food (mainly South Indian vegetarian) and play Bhangra[42] music. Most of the participants claimed that they feel ethnically uncomfortable in "all Indian" circles because the Indo-Guyanese are not recognized for their Indian roots among Asian Indians—even in religious gatherings. Rather than disputing the inferior status that the Indo-Guyanese have among Asian Indians, most of the participants reach out to the Indo-Guyanese and Indo-Caribbean community for ethnic solidarity in New York.

In October of 2009, Payal invited me to attend a dance recital at a well known theater in Queens. Her dance school is widely recognized in the Guyanese community and they organized a dance show to commemorate the school's twentieth anniversary and celebrate the Hindu festival of Diwali. I bought two advanced tickets for my sister and I and we ventured to Queens

[42] Bhangra is a Punjabi musical style.

for the performance. My sister and I had never seen a live, classical Indian dance performance and we wondered if this would be similar to the dances we saw in Hindi films. Although we have Hindu relatives, no one participates in these dance schools because they live outside of the ethnic enclave and are more concerned with learning the latest dance moves from MTV. This was an opportunity to understand the significance of classical Indian dance within the Guyanese American community. Upon arrival to the theater, I noticed that the venue also housed various Euro-American musical performances and theatrical shows. Most of the previous events organized by this group took place at local public school auditoriums or within the dance school. Payal explained that this performance took several months to plan because the organizers reserved the high profile theater in advance and sought permits to use certain effects (such as smoke) for the dances. My sister and I entered the building and were excited to be surrounded by other Indo-Guyanese and Indo-Caribbeans. We could hear the various accents from different regions in Guyana and noticed that some of the girls and women were dressed in Indian attire, such as saris and lenghas.[43] It appeared to be a sold out show, as audience members rushed into the seating area and occupied almost every seat in the rows. The stage had a large projection screen in the center of the background with colored pictures of Hindu Gods. Two large floral garlands were hung on a portable stage wall on the left of the projection. A flag with an image of the Hindu god Ganesh also occupied a space on the left side of the stage. The right side of the projection housed other Hindu gods and carnation flower petals (popular flower used in Hindu rituals). The stage props created a devotional space for the dancers because each of the intricate

[43] Sari is an Indian dress that is draped around the female body. A lengha is another style of Indian dress with a skirt, top and duputta (shawl) that usually hangs loosely on the body.

movements in the classical dances symbolized a form of worship as they performed a story from Hindu scriptures.

Figure 4
Stage at the Diwali Celebration dance recital

The dancers are divided according to age cohorts and dance movement mastery. Each group consisted of about three to twelve dancers who displayed dance movements relating to war, good versus evil and female empowerment in the Hindu scriptures. After a few dance routines, one of the dance school administrators delivered a speech labeling the dancers "ambassadors of our culture" to signify their roles as cultural preservers and symbols in New York. Although this was a Hindu religious event, the participants who attended the dance recital

claimed that performance was "Guyanese" because they viewed this event as a display of culture, not a devotional exercise. The dee-jay played classical Indian music in the background which consisted of drums, the violin, flute and the harmonium.

Figure 5
Indo-Guyanese women performing an
Indian Classical Dance at the Diwali Recital

Each of the groups came out in elaborately embellished Indian attire to perform their dances. Some of the dancers' costumes were also representative of the region of India where the dance originated and the style of dance they performed. For example, the Kuchipudi dancers wore brilliant colored costumes with gold trim and their duputtas or shawl displayed one fan style (instead of three which is associated with Bharatnatiyam dances). The show lasted for about four hours and all of the dances were dedicated to the Gods in the scriptures and those

displayed on the stage. Although most of the participants who attended this performance did not emphasize the religious connotation of this event, some of the dancers displayed devotional "trance-like" expressions.

A few days after the show, I spoke with Payal and a few female stage hands about their reactions to the show.

> Nazreen: Thank you for inviting me. I noticed that some of the dancers appeared to be in trance when they danced. Can you tell me anything about the significance of the facial expressions and dance movements?
>
> Payal: Yes, some of us do dance that way. You become so involved in the dance and you know that you are doing it to please God and carry on the Hindu traditions so it's almost like saying a prayer.
>
> Anjani: Also, it's sort of like a [theatrical] play and the performers make facial expressions to show the different emotions in the skit.

Manisha, a student at Winter College who is also involved in classical and Bollywood dance, explained that she and her dance troop in the Bronx usually organize dance recitals around religious holidays. "Diwali is one of the big holidays. Most Hindus are usually vegetarian [even meat eaters] on this day because we are trying to return to the tradition of our ancestors. The dance shows are an important part of Diwali because we are showing the Guyanese community that we [American born Guyanese] know our Hindu traditions in America. Most of our parents are scared that we will become too American and not follow our parents' customs or religion. This is our [referring to the second generation] chance to show our parents that we know about Hinduism," stated Manisha.

Nazreen: Do you only participate in dances with other Guyanese dancers?

> Manisha: No, there are times when the Indian girls at Winter College will invite us to participate in their dances. But, they look for our support in club fundraising but they are not close with us [the Guyanese GSA members interested in dance].
>
> Nazreen: So you occasionally participate when they need extra dancers? What about other GSA members interested in dancing?
>
> Manisha: Yes, when they need extra dancers and can't find anyone else they know that we're interested because we [the GSA] don't have an organized team at school.

Several of the participants shared Payal's and Manisha's sentiments about displaying ethno-religious authenticity when compared to second-generation Asian Indians. The participants stated that Asian Indians in New York treat the Indo-Guyanese like "second-class Indians" because they migrated to Guyana and developed a hybrid culture that is not "purely Indian." My informants commonly stated that they are not ethnically Indian because they do not speak an Indian language or cook Asian Indian style cuisine at home. However, my Hindu participants discussed their Asian Indian roots during our conversations about religion. Several of the Hindu respondents reported that speaking Sanskrit and Hindi during prayers and performing classical dance rituals makes them as "authentically Hindu" as the Asian Indians who migrated directly from Asia to America. Therefore, we can conclude that Hindu authenticity is an important component of defining a Guyanese ethnicity in New York.

The second-generation acknowledge their Asian Indian ancestry but claim that their Hindu and Muslim practices are Guyanese. Johnson (2007) found that Honduran New Yorkers attribute their religious authenticity to African Diasporic religions, such as Santaria and Garifuna, in relation to their authority within religious rituals that are connected transnationally to Honduras. The Honduran New Yorkers usually play a subordinate or marginal role in certain

religious rituals which must take place in their homeland. Therefore, a transnational struggle for religious authenticity and authority surfaces during these rituals. [Not clear.] Unlike the Honduran New Yorkers, the Indo-Guyanese have incorporated Hinduism into their Guyanese ethnicity and do not seek the assistance or approval of their Asian Indian counterparts to practice these rituals. Instead, the Guyanese use religion as a tool to mobilize with Asian Indians during holidays. However, this process usually leads to a struggle for authority over ethnic engagement and performance at the festival dance routines. Asian Indians usually have the upper hand over decisions in this scenario because of their substantial financial investments in Hindu, ethno-religious celebrations.

As with Johnson's (2007) discussion of Honduran New Yorkers reframing African Diasporic religions, the first and second-generation Guyanese return to what they believe is the "true" Hinduism and Islam as they define their religions as part of their ethnicity in America. As mentioned earlier, the first post- Guyanese Indenture encounter with Asian Indians took place in New York. The participants mentioned ethno-religious competition between the two groups for Hindu authenticity and racial recognition. The female informants were particularly vocal about the ethnic friction between second-generation Asian Indian and Indo-Guyanese in New York.

Mandy, a participant from the elder cohort who lived in Richmond Hill during childhood and adolescence discusses her experience with Hindu Authenticity in the conversation below:

> Nazreen: Why do you feel that Asian Indians treat you as an inferior? Can you recall a specific instance when you felt that way?
>
> Mandy: When I grew up in Queens, the Indian kids always stuck with their own kind [ethnically]. They didn't speak to me because I'm Guyanese. I didn't really care to make friends with them because I had my own group of Guyanese friends. Also, my

> family and I attend a Church [(Mandir)] with other Guyanese people. We did not join one with Indian people because they all speak their own language and know each other from before [migration].
>
> Nazreen: Did you feel inferior because the language and group membership differences created a sense of marginalization from Asian Indians? What about the second-generation Asian Indians you encountered? Do they speak English?
>
> Mandy: Yes, but even if the Indian kids speak English and they know you're Guyanese they automatically look at you differently because Guyanese people don't come from India, they come from Guyana.

Mandy's statement about the Indian Diaspora to Guyana provoked further thought into the formation of a symbolic Guyanese ethnicity through contact with Asian Indians in New York. Several scholars (Maira 2002, Gans 1979) have discussed the development of a symbolic ethnicity that develops among immigrants and their children because of their nostalgic desire to occasionally perform cultural practices associated with their ancestry. As mentioned earlier, most immigrants have a fossilized representation of their "original or home culture" because they usually mimic cultural norms and practices that occurred during their residence in their country of origin (which has changed since their migration to the United States). The second-generation usually adopts and defines their understanding of a Guyanese identity in New York through parental socialization. However, their creation and performance of ethnicity is transient. Intergenerational differences also shape the meaning of nostalgic desires for the second-generation Indo-Guyanese. Chapter Three will discuss the connection between transnationalism and ethnic nostalgia in detail.

Some members of the Indo-Guyanese second-generations use ethnic nostalgia as a resource for racial integration in the United States. Unlike some of the participants' parents who

use ethnic nostalgia and increased socio-political mobility in America as a means of escaping the racial strife in Guyana, the second-generation use ethnic mobilization as a means of securing their ethno-racial position in America. Espiritu (in Foner and Frederickson 2004) and Itzjoshon (in Foner and Frederickson 2004) have also discussed the formation of pan-ethnic identities (such as Latino or Asian) which promote political mobilization and combat nativism in America. The struggle for ethnic authenticity that second-generation Indo-Guyanese and Asian Indians experience in New York can lead to ethnic cohesion during the ethno-political demonstration of a united "Hindu or South Asian" identity. As mentioned earlier, several of the participants experienced frustration when confronted with individuals who were not aware of a Guyanese ethnicity and assumed they were Asian Indian or Latino. The Indo-Guyanese will rally alongside Asian Indians to gain racial recognition in New York. The Indo-Guyanese have reached out to Asian Indians, despite their apprehensions about ethnic differences, to create a space for a Guyanese racial integration in New York. Working with Asian Indians enables the second-generation to reach a wider audience because the Indian organizations are usually well established and their events have several corporate, non-profit and individual Indian donors. Similar to Payal's dance troop who performed their Hindu authenticity for Asian Indian audiences during the Diwali Mela, Ameena and her women's organization sought the support of a South Asian association to promote the relationship of Guyanese women's issues to a broader network.

> Ameena: East Indian Women in the Caribbean*[44] worked with Asian Indian Women United* to publish our first anthology about Indo-Caribbean women. Topics ranged from domestic abuse to life's successes.

[44] Names of the organizations have been concealed for privacy. These are pseudonyms.

> Nazreen: Wow! That's great that you were able to reach out to the South Asian community to help support the publication and promotion of your book. Why did you choose this group?
>
> Ameena: They are also a women's group geared towards South Asian women's issues. So we [Indo-Caribbean group] figured that they would help us get our issues out there. It went well for the most part but we did experience some contention with the South Asian group because they wanted to be in control of publication and the type of materials involved in the publication. They didn't give us as much control over the book as we wanted. Although they claim to support the empowerment of all types of South Asians, we definitely got the feeling that they were being too controlling and not supportive of Guyanese women because they took the sole rights to reprinting our publication. This means we would have to request their permission to make copies of the book. And we had limited copies to begin with and the South Asian women's group denied our permission to increase our distribution to wider audiences. We won't be working with them again because they were not concerned with Indo-Caribbean women's issues [especially by limiting their scope of awareness].

Although Ameena and her Guyanese women's association experienced contention with the South Asian women's group, they were able to market their anthology[45] and promote Guyanese issues during their annual conference in Queens. Overall, Ameena stated that the book launch turned out to be a success and the Guyanese organization was able to reach a wider audience of readers and sponsors through the South Asian women's group. Nevertheless, Ameena felt that the Guyanese group was subjugated by the South Asian group because of the limitations placed on the reproduction rights of their anthology. What are the ethnic limitations or power struggles that exist when mobilizing with a pan-ethnic agenda? How do the Indo-Guyanese gain power as an ethnic group through pan-ethnic South Asian networks if their voice is suppressed?

[45] I am omitting the exact citation of this book because the copyright is in dispute.

It appears that the Asian Indian and South Asian organizations will enable the Indo-Guyanese to join their festivities or sponsor Guyanese events to satisfy their own ethno-political agenda. Ameena mentioned that the South Asian women's group agreed to co-sponsor their book because it was "great for their publicity as well." The established South Asian groups can also increase their awareness in the Diaspora by advocating on behalf of multiple ethnicities through their umbrella agenda. This may also lead to increased capital through donations or fees collected during collaborative projects. Does this abbreviated form of pan-ethnic mobilization lead to significant forms of ethnic integration for the Indo-Guyanese? Although the Asian Indian and South Asian groups have allowed the Indo-Guyanese to participate in their pan-ethnic festivals, they do not usually maintain close, long standing relationships with these groups. The Indo-Guyanese in New York have strengthened their own community networks because of the ethnic antagonism they experienced when mobilizing with Asian Indian and South Asian groups. They have also established an Indo-Caribbean identity to rally with other Caribbean immigrants of Asian Indian descent in New York during ethno-religious occasions.

As with Payal and her dance troop's participation in a Diwali cultural show geared towards an Indo-Guyanese audience, most of my informants recalled their participation in the annual Pagwa festival in Richmond Hill (the largest residential cluster of Indo-Guyanese in NYC[46]) because their friends and family members usually attended this fair. Most of the informants who mentioned their attendance at the Pagwa Parade also mentioned that the Deejays played Caribbean music alongside the traditional Hindu drum players. They were more inclined to attend the Pagwa festival than the Indian sponsored Diwali street fair because it took place in

[46] Please refer to the CPS data tables in the Appendix

the Indo-Guyanese ethnic enclave with familiar music, food and other Guyanese individuals. Although Asian Indians and the Indo-Guyanese share similar Hindu religious festivals, there is a distinct boundary line that separates the two groups in their celebrations. The Indo-Guyanese who are most politically active and desire ethnic recognition in New York will occasionally seek the assistance of Asian Indian groups to promote Indo-Guyanese racial awareness in New York. As mentioned previously, the Indo-Guyanese are less likely to collaborate with the Afro-Caribbeans to display their ethnicity because of the racism African Americans experience in America. Some members of the second-generation also harbor residual memories of their parents' avoidance of friendships with blacks (both African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans) because of their historical experience of antagonism with the Afro-Guyanese in Guayana. Nevertheless, the majority of the Indo-Guyanese will remain within co-ethnic circles when celebrating religious rituals because the cultural differences in food, music, attire and language prevents them from celebrating with Asian Indians in New York City.

In contrast to the Indo-Guyanese participants who live nearby the ethnic enclave and have the option to participate in co-ethnic events, some Indo-Guyanese lived away from their families during college and graduate school and forged relationships with Asian Indian, Pakistani and other South Asian groups. Living away from home, especially when previously residing within the ethnic enclave, accelerates ethnic anxiety and usually motivates the development of pan-ethnic identities. Umran and Joya both attended school outside of the ethnic enclave and relied on other South Asians for ethno-religious support. They each used religious holidays and knowledge of Bollywood films and Hindi music to relate to their South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi) counterparts. Although several of their classmates of South Asian

origin were also New Yorkers prior to moving into their college and graduate school dormitories, Joya and Umran did not experience ethnic tension with the South Asian students. Residing outside of New York and attending schools with a minute South Asian population prompted the South Asian students to establishing friendships based on this pan-ethnic identity. "Our med school had cultural shows where we [the South Asian students] would get together and perform dance shows. We had so much fun coordinating dance routines and celebrating holidays together. No one made distinctions or excluded people because they were Guyanese. We all danced to Bhangra— even if we weren't Punjabi. There were people who knew how to play the dhol[47] and we all danced to it. Although there weren't many Guyanese people at my school, it was great having to be a part of other festivals with people who celebrated holidays and rituals similar to my family," Umran stated.

Joya echoed Umran's sentiments about the pan-ethnic coalition she developed with the South Asians at school. "It was difficult to live away from New York and making friends with people of a similar religious background made it easier to focus in school. I didn't join any of the Guyanese clubs during college [in New York City] because I lived with my family and didn't need to seek out Guyanese people. When I left New York to go to school I became closer to my Indian friends. We even modeled Indian fashions during the [Hindu] holidays," Joya stated. As with my discussion of the second-generation who attended schools with non co-ethnics outside of the ethnic enclave, Umran and Joya used their relationships with the South Asians to cope with the ethnic displacement they endured while away at school. They used religion to create a platform of ethnic survival and retention. Joya and Umran also re-defined their ethnicity by

[47] Dhol is a large drum played with two wooden sticks that is used to accompany Bhangra dance movements.

incorporating South Asian religious rituals into their holidays because they wanted a sense of community similar to their experience in the ethnic enclave and with other Indo-Guyanese in New York. Both Joya and Umran reported that they continued some of the rituals, such as listening to Bhangra music and dancing Punjabi style, when they returned to New York. According to my informants, it appears that the Indo-Guyanese experience the most contention with Asian Indians and other South Asians in New York where the stereotype of being a "second-class" Indian has developed. When residing in locations or attending schools where there is limited contact with individuals of Asian Indian descent there is an ethnic shift towards identifying as a South Asian, to create an ethnic defense against the loss they experienced from leaving the ethnic enclave or having fellow co-ethnics within close residence.

Negotiating Expectations: Maintaining Religious Dogmas While Achieving Mainstream Assimilation

Unlike the participants in the previous section who joined ethnic groups and associations to demonstrate or perform their ethno-religious identities, other members of the second generation have chosen to minimize their religious affiliations in favor of mainstream assimilation. They utilize a form of religious selectivity that enables them to perform religious rituals in their daily practices without overt representations of religious devotion. As mentioned previously, all of the participants in this study reported that their parents and extended families played central roles in shaping their religious affiliation. Gans' (1979)[48] concept of symbolic

[48]Gans (1979) claims that first-generation immigrants usually retain ethno-religious values from their sending countries, while the second-generation rejects their parents' ethnic values in favor of adapting mainstream values. Gans focuses his attention on third-generation immigrants because of their "ethnic resurgence" and desire to reclaim

ethnicity becomes increasingly relevant to the Indo-Guyanese as the second-generation negotiates their ethnicity as a means of acculturating into mainstream values and behaviors. Most of the participants expressed the significance of religious rituals and cultural practices in their co-ethnic interactions. Assembling with family members during religious holidays such as Eid, Diwali or Christmas shapes their ethno-religious position in the United States. Several of my informants stated that they were more involved in religious rituals during childhood than in adolescence and adulthood. Many of the participants reported that peer relationships and expectations in college initiated the departure from religious rituals.

"My mother goes to Church [referring to the Mandir or Hindu house of worship] every week. When I was little [referring to childhood], my parents used to take me and my sister to attend Sunday services. We never really understood what the Pandit was saying and sometimes we fell asleep during the service because it was so long and in a different language [Sanskrit and Hindi]. I stopped wanting to go with my parents to Church because I began hanging out with my friends in college and it was hard to get up in the morning to go with my family. I can't get up early on Sunday because I'm usually out partying with my friends the night before [Saturday night]. I don't believe that you have to attend Church to be Hindu. Some people my parents' ages [40s and 50s] believe that you have to go to Church to show everyone in the Guyanese community that you are Hindu or into the religion. I choose to practice my religion every day. I don't have to show people that I am Hindu to prove that I follow the religion. Even though I don't attend Church, I don't eat beef as a sign of respect for my grandmother," Martin reported.

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their grandparents' cultural values symbolically through ethnic performance or occasional participation in rituals (i.e. only celebrating religious holidays and not practicing religion daily). I adopt Gans' notion of third generation ethnic resurgence and performance, but apply it to the second-generation Indo-Guyanese.

Although Martin does not attend Sunday morning services at the Mandir, he negotiates fulfilling his religious obligation by engaging in daily abstinence from eating beef. As a young boy, Martin's grandmother taught him to understand Hinduism through the sacred symbolism associated with cows. Although Martin did not develop an interest in pursuing knowledge in Hindu scriptures, his reverence towards his grandmother influences his diet. Peer influences usually highlight the intergenerational religious differences between the second-generation and their first generation parents and grandparents. Although the first generation prefers the compliance and performance of formal religious practices (such as attendance at religious services), the second generation believes that informal behaviors are also significant to ethno-religious observance.

The participants' allegiance to their respective religions and families is normally placed at the forefront of their struggle to achieve mainstream assimilation. Several participants in this study view their membership on Facebook, one of the most popular social networking websites on the market, as a means of attaining mainstream assimilation. However, inter-generational tension usually occurs between the first and second-generation Indo-Guyanese because the first generation does not approve of their participation on Facebook. Some of the younger cohort participants, particularly the females, reported that their parents and grandparents are concerned that posting pictures of themselves on Facebook will tarnish their image within the Guyanese community. The college aged participants usually post pictures of their attendance at social gatherings and individual pictures from their webcams (positioned in their room).

After a GSA film screening in the Fall of 2009, Natalie turned to one of her female friends with a melancholy demeanor and began venting about her weekend. "My grandfather

really upset me over the weekend. We [(Natalie's extended family)] went over to my grandparents' house to celebrate Diwali and we [she and her sister] have to touch our grandparents' feet for their blessings. My grandmother gave me hers but my grandfather just sat in front of the television during the puja. I couldn't believe he was so mad about my Facebook page that he didn't want to even bless me and my sister," Natalie stated.

> Nazreen: Why was he so upset about your Facebook page?
>
> Natalie: My grandparents, aunts, uncles and parents had a discussion the night before in the kitchen about the kids in the family and Facebook. My grandfather mentioned a news story he watched about kids posting too many personal pictures on Facebook and not being hired for a job because the employers don't like their Facebook page. The next day was Diwali and he and my grandmother are supposed to bless all of the grandkids. We have prayer in the morning and then bow at our grandparents' feet and wait for them to touch the top of our head for a blessing. My grandfather refused to bless us this year.

Although Natalie practices Baptist Christianity, she also complies with the Hindu traditions her grandparents practice. Her grandparents converted to Christianity in their adulthood in Guyana but they continued to practice Hindu rituals because they celebrated Hindu holidays for many years during childhood and adolescence. Rather than renouncing the Hindu holidays and practices Natalie's grandparents chose to continue these practices alongside their Christian beliefs. Natalie views the Hindu rituals as a form of allegiance to her ancestors and grandparents. Although she does not believe in the Hindu scriptures or dogmas, she performs the rituals out of deference to her grandparents. While her use of Facebook as a social networking site infuriated her grandfather, she did not terminate her engagement with this website after he refused to perform the blessing ritual. "My grandparents don't understand that everyone has Facebook! It's how my friends and I stay

in touch. We share pictures and write status updates about what's going on in our day. What's wrong with that? I think it's an age difference between younger people and older people. If my grandfather knew how important it is to have a Facebook account among your friends then he wouldn't be so mad," stated Natalie. Although Natalie's grandfather was reluctant to perform his blessing on Diwali, Natalie felt that she fulfilled her ethno-religious obligations for her grandparents' by participating in their traditions. She continued her interactions on Facebook despite her grandfather's opinions because she also claimed allegiance to her friends and other GSA members. Natalie stated that she will not discuss her use of Facebook with her grandfather because it might create future controversy. However, she will continue to use this website covertly with her mother's approval[49].

Several of the participants reported participating in surreptitious behaviors that deviated from the first-generations' ethno-religious to satisfy their peer expectations. All of the Muslim respondents stated that they experienced marginalization at some point in their lives from both co-ethnics and non co-ethnics because of their Islamic religious affiliation. They usually managed their Muslim identities by minimizing their beliefs and faith when interacting with non-Muslims. On a warm summer evening in July, I attended a backyard party with a few of the GSA members at Sunny College. This was the first event I attended where I interacted with the Muslim GSA members off campus. In my other field observations at parties and nightclubs, I noticed that most of the Hindu and Christian members usually drink alcohol or smoke hookah

[49] Mothers are usually viewed as the upholders of tradition in the Indian Diaspora but they are also a bridge that enables second-generation Indo-Guyanese females to satisfy their mainstream and peer expectations. This will be elaborated on in Chapter Four.

during their off-campus activities. Although the Quran[50] prohibits the consumption of alcohol, which places the second-generation in a marginal position if they follow this dogma, I noticed that two male Muslim GSA members drank Heineken beers alongside their Hindu and Christian counterparts. One of the young men drank his beer while Dee-Jaying the music for the party, while the other male drank his beer while seated with other partygoers. Beer and alcoholic drinks are usually available at the Indo-Guyanese Hindu and Christian house parties I have attended. I wondered if the Muslim Guyanese youth also engage in alcohol consumption with their families or whether they participated in this behavior because of peer influence and their desire to assimilate into social circles and activities with their co-ethnic and non co-ethnic college students. I approached Abdur who was on his way back to his seat from getting another beer from the portable cooler filled with ice.

> Nazreen: Hey Abdur, how's that beer going?
>
> Abdur: "I like drinking beers or mixed drinks when hanging out with my friends at parties. It helps me to relax and all my friends are drinking too so I have company.
>
> Nazreen: So it's sort of like an accompaniment to a social event? What about when you go to restaurants or other events with your friends; do you also eat "outside meat or non Halal?"
>
> Abdur: I also don't eat Halal meat all the time so I can eat out at the Guyanese restaurants after school with my friends.

Although Abdur identifies as Muslim, he chooses to drink alcohol with his friends as a means of identifying with his fellow co-ethnics. Abdur reported that his family members do not drink alcohol or eat Haram meat at family gatherings but he chooses to drink alcohol and eat Haram

[50] Quran- the Muslim holy book filled with prayers and directions from Allah (God) on how to live one's life.

meat with his friends because he does not want to be labeled as an "outsider" within his friend circle. Although the Indo-Guyanese follow different religious rituals they minimize these practices when interacting with interfaith peers because they rely on each other's friendship for support while crafting their racial and ethnic identity in New York. Overall, the second-generation engage in multiple levels of symbolic religious involvement but their co-ethnic bond and desire for ethnic integration propels them towards reducing ethno-religious differences, minimizing religious Hindu practices within a Guyanese cultural identity.

Shaping Ethnicity Through Religion

Immigrant incorporation among the second-generation Indo-Guyanese follows disparate trajectories in the United States. Some members of the second-generation rely on fellow co-ethnics of different faiths for protection against racism and the development of their racial identity, while others seek out co-ethnics of the same faith to assist them with assimilation in America. The Indo-Guyanese offer a unique case because several families are inter-faith and celebrate multiple holidays within their households. These holidays can represent symbolic performances of religion that are meant to fulfill familial expectation or expressions of devotion that are specifically gendered. Some of the religious rituals, such as dancing, may obscure the line between religious and ethnic practices. It also appears that the participants compete for ethno-religious authenticity with Asian Indians in pan-ethnic social arenas. Creating an ethnic space by mobilizing with established South Asian and Asian Indian organizations enables the Indo-Guyanese to receive ethnic recognition within the Indian Diaspora with limited authority to demonstrate their ethnicity. The Indo-Guyanese participants often discussed their limited authority on the amount of dance numbers or type of music they were allowed to use during their

performance. They often felt outnumbered by Asian Indian participants at these pan-ethnic shows and were not allowed to perform dances to Chutney or Caribbean music (other than mainstream Reggae beats that were recognized by the Asian Indian program coordinators). The Indo-Guyanese may also manage their ethno-religious identity in the direction of mainstream assimilation because they do not want to remain marginal based on religious beliefs and familial expectations. For most participants, peer influences and their efforts at combating racism propel the second-generation towards adapting mainstream behaviors that usually defies the first-generations' religious expectations. Additionally, gendered expectations play a significant role in the process of ethno-religious negotiations. Nevertheless, for the second-generation, ethno-religious identities are fluid and adapt to spatial, familial and peer expectations.

Chapter Three: Transnational Ethnic Consumption and Performance

This chapter discusses how the second-generation Indo-Guyanese confronts and negotiates the inter-ethnic challenges presented through the development of nostalgic identities and Diasporic consciousness by designating specific spaces for what I term transnational ethnic consumption and performance. Several scholars (Gans 1979, Halter 2000, Kasinitz et al. 2004, Maira 2002, Purkayastha 2005, Waters 2000), discuss the prevalence of transnational nostalgic ethnic performances among second-generation Americans. This form of ethnic nostalgia refers to the fossilized replication of pre-migration traditions in America. The interplay of time and space becomes crucial in nostalgic performances because immigrants usually reproduce rituals from their pre-migration memories in their homelands. These practices may have been altered in the sending country because of the increased flow of transnational information. Several immigrants continue to practice these traditions in what they view as their “purest,” pre-migration form. Others may create a hybrid form of celebrating rituals (i.e. dancing to Hindi film music with hip-hop moves).

Transnational performances are often discussed in terms of second-generation Americans adopting cultural or religious practices acquired while visiting their parents’ natal land (Maira 2002, Smith 2006, Morawska 2007). For example, Maira’s (2002) study of Indian American youth culture in New York concluded that second-generation Indian Americans often learn different forms of cultural norms from their extended family members during their trips to India. Indian Americans will often select and perform cultural practices from their experience abroad (such as religious rituals) and maintain these behaviors after their return to America. According

to Maira, second-generation American ethnic identities are significantly shaped by transnational performances that are learned from their firsthand experience in their parents' sending country.

Gans (1979) argues that the American born children of immigrants symbolically perform these practices and attach different meanings to these traditions than their first generation parents. One form of symbolically performing ethnicity is through ethnic consumption or purchasing ethnic merchandise. According to Halter (2000), "ethnicity is increasingly manifest through self-conscious consumption of goods and services… these commodities assist in negotiating and enforcing identity differences." Inter-generational differences and the various meanings attached to the ethnic goods and services stratify the discussion of ethnic consumption among immigrant groups. For example, first generation Indo-Guyanese may listen to hybrid Indian music (such as Chutney music) to differentiate themselves from the Afro-Guyanese, while the second generation views this genre as Caribbean music without recognizing the racial implications associated with this particular style. The second-generation's allegiance to their parents' natal ethno-religious practices is transient and transforms to accommodate their desire for mainstream incorporation. The risk of alienation from both co-ethnic circles and non co-ethnic peers creates distinct boundaries for the performance of nostalgic rituals.

Nagel (1994), Khan (2007), Bhalla (2006) and Das Gupta et al. (2007) found that American born children of immigrants create Diasporic identities which are shaped by both cultural and structural factors in the host society. The second-generations' exposure to racism and the first-generations' active involvement in imparting cultural rituals from their sending country onto their American born children creates, what Khan (2007) calls their "Diasporic consciousness." The scholars above define nostalgic and Diasporic identity formation as a

multitude of ethnic identities that are layered and fluid. Diasporic identities may be crafted by both ethnic nostalgia and integration desires. However, they are usually politicized identities that materialize out of the historical experience of migration and the demand for group recognition in America. This chapter discusses how Diasporic identities not only serve as a buffer against racism through the practice of nostalgic traditions but also as a mechanism for ethnic integration. My research contributes to this literature by demonstrating how space and transnational ethnic consumption define and shape the performance of these identities.

As mentioned in the Introduction, most of the Indo-Guyanese participants in this project reported that they have not traveled Guyana because their parents do not want to expose them to the intense racial contention between the Afro and Indo-Guyanese. Their transnational performance and identities are built by, what I term, an imagined transnational experience. My participants' understanding of the Indian Indenture and assimilation of East Indians into Guyanese society is shaped by oral histories from their parents' and extended relatives' lived experience in Guyana, literature and other forms of media about the Indian Indenture and current social conditions in Guyana. In contrast to Maira (2002) analysis of Indian American transnational identities, the Indo-Guyanese second-generations' transnational ethnic performances are based on this "secondhand" knowledge of Guyanese ethnic rituals. Most of my informants experienced a form of ethnic resurgence, or desire to understand and perform cultural traditions, because of their geographical disconnection with Guyana. Guyana represents a physically "unknown" or "unfamiliar" land that has shaped the second-generation's ancestral origins. This ethnic resurgence is also heightened by the second-generation's desire to establish a Guyanese ethnic category that is distinct from Asian Indians in America. Therefore,

transnational performances enable the second-generation to re-create their definition of a Guyanese ethnicity in America.

Based on my observations and interviews, the Indo-Guyanese consume and perform their ethnicity in three sites. The first site of nostalgic, transnational consumption is through musical performances and the public display of Caribbean genres. The second site discusses the role of the Guyanese Students' Association in defining and filtering nostalgic behaviors, while shaping Diasporic identities. And lastly, the third site discusses the gendered consumption and performance associated with Indian apparel and the female participants' desire to symbolically represent their authentic Indianness through clothing. My data also shows how the second generation cultivates their definition of a Guyanese Diasporic Identity by engaging in both nostalgic and mainstream performances within these spaces.

Musical Tastes: Inter-generational Compromises and Contention

There are several genres of Caribbean music such as Soca, Reggae, Calypso and Chutney. Soca, Reggae and Calypso are normally performed by Afro-Caribbean artists, while Chutney is predominantly performed by East Indians. The participants in this study usually listen and dance to these genres at co-ethnic social events. Several participants discussed a racially charged musical divide that occurs when playing Caribbean music within familial and peer circles. The participants reported playing Afro-Caribbean music in peer circles and East Indian music with family members. This musical taste divide represents how the second-

generation Indo-Guyanese negotiate cultural reproduction and mainstream assimilation through music.

As mentioned earlier, the second-generation enjoy playing Reggae music at school and with their peers because it facilitates the development of an Indo-Guyanese or Indo-Caribbean American youth culture among the second-generation. Reggae music serves as both a form of ethnic cohesion for members of the Indo-Guyanese second-generation and a mechanism for mainstream incorporation when non co-ethnics hear recognizable cross-over Reggae songs[51] that are played on New York radio stations. In July 2009, Sean Kingston's song *Fire Burning* topped out at number five on Billboard's Hot 100 songs and number nine on radio songs.[52] Playing reggae fusion music[53] also enables the Indo-Guyanese to gain ethno-racial recognition among their non co-ethnic peers.

In contrast, Calypso, Soca and Chutney genres are usually played within Indo-Caribbean circles to create co-ethnic relationships and boundaries based on common musical tastes. Chutney music is primarily played during family gatherings and after religious ceremonies associated with Hindu traditions in the Caribbean. Most of the participants claimed that their families continued this tradition upon migration to New York. According to Ramnarine (1996) and Manuel (1998), Chutney music developed in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1970s and 1980s and was adopted by East Indians in Guyana and Suriname afterwards. Originally, Chutney

[51] Cross over Reggae music refers to artists who have extended their song beyond Caribbean consumers to non-Caribbean populations in America (mostly white Americans). These populations have incorporated Reggae into their listening taste— particularly in New York.

[52] http://www.billboard.com/song/sean-kingston/fireburning/14120719#/song/sean-kingston/fire-burning/14120719

[53] Reggae fusion refers to Reggae artists who collaborate with mainstream Pop or Hip-Hop artists to create a hybrid Reggae mixture.

played a significant role in creating gendered roles in dance, festivals and events. In Guyana and Trinidad, a ritual entitled *matticore*[54], takes place prior to the Hindu wedding ceremony. This practice consists of women dancing to chutney music as a form of entertainment for their family members performing this marriage rite. Manuel found that this tradition has been creolized in the Caribbean since the 1980s because of the breakdown of the Indian caste structure and synthesis of religious practices due to intermarriages. He claims that creolization has not only prompted the use of raw in Chutney music but also created a gendered shift in dance performances. Both men and women now engage in this folk dance and the Indo-Guyanese diaspora in New York maintain this tradition as a form of displaying "Indian authenticity" when confronted with their Asian Indian counterparts who do not consume Chutney music. Manuel claims that some Asian Indians view the Indo-Guyanese as "deculturated outcastes" because of their inability to speak Hindi fluently. However, the Guyanese view their development, consumption and performance of Chutney music and dance as a form of folk dance continuity, despite its creolized influence, within the diaspora.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the second-generation create ethno-racial boundaries between themselves and Afro-Caribbeans and Asian Indians in New York. Although their ancestral roots are closely tied to Asian Indians, their Afro-Guyanese, creolized influence is expressed through their identity performance in various Caribbean dance rituals. Boundaries of

[54] Matticore is a Hindu ritual which usually takes place a few days before the wedding ceremony where the bride and groom are segregated with family members at their respective households. During the ritual, the bride and groom's families dig a small hole and place flowers into the hole as a symbol of their union with their fiancé (also referred to in Indo-Guyanese circles as "digging dutty" or digging dirt). This ritual also consists of the rubbing of "Dye" or turmeric on the body of the bride and groom by their relatives while Chutney music plays in the background.

ethnic identity and performance are in constant motion among the second generation and are relative to the spaces and audiences that place expectations on their ethnic performance. For example, the second-generation Indo-Guyanese emphasize their hybrid ethnicity through their engagement in dance and music taste— especially within institutions (such as nightclubs) that shape the reproduction and acculturation of these behaviors. However, inter-generational differences surface among the first and second-generation Indo-Guyanese's choice of Caribbean music and the meanings they attach to these songs. The examples below will demonstrate the complex inter-generational differences that represent the compartmentalization of musical taste between members of the first generation who have experienced firsthand racial antagonism with the Afro-Guyanese and the second-generation who view music generated by predominantly urban, Black artists (such as Reggae or Hip-Hop) as a means of assimilation with non co-ethnic peers.

During the preliminary research for this dissertation, I asked a male student at Sunny College about the location of the Guyanese Students' Association. He looked up from his smart phone, smirked and said "Go to the basement level [of the Student Union] and follow the music." I exited the elevator and was inundated by the sound of Caribbean music drumbeats and a remixed version of Sean Paul's *We Be Burning*.[55] The floor beneath my feet vibrated from the additional bass emitting from the speakers or subwoofers. My ears and the vibrating floor navigated me towards the GSA clubroom. The students were gathered around a small table with about five chairs eating lunch and chatting, while the music played in the background. I introduced myself and described my interest in their group. The GSA officers gave me a tour of

[55]Sean Paul- a reggae artist based in the United States. *We Be Burning (2005).*

the club room which they had decorated with a few Guyanese flags and pictures of the members. I also noticed an elaborate stereo system. At this point, it was about eight years since I moved out of the ethnic enclave, my only source of seeing large concentrations of Guyanese people other than the family gatherings, which quickly tapered off in my adult life. I felt a bit overwhelmed by the amount of "Caribbeanness" the students' displayed through music. I wondered how the students would perceive me. Some of the students started dancing to the music with a sandwich in one hand, while others shouted out the chorus when it played. Although I had previously heard this song on the radio, I never actively listened to Caribbean music. I feared they would soon realize my lack of familiarity with this genre, which would expose my "outsider" status.

As mentioned in Chapter One, several members of the GSA state that they want to be recognized as Guyanese and not Asian Indian. They proudly display Caribbean music around their non co-ethnic peers because they want to be recognized for their ancestral roots in the Caribbean. Like their Asian Indian counterparts who have minimized their regional differences to align themselves within a "pan-Indian" Diasporic identity around music, such as "remixed-bhangra[56]," the Indo-Guyanese coalesce around beats originating from various Caribbean nations. Playing hip-hop and rap music are also central to the racial projection and mainstream incorporation members of the GSA create in their college spaces. As in studies that discuss the Asian Indians' use of hip-hop and rap music as a means of grappling with their minority status in

[56] See Maira (2002, 2004) and Diethrich (2000) for further information on the evolution of remixed bhangra in Asian Indian youth culture.

the U.S., the Indo-Guyanese also align themselves with black, urban genres to crystallize their racial identities.

The Indo-Guyanese consume rap and hip-hop as part of a larger racial agenda which produces allied relationships with other ethnic minorities. The second-generation uses these genres as a mechanism of racial cohesion with other minorities. As mentioned earlier, although the second-generation prefer to coalesce with fellow co-ethnics, they also favor friendships with other ethnic minorities because they feel "judged" or "misunderstood" by their white peers. Forging friendships with ethnic minorities enables the Indo-Guyanese to seek refuge with others who feel displaced or marginalized by their white peers. In this light, music functions to unite the second-generation around their hybrid identities, while enabling them to gain racial

recognition around non co-ethnics.

Figure 6
GSA students playing Reggae and Calypso music at the Guyanese Food Day at Sunny College

Outside of peer settings and the college scene, family gathering play a significant role in shaping the second-generations' musical consumption. I experienced the importance of Chutney music at family gatherings during two separate occasions. The first was a ritual called a Hawan or elongated prayer ritual to celebrate the birthdays of Greg's father, grandmother and cousin. The second was a more informal backyard family gathering which took place after Chandani's engagement ritual at their local Mandir. Both of these celebrations used a combination of religious and nostalgic cultural performance in separate domains. The Hindu religious ritual

took place first, either at the family's residence or in the Mandir, followed by the after party at the family's home with Chutney and Indian music. Although I have discussed the religious significance of nostalgia in the previous chapter, the cultural components of Caribbeanness and Indianness are also intertwined in multicultural performances.

The backyard and house parties both had a DJ in the corner of the seating arrangement, which consisted of patio chairs arranged in a large circular design with space for a dance floor. Unlike Reggae, Soca and Calypso songs which may contain sexually associated lyrics, Chutney music usually tells the story of political or economic struggle and social conditions through English and raw terms. Although the Afro-Caribbean music may also represent political and social conditions, these struggles are not applicable to the Indo-Guyanese and may be the reason they are not usually played during family gatherings.

Chandani entered into the middle of the dance circle at her engagement after party. She was surrounded by her parents, sibling, aunts, uncles and friends as they watched her dance to *Lota La* by Sunny Man. Her uncles were then called to the dance floor to dance with her in a congratulatory form for finding a marriage partner. Chandani called out each of her uncles by name and they approached the dance floor and began dancing with her in a hybrid form of Afro-Caribbean and East Indian dance moves.

> Nazreen: Why did you choose *Lota La* as the song for the dance with your uncles and what is the meaning of dancing this way [in a circular pattern surrounding Chandani and then dancing in a circle with her]?
>
> Chandani: Everyone knows that song! It's played at all weddings and parties. It's such an old song but it's still so popular— like a classic. I don't really know why, I guess I just watched what other family members did at their weddings and I copied it. Dancing

> with all of my uncles was fun! This is their way of celebrating my engagement. My aunts cooked the food and my uncles danced with me.

Figure 7
Chandani dancing with her uncles to Lota La

Chandani also reported that the night before her engagement party, her aunts and a few uncles gathered in the backyard and made seven vegetarian curry dishes for the Hindu celebration at the Mandir. They played a mixture of Chutney and Hindi film songs while they made puri,[57] rice, dhal[58] and curry dishes. Although most of the females produced these dishes, the men assisted in stirring and frying the puri. The first generation participates in cultural nostalgic rituals alongside the use of Chutney and Hindi film music. There is a sense of authenticity and the reproduction of ancestral traditions that occur through the use of Chutney and Hindi film music at family gatherings. Several Hindu and Christian/Hindu participants

[57] Puri is a fried circular dough.
[58] Dhal is a liquefied form of yellow lentils.

mentioned the use of these genres at house parties and familial celebrations. However, Reggae, Soca and Calypso were usually not played during family circle events because members of the first generation usually objected to playing these genres because they are associated with Afro-Caribbean artists.

In contrast to the Hindu and Christian participants, the Muslim informants claimed that Caribbean music was not associated with an "after party" which followed a religious event. By and large, the Muslim participants listened to Caribbean music with their Hindu and Christian co-ethnics at events outside of their households or on their personal music players. The Muslim participants claimed that their parents did not want them to become too "Americanized" or too "Caribbeanized." Interacting with non-Muslim co-ethnics provided a safe haven for their parents to protect them from assimilation anxieties. However, Hindu and Christian co-ethnics provided another layer of angst for the first-generation Indo-Guyanese Muslims. "My parents let me go to parties at my friends' houses but they [his parents] don't come with me. Even when we [Umran and his friends] celebrate Christmas my parents usually stay at home or hang out with other Muslim relatives. They would rather us hang out with other Guyanese people at their house because they think we're in a family environment with other Guyanese people and are less likely to get into trouble. They don't want me to get too wrapped up 'into the Caribbean music and party scene with my friends and their families because Muslim people aren't supposed to party too much," stated Umran.

Umran's and Chandani's experiences highlight the significant role that parents and extended families have on musical taste and choices. On the one hand, Chandani's Hindu family celebrates the use of Chutney music because of its historical usage at Hindu gatherings. In

contrast, Umran's family rejects the use of Caribbean music in their household and cautions him against assimilating into Hindu and Christian co-ethnic circles through the Caribbean party scene. Transnational ethnic music performances take on different meanings for the Indo-Guyanese. While the Hindu and Christian participants claimed that their parents encouraged the use of Chutney and Hindi film music within the household, their Muslim counterparts' families were concerned that participating in non-Muslim activities would force them to shed their Muslim identities—which many of them do in the presence of non-Muslim co-ethnics. Although the Muslim participants' parents expressed ambivalence about their interactions in the Caribbean party scene, all of the participants reported that their parents were infuriated when they began listening to hip-hop and other genres by Black artists.

The first generation Indo-Guyanese create a form of racial segregation through the music played within the household or at family gatherings. All of the participants claimed that, at some point in their adolescent and adult years, they were not allowed to listen to "Black music" (such as rap, hip hop and reggae) in the presence of their parents and grandparents because of their historical struggle against the Afro-Guyanese in their home country. The second-generation recognizes their parents' uneasiness with music produced by Black artists and usually minimize contention with their parents by privately playing reggae or hip-hop in their MP3 players. Several participants claimed that it was easier to satisfy their musical tastes through "invisible" or surreptitious methods than to convince their parents to change their perceptions of Black artists and lyrics. Parents may occasionally allow their children to play a few reggae or hip-hop songs at a family function (especially the "cut" or radio edited version) without curse words or intense sexual lyrics.

Some of the participant engaged in inter-generational conflicts with their parents as they struggled to assimilate into peer circles who listened to urban or Black artists. Fiona claimed that she had to convince her parents to allow her to play reggae and hip-hop at her twenty-first birthday party.

> Fiona: My parents did not want me to embarrass the family by playing Black music. They aren't racist to Black people in person but they don't want us [Fiona and her siblings] to listen to the lyrics in Black music. They think that rap or hip-hop only focus on sex, drugs and alcohol and they don't want me to get involved in those things.
>
> Nazreen: There are certain hip-hop artists, such as Lauren Hill, who write about social conditions and the strife that people of color endure in the world. What about music written about surviving these conditions? Are these songs acceptable to your parents? Do you listen to this music?
>
> Fiona: My parents don't really listen to the songs. They can hear that the music is being sung by a black person and they don't want me to play it. I listen to reggae, rap and hip-hop because most of my friends also listen to this music. The words are catchy and they have really good beats.
>
> Nazreen: Do you listen to the music for the meaning of the songs or because they're catchy?
>
> Fiona: There are so many songs out there I don't have time to really listen to the words carefully. Music helps me to forget about my problems [at school or in the household] so I just let go and sing the words or dance to the beat with my friends.

Peer relationships produce intergenerational contention between the participants and their parents because of the variation in assimilation patterns. The first generation appears to promote religion and Chutney and Hindi film music as a form of ethnic survival and reproduction in New York. However, the second-generation views this form of nostalgia as only one component of their Guyanese ethnicity and incorporates other forms of Caribbean genres, hip-hop and rap into their identities as a method of assimilation into mainstream American society. The second-generation's Diasporic Guyanese Identities are marked not only by their parents' historical racial

ambivalence toward the Afro-Guyanese but also their desires to embrace black, urban youth culture to reflect their position as an ethnic minority group in New York. Similar to Asian Indians' use of hip-hop as a device for staking their racial ground in America,[59] the Indo-Guyanese participants have aligned themselves with urban, black youth culture to grapple with racism and express their ethnicity through urban music. Peer groups and campus organizations are usually the central location for ethnic expression outside of the household. The next section will elucidate how peer relationships and the Guyanese Students' Association accelerates the process of creating and defining hybrid identities in New York.

The Role of Peer Groups and The Guyanese Students' Association in Shaping Hybrid Identities

Scholars on youth culture and second-generation immigrant group integration have noted the importance of student campus organizations and peer groups in developing hybrid identities and reproducing transnational[60] performances in South Asian and Latino communities.[61] Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (Waters and Ueda 2007) also discuss the importance of relational engagement on immigrant identities. They claim that "companionship… serves to maintain and enhance self-esteem and provides acceptance, approval, and a sense of belonging" for immigrants and their children in America. Immigrant campus organizations assist in the creation of a Diasporic consciousness and promote a hybrid form of assimilation through religion,

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[59] For more information see Maira (2002), Nair and Bahlaji (2008)

[60] Transnational refers to the flow of goods, cultural practices or information from between immigrant group's sending country to their new homeland.

[61] Delgado-Romero and Hernzndez 2002, Delgado-Romero et al. 2004, Kurien 2005, Maira 2002

language and gendered expectations. Like Asian Indian and Latino second-generation Americans, peer relationships and campus organizations also shape the participants' understanding of a Guyanese identity. Several of the participants joined the Guyanese Student Association (GSA) at their colleges because this organization assisted with developing friendships in a larger school setting. As mentioned briefly in Chapter One, some of the students were friends with GSA members prior to entering college, while others were not exposed to Indo-Guyanese students in their elementary and high schools and used their ethnicity as a mechanism for navigating their social life in college.

The GSA can also be viewed as the epicenter of Guyanese social life on campus for most of the students in the younger cohort. Like other campus organizations, the GSA has an elected executive board which includes a president, vice president, secretary and treasurer. Sunny College has a higher population of Indo-Guyanese than Winter University because it is a public, affordable institution and Winter University is a private, religiously affiliated institution with limited resources for subsidized tuition. Sunny College has a more established GSA with a club room, substantial funding resources (accrued through fundraising events held at Sunny College) and a stronger connection with the ethnic community than Winter University. Most of the participants who attend Sunny College are residents of the Indo-Guyanese ethnic enclaves in Queens. In contrast, Winter University has a 2:3 ratio of students who live within the enclave and those who commute to the University or live on campus from other boroughs in NYC (such as the Bronx and Brooklyn). There are about thirty regular members who attend Winter University's GSA meetings and about fifty members who attend Sunny College's GSA meetings. Sunny College's GSA hosts about seven more on campus events per year than Winter

College's GSA because of their funding resources and ethnic community connections. Nevertheless, the GSA serves as a form of nostalgic consumption and performance for both groups and a method of displaying their definition of "Guyanese" through campus events to both co-ethnics and non co-ethnics.

Guyanese ethnic associations also provide a space where the second-generation can negotiate and display their ethnicity. In the Fall of 2009, the GSA at Sunny College hosted a film screening of *Guiana 1838* directed by Rohit Jagessar. Jagessar's film informs audiences about the Indentureship of Indians to Guyana and the conditions East Indians faced upon arrival in the new land. A few of the GSA students volunteered to perform skits at various points during the movie to depict how British colonialists lured Indians onto the ships bound for Guyana and the brutal conditions East Indians endured on the plantations. When I arrived at the screening, I noticed that the performers were dressed in white sheets to represent Indian clothing (such as a sari or lungi[62]). Although the dvd player experienced a technical malfunction and the students were unable to play the film, the president of the GSA gave a brief history of the Indenture and the students performed their skits in front of co-ethnics and non co-ethnics. This event provided a historical form of transnational performance.

[62] Lungi is a male garment worn similar to a wrapped skirt.

Figure 8
GSA members dressed in white sheets during their skits to represent
Indian Indentured Laborers in Guyana

The students' desire to reconnect with their parents', grandparents' and great grandparents' immigration and assimilation struggles provoked their interest in exploring their past and presenting it to fellow students at Sunny College.

> Nazreen: Sorry you were unable to play the film but the skits were very informative. You've hosted several events and parties in the past that were geared towards holidays or fundraising for the GSA; why did you choose the Indentureship as the topic or theme for this event?
>
> Mike: (GSA President) Naz, you'd be surprised that so many people don't know about Guyana or the history of our people. Even Guyanese kids don't know why or how our families made it to Guyana from India.

> Nazreen: Wow, this was a regular discussion in my house growing up— especially when my grandmother visited. Did you think of this event on your own or were other members involved?
>
> Mike: I pitched the idea and a few other members thought we should show the film and perform skits to make it seem more "real" to the audience. We want to remind other Guyanese students who are not part of the GSA that we should never forget where we came from; and those who are not Guyanese how we got here.

I was extremely struck and empowered by the last portion of Mike's conversation. The members of the GSA have a strong sense of their ancestors' historical struggles and have united on this project with an agenda to spread their Diasporic Guyanese consciousness to their peers. Although many of the students in the GSA have never visited Guyana and are not in close contact with their Guyanese relatives, they have a strong desire to reconnect and understand, through imagined transnational depictions of Guyana, how migration has affected their cultural and religious values. The skits discussed the loss of language through Creolization[63], the amalgamation of religious celebrations, and the racial strife between Guyanese of Indian descent and those of African descent that occurred as a result of colonialism and post-colonialism. Although the students crave assimilation and racial integration in the American mainstream, their construction of a Guyanese ethnicity is densely saturated with the historical memories of their parents and ancestors. The GSA provides a space for the Indo-Guyanese students to discuss and explore their ancestral roots, while negotiating a space for racial recognition in the college setting— and more broadly in New York.

The GSA at Winter University shared a similar experience on a smaller scale. During a GSA bi-monthly meeting in the Spring of 2010, the executive board dedicated the first half of

[63] Please refer to the Introduction and Chapter One for a further discussion of language.

their meeting towards disseminating information about Phagwa and the significance of this holiday as a Hindu, Guyanese tradition. The meetings are usually located in classroom with a lecture podium and sound and video equipment for their use. During this meeting, the executive board displayed a website with pictures and information about the origin of Phagwa on a large projection screen in front of the classroom. Although the audience consisted mainly of co-ethnics, the GSA provided information to the students who appeared to have never understood the history of Phagwa and its central role in the Indo-Guyanese community in Queens. As mentioned earlier, Phagwa is not only a religious Hindu holiday but also a publicized marker of Diasporic and nostalgic performances in America. Several students have heard of the Phagwa parade but have not attended the festival. "I never thought about going to the [Phagwa] parade. I live in Brooklyn and don't have any friends that have been interested in going to Queens for the parade. Now that I'm at Winter University it seems closer to get to [the parade] and now I have friends who go to the parade. I'm Christian but if other members of the GSA are going I might as well go too," stated Sandy.

The GSA and other peer group relationships promote transnational ethnic performances among the second generation. Group activities with co-ethnics provide a site for ethnic exploration and the ability to gain racial recognition in America. As mentioned earlier, the GSA plays reggae music around non co-ethnics at their college and university to celebrate the acceptance of reggae music into mainstream radio stations in NY. The second-generation use this form of transnational consumption, the financial investment in cultural products (such as ethnic dresses and music) between an immigrant group's sending country and their new homeland (Halter 2000),to demonstrate the Caribbean portion of their ethnicity to non co-

ethnics. Transnational consumption can also refer to ethnic goods, such as culinary dishes, that are recreated locally and purchased by first and send-generation immigrants in America. However, the GSA members are cautious about displaying their Indianness to non co-ethnics because displaying Indianness is usually seen as a form of competition with Asian Indians in New York for ethno-religious authenticity. As mentioned earlier, the Indo-Guyanese proudly display transnational performances through dance and religious Hindu rituals. Despite their Indian roots, the second-generation usually claim or reclaim these rituals as "Guyanese." However, displaying their Indianness in non co-ethnic circles usually requires careful negotiation because the second-generation do not want to be classified as Asian Indian. The Indo-Guyanese desire racial recognition that does not essentialize their hybrid identity by solely placing them in one ethnic group or another (Caribbean or Indian). Although the second-generation may appear to emphasize one identity over another in different spaces or situations, such as displaying their Indianness during a puja ritual, their hybrid identities are constant and not sporadic. Therefore, the GSA enables the second-generation to manage their ethnicity in public spaces by providing arenas for hybrid ethnic displays.

The GSA is often a source for the second-generation to negotiate their hybrid identities. It provides a middle ground for the Indo-Guyanese to navigate their mainstream desires and their allegiances to their families and ethno-religious practices. GSA members usually provide support for their peers to explore their hybrid identities but also produces spaces of ethnic surveillance (which will be discussed further in the next chapter). For example, a common space for the negotiation of transnational nostalgic performances and mainstream desires is the nightclub. Several members of the GSA often celebrate their birthdays and free time during the

semester by attending nightclubs on Friday and Saturday nights. GSA members at both Sunny College and Winter University usually promote GSA events at local Caribbean nightclubs in Queens. It should be noted that the nightclubs which the GSA students attend are owned and operated by Indo-Caribbeans. During a phone interview with a club promoter, Derek, I learned that the longest running nightclub opened its doors in the late 1980s in Jamaica, Queens. The interior design has been renovated and redesigned several times to meet the needs of their clients and competition with newer clubs.

> Derek: As a promoter, I try to reach out to young people who want to party and have a good time. Guyanese people are no exception; they like to have fun and relax at the club with their friends.
>
> Nazreen: What about the Manhattan clubs that attract racial and ethnically diverse crowds or non-Caribbean themed clubs? Why does the second-generation seem drawn to the Queens nightclubs?
>
> Derek: Most of the younger Guyanese folks like coming to Caribbean clubs because they offer a reduced age limit and they can party with their friends at age 18. Most of the other clubs, especially in Manhattan, have a 21 or 25 age minimum.

After speaking with Derek, I decided to investigate the participants' role in the Indo-Caribbean club culture. Again, the participants primarily use Facebook for advertising parties at the Indo-Caribbean owned nightclubs in Queens. Chutney Bamboo[64] is one of the most popular nightclubs attended by the GSA participants. This nightclub is easily accessible for most informants because it is conveniently located off of a major expressway in Queens and near to public transportation. Additionally, several participants reported parking their cars near their friends' houses who live nearby the club and either walking or carpooling to the club.

[64] Name changed for privacy protection of the nightclub attendees and owners.

> Nazreen: Do you frequently attend Caribbean nightclubs?
>
> Jeremy: Yea, it has the best music [Caribbean genres] and most of my friends hang out there. Where else would we go? Most of our parents [him and his friends] give us curfews that we can't meet if we go out far away from home. This gives us the chance to go out and make our parents happy also.

Several participants echoed Jeremy's sentiments about meeting their parents' expectations while hanging out with their friends at the local Caribbean nightclubs. Most of the informants reported that their parents felt at ease because they were closer to home and did not have to travel a long distance at late hours with intoxicated club goers. The nightclub provides a space for the second-generation to synthesize their engagement in what they perceive as mainstream party lifestyles (as seen on television shows such as MTV's *Jersey Shore),* while appeasing their parents and respecting the imposed curfew. The nightclub also provides a familiar co-ethnic party area through their mix of Soca, Reggae, Hip-Hop and Chutney music. Although the Caribbean clubs frequented by the participants also attract non co-ethnics or Afro-Caribbeans, the majority of club attendees are of Indian Caribbean ancestry.

Several informants reported attending Caribbean nightclubs and lounges because the GSA members promoted events at the clubs. Peer engagement in GSA activities significantly shapes the participants' choice to attend Caribbean nightclubs. The GSA has extended influence over shaping hybrid identities among the second-generation because members usually bring friends who are non-members to events (both on and off campus). Although several participants from the younger cohort in this study are regular members of the GSA, there are also a significant number who are not regular member or not affiliated with the organization. However, sponsoring and promoting events that are inclusive of non-members enables the GSA to provide

a form of hybrid cultural outreach to a wider segment of the Indo-Guyanese second-generation.

The nightclub scene is one example of the second-

Figure 9
Scene from the dance floor of Chutney Bamboo

Charlene: Most of my friends want to go to Chutney Bamboo or Doubles [another Indo-Caribbean owned club] on the weekends. I'm not part of the GSA but most of my friends are and I usually go out with them when they party.

Nazreen: Even though you don't attend GSA events on campus, you are friends with the club members and engage in activities that are sponsored by club members off-campus. Why do you choose to attend off campus activities as opposed to on-campus events sponsored by the GSA?

Charlene: I have a busy school and work schedule. It's easier for me to go out on the weekends with my friends and they usually choose to go clubbing and I go with them.

generation's ability to demonstrate their transnational nostalgic and Diasporic identities. The next section will examine how ethno-religious social events increases the second-generation's transnational consumption and nostalgic performance through ethnic apparel. [Naz: you have introduced the idea of transnational consumption here without telling us where this concept comes from and what it means!]

Designing Identities Through Ethnic Fashion

Ethnic fashion is coded with a multiplicity of identity expressions such as cultural heritage, political symbolism, religious affiliation and gendered expectations and norms. Ethnic apparel and accessories are not fixed, monolithic expressions of ethnicity but fluid, multifaceted demonstrations which do not assume complete uniformity of all members of a specific ethnic community. For example, the Hijab is a veil used by Muslim women to cover their hair (and sometimes face). Although the function of the Hijab which serves to cover Muslim women's hair seems uniform and standard, there are significant variations in the style of the Hijab (for example plain or filled with rhinestone designs). Women are expected to be "the upholders and transmitters of ethnic culture" in several immigrant groups in America (Dasgupta 1997). Post-1965 immigrant women from Guyana exhibit the connection between ethnic fashion and expectations of women's roles by using ethnic fashion as a cultural signifier. The women within the Guyanese American community use Indian ethnic fashions as cultural signifiers and expressions of their ethnic identity in America. Although Guyanese men occasionally don Indian attire during religious events, they would not be committing a cultural fashion faux pas if they also wore dress shirts and pants. This variation in ethnic performance may be directly

related to the Indo-Guyanese Colonial experience. As mentioned in the preface, East Indians desired socio-cultural assimilation into Guyanese society as a means of achieving similar socio-political status as their Afro-Guyanese counterparts. Although both East Indian men and women in Guyana replaced the daily wear of ethnic Indian attire with Colonial and European influenced clothing (i.e. dress shirts and pants), the Indo-Guyanese women retained their use of ethnic dresses during religious rituals because of their role of imparting cultural traditions onto future generations.

Like their mothers, who viewed ethnic fashion as a form of cultural retention and ethnic cohesion of East Indians during Colonialism in Guyana, the second-generation Indo-Guyanese American women wear Indian fashion in New York as a symbol of ethnic authenticity. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Indo-Guyanese usually compete with their Asian Indian counterparts for ethno-religious authenticity— especially through Indian fashion. Although some second generation Guyanese Americans attempt to stray from their parent's heritage, occasions such as weddings and religious or ethnic functions provide spaces for the second generation to perform their Indianness and identify with their Indian religious heritage in New York. While as noted the Indo-Guyanese compete for ethno-religious authenticity with Asian Indians in New York, their understanding of Indianness is fluid and has a significant Caribbean influence.

The GSA at Sunny College hosts an annual formal night each year to display their hybrid ethnicity to co-ethnics and non co-ethnics alike. Formal night is an on campus event that is open to the public for a nominal entrance fee of ten dollars at the door or seven dollars in advance. This occasion celebrates the fusion of the hybrid identities of the second-generation Indo-

Guyanese. Most of the event performers are GSA members and their peers. Formal night is equivalent to a cultural show that displays the multifaceted dimensions of the Indo-Guyanese ethnicity through music, dance and clothing. The male club members are dressed in sherwanis[65] dress shirts, slacks or suits, while the female members wear Indian apparel, evening gown or sheath/ cocktail dresses. The students usually change their attire to represent the various segments in the program. For example, while the DJ plays Hindi music the male and female partners perform a short dance skit with Indian dance moves. The female performer is either wearing a sari or lengha in this scene, while the male dancer is either dressed in a suit or sherwani. The male participants have more options regarding their attire at cultural events. Unlike women who are expected to wear Indian attire when dancing to Indian music, the males can wear a suit or sherwani and the audience will still view their dance as "ethnic." In contrast, for Indo-Guyanese women the appropriate Indian attire during ethno-religious performances is mandatory. As the DJ transitions to Reggae or Hip-Hop music, the female dancers change their attire into sheath dresses or evening gowns to symbolize their desire for mainstream American incorporation. The participants stated that wearing evening dresses and suits is a representation of "prom night," which the participants associate with American assimilation. Dressing in formal attire based on their prom experience in America enables the second- generation Indo-Guyanese to demonstrate their willingness and ability to integrate into the mainstream. Modeling formal attire provides also shows the fluidity of second-generation Indo-Guyanese American identities. Does the second generation feel more "American" while wearing evening gowns and suits? Do they feel more Indo-Caribbean while modeling Indian fashions? Neither:

[65] Indian male attire consisting of a long shirt and pants.

they identify as Guyanese Americans and use adaptations of cultural elements such as fashion and music to re-construct their ethnicity in New York. The second-generations' ethnic displays are often based on expectations from family members, peers and their mainstream desires. The following ethnographic account shows how spaces such as Formal Night enable the Indo-Guyanese to negotiate expectations through cultural performances.

Figure 10
GSA members modeling Indian attire at Fusion Formal Night

Nazreen: I'm interested in the way the performers chose to sync music to their apparel choices. Why did you choose to wear Indian outfits while playing Hindi songs and regular dresses with reggae and hip-hop music?

Sarah: I think it would look weird if we walked out in regular dresses during the Indian segment. When I think of Hindi songs I usually think of the Bollywood actresses who run through the flower fields dancing in their saris. I wouldn't wear a sari to dance to reggae or hip-hip because they don't have anything to do with being Indian.

Nazreen: What about the remixed music? There are several forms of Indian music mixed with hip-hop? Can you dance to this type of music in an Indian dress?

Sarah: Maybe but the beats don't really change the song to me. If you put a hip-hop beat in the background of a Hindi song the song is still in Hindi. I like dancing to reggae or hip-hop in American dresses because I'm used to wearing this [outfit] at the club while dancing.

Figure 11
Indo-Caribbean dance performance to Chutney Music at Formal Night

The female participants' decision to wear both Indian apparel and cocktail dresses demonstrates their ability to negotiate their transnational gendered expectations through apparel. Second-generation Indo-Guyanese women have the gender-specific task of meeting what the Indo-Guyanese community considers "traditional" values while also fulfilling their assimilation desires. While the female participants enjoyed wearing Indian apparel during Formal night, they also discussed the significance of Indian dresses in religious functions.

Figure 12
GSA members modeling evening gowns at Formal Night

Sangeeta explained that wearing Indian apparel plays a significant role in Indo-Guyanese women's ethnic presentation in the community.

> Sangeeta: I always wear Indian clothes when I go to Church [the Mandir] with my family.
>
> Nazreen: What do you think would happen if you decided to wear jeans or dress pants and a shirt to the Mandir?
>
> Sangeeta: Are you kidding? People would stare at me like I don't belong there and I need to go home and change.

Most of the participants live in tightly knit families and are cautious about their behavior around other community members. As noted in the data presented, transnational nostalgic performances and consumption are facilitated through musical taste, co-ethnic group activities and though gendered expectations. Although most of the participants desire mainstream racial recognition and integration, they also meet their parents' ethno-religious expectations. The participants acknowledge their hybrid ethnic role, in the Indo-Guyanese community and among non co-ethnics, and negotiate their behaviors according to their gendered position in these spaces. Women are particularly bound to preserve what the Indo-Guyanese consider "authentic cultural behaviors." In America, second-generation Indo-Guyanese women provide an interesting cultural link between the Indo-Guyanese community and the American mainstream. These behaviors are usually related to religious customs, attire and marriage/dating patterns. The next chapter discusses how gendered expectations among the Indo-Guyanese create assimilation disparities.

Chapter Four: Gendered Struggles: Power, Autonomy and Liberation

Intersections of Gender, Immigrant Incorporation and Identity Construction

Gender roles and expectations significantly shape patterns of assimilation for immigrants in the United States. Immigrant families, peers and popular culture transmit social pressures that facilitate the development of gendered, hybrid identities among second-generation Americans. Hybrid identities or hybridity among second-generation Americans refers to the development of an ethnic identity in the United States resulting from the fusion of multiple identities and expectations from the American mainstream and immigrant community. Gendered behavioral expectations also create disparate assimilation trajectories for men and women. Several immigration scholars (Cerrutti and Gaudio 2010, Das Gupta 1997, Donato 2010, Maira 2002, Pyke and Johnson 2003, Purkayastha 2005, Warikoo 2005) have noted the gendered variations in incorporation trends through case study analyses of newer immigrant groups from Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean. Their findings suggest that immigrants and their children develop different modes of integration based on their gendered experiences.

The process of American assimilation has generated anxiety among first-generation immigrants because they fear that their children and subsequent generations will experience a decline in practicing ethnic rituals as they integrate into the American mainstream. To pacify their assimilation anxieties, first-generation immigrants have placed women in the central position of transmitting cultural traditions to future generations in the United States. In addition to their role as mothers and caregivers, women in immigrant communities are seen as embodiment of cultural knowledge and performance because, unlike immigrant men, they are

responsible for initiating ethno-religious rituals within the household. Their American born daughters are expected to reproduce their mother's ethnic performances to ensure the continuity of cultural traditions in America. While second generation American women are engaged in ethnic reproduction (e.g. cooking ethnic food), their male counterparts are more likely engaged in mainstream American activities (e.g. playing football or baseball). Gendered ethnic socialization in the United States produces different assimilation trajectories for second-generation Americans.

This chapter discusses how gendered forms of cultural reproduction powerfully shape the Indo-Guyanese second-generation Americans' behaviors and ability to achieve their mainstream desires. Second-generation Indo-Guyanese Americans' assimilation patterns are significantly influenced by their involvement in ethno-religious rituals and inter-generational gendered expectations. Although both the men and women in this study are cautioned against becoming too "American" by their first-generation parents, the Indo-Guyanese American women reported receiving more intense pressure from co-ethnics to embrace their parents' ethno-religious traditions.

Scholars such as Pedraza (1991) and Purkayastha (2005) argue that women are centrally located in mediating the ethno-cultural pressures placed on their behaviors as they satisfy familial and mainstream expectations. Women are usually expected to negotiate their identities based on the degree of cultural preservation and mainstream incorporation deemed "acceptable" by their families and peers. In immigrant communities it is women who are responsible for performing and imparting ethno-religious traditions. Their behaviors are under constant

surveillance among co-ethnics and are constrained within the limits of the gendered expectations created through these interactions.

In contrast, second-generation Indo-Guyanese American men are usually given a wider range to satisfy their mainstream desires and assimilation goals because they are not bound to the ethno-religious expectations associated with women. As upholders of ethnic traditions, women experience a higher rate of religious involvement than their male counterparts and are more connected to the immigrant community because of their religious attendance (Ajrouch 2004). As mentioned in Chapter Two, religious participation in immigrant communities also serves as a form of protection against racism in America. However, second-generation immigrant women usually benefit more than men from using religion as a barrier against racism because of their intense involvement in rituals.

Although the Indo-Guyanese American women use religious involvement to cope with racism, they are also confronted with the first-generations' resistance to assimilation into the American mainstream. There are inter-generational differences in the expectations placed on American born women in immigrant communities. As in Maira's (2002) findings on Asian Indian American women, Indo-Guyanese American women are required to uphold "chaste identities" while simultaneously satisfying mainstream and Indian males' desires of the "modern woman." Maira also claims that apparel is an overt marker of how second-generation males differentiate traditional from cool, while maintaining control over women's sexuality. For example, men usually wear baggy jeans and a loose shirt in their daily interactions. In contrast, women are expected to dress "decent" or in Indian clothing in the presence of family members, while in more "revealing" clothes (such as a halter top or mini shirt) at a bar or nightclub.

However, Indian American women are cautious about their appearance as a modern woman because their families and male peers usually draw a thin line between modern and "slutty." Second- generation women engage in a constant struggle to perform their gendered expectations which vary across space and time— particularly concerning sexuality. Although their male counterparts may experience pressure from their families about preserving Indian cultural rituals or are cautioned against becoming "too American," women experience similar expectations with greater intensity.

The connection with transnational social networks also complicates the gender-specific expectations placed on members of the second-generation. Dreby (2008) discusses the relationship between gender and transnational immigrant networks. She posits that transnational gossip shapes gendered roles for immigrant families in both the host and sending counties. Derby also suggests that, "through gossip, family members may revise social norms according to the transnational experience" (p. 37). For example, women who migrate with their husbands usually have to work outside the home for economic subsistence and tasks that were considered solely "women's work" pre-migration (i.e. childcare) are redistributed to both genders in America. Although immigrant and second-generation women gain increased autonomy within their households though employment, most do not expose their increased autonomy among their extended families in fear of contradicting ethno-religious expectations. Family members in the sending country may either adapt or challenge the values of their U.S. migrant relatives as they are informed of the changing norms through return migration, letters, e-mails and social networking sites (Levitt 2001). However, the patriarchal beliefs that are embedded in the ethno-

religious values in immigrant communities and transnational gossip usually present several challenges to women's decision-making power within the household.

Despite the emphasis on reinforcing and maintaining ethno-religious traditions by some members within immigrant communities in America, Pessar and Mahler's research (2003) explains that the social location and positions of power women hold in relation to hierarchies (such as the family or the state) are fluid and vary across time, space, geographic location. Their findings suggest that social location not only refers to the geographical location of an individual but the relationship between the individual and hierarchies of power and privilege. For example, second-generation American women vary in their degree of American assimilation because of factors such as religious involvement and interaction with the immigrant community. Pessar and Mahler suggest that second-generation Americans may have more opportunities for mainstream assimilation or prefer to practice cultural retention depending on their individual social circumstance, not simply based on their American birthright. Additionally, race, class, ethnicity and immigration status affect immigrant women's ability to assert their autonomy.

Espiritu (2001) asserts that immigrant women are expected to gain access to education and employment opportunities in America, while retaining their "traditional" roles within the household and immigrant community. Increased employment and educational opportunities for immigrant women and their daughters empower them with financial stability in America. For many immigrant women and their children, monetary compensation increases their ability to achieve their consumption desires (such as purchasing cosmetics) without asking their male

counterparts for financial support.[66] However, Parrenas (2001) notes that women tread cautiously with their newly found autonomy within the immigrant community because they do not want to become marginalized or sever ties with co-ethnics for appearing too "American" by flaunting their financial independence.

The increased decision-making power women have acquired through employment outside of the home in both the host and sending country has also influenced their negotiations of femininity and sexuality. Kempadoo (2004) links Dreby's (2008) discussion of transnational gossip to Maira's (2002) exploration of chaste identities in her work on sexuality in the Caribbean. While much of Kempadoo's research focuses on the hypersexualization of Afro-Caribbean women, she acknowledges the transformation of East Indian and Amerindian women's sexuality during Creolization. Although Kempadoo's work addresses sex work and transnational depictions of sex tourism in the Caribbean, her analysis offers insight into understanding how Indo-Guyanese women developed a different trajectory of expressing their sexuality than their Asian Indian counterparts. The process of Creolization in Guyana created a form of hypersexualized liberation for East Indians. For example, East Indian women surrendered their saris for blouses and skirts because of their desire to assimilate into Guyanese society. This can also be seen as a political symbol of Indo-Guyanese women's struggle to achieve equal socio-economic status with Afro-Guyanese women through apparel integration. Additionally, the Indo-Guyanese's desire to integrate into Guyanese society facilitated the

[66] First generation men in immigrant communities usually provide financial support for their families in the sending countries, while women provide household labor. The inclusion of women's economic support in the United States usually increases their role in household decisions but may also emasculate their male partner because he is no longer the sole provider (and financial decision maker).

eradication of the widespread use of arranged marriages. Unlike many of their Asian Indian counterparts (Das Gupta 1997), most first generation Indo-Guyanese Americans engaged in dating relationships that were followed by love marriages. The Guyanese mainstream favored dating relationships as a means to achieving marriage unions and the East Indians adapted this norm to increase their social status (Jayawardena 1963). However, most Indo-Guyanese encouraged dating relationships along racial lines and used religious traditions to maintain racial purity. As mentioned in Chapter Two, interfaith marriages occurred mostly between Hindus and Christians. Interfaith marriages with Muslims were also frowned upon because of the socio-political divide between Hindus and Muslims in India before The Indenture. Mixed race (Black/Indian) individuals were usually stigmatized because of the historical antagonism between the two groups.

Espiritu (2001) takes Indo-Guyanese women's socio-economic and sexual liberation a step further by explicating how immigrant communities in the United States use gender to develop their ethnicity and claim a form of "superiority" over the dominant group (particularly White Americans). Espiritu claims that Filipinas also endure a hypersexualized femininity because of their role in providing sexual services for American troops stationed in the Philippines. Through the process of migration and ethnic incorporation, Filipinos (and other immigrant communities)[67] develop this notion of "superiority" in the United States as a form of protection from racialization and stereotypes by White Americans. This process is achieved by maintaining control over women through the assertion of patriarchy and masculinity in immigrant communities.

[67] Das Gupta (1997) and Durham (2004), Maira (1998).

Pyke and Johnson (2003) also discuss how the intersections of race and gender create juxtapositions in ethnic performances. Their findings suggest that hegemonic masculinities and patriarchal values in immigrant communities usually constrain women's self-expressive power, while their ethnic performance with non co-ethnics provides a more liberating experience. For example, several of their Asian respondents reported greater ability to voice their opinions in conversations with white Americans than co-ethnics. The female respondents usually performed the "passive" Asian female role when surrounded by family members and other co-ethnics because they did not want to be associated as an American within their ethnic group. Several informants also reported an increase in egalitarian household behaviors among the second-generation (especially in the absence of the first-generation).

Although women in immigrant households feel obligated to fulfill the moral constraints placed on their behaviors and sexuality by co-ethnics, they are also agents of social change within the immigrant community and dominant culture. My research findings contribute to the literature discussing ethno-racialized gender constructions by illustrating how the second-generation Indo-Guyanese construct and navigate their gendered identities. Although I focus mainly on women's gendered position, I cite examples of masculinity, patriarchy and what I call transient patriarchy[68] which includes the role of Indo-Guyanese males in shaping gender constructions. Through my observations and interviews, I will describe how the men and women in this study displayed notions of gender discrepancies and behavioral expectations in three sections. The first section discusses how pre-migration ethno-religious gender roles are

[68] Transient patriarchy describes scenes where females act "passively" in the presence of the first-generation and resume their "opinionated" or what they consider "normal" behavior around non co-ethnics or male members of the second-generation.

transmitted to the second-generation through familial socialization in America. This section also shows how economic stratification increases women's autonomy and revolutionary power within the household. The second section elucidates how dating creates a dichotomous relationship of both increased autonomy and supervision over women's bodies. Additionally, mothers become facilitators for the development of a "transitional ethnicity"[69] that encourages Indo-Guyanese women's autonomy and decision-making power. The final section grapples with how racialization and cultural reproduction shapes the second-generation's desire to marry fellow co-ethnics or other Indo-Caribbeans. This section highlights how ethnic retention and mainstream desires shapes intersections of sex, sexuality and sexual health for Indo-Guyanese women. Sex and sexuality are severely understudied issues in South Asian immigration discourse. Few authors[70] have ventured to illuminate the struggle women of South Asian descent endure to satisfy their sexual desires and expectations. Unlike these previous discussions, my research extends the desire for sexual liberation to understanding Indo-Guyanese women's sexual health choices and the role of mothers in permitting or preventing sexual freedom. Deconstructing Indo-Guyanese women's gendered expectations reveals their role as agents of social change through their negotiation between chaste and hypersexualized identities.

Creating and Shifting the Gendered Divide Through Familial Socialization

Throughout my interviews and observations, the second-generation women in this study discussed their subordinate status to men in the Indo-Guyanese community. Several women

[69] Transitional ethnicity: the process of moving away from pre-migration expectations and incorporating cultural values from the American mainstream.

[70] Das Gupta (1997), Maira (2002), Warikoo (2004).

claimed that although both of their parents contribute to the family's economic subsistence, their fathers usually claim the right to make the final decisions within the household (i.e. especially regarding parenting and financial issues). As mentioned earlier, Indo-Guyanese mothers are expected to socialize the second-generation with their understanding of Guyanese ethno-religious practices. Several participants claimed that their first-generation parents' expectations of education, religion and culture influenced their ethnic negotiations. However, these expectations are rigidly attached to gender roles and ethno-religious expectations. Most of the women reported significant contributions and participation in ethno-religious practices that are not required of their male counterparts. For example, most participants claimed that their mothers usually reprimanded the informants if they displayed apathetic religious behaviors—particularly the female respondents. Women are responsible for providing the entertainment through song and dance rituals in the Hindu faith. They were also responsible for adorning the statues of Hindu Gods with gold jewelry and placing sacrificial food offerings at the feet of the Gods during puja ceremonies. "My mother and I go to the Mandir early on Sunday morning to help set up the puja. The women and young [predominantly female] kids help to prepare the altar and gather the bhajan books before prayer. We [the women] treat the Mandir like our home. We clean, serve the food and provide a welcoming space for everyone," stated Manisha.

Aside from the formal ethno-religious role that women play in providing dance and singing entertainment during the puja ceremony, the Mandir provides a space for the reproduction and negotiation of gender roles. First-generation women are usually responsible for cooking, cleaning the house and imparting ethno-religious values on their children. Women extend their household roles into the Mandir through their service responsibilities. The temple

enables mothers to train their daughters to maintain religious traditions through gendered expectations. “There are so many times that I beg my mother to stay home and skip Church [Mandir]. Sometimes I have to study or work on a school project and don’t have time to go to Church with her. I feel bad about saying this but I also don’t want to go to Church sometimes because it can be boring. Sometimes I pretend to like the singing and helping out because I have to; not because I want to,” stated Ritu.

Most of the female participants echoed Ritu’s sentiments about artificial ethnic performances within the Indo-Guyanese community. Indo-Guyanese women are expected to perform these service roles within their ethno-religious community as a form of “gendered duty.” Several members of the second-generation express ambivalence about being pressured to engage in gendered religious activities that may interfere or prevent them from achieving their academic or mainstream goals (like hanging out with their friends). Despite their occasional discontent with ethno-religious pressures, second-generation Indo-Guyanese women continue to uphold these gendered expectations to maintain co-ethnic bonds within their community.

The second-generation females in this study expressed their frustration with the ethnic gendered pressure they endure while their male counterparts celebrate more freedom to resist ethno-religious expectations in the Indo-Guyanese community. The male informants reported that their mothers were initially infuriated by their reduced attendance at the Mandir on Sundays (usually because of late night clubbing on Saturdays). By and large, the male informants claimed that their mothers eventually accepted their son’s behavior because their fathers also displayed intermittent religious participation in the United States. Several female participants discussed their father’s excessive use of alcohol on Friday and Saturday nights as a coping

mechanism for work or family related issues. This behavior usually results in a reduction of religious activities because the men are unable to attend services due to their intoxicated state. Their father's detachment from weekly religious engagement may also have resulted from pre-migration gendered expectations in Guyana that are reproduced in America.

Sidnell (2000) discusses the role of the rumshop or bar in shaping gendered roles and expectations in Guyana. He claims that men use the rumshop to consume alcohol and engage in storytelling outside of the "ruin of women's work" in their household. Sidnell's findings assert women's role in maintaining order in their households by retrieving their intoxicated husbands from the rumshop (hopefully before they manage to squander their earnings on purchases). Women are also expected to provide meals for their husbands (and occasionally their friends) upon arrival at home after their engagement at the rumshop. This commonplace scenario demonstrates how men use their economic power in Guyana to uphold their decision-making power and autonomy.

Several Guyanese families continue to retain gendered expectations of masculinity through economic power and alcohol consumption in the United States. Most of the male participants in this study are employed in retail, finance, medicine or accounting. The men in this study usually spend their income on personal items such as clothing or partying with their friends. Some males also contribute their income to their family's economic subsistence. However, the second-generation male participants who engage in late night partying mimic the gendered experience of Guyanese men in the rumshop. They also reported limited contention with their parents over meeting their socializing goals. "I can go out whenever I please as long as I get my homework done. Sometimes my dad has something he wants me to do [such as

repairing something in the house] but I can go out after[wards]. My mom might send me a text [message] or call me once in a while to ask me when I'm coming home but she doesn't do that all the time," said David. Mothers reproduce the expectation that males' disengagement with weekly religious rituals and their desire to hang out with their friends represents their economic autonomy in America.

In contrast, most of the female respondents claimed that they struggled to gain access to economic power and autonomy within their households. Unlike their male counterparts who were able to acquire employment as a means of familial or individual subsistence, several women experienced contention with their parents over achieving financial independence.

> Maria: My parents were really upset when I told them I wanted to work— especially my dad. They didn't want me working late hours or on weekends. The stores at the mall work around my school schedule and I can make some money to buy things my parents won't give me money for (i.e. clothing).
>
> Nazreen: Is your mom employed? How does she feel about your desire for employment?
>
> Maria: My mom just started working about three years ago. She never worked when we were little; she started working when my youngest sibling started high school. She is okay with me working part-time but doesn't like late hours [arriving home after 8 p.m.] because she thinks I'm going to get into trouble [become a robbery victim].[71]

As mentioned earlier, the racial discord in Guyana produced a heightened sense of ethnic-protection among the Indo-Guyanese. In 1964, the mass rape of East Indian women by Afro-Guyanese men in Wismar, Guyana (Garner 2008) may have intensified the surveillance and control placed over Indo-Guyanese women's autonomy. The trauma of female rape within the

[71] The participants often referred to their parents saying "We na wan nobody fu trouble you." Meaning: "We don't want anyone to hurt you."

East Indian community in Guyana intensified the protection over women's bodies. Upon migration to the United States, first generation Indo-Guyanese parents use expectations of femininity based on their pre-migration experience to constrain their daughter's behaviors in America. "My dad thinks that I can't defend myself if someone tries to harass me in the street. I'm from New York and I went to public school. There were fights all the time at school. People were bullied left and right— even the girls. I know how to take care of myself but my parents think that I can't take care of myself because I'm a girl. My [younger] brother gets to go out as he pleases. He even has to come with me if I want to go anywhere! That's not fair. I don't want him around if I go to the mall," stated Reshma.

Several female respondents expressed their discontent with the double standard that exists between second-generation Indo-Guyanese American men and women over financial independence and personal autonomy within the household. Most of the female informants reported that their mothers were employed (either part or full time) but they still endure second-shift[72] household responsibilities. The second-generation women in this study are expected to follow their mother's trajectory by contributing to both household and economic forms of subsistence. During a GSA sponsored event, I watched as the student members displayed the continuity of household gendered expectations. On a warm sunny afternoon in early May, the GSA at Sunny College sponsored an event entitled *West Indian Food Festival* with the money raised from previously hosted events. The executive board and club members organized a food event with local Indo-Caribbean food vendors to provide a complimentary West Indian lunch to students and faculty on campus. The board delegated the most important roles according to

[72] Hochschild and Machung (1989)

gender. For example, the male members lifted the food containers and placed them on the tables that the females decorated. Additionally, most of the food servers (about 10-15) were females, while only about three male members distributed food. The males were responsible for organizing the music and dee-jaying.

> Nazreen: There are a lot of women sharing out food. Maybe we should ask the guys to help us?
>
> Maria: Are you kidding me? If we put the guys to work they wouldn't know how much to dish out or if someone asked them a question about the dish they would be like "uh, I don't know."

After I finished serving my station of pepper shrimp, I walked over to one of the male members who was serving pholourie and barra (fried, savory daal puff similar in appearance to Italian zeppoles).

> Nazreen: What are you serving?
>
> John: You know this thing [pointing to the pholourie]. Marissa what is
>
> this thing called?
>
> Marissa: What do you mean you don't know what that is? It's pholourie.
>
> John: Right. I don't know the names of these things. My mom makes them and I eat them.

Figure 13
GSA members and their non- member friends at
Sunny College serving food during Food Day

Most of the male members echoed John's discussion of his inability to identify foods that he eats at home because he does not assist in cooking. However, most of the female respondents reported that their mothers, grandmothers and aunts usually ask them to prepare dishes for religious festivals and family gatherings. "My mother always asks me to help out in the kitchen when I come home from school. She works and has to cook for the family so I help her because my father and brother don't lift a finger in the kitchen," stated Sandra.

Figure 14
GSA female member (on the right) identifying Guyanese ethnic food by describing their flavor and ingredients

As mentioned earlier, Marvin usually engages in culinary activities at religious functions and prepares food on a daily basis with his mother. He was the only male in this study who openly admitted to participating in what the second-generation considers "women's work." However, he is constantly teased by most of his peers for his talent in the kitchen because he is defying Indo-Guyanese expectations of masculinity. Although several of Marvin's peers characterize his cooking ability as a feminine trait, other second-generation Indo-Guyanese occasionally praise his culinary inventions. Some of Marvin's peers usually view his culinary skills as a marginal form of masculinity because of the popularity of mainstream Food Network shows hosted by male chefs (i.e. Bobby Flay or Emeril Lagasse). During lunchtime at school, members of the GSA may utter Emeril's famous phrase "BAM" at Marvin if he indulges in one

of his prepared delicacies. Culinary television shows hosted by men have enabled Marvin to display his creations without fear of intense ridicule. The increase in male-centered cooking broadcasts in American television has also empowered Marvin to resist the ridicule he receives from friends who mock his cooking ability. Therefore, American popular culture has equipped Marvin with the option of displaying his masculinity through his food creations without being considered "feminine."

In contrast, the female respondents reported that they usually experience extreme contention with their family members and peers when renouncing or defying their peer and familial gendered expectations. Mainstream popular culture intensifies the double standard between men and women because second-generation females usually have to engage in surreptitious behaviors to meet their mainstream goals. Women's ability to assert their autonomy has motivated female members of the second-generation to manipulate their gendered expectations towards achieving their desires. "My parents are so strict! Every time I ask them if I can go out with my [female] friends for dinner and maybe to the club they always say no. They let me go out to dinner sometimes but I can't go to the club because my parents don't want me to get in trouble with the guys there. Also, they think I shouldn't be drinking alcohol. So one night, my friends and I wanted to go clubbing but we knew our parents wouldn't let us go. We got dressed up in Indian clothes [i.e. lenghas and saris] and told them that we were going to a culture show. I mean we work everything— jewelry, bhindis [forehead adornment] and all. We had to make it look legit[imate]. Then, we drove about two blocks and my friends and I changed into our clubwear in the car [(i.e. halter top and tight pants)]. We spent the whole time at the club and changed back into the Indian clothes before we came home," stated Lalita.

Rather than overtly defying their parents' gendered expectations, several female respondents reported using religious events or cultural Guyanese shows as an "escape" or "excuse" to engage in mainstream behaviors with their peers. Creating fabricated stories about their whereabouts allows Indo-Guyanese women to assert their autonomy and decision-making power. However, some of the female participants reported that they confront their parents with their mainstream desires and experienced contention until they introduced their long-term boyfriends to their families. Several Indo-Guyanese women use their dating relationships as a mechanism for increased, but limited, autonomy. The next section discusses how "boyfriends" become a source of female empowerment.

Transversing the Dating Scene: Gaining Autonomy Through Maternal Support and Heterosexual Relationships

During my field observations and interviews, several female informants expressed their intense discontent with their parents' control over their behaviors. Most of the women in this project viewed college as a turning point in their quest for autonomy and decision-making power because they became legal adults (by turning eighteen and twenty-one) and were able to travel outside of their neighborhoods to attend college. The expanded distance between their homes and colleges provided a safe haven for the second-generation to explore their mainstream desires without the close surveillance of family members. The female respondents use their time at school to engage in dating relationships, hang out with friends and engage in social activities. However, their time on campus is usually limited because their parents place curfew restrictions based on their class schedules. The women usually reported calling their parents from their cell phones during the day to inform them of their safety or whereabouts. Before the widespread use

of cell phones, females from the elder cohort also reported calling their parents once they arrived home to "check in" with them after school.

Figure 15
Female GSA member anticipating text messages from her friends

The elder cohort reported limited agency compared to the younger cohort who use cell phones. Members of the elder cohort were "tied to the house" because they had to remain within the household to answer the phone. Moreover, the younger cohort has more freedom to engage in mainstream activities because their phones are mobile. In contrast, the male informants in this project do not experience the intense surveillance over their behaviors and mainstream desires. As with their father's rumshop interactions, the men in this project are permitted to hang out with their friends after school as a form of recreation outside of the household. Although most of the

female respondents are enraged by this double standard, they seek empowerment within the idea of the “male protector” (i.e. male siblings or boyfriends) during off campus interactions.

The Indo-Guyanese party scene provides a space for the negotiation and contestation of gendered “ethnic power.” Females who had male siblings or close relationships with male cousins usually reported the males’ ability to hang out with friends and attend parties with ease. However, the women were infuriated about the constraints their parents placed on their access to the party scene. Most of the second-generation women in this study claimed that their parents and the Indo-Guyanese community place rigid behavioral expectations on females. The female participants experience varying levels of behavior surveillance by co-ethnics based on their involvement in the Indo-Guyanese community. For example, Indo-Guyanese women who are involved in weekly religious activities were more likely to have curfew restrictions placed on their nightclub interactions. The female participants’ parents are vigilant about their daughters’ behaviors with co-ethnics because they want their daughters to maintain a “traditional” or “virginal” image within the ethnic community. The second-generation women reported that their parents feared their daughter’s acceptance of what they consider mainstream American ideals, such as decreased religious involvement or increased alcohol consumption (usually to the point of intoxication), because it will cast shame on their families. Although the men in this study have the freedom to engage in alcohol consumption and nightclub activities without fear of stigma or shame, the females’ behaviors are under constant surveillance by co-ethnics.

As in Maira’s (2002) discussion of the Desi party scene, members of the Indo-Guyanese second generation also enforce a system of ethnic “checks and balances” over Indo-Guyanese women’s behaviors. In the Fall of 2009, Justine, a female GSA member at Sunny college,

invited me to her twentieth birthday celebration at Chutney Bamboo (one of the first Indo-Caribbean nightclubs established in Queens). Justine promoted her birthday plans to her friends via text messages, e-mails, and Facebook and by announcing the details to GSA members during common hour[73] a week before the event.

During the informal GSA gathering, the GSA members discussed their anticipated attendance at Justine's party. Several female GSA members gathered together to devise plans for approaching their parents for permission to attend this event. Coincidentally, Justine's birthday party was scheduled on the same night as an Indo-Guyanese cultural show. Similar to Lalita's experience above, some of the females discussed attending the cultural show briefly with female friends and spending the rest of the night out at the club without their parents' knowledge. Unlike the females who wore Indian dresses and created an entirely fictitious plot as a form of autonomy, the second generation women in this scenario planned to initially attend an Indo-Guyanese cultural show (wearing jeans and tank tops instead of Indian attire for easier transition to club scene attire) and then migrate to the club as the night progressed. Women often negotiated their parents' expectations of their conduct by using religious or cultural events to conceal their attending nightclubs. Additionally, most of the female participants discussed the importance of inviting their boyfriends to the nightclub to extend their curfews and as a form of protection from being approached by other males at the club.

> Danielle: I don't know if I can go. I have to ask my boyfriend if he can go with me so my parents don't say "no."

[73] Common hour is a block of time on campus dedicated towards campus organization meetings. Classes are not scheduled during this time.

> Lauren: I'm bringing my boyfriend also. Oh, God…. There will be those "old uncles" standing in the corner trying to pick us up. "Eh gyal come let me dance with yuh."[74]

In contrast to Gupta's (1997) analysis of second-generation Asian Indian American women who experience prohibition from dating relationships because most of their parents participated in arranged marriages, the first generation Indo-Guyanese engaged in dating relationships before marrying their spouses. The second-generation Indo-Guyanese use their parents' dating experience as a form of empowerment for achieving their mainstream desires. During college, most of the female participants slowly introduced their boyfriends as a friend until their parents became familiar with them. Defining these young men as a "boyfriend" made the first-generation uneasy at first, but the boyfriends soon attained the chaperone role over the women— especially during late night events. The boyfriends' interactions with the participants' families appear to have empowered the women and allowed them to gain a limited form of independence. "I can go almost anywhere with my boyfriend. We go clubbing, out to Long Island and New Jersey beaches and into the City [Manhattan]. My family loves my boyfriend. They were a little uneasy with him at first because having a boyfriend probably makes it seem like I'm growing up or ready to get married. My parents trust that James takes care of me when we go out and will bring me home around midnight," stated Melanie.

Although the women's parents were more likely to allow their daughters to attend late night activities with their boyfriends, the women continue to deceive their fathers with false stories about their behavior when their partners were unable to attend. Some of the female

[74] Translation: Hey girl, come here and dance with me.

participants reported a sense of trust and honesty that they established with their mothers who acted as mediators between the second-generation females and their fathers. "I love going out with my friends. If my boyfriend can't go somewhere that I want to go, I usually ask my mom if I can go with my friends. She usually wants me to go in a group with my female friends. The guys can come with us—they are usually the [carpool] drivers when we go out. If my mom knows my friends she feels more comfortable with me going out with them. My father doesn't like when I go out by myself with my friends so my mother covers for me. She tells him that I'm staying late at my aunt's house or something so that I don't get in trouble. My mom even goes shopping with me and pays for my trendy clothes (i.e. short dresses)— which my dad may not approve of," stated Valerie. In this scenario, Valerie's mother facilitates her ability to achieve her mainstream desires by creating misleading details about her whereabouts while hanging out with friends. Mothers are not only cultural transmitters but often expedite their daughters' assimilation goals and desire for autonomy. As mentioned earlier, the Indo-Guyanese first-generation women desired gendered incorporation into Guyanese society (i.e. such as wearing skirts instead of saris on a daily basis or attaining employment outside of the home) and may empathize with their daughters' desire to integrate into the American mainstream because of their past experience.

In contrast, the male participants' parents did not require a chaperone over their after school and late night behavior. Their parents may ask them about their intended plans but do not set the kind of curfew limitations and rules which are directed towards the women. One of the male respondents reported chaperoning his elder sister, who is two years older, at a nightclub event because she could stay out later with his presence. Although his sister is an employed,

college graduate, Martin's parents refused to allow her to attend nightclub events without her brother.

During my observations at some of these nightclubs, I noticed a predominantly male crowd. Most of the women in the crowd were with male partners or in large, mixed gendered groups. The women in this study did not report feeling disempowered because of their parents' chaperone restrictions over their behavior. They view the ability to attend nightclubs and socializing with friends outside of the college scene as a step towards assimilation, despite the need for a male companion. I attended parties where the female participants had to return home before their curfew, while their boyfriends remained behind and interacted at the event. While, this disparity infuriates the women their loyalty towards their parents deters the female participants from overtly defying their parents' expectations.

Potential Marriage Partners and Satisfying Sexual Desires

Several participants in this study reported the careful selection of dating partners in accordance with their parents' "ideal type." The females usually reported only introducing their long-term boyfriends (dating at least one year) to their family members because their families consider these young men as potential marriage partners. The women participants are cautious about revealing their dating partners to their families because they don't want their relatives to label them as "loose" or "promiscuous" for engaging in several dating relationships. Although most of the females claimed to have at least two boyfriends in their life course, they usually only introduced their boyfriends at the year marker or when a discussion of marriage has occurred. However, mothers are often informed of short-term boyfriends because the second-generation

women desire after school and nightlife interactions and mothers are more likely to permit their daughters to attend these interactions with the presence of a male chaperone. Nevertheless, fathers are usually oblivious to the negotiations that the second-generation women and their mothers devise to participate in mainstream activities. Fathers would usually prohibit these interactions because they expect their daughters to demonstrate "modest" or "dignified" behavior that does not include attending nightclubs or drinking alcohol. However, the second-generation's mothers empathize with their daughter's desires to engage in popular culture activities under the supervision of a male partner.

The second-generation Indo-Guyanese usually select their potential marriage partners during their college or post-college experience. "My parents have specific guidelines about the type of guy I can marry. They want me to marry someone Hindu, [Indo] Guyanese or [Indo] Caribbean and educated. I don't want to date someone who is Muslim but I may date Christian guys. I know how my family members who married Muslim people ended up [marginalized from their Hindu relatives] and I don't want to deal with that" stated Vidhia. Confirming other studies conducted on marriage patterns among recent immigrants (Sassler 1997, Gupta 1999, Hojat et al 2000), Indo-Guyanese Americans often choose partners who will assimilate easily into their family. By and large, the contention between Muslim and Hindu marriage unions continues to thrive in the Indo-Guyanese Diaspora. There are a few female participants who resist the religious divide and are engaged in Hindu/Muslim dating relationships. "Peter and I have been dating for a little more than two years. He is Muslim and I'm Hindu but religion isn't a big issue for us. He doesn't even act Muslim. He eats non-Halal meat and drinks alcohol. His family isn't religious. My parents love him! They don't see him as a threat to my religion or

beliefs because he isn't a strict Muslim," said Alyssia. The female participants claimed that Hindu and Christian interfaith unions with Muslims are usually acceptable among the Indo-Guyanese community if the Muslim partner is not "religious" or does not practice Islam on a daily basis. Muslims who participate in the consumption of Haram meat and alcohol are favorable dating partners because they can easily assimilate into Hindu/Christian family social activities. Although both the men and women in this study preferred dating partners who practiced the same faith, the male participants received less resistance from their family members regarding interfaith dating. Nevertheless, women are viewed as the upholders of traditions in the Indo-Guyanese community. However, men usually have more authority over household decisions, especially the women's ethno-religious practices, and the female participants' are cautioned against interfaith unions that would prohibit or decrease their religious involvement in favor of their partner's faith.

Aside from interfaith religious unions, the discussion of interracial dating relationships also surfaced during my interviews and observations. One Wednesday in Fall 2008 during common hour in the GSA club room, I joined a female-only crowd in conversation about dating and "brown men." The GSA lounge usually has a mixed-gendered crowd but the men seemed to have been forced to leave or to have voluntarily evacuated the room as the women began evaluating their relationship issues. The females discussed their boyfriends' mannerisms and plans for the weekend. This appeared to be the perfect segue to initiate a conversation about dating and marriage preferences. After about four women communicated their relationship issues, I jumped into the conversation and inquired about their dating and marriage partner preferences.

Nazreen: So what types of guys are you into?

Marissa: You know, the coolie[75] boys. They have to be coolie or my parents would flip [get angry].

Lalita: Yea, me too and they have to be Hindu. But they definitely can't be…. Black [she whispered].

The other five females in the room echoed Lalita's sentiments about their families' prohibition against dating black men. The intense racial contention between Indo and Afro-Guyanese has trickled down into the second generation's marriage and dating choices. Several participants in this study, both male and female, mentioned dating and marrying Indo-Guyanese or Indo-Caribbean partners. The participants who attended medical and graduate school were also open to marrying second-generation Asian Indian Americans because of similar educational attainment and ethno-religious rituals. However one of the female participants reported dating an African American male during college. "I went to school with mostly black students in my town on Long Island. I was attracted to black men despite my family's reservations with close relationships with black people. I dated a black guy in college. My mother knew I was with him but she was uncomfortable about it. I mean, she was cordial in front of him but she usually confronted me about rethinking my choice. We eventually broke up— not only because of my mother's disapproval but I knew it wouldn't work in the long term. I personally want to marry someone who makes me happy; despite racial differences," stated Gina.

Throughout my interviews, the second-generation Indo-Guyanese emphasized the importance of parental approval of dating and marriage partners. Although the male respondents

[75] Coolie- Caribbean of Indian ancestry.

claimed to have more autonomy over their partner choices than the females, both sexes value their parents' expectations regarding dating and marriage. The men and women in this study are vigilant about their partner preferences and behaviors, particularly among co-ethnics, because they do not want to engage in relationships or interactions that would marginalize or stigmatize their families within the Guyanese community. The second-generation also perform "ethnic surveillance" over one another's behaviors to prevent fellow co-ethnics from behaviors that would initiate stigmatization. For example, when members of the second-generation attend local Caribbean nightclubs, there is usually a sober individual among the group who manages the alcohol intake of their friends to reduce the occurrence of intoxication— especially for female club goers. Additionally, the female participants navigate the club with their boyfriends or with another female friend to prevent unwanted attention from men (such as cat calls) at the club. Although the second-generation upholds expectations of female "sexiness" or sex appeal through apparel and dance moves at the nightclubs, women have to tread cautiously to ensure that they do not cross the line into what the participants define as promiscuous or slutty behavior. "You don't want to be all up on a guy [i.e. making out with a stranger] you barely know at the club. It's best to just stay in the circle with people you know and dance with them. Sure you can dance with a guy [or girl] at the club but that's it— just dancing. They shouldn't expect anything after that," stated Julianne.

Second-generation Guyanese women are expected to manage polar identities as both nostalgic upholders of tradition and modern women with sex appeal. They are constantly negotiating and shifting the boundary between tradition and sexiness. Women usually identify with tradition or sex appeal depending on the location of their performance. Among the first-

generation Indo-Guyanese, second-generation females are usually expected to maintain virginal images of ethno-religious reproduction and develop a transitional ethnicity (a combination of nostalgia and mainstream desires) among other members of the second-generation. However, sexual behavior is a site where the female participants have expressed increased autonomy and decision-making power. "My parents think I'm still a virgin. They don't know that I have sex with my boyfriend. They can't find out because I would bring so much shame and embarrassment on my family for having sex before marriage. I take birth control pills so I don't get pregnant. I can't imagine losing my parents' trust or respect for having a baby before marriage. Who would marry me? I know other Guyanese girls who got pregnant before marriage and they ruined their life! They can't go to school, get a good job or hang out with their friends because no one wants to be friends with someone like that. My parents don't want me to be friends with those girls because they are afraid that I will end up like that," stated Marlene.

Several of the female participants echoed Marlene's sentiments and assert their autonomy over their bodies and sexual desires by using contraceptive methods to prevent unwanted pregnancies. However, the male participants did not report constraints over their sexuality or maintaining a chaste image until marriage. Although they acknowledge the shared responsibility for pregnancy prevention, the male participants associated the stress of expectations of premarital chastity with Indo-Guyanese women. The men reported their role in sexual relationships as a "supporter" who assists with pregnancy prevention but women, especially those who ingest birth control, are responsible for their bodies. As with the South Asian female participants in my Master's Thesis research (Bacchus 2007), the second-generation Indo-

Guyanese women are more vigilant about preventing unwanted pregnancies than they are about sexually transmitted diseases. "My boyfriend and I go to Planned Parenthood every year for my birth control pill prescription and gynecological check up. I can't afford to get pregnant at this time. I'm not married, I'm in college and I want to go to grad school," stated Maryanne. Maryanne and most of the female participants who are listed as dependents on their parents' health insurance plan choose women's health clinics, like Planned Parenthood, for their gynecological exams because they do not want to inform their parents of these visits. The female participants claimed that their parents associate gynecological exams with sexual intercourse and do link these exams with other women's health issues. "I once had a urinary tract infection (UTI) and I had to Google how to get rid of it on my own. It was very painful and I know I needed to go to the doctor but if I told my parents about the UTI they would accuse me of having sex and I don't want them to know I'm not a virgin," stated Antoinette. Additionally, Antoinette claimed that she could not communicate this health issue with her mother because she was unable to explicate her UTI as a women's health issue that may have resulted from bacterial contamination in her urinary tract.[76] "Even though my mom is a woman, she just wouldn't understand," Antoinette added.

"My mother is a nurse and I still can't talk to her about sex because she has never approached that subject with us [Patricia and her sister]. She must know that I'm not a virgin but she doesn't mention it. I got most of my education on sex from my friends and the internet. If I

[76] For an explanation of possible occurrence of UTIs in women please see: Scholes D, Hooton TM, Roberts PL, Stapleton AE, Gupta K, Stamm WE. *Risk Factors for Recurrent Urinary Tract Infection in Young Women.* J Infect Dis. 2000;182(4):1177-82.

ever have a problem or question about sex, I would be too embarrassed to approach my mother. My friends and I usually get together and talk about "down there" [vaginal] issues or sex," stated Patricia. Most of the females in this study reported their reluctance to approach their mothers with questions related to sex or women's health. The Indo-Guyanese women experience anxiety that their mothers will take their questions out of context and accuse them of having sex even when they develop infections that are not connected to sexual intercourse (such as vaginal yeast infections after ingesting antibiotic therapy)[77]. The female participants often rely on their female friends and online medical websites (such as WebMD.com) for sex health information. Although several females in this study assert their sexual agency by using contraceptive and barrier methods (condoms) to prevent unwanted pregnancies, their agency is limited by both structural restraints (health insurance) and cultural beliefs (stigma against premarital sex).

Addressing women's reproductive health issues is not a primary concern for most members of the first-generation. According to my participants, they enjoy sexual agency with several health risks. Only about five women in this study have received medical exams for sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Most cannot visit private doctors because their parents will receive a medical summary with visit details. Despite some of the participants' attempts to utilize women's health clinics, these are often located outside of the ethnic enclave or the neighborhoods where the participants reside and most cannot easily access these facilities. If the female participants view their mothers as confidants for meeting their mainstream socializing desires, how can they approach their mothers about reproductive health issues without being

[77] Foxman B, (1990). The Epidemiology of Vulvovaginal Candidiasis: Risk Factors. Am J Public Health. 1990;80(3):329-31.

stigmatized for engaging in premarital intercourse? Most of the women in this study claim that their mothers do not understand that reproductive health applies to women prior to pregnancy or childbirth. The women also do not engage in conversations with their mothers about menstruation or premenstrual syndrome (PMS) because their mothers are unable to address these issues, either because they are not well informed, or because they find these topics taboo. Although Indo-Guyanese women assert their autonomy over their sexuality and sexual desires, their agency remains constrained because most of the females lack the access to adequate sexual health information and facilities to make informed choices. Moreover, the cultural stigma associated with premarital sexual encounters prevents the participants from communicating with their mothers and other female relatives about women's health issues. Nevertheless, the second-generation women develop a support network with their female friends and boyfriends so as to satisfy their sexual desires and to obtain support for their sexual activities.

Second-generation Indo-Guyanese women negotiate their ethnic identities through a gendered lens that places expectations of tradition and mainstream assimilation on their behaviors and interactions. The female participants have demonstrated their ability to negotiate these social pressures through their ethnic performances and decision-making power. Although they rely on their boyfriends and male peers as chaperones during late night activities, the mother-daughter relationship also provides increased autonomy for the second-generation to achieve their mainstream goals.

The female participants are agents of social change and have devised clandestine strategies that link their ethno-religious traditions to satisfying their assimilation desires (i.e. attending a nightclub after viewing a Guyanese cultural show). However, second-generation

Indo-Guyanese women are achieving their sexual desires without adequate access to women's health information. Although they have increased their sexual autonomy, Indo-Guyanese women need to bridge the gap between cultural taboos of women's sexuality and health to make more informed choices about their bodies. In this sense the second generation has obtained only partial sexual freedom, and this, at the cost of their health and safety.

Conclusion

Second-generation Indo-Guyanese American ethnic identities are fluid, meaning they are not fixed but are modified based on their interactions. My dissertation discusses how social spaces create boundaries that can also facilitate, what I term an *adaptive ethnicity* that fosters mainstream assimilation, ethnic re-creation or both. Adaptive ethnicities are the performances of identity that the Indo-Guyanese portray in their interactions and to their audiences. Adaptive performances occur during interactions with non co-ethnics as the Indo-Guyanese display their hybridity to gain racial recognition and mainstream assimilation. The Indo-Guyanese have a concrete understanding of behaviors they are required to perform to be seen as "American" or "Guyanese." The second-generation's ethnic displays are highly dependent on their audience and location of their performances. As mentioned in Chapter Two and Four, most of my participants explained that they feel more "Guyanese" within co-ethnic settings, particularly inter-generational scenes, because their ethnic behaviors are usually supervised by co-ethnics. If they are unable to perform a prayer or are unfamiliar with the words of a new Caribbean song, they are seen as inauthentic Guyanese or too "American." However, in non co-ethnic settings, my participants usually negotiate their agenda for gaining Guyanese racial recognition and mainstream assimilation. For example, the GSA at Sunny College usually organizes bake sales around Valentine's Day and Halloween. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the Guyanese students use these events as a form of mainstream assimilation through their participation in what they consider "American" holidays, while playing mainstream Reggae music as a symbol of their Caribbean identity. These social gatherings usually attract Guyanese co-ethnics but this is also a chance for the second-generation to perform their ethnic "moments" to non co-ethnics. Ethnic

moments are subtle, symbolic performances where the Indo-Guyanese attempt to gain racial recognition and mainstream assimilation simultaneously. These "moments" are shaped by co-ethnic expectations of what they define as ethnic or Guyanese behaviors (i.e. playing Reggae music or wearing Indian jewelry with jeans and a t-shirt). However, the second generation is cautious about appearing "too ethnic" in fear that non co-ethnics will no longer view them as "American." The second-generation's identities are fluid because they are able to transition between co-ethnic and mainstream expectations. They can switch or modify their ethno-racial performances based on their agendas within these boundaries. These ethnic spaces are both formal (i.e. house of worship) and informal (i.e. a group of Indo-Guyanese students eating lunch in campus spaces). I label these locations ethnic spaces because they are physical sites where the second-generation confronts the intersections of gender, race, ethnicity, assimilation and religion. These spaces create intense anxiety for the second-generation Indo-Guyanese as they negotiate their individual desires and expectations from co-ethnics and non co-ethnics.

Ethnic spaces also provide a location for the Indo-Guyanese to gain racial recognition and combat racism. Co-ethnic performances within these spaces, such as dance recitals, provide a sense of ethnic solidarity for the second-generation as they are confronted with racism and unwanted inquiry about their hybrid identity in America. The Indo-Guyanese use ethnic spaces to demonstrate their religious authenticity— especially in the presence of other South Asians who feel that the Indo-Guyanese have lost their Indian or Hindu identities during their assimilation into Guyanese society. These performances provide a historical lesson for South Asians and other groups who may be unaware of how the racial contention between the Indo and Afro- Guyanese in the Caribbean actually heightened the East Indian's reproduction of ancestral

ethno-religious beliefs. In the presence of non co-ethnics, the Indo-Guyanese use ethnic performances to gain racial recognition as specifically "Guyanese" or as a representation of their hybrid ethnicity in New York. Moreover, familial and co-ethnic socialization significantly shapes their dichotomous understanding and performance of "American and "Guyanese" behaviors within these ethnic spaces.

Most of the current research on the development of hybrid identities among post 1965 second-generation West Indian Americans has primarily examined Caribbean immigrants of African Ancestry (Kasinitz 1992, Kasinitz et al 2004, Waters 1990, 2001, Waters and Ueda 2007). East Indians are the second largest racial group in the Caribbean but few immigration scholars have discussed their migration and assimilation patterns in the United States. My dissertation fills the gap in the literature on Indo-Caribbean ethno-racial integration in America by showing how second-generation Indo-Guyanese select and construct their ethnicity in New York. Guyana received the largest number of Indians during the Indian Indenture. The Indo-Guyanese are Asian Indians who have lived in Guyana for at least three generations and developed a hybrid ethnicity based on their assimilation into Guyanese society. This project has shown how the Indo-Guyanese assimilation in America is complicated by their cultural mix of Indian and Afro-Caribbean mores. In writing this dissertation, my goal was to explain how the second-generation Indo-Guyanese use their involvement in ethno-religious rituals within the immigrant community to combat racism and gain racial recognition in America. My research indicates that familial socialization, popular culture, racial recognition and gendered expectations significantly shape the second-generation Indo-Guyanese identity in the United States.

In Chapter One I discussed how familial socialization shapes the second-generation Indo-Guyanese American ethno-religious identity formation. Like other immigrant groups in the United States, the first generation Indo-Guyanese create rigid dichotomies and definitions of "Guyanese" and "American" behavior (Espiritu 2001). These distinctions usually emanate from the first-generation's desire to retain and impart their understanding of Indo-Guyanese values onto their children. Moreover, the first-generation arrive in America with a history of racial contention with Afro-Guyanese and are cautious about establishing close relationships with phenotypically black individuals (Jayawardena 1963). First generation Indo-Guyanese usually caution their children against befriending black students because of their previous experience in Guyana.

Some Guyanese Americans live in neighborhoods without a sizable Guyanese population. In this scenario, the second-generation Indo-Guyanese forge friendships with Black and Latino peers to cope with the marginalization they experienced from white peers. Racism and alienation from Euro-Americans affects how second-generation immigrants view their racial position in America. Scholars have noted that an advanced socio-economic status may allow some immigrant groups to align themselves closer to upper-class whites, while lower class immigrants may interact closely with native minorities (Lee in Kasinitz et al 2004, Portes 2004, Portes and Rumbaut 2007). Additionally, the creation of insular Indo-Guyanese ethnic enclaves in Queens, New York facilitates the reproduction and re-creation of ethno-religious rituals. As mentioned in Chapter One, children who live outside of the ethnic enclave usually travel to engage in activities within the enclave to cope with racialization from non co-ethnics.

Although the second-generation may interact with non co-ethnics at school, the first-generation encourage their children to participate in familial and co-ethnic networks that constrain their close interactions outside of school. The first-generation have developed social networks consisting of family members and other co-ethnics in New York City to prevent their children from adapting "American" values. According to my participants, their first-generation Indo-Guyanese parents and grandparents view "American" behavior as individualistic, disinterested in religious or family gatherings, apathetic towards achieving higher education, and sexually liberated. In contrast, the first-generation defines "Guyanese" behavior as having close family ties, engaging in strong religious participation (especially among females), being educationally motivated and sexually modest. The establishment of residential and commercial ethnic enclaves in Queens, NY enables the first-generation Indo-Guyanese to expand their ethnic surveillance over the second-generation's behaviors. Living near relatives and co-ethnic networks allows the first-generation to employ family members and other Indo-Guyanese affiliations as caregivers that, they hope, will impart "Guyanese" values onto their children.

In Chapter Two, I discussed how Guyanese co-ethnic networks are also deeply entrenched in ethno-religious organizations and educational institutions. The second-generation (Hindu, Muslim and Christian) participants stated that the first-generation encouraged their involvement in ethno-religious rituals to remain connected with co-ethnics, especially as they entered school and encountered non co-ethnic populations. For the Indo-Guyanese, the Richmond Hill enclave represents "Little Guyana" for immigrants and their children. This is a space where the second-generation interacts with co-ethnics and performs Guyanese rituals. Most of my informants reported that their parents enrolled them in religious classes or they

attended weekly religious services with their families and friends during their childhood and adolescent years. Like other immigrant groups (Kurien 2004), the Indo-Guyanese use religion as a method of preventing their children from assimilating into the American mainstream. The Guyanese ethnic enclaves have well organized religious organizations and houses of worship. Most of the participants reported engaging in ethno-religious events within the enclaves. As mentioned earlier, Guyanese Christians are closely linked to Hindu rituals that create ethnic differences with non co-ethnics at Church. Although they practice Christianity, many of the Christian participants have interfaith families that either intermarried with Hindus or converted to Christianity from Hinduism.

The female participants stated that they felt more ethnic pressure to reproduce Indo-Guyanese ethno-religious rituals than the males in this study because of Guyanese women's pivotal role in religious and cultural transmission. Several female respondents reported participating in Indian classical dance and song classes that continue to this day. The males reported a significant decline in their formal religious participation at weekly services in adolescence and adulthood because of employment opportunities and increased interaction with friends at nightclubs that prevented their attendance at early morning religious services. Moreover, the males reported that their fathers also reduced their religious participation and the attendance at weekly services became more of a "female" responsibility towards adulthood. However, most male participants acknowledged the symbolic performance of ethno-religious rituals through their attendance of services on major religious holidays and through the practice of daily rituals (i.e. dietary restrictions). Although the men and women in this study experience

varying degrees of religious participation, ethno-religious traditions shape their construction of a Guyanese ethnicity in both formal and informal spaces.

In Chapter Three, I discussed how the Indo-Guyanese female participants developed a stronger desire to adapt cultural practices from their Indian ancestry than their male counterparts. The females' use of Indian apparel during ethno-religious functions demonstrates their ability to re-create and transform Indian rituals into their Guyanese identity. For example, the participants do not internalize an Indian identity while wearing Indian clothing. They transform the ethnic relationship with these outfits and reclaim them as Guyanese. Although they purchase Indian apparel from Asian Indian owned business, the clothing becomes Guyanese because they are used in Guyanese ethno-religious activities. The line defining the boundary between religion and ethnicity is blurred— especially when celebrating Hindu rituals which are usually practiced among most Indo-Guyanese despite their religious differences (e.g. dancing to Chutney music). The participants and their families usually incorporate practices they developed in the Caribbean to celebrate religious holidays in America (such as making seven curries using Guyanese dishes and spices that are not used in Asian Indian ceremonies).

Chapter Three also grapples with the pan-ethnic alliances formed between second-generation Asian Indian and Indo-Guyanese Americans to re-create ethno-religious rituals. These relationships are used as political allegiances to gain racial recognition or raise awareness about social problems affecting the immigrant community (like racism). The Indo-Guyanese join these alliances with South Asian and Asian Indian organizations because their members immigrated earlier than the Indo-Guyanese and are well established financially. Moreover, when the second-generation attend colleges and universities without a sizable Guyanese population, they usually

seek out Asian Indian groups and use religious traditions as a mechanism for pan-ethnic solidarity. However, several of the Guyanese participants reported conflict between Asian Indians in New York because they do not consider the Guyanese as "authentic" Indians because of the hybrid ethnicity they developed in the Caribbean. Whether shopping for Indian apparel, religious items or forming pan-ethnic alliances during ethno-religious celebrations in New York, most participants reported a rigid distinction between being "Indo-Guyanese" and "Indian." The Guyanese American immigrant community is expanding and is now forming Indo-Caribbean associations with other Indo-Caribbean Diaspora groups, particularly on college campuses in New York City, such as Indo-Trinidadians.

Most of the participants' also attend(ed) colleges and universities with well known Guyanese Student's Associations (GSAs), among co-ethnics, that provide a space for the second-generation Indo-Guyanese to develop their ethnicity in an urban, college/university setting. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the GSA can be viewed as an ethno-political organization that seeks to gain Indo-Guyanese ethno-racial recognition on campus. For example, the GSA holds several on campus events to introduce and celebrate the second-generation's depiction of a "Guyanese ethnicity." The club organizes culture shows and food exhibitions that promote awareness about the Indian Indenture and Guyanese celebrations in America to gain ethno-racial recognition among non co-ethnics. These "ethnic demonstrations" also prompt the Indo-Guyanese students to remain connected to their Guyanese ancestry through food, music and religion. However, the female respondents discussed their central role in performing overt Guyanese rituals and displaying their ethnicity to non co-ethnics (i.e. through religion and dance activities during campus events). Moreover, the females also stated that Guyanese males are less involved in

displaying their "Guyanese ethnicity" in formal settings (i.e. cultural shows) but will engage in partying activities (i.e. dancing to mainstream American Reggae music) which is seen as a form of American assimilation compared to dancing to Hindi or Chutney music. Therefore, Guyanese males are more likely to align themselves with achieving their mainstream desires than their female counterparts because their role in ethnic reproduction can be viewed as a form of mainstream incorporation. Although Indo-Guyanese females incorporate hip-Hop dance moves in their Indian dance routine, their Indian attire and Hindi/Chutney music usually override their attempts at mainstream recognition. Clearly, this is a gendered experience within the Indo-Guyanese community that marks women as cultural or ethnic reproducers and not autonomous agents who facilitate mainstream assimilation through cultural activities. In contrast, their male counterparts engage in more visible forms of mainstream assimilation within the Guyanese community that are facilitated by their reduced participation in formal ethno-religious rituals.

In Chapter Four I discussed the issue of gendered assimilation that resurfaced throughout my interviews and fieldwork with the Indo-Guyanese. The second-generation participants reported that the Indo-Guyanese men have greater opportunities to assimilate into the American mainstream than their female counterparts. Guyanese men can achieve their mainstream goals (i.e. attending late night parties) without parental restrictions because of pre-migration patriarchal values that privilege men's autonomy in the Indo-Guyanese community. As mentioned throughout this dissertation, Indo-Guyanese women are expected to uphold and impart ethno-religious traditions within the immigrant community. Second-generation Guyanese American women also endure several gendered constraints in their daily household interactions, such as curfew or employment restrictions, which limit their ability to assert their autonomy and

achieve their mainstream desires. The second-generation women usually experience pressure from their male friends and boyfriends to attend parties and after school functions. However, several female participants reported their father's disapproval of their attendance at late night parties or extracurricular campus activities because they want to ensure their daughter's safety and moral character. The second-generation female participants have devised alternative methods of achieving their assimilation desires with the help of their co-ethnic friends and female relatives (including lying about their plans and their whereabouts). The female participants also reported being accompanied by male chaperones, such as boyfriends and brothers, during late night or after school events. The female participants use male chaperones as a means of achieving limited autonomy outside of their household. Their autonomy is limited because the women are dependent on their male peers for transportation and "protection" from other males and the females are under constant surveillance by their male partners. Unlike the second-generation Indo-Guyanese men who are usually divorced from the performance of Guyanese ethno-religious traditions, females are expected to satisfy their parents' expectation of "traditional" values (i.e. through religious practices) and their peers' pressure to assimilate into the American mainstream.

Chapter Four also discusses how second-generation females have formed grassroots alliances with their first-generation female relatives and co ethnic friends to resist gender disparities within the Indo-Guyanese immigrant community in New York. The Indo-Guyanese women engage in what I call *transient patriarchy.* The Indo-Guyanese women engage in behaviors and interactions that fulfill their gendered expectations while satisfying their mainstream goals. They negotiate their ethnic identities by performing both their "traditional

patriarchal expectations" (cooking and housework) and mainstream desires (purchasing cosmetics with the money earned from their employment outside of the household). Indo-Guyanese women also synthesize their assimilation goals and familial expectations by incorporating mainstream desires into their ethnic performances. As mentioned earlier, the second-generation Indo-Guyanese women also resist ethno-religious patriarchal expectations by incorporating hip-hop dance moves in their routine. The inter-generational and gendered interpretations of these practices shape assimilation trajectories for the second-generation and their offspring. This study has shown how Guyanese immigrant ethno-religious rituals in the United States are being re-shaped by the second-generations' desire for assimilation into the American mainstream.

As first and second generation Indo-Guyanese women attain employment opportunities outside of the household, their definition of "tradition" changes and they become allies that assist each other with asserting their autonomy and mainstream desires. The first-generation Indo-Guyanese women also allow their second-generation daughters to attend parties and late night events during their college and adult years, despite their husband's disapproval, because they empathize with their daughter's desire to engage in mainstream behaviors. In return, the second-generation women usually provide financial support for their mothers. However, there are limitations to the inter-generational coalition formed between first and second-generation Indo-Guyanese women. Although the second-generation Guyanese women and their mothers are interdependent on each other for support towards achieving their assimilation goals, the second-generation women are unable to discuss issues of female sexuality with the first generation

because premarital sex and reproductive health are taboo discourses in the Indo-Guyanese American community.

Alongside their desire to achieve empowerment within the Indo-Guyanese community, Chapter Four also discussed the limitation of expressing their sexuality and satisfying their sexual desires. The second-generation participants view sexuality as a central component of mainstream assimilation and modernity. The male participants usually pressure their female peers and girlfriends to mimic the apparel and sexual behavior of the white, American women they see on television and in movies. Additionally, the male participants also want the second generation women to fulfill what the respondents' term "traditional" expectations (i.e. cooking Guyanese dishes). Guyanese women are placed in a position where they are expected to negotiate this dichotomy without becoming either excessively modern or traditional. Guyanese females simultaneously replicate "modern" behaviors and "traditional" expectations (i.e. engaging in sexual intercourse with their boyfriends while ingesting birth control to prevent pregnancy) to avoid stigmatization in the immigrant community or being labeled as too "American" or too "traditional." Therefore, Guyanese women endure ethnic and modern pressures to a greater degree than their male counterparts, yet their negotiations usually remain unrecognized outside of female circles. The prohibition on the open discussion of sexuality limits the access of these young women to adequate health care, forcing them to take risks with their bodies.

My fieldwork with the second-generation Indo-Guyanese participants in this project is ongoing. I have maintained contact with my respondents through Facebook and my continued participation at GSA events. During my time in the field and afterward, several participants

mentioned their familial association with Indo-Guyanese communities in Orlando, Florida and Toronto, Canada. According to their accounts, immigrant reception in these areas varies from their New York experience. For future research, a comparative analysis of the Indo-Guyanese reception and identity construction between these locales will show whether or not location affects assimilation trajectories. The push and pull factors for immigration to Toronto and Orlando may also vary from those to New York. Orlando is an interesting case because unlike New York and Toronto, Orlando is a suburban location that may be actually be a second point of migration after Guyanese immigrants have settled in either New York or Toronto. My participants reported that several family members relocated to Orlando to advance their employment opportunities or for retirement. Additionally, these cities have sizable Asian Indian and Afro-Caribbean populations and the interplay of ethno-racial recognition and location will also add another dimension to understanding the development of Indo-Guyanese enclaves outside of New York.

For future research, I would also like to return to the research reported in my Master's Thesis. This was a project using qualitative research with South Asian American women on the intersections of sexual health, sexuality and South Asian expectations of female virginity. My initial findings revealed the inter-generational conflict between first and second-generation Asian Indian American women regarding their ability to gain autonomy within their households and achieve mainstream assimilation with their non-Indian peers. Interestingly, during my dissertation fieldwork I found that the Indo-Guyanese women often forged inter-generational alliances to combat forms of restrictive assimilation placed on their behaviors by Indo-Guyanese men. A comparative analysis of the two groups in New York will allow me to elucidate how two

Indian Diaspora groups with adjacent residential locations in Queens hold such diverging views on women's autonomy and mainstream American assimilation. This project will also allow me to discuss how these groups retain similar forms of South Asian cultural expectations, particularly with regard to sexuality, that reproduce inter-generational gendered disparities.

I am also interested in observing how Guyanese traditions are re-created and transformed by mainstream assimilation as the second-generation marry and extend their families. Several of my participants in the elder cohort are married or engaged. Although most of the second-generation participants reported that they follow ethno-religious traditions to a lesser degree than their parents, marriage and child rearing often strengthen ethno-religious identities as the secondgeneration becomes responsible for imparting traditions onto their offspring. The gendered position of motherhood or mothering will also add an additional layer of information on how second-generation Indo-Guyanese women integrate into the American mainstream while re-creating cultural rituals within the household. Additionally, inter-generational conflicts may occur as the first generation women demonstrate their interpretation of the "right way" to perform traditions with the third generation. Following the second-generation Indo-Guyanese through their life cycle events after college and graduate school will continue to maximize our understanding of the way ethnic boundaries shape their ethnicity and assimilation patterns in America.

Lastly, in terms of the larger scope of immigration and the American integration of second-generation Americans born of non white, post-1965 immigrants, this study supports Kasinitz et al.'s (2008) discussion of the second-generation advantage. According to Kasinitz et al., the second-generation advantage is created by support networks developed by immigrant

groups to ease tensions associated with American assimilation, such as religious discrimination. The findings in this project can be used to highlight the significance of ethno-religious institutions as mechanisms of gaining racial recognition in America. Additionally, these cultural institutions provide a "safety net" or coping mechanism for the second generation to combat negative issues of assimilation by engaging in co-ethnic performances of solidarity (such as celebrating holidays from the immigrants' ancestral origins). Therefore, co-ethnic support networks enable the second-generation to negotiate between their cultural and mainstream behavioral expectations as they navigate and construct their ethnic identities in the process of integration into American society.

APPENDIX I

A Brief History of the Indo-Guyanese and their Migration to New York

Along with other post-colonial immigrant groups, first-generation Indo-Guyanese Americans usually migrate to America with an understanding of a Guyanese ethnicity shaped by their position in colonial and post- colonial history. The Indo-Guyanese are descendents of Asian Indians who originated from Uttar Pradesh (Agra and Oudh), Bihar and Madras. Indians from these locales were forcibly imported to Guyana under the British organized Indian Indenture, following the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean in1838 (Ehrlich 1971, Sidnell 2000). British colonialists carefully orchestrated the Indian Indenture from 1838- 1917 (Roopnaraine 2003) to increase the plantation labor force in the Caribbean which had declined significantly as freed slaves moved away from the agriculture sector and into the service economy in Guyana and other Caribbean nations[78].

The plantation owners in the Caribbean could not afford technologically advanced agricultural machinery[79] to supplement the labor shortage and were unwilling to provide increased wages to freed slaves to retain their labor on the plantations.[80] British Colonialists devised the Indian Indenture as a means of providing a source of cheap and cost effective contract labor in the Caribbean. According to Roopnaraine (2003), India was a prime choice for this new labor market in the Caribbean because British Colonialism had“disintegrated and dissolved the traditional economic and social structure in the countryside, rendering massive

[78] And other British colonies in the Caribbean such as Trinidad, Jamaica and Grenada.
[79] Cheng and Bonacich (1984) -- Roopnaraine

[80] Evan (1970)

population available for recruitment." As mentioned above, the Indenture recruiters mostly obtained employees from North India and Madras in South India. Steele's (1976) research on the Indian Indenture found that Colonialists developed stereotypes about the work ethic and religious performance of various groups in India and chose their laborers based on these interpretations. By and large, Colonialists preferred Indians from North India because they were perceived as originating from a "higher caste, stricter in religious observances regarding food…and more industrious" (Steele 1976). In contrast, Steele (1976) found that Indians from South India were labeled as alcoholics, lazy and practiced a superstitious form of Hinduism. The Indenture recruiters used deceptive tactics to obtain laborers such as falsely, glorifying descriptions of life in the Caribbean, persuading non-English speaking Indians to sign Indenture contracts written in English and misinforming prospective laborers about their destination (i.e. Chinidad, which sounded close to China, instead of Trinidad) (Roopnaraine 2003, Steele 1976).

Approximately, 238,960 Indians arrived in Guyana during the period of the Indenture System. The majority of Indians were Hindus (85%), followed by Muslims and others (15%). Most of the Indentured servants were forced to severties with relatives in India because it was too costly and lengthy to travel between nations (Jayawardena 1963).The process of Creolization[81] and assimilation into Guyanese society also intensified ethnic differences between Indentured laborers and their Indian relatives (Jayawardena 1980). Additionally, in 1863 the Guyanese government offered East Indians the opportunity to become land owners without

[81] Creolization or becoming Caribbean by engaging in Caribbean politics, language, education and popular culture. For the Indo-Guyanese, this also meant achieving a similar socio-economic and political status to their Afro-Guyanese counterparts (Jayawardena 1980).

immediately paying taxes[82] if they surrendered their rights to return back to India (Despres 1969).

As the result of this labor history, the two dominant racial groups in Guyana are Indians and Africans. There are also smaller numbers of Chinese, Portuguese, Amerindians and Anglo populations. The colonialists created a division of labor based on ethnicity (Mars 1990). The East Indians[83] predominantly made up the labor force on sugar and rice plantations while the Africans worked in the mining and service sectors after the abolition of slavery in Guyana (Mars 1990). East Indians usually resided in rural areas closer to the plantations and Africans occupied urban locales. Indians and Africans in Guyana often clustered in mono-racial ethnic districts, while a few lived in multi-racial neighborhoods because the Guyanese government offered housing settlements to East Indians that displaced the Afro-Guyanese out of villages and into urban areas (Despres 1969).

During the Indian Indenture, Creolization, or the process of creating of a West Indian identity in Guyana, initially promoted East Indian otherness because of their language and religious differences from the Afro-Guyanese (Jayawardena 1980). Although darker skinned than East Indians, the Africans achieved higher levels of employment and status in society because they spoke English and practiced Christianity. Steele (1976) discusses the tense interactions between Indo and Afro Guyanese upon the Indian arrival in the Caribbean. Culturally, the Indians were seen as “foreigners” in Guyana, and were often mistreated or misunderstood by Colonialists, plantation managers and the Afro-Guyanese because of their

[82] Afro-Guyanese land owners were subjected to paying a “children’s property” tax on cultivated property.
[83] Another term for categorizing Indo-Guyanese.

inability to speak English fluently. The Afro-Guyanese also viewed the East Indians as an economic threat, accusing them (not inaccurately) of "driving the wages down" in the plantation sector and as they entered into other sectors of the economy because they accepted positions for lower pay than their African counterparts (Mars 1990). The colonialists used the inter-ethnic economic conflict between the Afro and Indo-Guyanese to maintain significant authority over the socio-economic politics in Guyana through their "divide and rule" agenda (Mars 1990).

The second and third generation quickly realized that selectively adopting Creolization would allow them to gain socio-economic mobility in Guyana by abandoning or downplaying certain aspects of their Indian heritage, such as caste distinctions. As the second and third generation Indo-Guyanese began assimilating through the education system, language and popular culture, they began to compete more closely with the Afro-Guyanese for educational and employment opportunities. The Indo-Guyanese' fast paced socio-economic mobility increased the ethnic tension with the Afro-Guyanese because within two generations, this newly arrived group had gained similar social status to the Afro-Guyanese, whose mobility took longer for them to attain, given their years of enslavement in the Caribbean (Jayawardena 1980).

The Indians and Africans continued to struggle with British colonialists for status recognition in employment, education and politics in Guyana during the colonial and post-colonial era (Garner 2008). Mars (1990) discusses the relationship between class, ethnicity and the struggle for political agendas in Guyana. His research suggests that the most politically controversial period in Guyana spanned the years1947-1964. His argument divides Guyanese politics into two eras, the "pre-modern" and the "modern," to discuss the transition of state power from the colonial English rulers to local political leaders. The pre-modern (pre-1947)

political state of Guyana consisted of an alliance between the colonial rulers and middle class local leaders in Guyana. During this period, the colonial leaders would delegate policies and development strategies that were directly carried out by local leaders. However, in the modern (post-1947) political state of Guyana, a new class of professionals emerged. The political expression of this new group was the Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) , headed by Cheddi Jagan[84] and Forbes Burnham[85], with pro-Marxist ideals that conflicted with colonial rule. From 1955-1962, the British denounced the PPP as a communist grouping, and the British colonial political masterminds, following the template of British colonial rule in India and elsewhere, managed to divide the PPP along ethnic lines. As a result of this policy, Burnham finally seceded from the PPP with the assistance of British colonialists and became the head of the new political party, the Peoples National Congress (PNC).

According to Mars' (1990) research, between1963-1966, the PPP and PNC struggled for control of the Guyanese government from Colonial rule until post independence. Guyanese daily interactions were extremely divided along racial lines as the fight for political control over Guyanese politics trickled down to its citizens. According to Singh's (2008) research, the British government and the Kennedy Administration in the United States assisted Burnham and the PNC, with rigging elections (the first major one in 1964) to favor the PNC party instead of the actual majority vote which would have kept the PPP in power. Since the PPP was a socialist government with close ties to the former U.S.S.R, the American and British governments did not want the PPP in power during the Cold War, for fear that Guyana would become allies with America's political enemies such as Cuba. The American and British governments allowed the

[84] Of East Indian heritage
[85] Of African descent

PNC to join a coalition with the United Force (UF), a political party which represented Guyanese of Portuguese and Anglo descent, to outnumber the East Indian majority vote. Race riots, the burning of Indian villages and the mass raping of Indian women by Afro-Guyanese men in the Indo-Guyanese town of Wismar (1964) occurred during this intense struggle for political power (Garner 2008, Mars 1990, Singh 2008). Moreover, Forbes Burnham and the PNC rigged the 1968 election in Guyana because they did not want to lose to the majority vote which, again, would have actually elected the Indo-Guyanese candidate Cheddi Jagan (Garner 2008, Hintzen and Premdas 1982). The manipulated results of this election heightened the already tense racial conflict between the Indo and Afro Guyanese.

During the authoritarian Burnham era (1968-1992), politically charged racial divisions intensified as Guyana experienced declining economic and social conditions (Singh 2008). Burnham continuously rigged elections to maintain his authority within the Guyanese government (despite a majority popular vote for the PPP candidate). Burnham used his control over the Guyanese military to manipulate the votes during the election and guarantee the return of his party to power. Burnham defaulted on several loans granted by foreign investors, which created an economic recession and socio-political instability in Guyana. This socio-economic turmoil ignited the mass migration of both Indian and African Guyanese populations to neighboring South American countries, Britain, Canada and the United States.

APPENDIX II

Joseph Periera's Statistical Analysis of Indo-Guyanese by the Following Racial Definition.

Using the ACS and Census Data

<u>A person was defined as Guyanese if:</u>

1) the person was born in Guyana;

2) the person was born in the US (or born abroad of American parents) and report that theie first ancestry or second ancestry is Guyanese.

<u>Defining Indo-Guyanese and Afro-Guyanese.</u>

1. A person is Indo-Guyanese if:

a) Foreign Born Guyanese;

Person reports that they were born in Guyana and their First Ancestry or Second Ancestry is Asian Indian or Indian.

Or, they report that they were born in Guyana and their Race is "Asian Indian".

b) US Born Guyanese:

They report that their First Ancestry or Second Ancestry is Guyanese and their Race is "Asian Indian".

2. A person is Afro-Guyanese if:

Persons is Guyanese according to broad definition above and they report that their Race is 'Black' either alone or

in combination with another race(s).

3. A person is Other-Guyanese if they are not afro or indo Guyanese.

Table 1

Number and Percent Guyanese Subgroups Residing in New York City Subboro Neighborhoods by Year

		1 Afro-Guyanese			2 Indo-Guyanese			3 Other Guyanese			Total Guyanese		
Subboro Areas in NYC		1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010
Total Guyanese Residents in NYC	**N**	**60757**	**74513**	**84349**	**16132**	**30522**	**39996**	**4981**	**43364**	**46739**	**81870**	**148399**	**171084**
Brooklyn													
4001 Williamsburg/Greenpoint	N	277	79	79	347	48	43	0	443	523	624	570	645
	%	.5%	.1%	.1%	2.2%	.2%	.1%	0.0%	1.0%	1.1%	.8%	.4%	.4%
4002 Bushwich	N	1596	946	782	311	74	268	227	464	557	2134	1484	1607
	%	2.6%	1.3%	.9%	1.9%	.2%	.7%	4.6%	1.1%	1.2%	2.6%	1.0%	.9%
4003 Bedford Stuyvesant	N	983	1693	2394	115	0	14	79	53	415	1177	1746	2823
	%	1.6%	2.3%	2.8%	.7%	0.0%	.0%	1.6%	.1%	.9%	1.4%	1.2%	1.7%
4004 Brooklyn Hts/Ft Greene	N	716	956	492	0	27	0	0	57	50	716	1040	542
	%	1.2%	1.3%	.6%	0.0%	.1%	0.0%	0.0%	.1%	.1%	.9%	.7%	.3%
4005 Park Slope/Carroll Gardens	N	155	182	150	19	0	0	136	430	54	310	612	204
	%	.3%	.2%	.2%	.1%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	1.0%	.1%	.4%	.4%	.1%
4006 No Crown Hts/Prospect Hts	**N**	**4123**	**4136**	**4013**	**67**	**0**	**58**	**81**	**101**	**286**	**4271**	**4237**	**4357**
	%	**6.8%**	**5.6%**	**4.8%**	**.4%**	**0.0%**	**.1%**	**1.6%**	**.2%**	**.6%**	**5.2%**	**2.9%**	**2.5%**
4007 Brownsville/Ocean Hill	**N**	**2266**	**3214**	**4998**	**97**	**77**	**13**	**22**	**91**	**624**	**2385**	**3382**	**5635**
	%	**3.7%**	**4.3%**	**5.9%**	**.6%**	**.3%**	**.0%**	**.4%**	**.2%**	**1.3%**	**2.9%**	**2.3%**	**3.3%**
4008 East New York/Starret City	**N**	**3145**	**4553**	**6452**	**1306**	**859**	**1385**	**207**	**2684**	**1943**	**4658**	**8096**	**9780**
	%	**5.2%**	**6.1%**	**7.6%**	**8.1%**	**2.8%**	**3.5%**	**4.2%**	**6.2%**	**4.2%**	**5.7%**	**5.5%**	**5.7%**
4009 Flatlands/Canarsie	**N**	**1467**	**6415**	**7924**	**159**	**204**	**134**	**41**	**221**	**224**	**1667**	**6840**	**8282**
	%	**2.4%**	**8.6%**	**9.4%**	**1.0%**	**.7%**	**.3%**	**.8%**	**.5%**	**.5%**	**2.0%**	**4.6%**	**4.8%**
4010 East Flatbush	**N**	**11451**	**10711**	**11147**	**134**	**210**	**282**	**0**	**209**	**275**	**11585**	**11130**	**11704**
	%	18.8%	14.4%	13.2%	.8%	.7%	.7%	0.0%	.5%	.6%	14.2%	7.5%	6.8%
4011 So Crown Hts	N	4584	5276	4285	41	0	48	0	78	42	4625	5354	4375
	%	7.5%	7.1%	5.1%	.3%	0.0%	.1%	0.0%	.2%	.1%	5.6%	3.6%	2.6%
4012 Sunset Park	N	415	177	229	113	250	69	45	856	339	573	1283	637
	%	.7%	.2%	.3%	.7%	.8%	.2%	.9%	2.0%	.7%	.7%	.9%	.4%
4013 Bay Ridge	N	66	26	14	0	68	59	0	226	45	66	320	118
	%	.1%	.0%	.0%	0.0%	.2%	.1%	0.0%	.5%	.1%	.1%	.2%	.1%
4014 Borough Park	N	484	345	555	263	123	78	0	301	127	747	769	760
	%	.8%	.5%	.7%	1.6%	.4%	.2%	0.0%	.7%	.3%	.9%	.5%	.4%
4015 Flatbush	N	2772	3795	2342	274	613	282	249	856	292	3295	5264	2916
	%	4.6%	5.1%	2.8%	1.7%	2.0%	.7%	5.0%	2.0%	.6%	4.0%	3.5%	1.7%
4016 Sheepshead Bay/Gravesend	N	28	71	0	0	0	41	50	144	90	78	215	131
	%	.0%	.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	.1%	1.0%	.3%	.2%	.1%	.1%	.1%
4017 Bensonhurst	N	0	0	63	0	50	99	96	76	109	96	126	271
	%	0.0%	0.0%	.1%	0.0%	.2%	.2%	1.9%	.2%	.2%	.1%	.1%	.2%
4018 Coney Island	N	25	83	90	109	237	32	26	218	118	160	538	240
	%	.0%	.1%	.1%	.7%	.8%	.1%	.5%	.5%	.3%	.2%	.4%	.1%
Queens													
4101 Astoria	N	949	167	189	176	560	635	71	957	1023	1196	1684	1847
	%	1.6%	.2%	.2%	1.1%	1.8%	1.6%	1.4%	2.2%	2.2%	1.5%	1.1%	1.1%
4102 Jackson Heights	N	1014	608	648	499	248	579	85	617	310	1598	1473	1537
	%	1.7%	.8%	.8%	3.1%	.8%	1.4%	1.7%	1.4%	.7%	2.0%	1.0%	.9%
4103 Flushing/Whitestone	N	224	148	248	554	437	423	73	658	779	851	1243	1450
	%	.4%	.2%	.3%	3.4%	1.4%	1.1%	1.5%	1.5%	1.7%	1.0%	.8%	.8%
4104 Bayside/Little Neck	N	0	23	191	20	29	320	0	138	211	20	190	722
	%	0.0%	.0%	.2%	.1%	.1%	.8%	0.0%	.3%	.5%	.0%	.1%	.4%
4105 Bellerose/Rosedale	N	1879	4266	6544	930	2080	2663	240	2431	2996	3049	8777	12203
	%	3.1%	5.7%	7.8%	5.8%	6.8%	6.7%	4.8%	5.6%	6.4%	3.7%	5.9%	7.1%
4106 Hillcrest/Fresh Meadows	N	931	912	666	758	1339	3893	98	1454	767	1787	3705	5326
	%	1.5%	1.2%	.8%	4.7%	4.4%	9.7%	2.0%	3.4%	1.6%	2.2%	2.5%	3.1%
4107 Elmhurst/Corona	N	640	122	42	213	196	398	46	695	303	899	1013	743
	%	1.1%	.2%	.0%	1.3%	.6%	1.0%	.9%	1.6%	.6%	1.1%	.7%	.4%
4108 Forest Hills/Rego Park	N	92	123	175	20	52	305	20	171	90	132	346	570
	%	.2%	.2%	.2%	.1%	.2%	.8%	.4%	.4%	.2%	.2%	.2%	.3%
4109 Sunnyside/Woodside	N	259	57	18	493	255	418	65	202	492	817	514	928
	%	.4%	.1%	.0%	3.1%	.8%	1.0%	1.3%	.5%	1.1%	1.0%	.3%	.5%
4110 Middle Village/Ridgewood	N	42	65	210	36	29	109	17	280	455	95	374	774

Table 2

Number and Percent Guyanese Subgroups Residing in New York City Subboro Neighborhoods by Year

		1 Afro-Guyanese			2 Indo-Guyanese			3 Other Guyanese			Total Guyanese		
Subboro Areas in NYC		1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010
Total Guyanese Residents in NYC	N	60757	74513	84349	16132	30522	39996	4981	43364	46739	81870	148399	171084
	%	.1%	.1%	.2%	.2%	.1%	.3%	.3%	.6%	1.0%	.1%	.3%	.5%
4111 Kew Gardens/Woodhaven	N	3052	2678	2990	1538	4870	6314	355	7485	5806	4945	15033	15110
	%	5.0%	3.6%	3.5%	9.5%	16.0%	15.8%	7.1%	17.3%	12.4%	6.0%	10.1%	8.8%
4112 Jamaica	N	4352	7224	8443	2721	3169	7378	295	4538	6012	7368	14931	21833
	%	7.2%	9.7%	10.0%	16.9%	10.4%	18.4%	5.9%	10.5%	12.9%	9.0%	10.1%	12.8%
4113 Howard Beach/So Ozone Park	N	2756	6052	4007	1638	8229	8451	1046	8311	13994	5440	22592	26452
	%	4.5%	8.1%	4.8%	10.2%	27.0%	21.1%	21.0%	19.2%	29.9%	6.6%	15.2%	15.5%
4114 Rockaways	N	1319	2421	2946	34	220	187	77	421	532	1430	3062	3665
	%	2.2%	3.2%	3.5%	.2%	.7%	.5%	1.5%	1.0%	1.1%	1.7%	2.1%	2.1%
Bronx													
3701 Riverdale/Kingsbridge	N	217	29	104	0	274	123	0	147	299	217	450	526
	%	.4%	.0%	.1%	0.0%	.9%	.3%	0.0%	.3%	.6%	.3%	.3%	.3%
3702 Willamsbridge/Baychester	N	1518	1162	2528	522	676	1031	0	549	978	2040	2387	4537
	%	2.5%	1.6%	3.0%	3.2%	2.2%	2.6%	0.0%	1.3%	2.1%	2.5%	1.6%	2.7%
3703 Throgs Neck/CoopCity	N	372	44	446	0	115	98	0	65	426	372	224	970
	%	.6%	.1%	.5%	0.0%	.4%	.2%	0.0%	.1%	.9%	.5%	.2%	.6%
3704 PelhamPkway	N	288	487	561	72	626	407	0	1105	601	360	2218	1569
	%	.5%	.7%	.7%	.4%	2.1%	1.0%	0.0%	2.5%	1.3%	.4%	1.5%	.9%
3705 Morrisania/EastTremont	N	68	237	541	62	65	204	78	142	130	208	444	875
	%	.1%	.3%	.6%	.4%	.2%	.5%	1.6%	.3%	.3%	.3%	.3%	.5%
3706 Kingsbridge/Mosholu	N	1198	225	645	383	765	134	85	1271	742	1666	2261	1521
	%	2.0%	.3%	.8%	2.4%	2.5%	.3%	1.7%	2.9%	1.6%	2.0%	1.5%	.9%
3707 University Hts/Fordham	N	948	622	340	1199	658	322	335	812	437	2482	2092	1099
	%	1.6%	.8%	.4%	7.4%	2.2%	.8%	6.7%	1.9%	.9%	3.0%	1.4%	.6%
3708 Highbridge/S.Concourse	N	1316	820	306	335	584	289	230	335	276	1881	1739	871
	%	2.2%	1.1%	.4%	2.1%	1.9%	.7%	4.6%	.8%	.6%	2.3%	1.2%	.5%
3709 Soundview/Parkchester	N	1049	732	2413	459	1389	1270	185	1894	1572	1693	4015	5255
	%	1.7%	1.0%	2.9%	2.8%	4.6%	3.2%	3.7%	4.4%	3.4%	2.1%	2.7%	3.1%
3710 Mott Haven/Hunts Point	N	149	235	104	0	118	53	0	312	48	149	665	205
	%	.2%	.3%	.1%	0.0%	.4%	.1%	0.0%	.7%	.1%	.2%	.4%	.1%
Manhattan													
3801 Washington Hts/Inwood	N	68	219	204	0	47	50	0	132	53	68	398	307
	%	.1%	.3%	.2%	0.0%	.2%	.1%	0.0%	.3%	.1%	.1%	.3%	.2%
3802 Morningside Hts/Hamilton Hts	N	264	449	400	0	0	55	0	132	97	264	581	552
	%	.4%	.6%	.5%	0.0%	0.0%	.1%	0.0%	.3%	.2%	.3%	.4%	.3%
3803 Central Harlem	N	581	368	853	0	0	18	0	48	41	581	416	912
	%	1.0%	.5%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	.0%	0.0%	.1%	.1%	.7%	.3%	.5%
3804 East Harlem	N	22	269	309	0	56	13	0	145	12	22	470	334
	%	.0%	.4%	.4%	0.0%	.2%	.0%	0.0%	.3%	.0%	.0%	.3%	.2%
3805 Upper EastSide	N	188	0	117	0	0	19	31	23	45	219	23	181
	%	.3%	0.0%	.1%	0.0%	0.0%	.0%	.6%	.1%	.1%	.3%	.0%	.1%
3806 Upper WestSide	N	87	17	72	28	247	35	0	20	0	115	284	107
	%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.2%	.8%	.1%	0.0%	.0%	0.0%	.1%	.2%	.1%
3807 Chelsea/Clinton/Midtown	N	27	80	112	0	0	141	55	44	13	82	124	266
	%	.0%	.1%	.1%	0.0%	0.0%	.4%	1.1%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.1%	.2%
3808 StuyvesantTown/TurtleBay	N	36	106	118	0	59	103	0	53	82	36	218	303
	%	.1%	.1%	.1%	0.0%	.2%	.3%	0.0%	.1%	.2%	.0%	.1%	.2%
3809 Lower Eas tSide/Chinatown	N	0	91	164	42	0	0	0	132	334	42	223	498
	%	0.0%	.1%	.2%	.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	.3%	.7%	.1%	.2%	.3%
3810 Greenwich Village/Financial Dst	N	67	26	38	0	64	99	0	0	0	67	90	137
	%	.1%	.0%	.0%	0.0%	.2%	.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	.1%	.1%	.1%
Staten Island													
3901 South Shore	N	0	32	58	45	68	45	31	53	0	76	153	103
	%	0.0%	.0%	.1%	.3%	.2%	.1%	.6%	.1%	0.0%	.1%	.1%	.1%
3902 Mid Island	N	75	0	125	0	61	20	204	60	253	279	121	398
	%	.1%	0.0%	.1%	0.0%	.2%	.1%	4.1%	.1%	.5%	.3%	.1%	.2%
3903 North Shore	N	157	739	465	0	97	489	0	24	417	157	860	1371
	%	.3%	1.0%	.6%	0.0%	.3%	1.2%	0.0%	.1%	.9%	.2%	.6%	.8%

Percent Guyanese Subgroups Residing in New York City Subboro Neighborhoods by Year

This table is the same as above without the Number of Guyanese. The table can be used to sort the neighborhoods

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