

MIGRATION AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE:
THE CASE OF GUYANESE IN WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

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By
Harry Persaud

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
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VENEZUELA

GUYANA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

BARTICA

ESSEQUIBO RIVER

DEN/AMSTEL VREEDEN-HOOP

GEOGETOWN VICTORIA

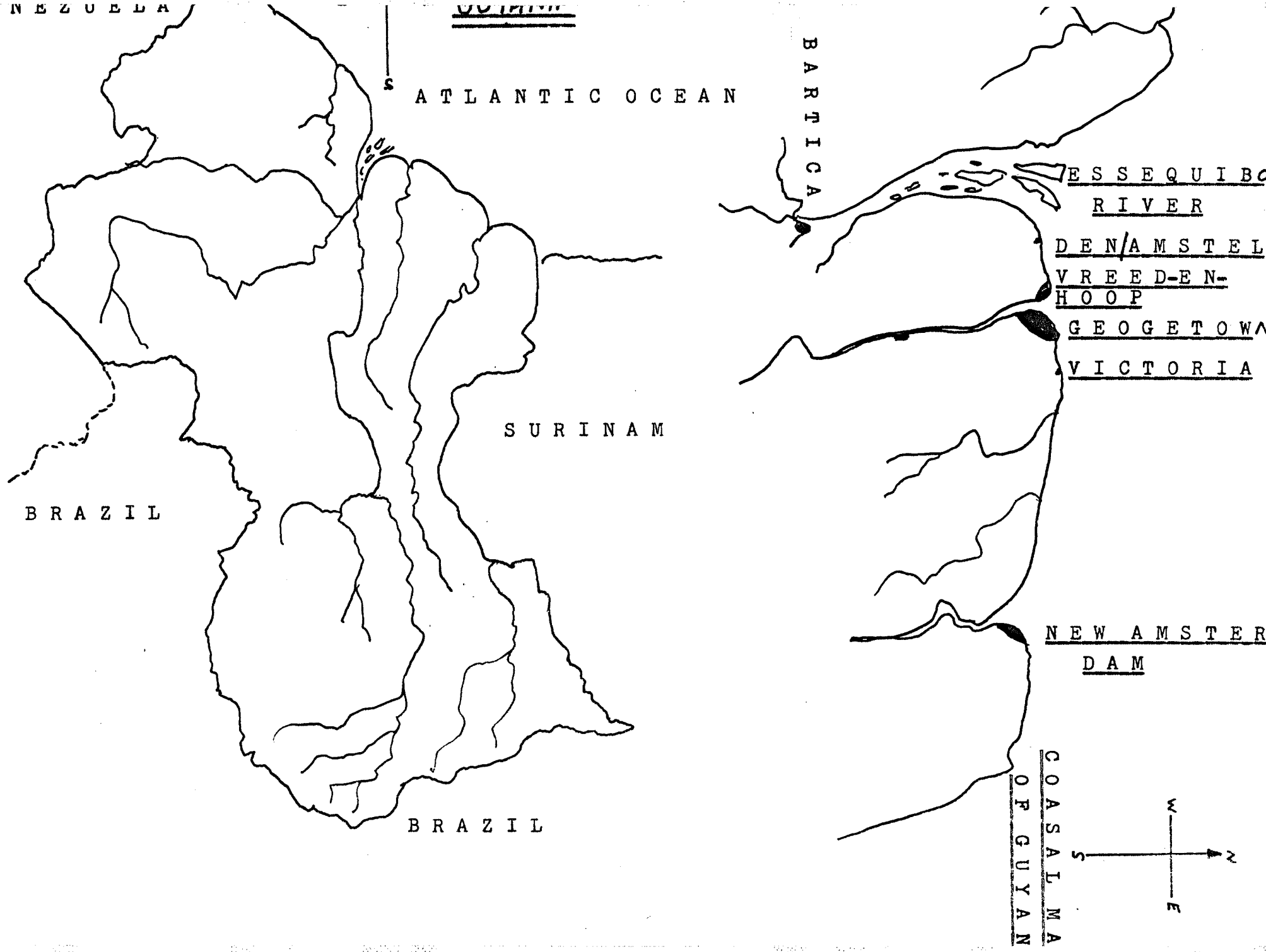
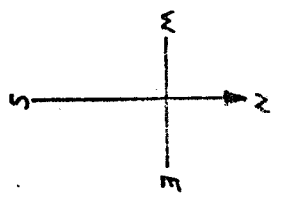
SURINAM

BRAZIL

BRAZIL

NEW AMSTERDAM DAM

COASSALMANA OF GUYANA



INTRODUCTION

The study of migrant groups within their new socio-political and geographical environments is no new phenomenon; people have been moving in groups and individually to 'foreign' lands for centuries in order to seek a 'better' way of life. Social scientists particularly in the receiving countries, have taken an interest in inter-group activities and relations, especially as the presence of minority groups become more obvious through the introduction of different life-styles in terms of eating habits, dress, cultural values and social behaviors.

When the emergent group is of a distinct race and culture, complex problems of adaptation or adjustment for the group may occur in the receiving society. This is often accompanied by some degree of rejection or ostracism of the newcomers by members of the host society. The present study attempts to analyse some aspects of the adaptive strategy of Guyanese now living in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. The writer estimates that there are at least two hundred Guyanese families living in Winnipeg. A majority of these families represent Guyana's two major ethnic groups (Indo- and Afro-Guyanese).

The city of Winnipeg is geographically located in the 'centre' of Canada between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the country, and 50° north latitude. The city experiences a

'continental' type of climate - cold and dry winters and warm and pleasant summers. Winnipeg is basically a 'light industry' city dealing mostly in textile, grains and dairy products. The city's half a million inhabitants are largely represented by a multiplicity of ethnic and cultural groups from many parts of the world. 'Third world' migrant groups in Winnipeg are relatively 'new' when compared to European groups, hence, ethnic and cultural relations among the emergent groups and between these groups and the host society are no doubt somewhat different from such cities as London and New York. In the latter two cities, minority 'colored' groups (for instance, West Indians, Indians, Pakistanis, Africans, Chinese. . .) have had considerably longer periods of contact with the mainstream society.

The emphasis in the past in the study of minority groups by social scientists (see Davidson, 1966; Frideres, 1975 and Pereira, 1978) has been an analysis of the socio-economic adjustment and achievement of the immigrants within their new country of residence. Such features as rates of employment, education, social mobility and cultural assimilation within the mainstream society were investigated and tabulated as 'statistical facts'. This type of information is occasionally used by the various levels of government in the formation of public policies.

Scant attention is paid, however, to the immigrant's

socio-cultural past within his country of birth. A recapitulation of the historical development of the socio-economic and cultural structures (kinship organization, job experience, education and training, cultural values. . .) of the immigrant's background is imperative in order to understand some aspects of his social behaviors and cultural values within the 'receiving' society. It is evident that there is differential adaptation by migrant groups when faced with unfamiliar social and cultural circumstances. Maladaptation or, on the other hand, effective adjustment by the immigrant depends greatly upon the similarities and differences between the 'donor' and the 'receiving' societies.

Race, ethno-culture and socio-political differences are some of the more prominent features to be considered when a comparative analysis between the 'sending' and the 'receiving' countries is made. Guyana is an English-speaking country with a legal, political (parliamentary democracy) and social system somewhat similar to that of Canada. It would be an oversimplification, however, to say that both countries have common economic infrastructures and social organizations, since they both have different economic histories and are composed by and large of contrasting ethno-cultural groups.

For practical purposes, Guyanese living in Winnipeg must not be considered as a homogeneous group of immigrants. The Guyanese society is made up of a medley of ethnic groups

and cultures, most of which are attempting to foster group identity through cultural affiliations with the land of their ancestors (Africa, India, China. . .). More recently, various political organizations have made some attempts to construct some form of nationalism which were expected to have some positive effect on cultural integration among the various groups. Thus far, the perpetual striving for cultural identity (and supremacy) by the various groups has resulted in Guyana being considered one of the most culturally pluralistic societies in the world (the definition of 'culturally plural societies' is dealt with in the thesis). Cultural persistence in the Guyanese case not only takes precedence over national solidarity and a cohesive society, but affects value orientation and aspirations of the members of the various groups (see Despres, 1967; Premdas, 1972; Jayawardena, 1969. . .), thereby complicating the investigation of the adaptive strategies of Guyanese abroad.

On the basis of some observation in several communities in Guyana where the writer lived and worked before migrating to Canada, and through interviews, questionnaires and participation/observation among Guyanese in Winnipeg, Manitoba, this study was made possible. While in Guyana, the writer worked as a school teacher on the West Coast and West Bank of Demerara; as an assistant statistical clerk, Ministry of Education, Georgetown; and as a field officer, Sea Defence Division,

Ministry of Works and Hydraulics, on the East Coast of
Demerara.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEMSTATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The subject of human migration from the Caribbean has attracted considerable attention by social scientists and politicians in and out of the region in recent years (Adams, 1969; Amersfoort, 1972; Bagley, 1968; Bottomley and Sinclair, 1970; Clarke, 1970; Forsythe, 1972; Greene, 1970). The movement of population is an essential component of economic development, social change and political organization (Jackson, 1979:21). The growth of industrialization and urbanization accelerated the transition of population internationally to facilitate the increasing demands for labour in highly productive societies. Recently, there has been a greater emphasis on skilled and professional types of immigrants by receiving countries, thus, placing limitations on the sending countries (Hawkins, 1972:48). This pattern of migration, it seems, is to allow an inflow of foreign nationals from time to time according to the assessed national interests of the receiving society, and national interests have increasingly been defined in economic terms (Borrie, 1960:75).

What is yet to be fully investigated, however, is the significance of social and economic factors in the cultural integration or assimilation of immigrants coming from socially

and culturally pluralistic societies, societies in which traditionally the various ethnic groups were economically polarized and politically bifurcated, thereby adversely affecting socio-cultural relations. In view of this fact, there is a need to show and to analyse the pattern of changes within the new environment of the emergent groups in terms of adaptation to different geographical, social, cultural and economic factors. What is yet to be fully investigated also is the level of inter-ethnic affiliation and activity among new migrant groups in the host society.

Migration from underdeveloped to more developed countries is often viewed from a "push-pull" perspective (Green, 1976:67). The "pull" towards the receiving country and the "push" away from the sending country can be viewed on the basis of the "differential economic advantage" and the "job opportunity" hypotheses (Green, 1976:63). In economic terms, the differential economic advantage approach entails an equilibrium between the need for labour and the supply of labour within the receiving country.

The job availability hypothesis implies a discrepancy in the labour needs and the labour supply of the sending country. That is, the supply of labour is growing faster than the demand for workers. As a result, migration becomes a feasible solution to offset a declining economy. Economic motives, therefore, are the basis for population movement.

People migrate, however, for a number of other reasons, for instance, political and ethnic pressures, educational, to join family or relatives already abroad, religious oppression, etc. Migration, therefore, is far more complex than the mere transference of labour from one society to another.

Some writers (e.g. Ferguson, 1964 and Ex, 1966) are of the opinion that the economic well-being of the new immigrant will determine the level of integration of the immigrant within the mainstream society. Immigration, however, is invariably also a cultural matter. The process of migration is often a process of socio-cultural and ethnic transition from one society to another where "the immigrant is taken out of a more or less stable social system and transplanted into another" (Eisenstadt, 1962:29). Difficulties arise when one looks into problems of adjustment and adaptation by the immigrant within unfamiliar social and cultural environments.

Migration, no doubt, is both a precondition for and a concomitant of economic development for the receiving country and sometimes an economic disparagement for the sending country, the main reason being that there is often an accompanying "brain-drain" with labour movements from underdeveloped to developed areas. This can be seen from the selection criteria for potential immigrants to such places as the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada. Labour migration, nevertheless, is not just a neat, logical solution to the

problems of industry. It brings with it new problems of inter-ethnic and social relations among emergent groups and also between these groups and the host society. This may result in the possibility of the newcomers resisting social change by "falling back" into group norms. This attitude often provides the grounds for conflicts in cultural, social and political differentiation and also racial tensions.

In order to assess and analyse a situation of conflict or, on the other hand, of integration or assimilation of minority immigrant groups, it is essential to evaluate some aspects of the socio-cultural integration of these groups within the sending country. This should be a prerequisite in the study of such societies where the preconditions for national cohesion and inter-ethnic solidarity are determined by an economic system which traditionally perpetuated separate development for the various social and ethnic groups. Contrasting social behavior of the different groups within the same economic system, encouraged directly or indirectly by the dominant political organization and the ethno-culturally oriented voluntary associations, reinforces the need for ethnic identity. In such societies, it is apparent that the people themselves have no difficulties in ascribing ethnic membership (Barth, 1969:39).

Guyana is considered to be a socially and culturally pluralistic society (see Despres, 1967 and Smith, 1966). In

plural societies, there seems to be a constant striving for ethno-cultural and social domination of one group over the other (Furnivall, 1954:148). This may result in the lack of a "national will" and the growth of a fragmented society. In the Guyanese context, cultural and social pluralism grew out of the colonial policy of "divide and rule". It is suggested that it was to the total advantage of the planter class in Guyana (as elsewhere), to perpetuate class antagonism especially when class and race are interrelated.

It would seem that the levels of cultural integration and assimilation depend to a great extent upon the social and cultural history of the migrant group. It is possible that ethno-culturally distinct groups coming from the same plural society may practice different 'adaptive strategies' in order to exist in the host society. In considering the implications of migration it would be significant to consider for comparative purposes the degree of change the immigrant experiences as he enters a new social order. This can generally be measured by examining changes in terms of:

1. Social Status -

- a. occupation and income
- b. marital status
- c. family size and organization
- d. level of education and training
- e. type of housing
- f. type and function of affiliated association
- g. social class affiliation
- h. rates of participation in social activities

2. Ethnic Identity -

What ethnic, national and cultural group does the immigrant associate with, and why.

3. Cultural Relations -

- a. Cultural persistence, that is, what aspects of the immigrant's culture are retained and what aspects discarded and to what advantage or disadvantage within the host society.
- b. Cultural assimilation, that is, how does the acceptance of the cultural norms of the host society help the immigrant in the process of adaptation.

While sociology and economics generally deal with more specific aspects of adjustment by the immigrant, such as occupation and income, housing, family structure and group relations, anthropological studies tend to examine a range of institutionalized behaviors, social organizations and cultural values. This type of analysis is considered to be 'holistic' by some social scientists and, therefore, more effective in understanding the implications of migration.

The ramification of an 'holistic' approach, however, has its 'pitfalls' in that a broader approach to social and cultural problems of adaptation tends to sacrifice the detail and refinements associated with the exhaustive study of a limited number of variables. Nevertheless, in the writer's view, this sacrifice is outweighed by the contribution made by the 'holistic' approach in filling theoretical and empirical gaps in the study of human adaptation within unfamiliar socio-economic and cultural environments.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

The study of Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg, Manitoba, constitutes a significant contribution to an understanding of the modes of adaptation of migrants moving from the so-called 'third world' to highly industrialized societies. Guyanese living abroad must not be viewed as a homogeneous group. The Guyanese society is made up of a medley of ethnic and cultural groups. Each group traditionally attempted to foster group identity through cultural persistence and with the possible intention of dominating the other groups.

Ethno-cultural rivalry in Guyana could be considered as the result of two major factors, 1) the 'displacement' of various ethnic groups within the plantation economy, and 2) the British colonial administration in Guyana was quite extreme in the extent to which it sub-divided the society on the basis of race, class and economic polarization (by race). The preceding factors created the conditions for economic competition and political conflicts among the various groups even to the present time. It could be said that the evolution of the Guyanese society was perpetuated in the absence of shared understandings among the different ethno-social groups.

It is known that some groups (e.g. East Indians and Chinese) continue to maintain group identity and cultural contact with the 'home' country while living in a foreign society. It is possible that Guyanese as a group living in

Winnipeg, also retain certain aspects of 'Guyanese attitudes and values' and also their respective group norms in the adopted society. This possibility could be substantiated by the fact that the two groups (Afro- and Indo-Guyanese) under consideration have for almost one hundred and fifty years practiced differential adaptation and experienced micro-cultural evolution within the same socio-political and ecological systems in Guyana.

It would seem, however, that the socio-political and economic marginality of these two groups in Winnipeg may have two major consequences on the adaptive strategy of the Guyanese group as a whole:

- 1) the marginal importance of Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg will perhaps strengthen their need for group solidarity and cultural persistence,
- and 2) the lack of direct inter-ethnic rivalry and economic competition between Indo- and Afro-Guyanese in Winnipeg will perhaps forge new inter-ethnic and cultural relationships.

It could, therefore, be summarized that ethno-cultural solidarity and continuity for new immigrants depends to some extent on the level of acculturation and adaptation to group norms before migration, and also the socio-economic and cultural situations in the host society.

SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

The bulk of sociological and anthropological literature on Guyana focuses primarily on local socio-cultural developments (Despres, 1967; Smith, 1962; Jayawardena, 1969 and Premdas, 1978). Comparatively little, however, is said about the important issue of out-migration of Guyanese, and its causes and consequences for both the 'sending' country and for those who choose to leave. In this thesis, the writer intends to analyse some of the possible causes and effects of migration from Guyana to Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, showing:

- 1) a. patterns of internal migration in Guyana as a result of the plantation economy
 - b. ethnic variation and competition for limited resources
 - c. social and cultural dichotomy of the Guyanese society
 - d. ethnic identification with party politics
 - e. the functions of voluntary associations and how these associations encouraged separate goals and aspirations of the various ethno-cultural groups
 - f. political pressure, high unemployment and out-migration.
- 2) a. some methods of adaptation and assimilation of Guyanese in Winnipeg

- b. social, cultural and economic activities of Guyanese immigrants
- c. why Winnipeg was selected by the immigrant as a suitable place of residence
- d. what are some of the immigrants attitudes towards the mainstream society
- e. what are some of the immigrants views regarding Guyana currently, in terms of social, cultural, economic and political developments
- f. why would Guyanese want to remain in Canada, or to return to Guyana.

In this study of Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg, the major focus is first to ascertain the distribution and general location of Guyanese as a group, and then to consider how far the individual immigrant has moved towards integration within the 'Canadian mosaic'. This will be done by measuring some aspects of the results of the immigrant's experience in the host society. For instance, 1) the sense of achievement of the immigrant, 2) associational affiliation of the immigrant, 3) ethnic composition of social functions attended by immigrants, 4) occupation, income and type of housing of immigrant, 5) friendship and marital pattern and 6) attitudes of Guyanese immigrants towards other ethnic groups living in the host society.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Data collecting techniques will include the administration of a number of questionnaires to as many immigrants as possible. It is expected that the questionnaires will supply all the required information on the immigrants social, economic, cultural and recreational activities in Winnipeg. For the purpose of this thesis, immigrants will also be interviewed and records of all encounters kept to be used as supportive materials in the final analysis of the immigrants experiences. It is also anticipated that participation-observation at group meetings and religious and social functions will create an atmosphere of mutual trust between respondents and the writer. Information on the Guyanese society and analysis of ethno-political and social relationships among the various groups will be extrapolated from an extensive review of both historical and contemporary literatures on the Guyanese society. The writer's experiences, while living and working in Guyana, will be used to substantiate the relevant arguments taken in this thesis.

SUMMARY OF MIGRATION PATTERN

Migration from Guyana in recent years has taken a North American trend. Traditionally, Guyanese migrated to the United Kingdom mainly for economic reasons, but the new

immigration acts of 1962 curtailed the inflow of foreigners into that country. Guyanese, therefore, turned their attention to Canada and the United States. Access to Canada from Guyana is regulated by the quota system introduced by the Canadian government to curb the inflow of third-world immigrants into Canada. It seems that emphasis is placed on highly skilled and educated immigrants from such places as Guyana.

Guyana, with its peculiar ethno-political and social problems, also adversely affected the out-flow of migrants from that country. J.E. Green (1974) has shown that when either of the two political parties (both of which are racially oriented in their support) is elected to govern, its economic programs are indirectly designed to satisfy its supporters. It would seem that the supporters of the defeated political parties are socially and economically 'victimized'. It is apparent that during these periods of victimization that out-migration of one group predominates over the other. From this point of view, it can be assumed that there has been a pattern of out-migration from Guyana ethnically oriented during the last two decades. Problems of migration between Guyana and Canada must therefore be seen from the perspectives of Canada's immigration policies and also from the socio-economic and political developments in Guyana.

CHAPTER II

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
OF GUYANESE IMMIGRANTS IN WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

In order to investigate the adaptive strategies of Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg, Manitoba, it is necessary to research some relevant aspects of the historical background of the Guyanese society. The reason why this approach is taken is mainly because of three important variables: a) who are the immigrants; that is, what were their social and economic status and ethnic and cultural affiliations before migrating, b) why did they migrate, and c) when did they migrate?

An examination of some of the social, economic, political and cultural relations across ethnic lines within the so-called 'plural society' in Guyana may help to explain some of the results of the immigration experiences for Guyanese groups living in Winnipeg.

RACE AND POLITICS IN GUYANA

Ethnic identity in Guyana, and all problems associated with it both at the communal and national levels, are some of the more prominent features of Guyanese society today. During the last one hundred and fifty years, especially with the abolition of slavery and the introduction of new labour forces

from China, Madeira and India, the Guyanese society has been one of ethnic diversity and conflict, economic polarization and competition among the various social and cultural groups. The colonial power took advantage of this volatile situation by 'setting up' one group against the other, while collectively exploiting their labour. (Smith, 1962:45; Adamson, 1972:165)

It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that Guyanese politics in recent years has, to a large extent, continued this colonial practice of "divide and rule", thereby accentuating further split in an already bifurcated society. (Premdas, 1978:172) Race* and politics have peculiar characteristics in Guyana. Colonialism created the conditions for a plural society where the separate ethnic groups have traditionally dominated different sectors of the national economy.

Indo-Guyanese, a land owning, business oriented class, from the inception supported a Marxist political party (Peoples' Progressive Party) led by an Indo-Guyanese, Dr. C.B. Jagan. Afro-Guyanese, on the other hand, with the exception of a minority executive and professional group, mainly constitute

*The terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' have distinct meanings. 'Race' implies visible physical distinctions among people. 'Ethnicity' connotes cultural differences among people. In the Guyanese context, both race and ethnicity are applicable, since there are a number of distinct 'physical-types' and cultural groups in the country.

urban working class and mine workers. Their political alliance was given to the Peoples' National Congress, a party with no clearly defined political ideology. This is evident in the second biannual speech, 'We are pawns of neither East nor West' (Oct., 1965), given by the leader of the P.N.C. This party has shifted invariably from positions of 'centre of left' to 'centre of right' in its twenty-seven years of existence. The present leader of the P.N.C. is an Afro-Guyanese, Mr. L.F.B. Burnham, who is currently Prime Minister of Guyana.

The conditions which produced and shaped the character of the Guyanese society in terms of cultural conflict and economic competition among the various groups are inherent in its economic history. (Jayawardena, 1969:425) Cultural persistence among Indo-Guyanese and cultural assimilation among Afro-Guyanese depended upon the colonial policies and practices extant at the time when a particular group was introduced into the ex-colony. This led to what Despres called "differential adaptation and micro-cultural evolution" (Despres, 1970:264) of the various groups within a common economic and political system. That is, the different ethnic groups and particularly Indo- and Afro-Guyanese were able to foster their respective group identities within the colonial system.

AFRO-GUYANESE: CULTURAL ASSIMILATION

In Guyana, African religious beliefs and cultural practices were suppressed by slavery, and during the pre-emancipation period, the planters did not encourage missionary activities among the slaves, since the church identified itself with the emancipation movement. (Despres, 1967:45) After emancipation, however, the church had greater opportunities to propagate its codes of conduct and religious doctrines among the freed Africans. (Farley, 1962:432) As a result, almost all Africans and their descendants were converted to Christianity. The church also eventually served as a meeting place where members 'socialized' on a regular basis, and around which clubs and associations functioned at the community level. Commitment to these community associations, particularly at the village level, resulted in group solidarity among Afro-Guyanese which was accompanied by some degree of social and cultural isolation from the non-Christian population (mainly East Indians) living within the same area. (Smith and Jayawardena, 1965:27)

Through the organized church, Afro-Guyanese had access to teaching positions, since all primary and some secondary schools were denominational until the early 1960's.* School

*See Harold A. Lutchman's "Administrative Change in an Ex-Colonial Setting: A Study of Educational Administration in Guyana 1961-64".

teaching was an available avenue for upward mobility for village blacks, and over the years teaching became a coveted profession and warranted considerable respect from the villagers. Out of school teaching grew a local black elite.

In the urban centres, at the turn of the twentieth century, educated Afro-Guyanese began to acquire positions in the civil service and to dominate the police force. They became active in trade unionism and made considerable headway into local government and the Public Works Department. (Collins, 1965:121) The early urban migration and access to decision making bodies and public office by Afro-Guyanese not only set them apart from the Indo-Guyanese population, but also created a situation of inter-ethnic conflict and economic competition between these two groups. (Despres, 1967:27)

In summary, one could say that Afro-Guyanese adapted more to the cultural norms and social behaviors of the colonial society than Indo-Guyanese. Afro-Guyanese were acculturated to believe that "things English and 'white' were valued highly whilst things African and 'black' were valued lowly". (Smith, 1962:41) The acceptance of 'English culture' by Afro-Guyanese, however, did not mean the total acceptance of black people into the upper sector of the society, since skin colour and social status were synonymous. As a result, black people were in the double bind of cultural assimilation and social rejection. Prior to World War II, however, a significant number of black

intellectuals and trade union leaders were able to penetrate the upper stratum of the social hierarchy. (Ashton Chase, 1964:49)

INDO-GUYANESE: CULTURAL PERSISTENCE

In the case of Indo-Guyanese*, the situation was somewhat different from that of Afro-Guyanese. It would seem that Indo-Guyanese were allowed, by the planters, to retain fundamental aspects of their cultural heritage. (Singh, 1971:11 and Smith and Jayawardena, 1966:223) In order to retain the basic structure of their culture, Indo-Guyanese had to remain on the sugar estates and in the villages. The main reason being that rural and agrarian environments are more conducive to the persistence of traditional cultures than urban centres.

'Indianness' and 'Hinduization' in Guyana are synchronous with plantation infrastructure; that is, the more Indo-Guyanese became permanently 'tied' to the sugar estates, the more attached they were to their culture. This meant that they were also socially and culturally isolated from other groups of the mainstream society. (Smith and Jayawardena, 1965:226) The separation of the various groups by the planters was

*The term 'Indo-Guyanese' is used interchangeably with the terms 'East Indians' and 'Indians'. The former term is not popularly used since it is the most recent nomenclature designated to this group.

probably the most important reason for the development of a culturally pluralistic society in Guyana.

The development of the so-called "coolie mentality"* (Smith and Jayawardena, 1960:325) as an expression of Indian identity, especially in rural Guyana, is not an act of alienation or separation from the mainstream society by Indo-Guyanese, but rather a reaction to social and cultural rejection by the larger society. In Guyana, the plantation economy worked counter to national integration because structurally and functionally it perpetrated dissension among the social classes, and conflicts among the various cultural sections in the society.

As long as East Indians retained their 'coolie culture', they were systematically exploited. They would not be oriented towards the status symbols of the rest of the society. That is, Indo-Guyanese would not aspire to positions of political power once they remained in the rural districts. As a contrast, those who sought upward mobility off the plantation, in the urban centres, are the least acculturated into "Indianness", and take on a more national outlook. This is seen in the changing pattern of social behaviors and cultural values (dress, eating habits, entertainment practices, . . .).

*'Coolie mentality' can be defined as the revitalization of Indian cultural characteristics among Indo-Guyanese, especially the practice of Hindu religious values (vegetarianism, rituals, ceremonies, etc.) and social practices such as the extended family and endogamy.

Social and cultural interaction in Guyana, it would seem, serves as a welding force towards national cohesion.

Indo-Guyanese socio-cultural structure itself, despite its many changes (the elimination of institutionalized caste behaviors, child-marriage, etc.) during the last one hundred and forty-two years, has retained certain customs brought from India. There is the retention of some aspects of caste ritual, pantheistic beliefs, Vedic metaphysics, as taught by the 'Arya Samaj Movement' and a recognition of the validity of certain caste notions; for instance, all Pundits (Priests) should be of the highest caste (Brahman). This practice is retained by the 'Sanatan Dharma Sabha', the largest single Hindu organization in Guyana.

Religious beliefs, rituals and festivals are practiced as if the aspirants are back in the Sub-Continent. Village pundits (priests) stress the importance of rituals and the correctness of time when a particular ceremony should be performed. Language, dress, music, food, kinship organization and marital arrangements are other aspects of cultural persistence of Indo-Guyanese.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Significant developments took place in both Afro- and Indo-Guyanese social organizations within the present century. For Afro-Guyanese, the pursuit of white and blue collar jobs

in the urban centres (Despres, 1967:180) resulted in that group's adaptation to the modernizing influence of the urban environment. Afro-Guyanese became involved in politics, law and trade unionism at the turn of the twentieth century, thus, they were able to compete for positions of authority and political power with other Guyanese groups (Mulattos and Portuguese). The latter groups had by that time established themselves in the public bureaucracy. (Collins, 1965:127)

At the community level, especially in the village economies, the two major ethnic groups in Guyana, by and large, tend to have different social and economic activities. Afro-Guyanese in the villages participate mainly in small scale farming,* and may be occupied simultaneously in a number of odd jobs, both with the neighbouring sugar estate and with the local authority (building roads, drainage and irrigation dams, bridges, fences, . . .). The younger men, more educated and adverse to 'mud-work', travel to the city (or migrate to) for casual or permanent employment. (Smith, 1965:127)

Generally, Afro-Guyanese kinship organization, at the village level, is basically of a second generational household structure, where working sons stay on temporarily to

*This was observed by the writer during the period (1969-1972) when he lived and worked in the vicinity of two Afro-Guyanese dominated villages (Den Amstel and Victoria) on the West Coast and East Coast of Demerara respectively.

financially assist aging parents. There is also a substantial number of return migration of Afro-Guyanese from urban centres to rural areas in recent years. The main reason for re-emigration is high unemployment in the cities of Guyana, which in 1970 was estimated at approximately thirty-five percent.

(Kundu, 1972:121) The relatively high unemployment among working class Afro-Guyanese is probably one of the main reasons for out-migration of this ethnic group.

The plantation and village economies are both conducive to the propagation of the extended household with strong second and third generational ties. (Smith and Jayawardena, 1960:147 and Rauf, 1974:67). Where Afro-Guyanese cooperated in village communities as a group (this is particularly so since the introduction of large scale 'public enterprise' and co-op movements in 1971), Indo-Guyanese opted for family ventures and private enterprise. In Indo-Guyanese households, at the village level, married sons remain with the family to contribute 'their share' to the family property.

Among Afro- and Indo-Guyanese, there is no clear cut middle class, although many of the professionals (legal, medical, executives of the civil service and senior educators) and large land and business owners representing both groups are frequently referred to as 'middle class'. Both these two major ethnic groups make up the bulk of the working class; the Indo-Guyanese mainly rural peasants in rice and sugar cane cultivation and

Afro-Guyanese mainly urban and mine workers.

Traditionally, the national social stratification system entailed a social hierarchy based on colour. (Smith, 1962:57) More recently, particularly after the Second World War, the social structure has changed into an overlapping ethnic-culture stratification system where the various ethnic groups have a wider representation in a cross section of the socio-economic system. For instance, Indo-Guyanese began to migrate to the urban centres in substantial numbers, subsequently 'making their presence felt' in the public and private areas of the national economy. (Nath, 1970:170)

The urban migration of Indo-Guyanese, however, did not in any significant way contribute to the integration of the Guyanese society (see Despres, 1967:137). Instead, Indo-Guyanese living in the cities created new situations of inter-ethnic rivalry and competition with other groups, particularly Afro-Guyanese, who protected their positions in the public sectors.

The development of occupational polarization by ethnicity in Guyana still persists despite recommendations made by political organizations (the opposition Peoples' Progressive Party), and non-political organizations, such as the International Jurist Commission (see I.C.J. report of 1965). These recommendations indicated that greater Indo-Guyanese participation in the public sectors (civil service, police and

military depts.) should be phased in to 'ease' the growing tension between this group and other groups.

It is argued (Sackey, 1978) that the growth of a new elite made up largely of senior governmental officials, military personnel and executives of the ruling political party (P.N.C.), add to the continuation of ethnic 'imbalance' in the public sector. The majority of the preceding personnel are Afro-Guyanese. (Collins, 1967:137) Indo-Guyanese, on the other hand, who have attained senior positions in the public services are 'shifted around' to positions of little authority. (Premdas, 1979:27) It is possible that a large sector of this group seek out-migration from Guyana to Canada.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIOCULTURAL INTEGRATION

In Guyana, the lack of a diversified economy, and the maintenance of 'ethnic clusters' by the colonial administration, initially led to differential adaptation by the various ethnic groups. Each group developed a number of institutions - social, cultural, economic and political to facilitate the needs of its members and to foster group identity. Group social and cultural activities at the national level in Guyana only serve to create further division in an already deteriorating social order. Both major ethnic groups in Guyana are affiliated to the main religious organizations (Hindu, Christian and Moslem), and the two major political parties (the P.P.P. and the P.N.C.)

through voluntary associations.

In Guyana, voluntary associations are generally non-democratic; that is, most of these associations are formed to promote the political and cultural interests of their members, and since interests generally differ from one group to another, membership to most voluntary associations are ethnically and culturally oriented. This is observed particularly in Hindu voluntary associations such as the Gandhi Youth Organization, the Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj Movement. Afro-Guyanese, like their Indo-Guyanese compatriots, also practice exclusive group activities; for instance, the Association for Social and Cultural Relations with Independent Africa is totally Afro-Guyanese in membership. Voluntary associations are generally identified by the public as 'belonging' to one or other of the ethnic groups of Guyana. (Premdas, 1972:136)

Table I indicates that there are currently fifteen major associations dominated by Afro-Guyana, of which fourteen are economic and one cultural. (Premdas, 1972:27) These organizations indicate the wide area of economic interest of Afro-Guyanese within the urban environment. The single major cultural association could be interpreted as a general lack of interest in African culture (since most Afro-Guyanese have been enculturated into Western/Christian values).

Compared to the fourteen Afro-Guyanese economic associations, there are only seven Indo-Guyanese economic

Table I

The National Level of Socio-Cultural IntegrationMajor Voluntary Associations in Guyana

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Predominant Racial Composition</u>
I. African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa	African cultural association (eclipsing) League of Coloured Peoples)	African
2. Anjuman-E-Islam	Orthodox Moselem Association	Indian
3. Anglican Diocese of Guyana	Episcopal Religious Organization	Led by Europeans
4. Association of Masters and Mistresses	Secondary School Teachers	African
5. Chinese Association	Chinese Cultural Association	Chinese
6. Civil Service Association	Upper-echelon employees of government departments	African
7. Clerical and Commercial Workers Union	White collar workers mainly in firms and stores in Georgetown	African
8. Consultative Association of Guyanese Industry Ltd.	Employers Association including major industries only	Portuguese-European
9. East Indian Association	Indian Cultural Association (eclipsed by Maha Sabha)	Indian
10. Federate Union of Government Employees	Lower-echelon employees of Government Departments	African
11. Georgetown Chamber of Commerce	Employers' Association including owners and managers of major wholesale and retail stores	Portuguese-European
12. Guyana Agricultural Workers Union	sugar workers, mainly field workers	Indian
13. Guyana and West Indies Sugar Boilers Union	Pan Boilers on sugar estates	African
14. Guyana Headman's Union	Headmen or Foremen on sugar estates	Indian
15. Guyana Labour Union	Mainly dock workers	African

The National Level of ... (cont.)

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Predominant Racial Composition</u>
16. Guyana Medical Employees Union	Lower-echelon workers of the Medical Department	African
17. Guyana Mine Workers Union	Mine Workers in Bauxite Industry	African
18. Guyana Postmasters Union	Postmasters	African
19. Guyana Post Office Workers Union	workers of post offices	African
20. Guyana Seafarers' Union	Seamen	African
21. Guyana Teachers' Association	Primary School Teachers	Mixed
22. League of Coloured Peoples	African cultural association	African
23. Mahatma Gandhi Association	Association of Reform Hindus	Indian
24. Manpower Citixens Association	Sugar workers	Indian
25. National Association of Agricultural, Commercial and Industrial Employees	Variety of workers attached to private firms	Indian
26. National Union of Public Service Employees	Construction workers at public seawalls and roads	African
27. Printers Industrial Union	Workers in printing industry	African
28. Rice Millers Association	Rice Millers	Indian
29. Rice Producers' Association	Organization of rice planters	Indian
30. Sanatan Dharm Maha Sabha	Orthodox Hindu Association	Indian

The National Level of ... (cont.)

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Predominant Racial Composition</u>
31. Sugar Producers Association	Sugar producers' employers' association	European
32. Sword of the Spirit	Activist arm of the Catholic Church	Portuguese directed
33. The Roman Catholic Church of Guyana	Catholic religious organization	led by Portuguese and Europeans
34. Trades Union Council	Federation of Trade	African
35. Sugar Estates Clerks' Association	white collar workers on sugar estates' firms	Indian
36. Transport Workers Union	workers of Transport and Harbours Department	African

African Cultural Associations

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Description</u>
1. League of Coloured Peoples	African cultural association
2. African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa	African cultural association (eclipsed League of Coloured Peoples)

Indian Cultural Associations

1. Sanatan Dharm Maha Sabha	Orthodox Hindu Association
2. Anjuman-E-Islam	Orthodox Moslem Association
3. Mahatma Gandhi Association	Association of Reform Hindus

African Economic Associations

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Description</u>
I. Guyana Labour Union	Mainly dock workers
2. Transport Workers Union	Workers of the Transport and Harbours Department
3. Guyana Post Office Workers Union	Workers at post offices
4. Federated Union of Government Employees	Lower-echelon employees of government departments
5. Civil Service Association	Upper-echelon employees of government departments
6. Guyana and West Indies Sugar Boilers Union	Pan Boilers on sugar estates
7. Guyana Mine Workers Union	Mine Workers in bauxite industry
8. Printers Industrial Union	Workers in Printing Industry
9. Guyana Postmasters Union	Postmasters
10. Guyana Medical Employees Union	Lower-echelon workers of the medical department
11. Guyana Seafarers' Union	Seamen
12. National Union of Public Service Employees	Construction workers at public seawalls and roads
13. Clerical and Commercial Workers Union	White collar workers mainly in firms and stores in Georgetown
14. Association of Masters and Mistresses	Secondary School Teachers

Indian Economic Associations

<u>30. Organization</u>	<u>Description</u>
1. Manpower Citizens Association	Sugar workers
2. Guyana Agricultural Workers Union	Sugar workers, mainly field workers
3. Guyana Headman's Union	Headmen or Foremen on sugar estates
4. National Association of Agricultural, Commercial and Industrial Employees	Variety of workers attached to private firms
5. Sugar Estates Clerks' Association	White collar workers on sugar estates
6. Rice Producers' Association	Organization of rice planters
7. Rice Millers' Association	Rice millers

Portuguese and European Economic Associations

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Predominant Racial Composition</u>
1. Consultative Association of Guyanese Industry Ltd.	Employers association including major industries only	Portuguese-European
2. Sugar Producers' Association	Sugar producers' employers' association	European
3. Georgetown Chamber of Commerce	Employers' association including owners and managers of major wholesale and retail stores	Portuguese-European

Portuguese and European Cultural Associations

1. Anglican Diocese of Guyana	Episcopal religious organizations	Led by Europeans
2. Roman Catholic Church	Catholic Religious organizations	Led by Portuguese and Europeans
3. Sword of the Spirit	Activist arm of the Catholic Church	Portuguese directed

associations. (Premdas, 1972:12) All of these organizations, with the exception of one, are characteristic of the agricultural interest of Indo-Guyanese, of whom approximately seventy-five percent are currently rural. The Indo-Guyanese cultural associations are four in number - three Hindu and one Moslem. These cultural associations, however, are most active in propagating Indian cultural identity as a counter-force to the apparent political and cultural solidarity of Afro-Guyanese. From the preceding situations, it could be inferred that voluntary associations in ethnically and culturally pluralistic societies can be a negative force towards national integration.

In conclusion, it is suggested that cultural persistence and voluntary associations reinforce each other in multi-cultural societies. In the case of Guyana, the rural-urban distribution of the two major ethnic groups also encourages the retention of group identity and occupational polarization. As a result, these two groups have individually acquired some distinct cultural values and social behaviors; thus, developing different adaptive strategies within the same ecological and political systems. It could, therefore, be conceded that once the political and economic situations remain as they are in Guyana, it is possible that the Guyanese society will remain one of ethnic, cultural and political conflicts. It is also possible that the rate of out-migration is highly influenced by most of the above factors.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

This chapter deals with various problems encountered during the different stages in this research on Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg, Manitoba. It also examines the major procedures and techniques used in the accumulation of information for objective evaluation of this group. The main source of data for this study was obtained through the use of the questionnaire. A total of 65 questionnaires were distributed to 65 heads of household on an ad hoc basis across the city of Winnipeg, of which 60 were responded to, and 5 were not returned. The questionnaires were administered personally to the respondents by the writer/interviewer over a period of four months (from December of 1979 to the end of March of 1980).

Through the Guyanese Association of Manitoba and several independent sources, the 60 Guyanese were phoned and appropriate times for informal meetings were arranged, mostly in the evenings and on week-ends. At these meetings, the interviewer and respondent discussed the nature and purpose of this study, and all queries pertinent to the questionnaire were explained further. The questionnaires were then left (with the interviewer's telephone number) to be collected at another date, after they were fully answered (at which time further discussions took place).

Use was also made of notes kept in a special journal, usually recorded after participation-observation at religious functions, socials (parties), in homes, at Guyanese Association meetings and in public places (buses, parks, restaurants, stores, etc.). Not all informants interviewed and observed were given questionnaires, in other words, more Guyanese than the sixty-five previously mentioned were contacted. Information gathered outside of the questionnaire group, however, was not used for statistical purposes, but only to substantiate certain arguments taken by the writer in relation to the socio-political and cultural behavior of Guyanese in Winnipeg.

ORGANIZATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was designed to supply information on certain aspects of social, political, economic and cultural life of the Guyanese population in Winnipeg and in Guyana before migration. The first thirty questions are devised to provide data on the respondent's socio-cultural and economic activities while still in Guyana. Such matters as housing, education, occupation, personal wealth, household arrangement, kinship pattern and social changes within the Guyanese context are investigated. Questions thirty to seventy-eight are based on the immigrant's expectations of Winnipeg, his regrets, problems in finding jobs and housing, and sources of assistance to settle and adjust to a new society. Questions seventy-nine

to eighty-two deal basically with respondents religious affiliations and reactions to such matters, and questions eighty-three to ninety-four are designed to furnish information on the Guyanese immigrants attitudes towards the mainstream society, their (Guyanese) fears and anxieties, their assumptions of governmental and individual reactions to their presence as foreigners in the Canadian society, and the immigrant's views of Guyana.

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

According to Statistics Canada, (Manpower and Immigration, 1977) there are approximately 32,000 Guyanese in Canada (as compared to 24,000 in the United States and 48,000 in the United Kingdom). (The United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1977) The Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations, 1978 edition, indicates that the annual out-migration from Guyana to Canada prior to 1967 was relatively small but after 1968 the number of immigrants leaving Guyana grew substantially. For example, during the years of 1966-68 less than 1000 Guyanese migrated to Canada annually, but by the year 1973 almost 5000 Guyanese left for Canada and the figures have remained relatively high ever since (see Table II).

Statistics Canada (Census Canada) does not record immigrant groups by ethnicity but by nationality and region of origin. As a result, all ethnic groups from Guyana are recorded

PATTERNS OF OUT-MIGRATION FROM GUYANA
TO CANADA, THE UNITED STATES AND THE
UNITED KINGDOM.

YEAR	CANADA	UNITED STATES	UNITED KINGDOM
1966	621	N.A	N.A
1967	736	N.A	N.A
1968	823	1,302	N.A
1969	1,865	1,361	N.A
1970	2,090	1,792	842
1971	2,384	2,546	723
1972	1,976	2,756	375
1973	4,808	2,908	450
1974	4,030	3,124	300
1975	4,394	3,089	700
1976	3,430	3,806	N.A
TOTAL	27,157	22,684	3,390

TOTAL NUMBER OF RESIDENTS LEAVING AND
RETURNING TO GUYANA 1969-1975.

YEAR	RESIDENTS LEAVING	RESIDENT RETURNING
1969	20,518	21,476
1970	26,712	27,751
1971	N.A	N.A
1972	34,870	30,850
1973	33,415	30,720
1974	33,172	30,516
1975	38,567	35,680
TOTAL	187,254	176,993

SOURCE .

CALCULATED FROM THE UNITED NATION DEMOGRAPHIC
YEARBOOK 1977. U.N NEW YORK. 1978.

as Guyanese. All Guyanese are further aggregated as 'others' in census data on national group by race. (Census of Canada, 1974) This places Guyanese in the same bracket with all people from the Caribbean, and, indeed, several smaller territories of the 'third world' community.

According to Statistics Canada, Guyanese, like Jamaicans and Trinidadians, are culturally non-existent within the 'Canadian Mosaic'.* Over four million immigrants have entered Canada since World War II from every part of the world. (Manpower and Immigration, 1974) As such, it is no doubt a problem to compile data on every individual of each ethnic, religious and political group that enters the country. The problem is further complicated when ethnic and cultural groups arrive from countries other than the traditional homelands of their ancestors (for example, Chinese from Malaysia and East Indians from Guyana). In such a case, the measurement of ethnic

*The writer worked as a researcher during the summers (May to August) of 1978 and 1979 with the Secretary of State Dept., Citizenship Branch in Winnipeg. Research was done on the general demography and movements of people within the regions of Manitoba. Some variables that were examined are the socio-economic impacts on various aspects of culture within urban environments and the effects of the 'push-pull' factor on migrant groups from within the region, and those from outside the country. Through the Secretary of State Dept., the writer was able to examine application files of the various groups requesting grants from the Citizenship Branch, and also the policies and practices of the Secretary of State Dept. in terms of group structure and function were examined. This research has enabled the writer to understand some of the problems of 'new' migrant groups in Winnipeg.

and cultural identities can be highly inaccurate, thereby distorting realities.

It would be most useful to policy makers, however, both at the Federal and Provincial levels, if national groups are culturally disaggregated. Immigrant groups are often under-represented when viewed within a single category. The needs of each of these different migrant groups may vary perceptibly. This is particularly the case with first generation migrants coming from societies which are distinctly different socio-culturally from the 'host' society.

Guyanese, as a national group in Winnipeg, is sizable when compared to other groups from the Caribbean area. On the national level only Trinidad and Jamaica surpass Guyana in terms of overall immigrant populations in Canada from Latin and South America and the Caribbean regions. (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1978) When compared to other groups in Manitoba (German and Ukrainians), however, the Guyanese group remains relatively small. Mainly because of their small numbers in Winnipeg and the fact that they represent different sub-cultures, Guyanese are not concentrated into ethnic clusters, as are Chinese in Toronto and East Indians in Vancouver. It would seem that the process of integration of Guyanese into the mainstream 'culture' would be a fairly simple one. In reality, however, Guyanese as a group (and particularly Indo-Guyanese) retain certain aspects of 'Guyanese cultural traits' -

intra-group social activities, culinary habits, religious practices (Hinduism and Islam) and Guyanese 'lingo'. A major reason for this continued cultural identification is the fact that Guyanese as a group have not been in Winnipeg long enough to be assimilated into the mainstream society.

THE SAMPLE

Since the questionnaire for this thesis was distributed on an ad hoc basis, it is difficult to say with any accuracy what proportion of the general Guyanese population in Winnipeg are represented by Indo- and Afro-Guyanese respectively. However, information gathered through the mailing list of the Guyanese Association of Manitoba*, and individual immigrants, indicate that Afro- and Indo-Guyanese represent approximately one-third and two-thirds of the Guyanese population respectively.

Since Winnipeg is not a 'port-of-call' (because of its location) like Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, it is generally considered as a 'stop-over' in transit from the east to the west of Canada and vice versa. Those who come to Winnipeg do so under the following conditions:

- a) have lived and worked temporarily in Toronto or

*There are no Afro-Guyanese holding membership with the Guyanese Association of Manitoba as of this moment; however, monthly newsletters of the Association are sent out to all known Guyanese.

Montreal in order to 'catch hand'* before moving to seek better opportunities elsewhere

- b) come directly to Winnipeg from Guyana to join relatives who are already established (jobs, housing, etc.)
- c) offered jobs in Winnipeg while still in Guyana, because of their high skills and profession
- d) come directly as students to the three universities of Manitoba**(After graduating, a number of students do apply for immigrant status.)

The sample, therefore, represents a cross-section of different social classes and ethnic backgrounds of the Guyanese population in Winnipeg.

RESPONSE

There were five outright refusals to the questionnaire and a number of respondents questioned the nature and purpose of the study, wanting to know who will benefit from the research and in what ways. Most Guyanese in Winnipeg still have relatives

*'Catch-hand' is a Guyanese term used when there is no intention on the part of the worker to settle permanently in any one area. Workers in transit, therefore, save enough money in order to move elsewhere.

**Questionnaires were not given to visa students, since they are not immigrants and must therefore return to Guyana upon completion of their studies.

in Guyana. As such, a number of them did not want their political affiliations known to other Guyanese living here, or visiting. During informal discussions in the home, however, Guyanese are generally more vociferous. They are very politically conscious and, as such, either vehemently denounce or support the existing socio-political structure in Guyana.

Those who outrightly refused to fill in the questionnaires (four Indo-Guyanese and one Afro-Guyanese) are known to be members of the upper middle class in Winnipeg, representing various professions. The general reasons given for refusal were: 1) the questionnaire does not apply to them because they are not discriminated against by members of this society, and 2) they have no complaints concerning the Canadian or the Guyanese societies.*

Guyanese generally procrastinate when it comes to 'paper-work' (this perhaps is motivated by the Guyanese perception of time), as such, a number of respondents had to be reminded occasionally to fill in their questionnaires. Respondents, however, were very hospitable, as food and drinks were almost always offered during interviews/discussions. The fact that the interviewer is also a Guyanese made rapport simpler,

*The writer later discovered from reliable sources that three of the five persons who refused to fill in the questionnaire left Guyana because of political discrimination.

also the Guyanese 'lingo' was used freely which became a most effective tool for verbal communications. One major complaint concerning the questionnaire, however, was that it was too lengthy and time consuming; hence, the delay in answering all the questions at once.

THE COLLECTION OF DATA

This research was designed basically to explore four major variables:

- a) Who are the immigrants?
- b) Why did they migrate?
- c) When did they migrate?
- and d) What are some of the consequences of the immigration experience for them?

a) Who are the Immigrants?

In attempting to answer this question it is necessary to understand three major components of this variable:

- 1) The historical development of the Guyanese society (which was done through researching the historical literature on Guyana).
- 2) What are some of the effects of the colonial administration on the present socio-economic and political systems of Guyana.
- and 3) How does social and cultural pluralism influence

the various ethnic groups and determine the persistence of cultural values.

These appear to be vital in answering who are the immigrants. Such characteristics as education, skills, social class, political affiliation, ethnicity and area from which the immigrants came, delineate their backgrounds.

b) Why did they migrate?

Human migration universally is due mainly to socio-economic and political dissatisfactions within the sending countries.* The complex dynamics of population change in terms of growth and distribution are interwoven with the organization of the economy. These in turn affect the quality of life and interrelationships among the various political and ethnic groups of the country as a whole. If the national economic system cannot satisfy the needs (needs vary from society to society) of a growing population, then popular discontentment and often political conflicts arise. The survival of any society, then, depends upon its viability for economic growth and its capacity to fulfill the more important needs of its population.

In the case of Guyana, out-migration is not directly

*Migration could be defined as the voluntary movement of people from one country to another, as opposed to refugee which is the involuntary movements of people.



the result of over-population, since there is an overall density of 7 persons per square mile (with the exception of the coastal belt). Traditionally, it was prestigious to migrate to the 'mother country' - the United Kingdom; it meant returning home with an English education and/or with skills and money to by-pass the established status quo. More recently (that is, within the last two decades), out-migration is more politically and ethnically motivated in Guyana (this issue will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter V.).

c) When did they migrate?

The major destinations of Guyanese immigrants are the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1978) with small numbers going to the Caribbean and more recently to Surinam. (The Caribbean Contact, Feb. 1980) During the 1950's and early 1960's, large numbers of Guyanese migrated to the United Kingdom, but the 1962 Immigration Law enacted by the British Parliament curtailed the free movement of migrants into that country. However, the largest number of Guyanese now living abroad reside in the United Kingdom, followed by Canada and the United States respectively. (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1978)

The immigration policies of Canada have always been

economically self-serving and ethnically selective.* This is not peculiar to Canada, however, but has been the case with most of the major receiving societies. (Hawkins, 1974:3) Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States, Argentina and, more recently, Brazil, have all been somewhat stringent in their selection criteria for new immigrants. Race, age, special qualifications (education, skills, profession, etc.) and cultural background are some important issues considered in the admission of new immigrants.

Potential immigrants, particularly from third world countries, must be overly qualified before they are accepted into the labour force of most developed societies because of the apparent needs of these societies for high skills and education which are so relevant to highly industrialized economies. For instance, in the United States during 1972, out of a total of 10,385 immigrants who were considered highly qualified, 7,568 were physicians, surgeons and dentists. (Hawkins, 1974:2) "This number included 1,552 from India, 794 from Korea, 269 from Thailand, 211 from Pakistan, 240 from Africa, 179 from the West Indies and 289 from Latin America." (Hawkins, 1974:2) The economic benefits for qualified (and

*Cecil Pereira, et. al.; "Ugandan Asians in Britain, Canada and India", discuss some of the practices of the Canadian Immigration Dept. in the recruitment of immigrants from abroad. It has been shown quite clearly that there are overt discrepancies in the selection criteria.

desirable) immigrants going to the developed world far outweigh the benefits available in the 'sending societies'. Thus, the 'push-pull factor' is accompanied by the 'brain-drain syndrome'.

The migration of Guyanese to Canada (and Winnipeg) must be understood within the context of two important variables:

1) the socio-political and economic situations in Guyana, that might encourage migration

and 2) Canadian Immigration policies and labour needs.

These two issues will be dealt with further in Chapter V.

However, regarding the question as to when the immigrants came to Canada, it can be said that, as the economic and political situations grew 'grimmer' in Guyana, especially during the last two decades, and with the 1962 British Immigration Policies placing strict sanctions on foreign nationals entering that country, the flow of emigrants from Guyana was diverted to North America (the United States and Canada).

d) What are some of the results of the immigration experience?

It is conceivable that trends to modernize the Guyanese society, and its dependence on foreign ideas and goods, particularly from North America, have created a state of subservience on the western marketing economy. The Guyanese people have become victims of western consumer habits and tastes, in terms of food, clothing and entertainment practices. The denial of any of these amenities results in verbal attacks

on the government by those concerned. This, plus high unemployment, low wages, and political pressure among other factors lead to frustration and eventual out-migration for those who cannot tolerate these conditions.

New immigrants generally hope that their new country of residence will be capable of satisfying the needs not fulfilled in their home countries. Immigrants not prepared for drastic changes in their homeland, however, anticipate the persistence of their social and cultural values in the new society. When new dissatisfactions arise because of cultural 'clashes' and economic hardships in the receiving society, then socio-cultural segmentation and group identity may be fostered by minority groups. Otherwise, social stress or re-immigration may occur.

The apparent xenophobic reaction (fear of foreign people) on the part of the Canadian public makes the process of integration difficult for culturally and ethnically distinct people entering the country. 'Foreigners' are, therefore, subjected to more problems than members of the mainstream society. Like all Canadians, new immigrants must experience social and economic situations in terms of education, jobs, housing, social mobility, and, at the same time, face additional problems of assimilation or integration into the mainstream society.

The immigrant experience depends upon his own

socio-cultural and ethnic backgrounds, and the kind of relationships he encounters in the new situation. The intensity of these relationships and the immigrant's ability to associate and integrate within the national social and economic spheres will determine the immigrants adjustments in his adopted country. The comparatively successful immigrant is not only socio-economically adjusted, but also adapts culturally to the norms of the receiving society. The acceptance of new values and behavior 'enhances' the immigrant's life-style, thus, reducing stress and a sense of insecurity.

Immigrants who do not compromise by abandoning some aspects of their national and cultural identities are more open to rejection by members of the mainstream society. Such persons are likely to find consolation in group identity by living in ethnic and/or national clusters; speaking (when together) the language of their original homeland. They also participate in cultural activities and voluntary associations which tend to strengthen the bond with the 'old' country rather than prepare the immigrant to accept a new life-style. The ability to integrate will depend upon the immigrant's power to communicate effectively with members of the mainstream society. (Borrie, 133) What is to be communicated? - attitudes, values, behaviors, and the more material aspects of culture such as eating habits, clothing and entertainment practices. On the other hand, areas blocking cultural communication could be listed as:

- 1) language barriers
- 2) limited educational attainment
- 3) contact between traditional cultures
- 4) cultural persistence on the part of one of the groups in contact
- 5) racial antagonism
- and 6) the existence of institutions within the receiving society which promulgate race/class differences.

All the above factors contribute directly to the immigrant's capacity, or inability, to adapt successfully. These conditions also determine whether the immigrant would like to remain in his new society or return to his homeland.

The situation becomes more critical, however, when new immigrants compete with members of the receiving society in areas such as for housing, jobs and marital partners. It is suggested (Borrie:134) that potential immigrants should be more selective in their destination, that is, they should take into consideration such features as culture, language, religion, and the political and legal systems of the prospective country. Such recommendations, even though well intentioned, could be viewed as somewhat ethnocentric. They tend to promote international ethno-political and economic sectionalism. To encourage migration among countries of 'similar cultures' because of cultural compatibility is not in the best interest of international solidarity and cooperation. Regionalism at the international level is in

principle the same as regionalism at the national level; in both cases the common denominator is factionalism.

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

The data collected for this study will be used to test the validity of the research methodology discussed in Chapters I and IV. The significance of such variables as ethno-political affiliations, religious and cultural associations and the integration of Guyanese both in Guyana and Winnipeg will be examined within the context of the theoretical constructs delineated in Chapter I.

Consistent with the literature, and data collected through the questionnaire and during interviews and participant-observation, is the writer's experience while living in Guyana and in Hamilton, Ontario, and Winnipeg. As a result, three exploratory hypotheses were postulated:

1. There is a relationship between the politico-economic system of Guyana and reason for migration of Guyanese as a whole.
2. There is a relationship between the ethno-social origin of the immigrant and the consequences of immigration, that is, Afro- and Indo-Guyanese will have different consequences.
3. There is a relationship between the period of migration and the immigrant's experience.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GUYANESE POPULATION IN WINNIPEG

As was already indicated, the Guyanese population in Canada, and more so in Winnipeg, is a relatively recent one. None of the respondents of the questionnaire and interview lived in or visited Canada before 1965. Three important variables are responsible for the late arrival of Guyanese to Canada:

- 1) Restrictions placed on foreign nationals intending to migrate to the United Kingdom after 1962
- 2) Deteriorating economic and political situations in Guyana, particularly during the 1960's and 1970's
- and 3) The introduction of new immigration laws in Canada* and concomitant relaxation of restrictions on immigrants from third world countries. (Green Paper on Immigration and Population, 1974)

*The Canadian Immigration System has experienced considerable changes over the last century. The Order-in-Council in 1919 deemed immigrants from the third world countries as 'undesirable aliens'. For further discussion on this subject see Freda Hawkins, 1972, Canada and Immigration. University of Toronto Press: Toronto; and D.C. Corbett, Canada's Immigration Policies. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1957; also A. Richmond, Postwar Immigrants in Canada. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1967. Politicians argued during the early 20th century whether it was possible for dark complexioned people to adapt to cold climates since it was not 'their element'. For further discussion on this issue, see J.M. Gibbon, New Colour for the Canadian Mosaic: The Displaced Persons. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto: 1951.

In the Guyanese colloquial, Canada has always been viewed as 'a bed of roses' by Guyanese, where the quality of life of the aspiring immigrant would not only improve, but most of all social and economic problems would be eliminated. These assertions are understandable, especially when conditions in Guyana are deplorable and Guyanese generally see North America as 'a fountain of wealth' capable of satisfying most of their material needs. Culture contact, particularly between Guyana and the United States, has greatly influenced Guyanese life-style and value of orientation.

American literature, movies and material goods are most instrumental in the formation of Guyanese social habits and tastes. Added to this, the Government of Guyana, in its attempt to industrialize and 'modernize' the Guyanese society, reinforce Guyanese dependence on and the admiration for things 'western' in origin. Guyanese leaving for Canada, therefore, are already predisposed of the fundamentals of the North American 'ways' of life. With this hypothesis in mind, the writer examines and analyses some of the more important changes which occur during the socio-economic and cultural transitions between Guyana and Winnipeg, Canada.

This section of Chapter *III*, delineates some important characteristics of Guyanese respondents in Winnipeg. These characteristics are age groups, marital status, family size, household organization, religious affiliation, and region in

Guyana from which respondents came.

AGE GROUP

The age groupings of Guyanese respondents vary considerably. The majority of respondents were in the twenty to forty years age groups (those in their twenties representing 25 percent and those in their thirties, 33.33 percent of the sixty respondents). Twelve respondents (20%) were below twenty years of age, while there was no respondent below ten years. The forty to fifty age group was comparatively high, numbering ten (16.67%) of the total sample. The remaining three (5%) were over fifty years of age, the oldest being fifty-nine (see Table III).

Afro- and Indo-Guyanese when considered separately reflect the same pattern of distribution by age, as the Guyanese group as a whole. For instance, both groups are represented by 5 percent in the over fifty years age group, and in the twenty to thirty age group both ethnic groups are equally represented (25%). There are slight discrepancies in the thirty to forty age group where Afro- and Indo-Guyanese are represented by 40 percent and 30 percent respectively, and in the forty to fifty age group Afro- and Indo-Guyanese are represented by 20 percent and 25 percent respectively. There is also a discrepancy in the ten to twenty age group, where Afro-Guyanese and Indo-Guyanese are represented by 10

TABLE III

AGE OF GUYANESE RESPONDENTS.

AGE GROUP	TOTAL SAMPLE		AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
OVER 50	3	5.0	1	5.0	2	5.0
40-50	10	16.67	4	20.0	10	25.0
30-40	20	33.33	8	40.0	12	30.0
20-30	15	25.0	5	25.0	10	25.0
BELOW 20	12	20.0	2	10.0	6	15.0
TOTAL	60	100.0	20	100.0	40	100.0

TABLE VI

TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD OF RESPONDENTS BY ETHNICITY.

TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD	TOTAL SAMPLE		AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
EXTENDED FAMILY	15	25.0	1	5.0	14	35.0
NUCLEAR FAMILY	30	50.0	10	50.0	20	50.0
SINGLE	12	20.0	7	35.0	5	12.5
SINGLE PARENT	3	5.0	2	10.0	1	2.5
TOTAL	60	100.0	20	100.0	40	100.0

percent and 15 percent respectively.

MARITAL STATUS

The marital status of Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg is presented in Table IV. This table shows that fifteen (25%) of the total sample were single at the time data was collected. There were no widowed single, but two (3.34%) divorced singles and a relatively high proportion of married immigrants, that is, thirty-seven or 61.66% of the total respondents. There was one (1.66%) widowed remarried and five (8.34%) divorced remarried among the respondents.

From the data in the questionnaire, it was possible to extrapolate marital patterns of Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg. Within the married category, over 75% were married in Guyana, and subsequently migrated with their families or were later followed by their families to Canada. This group is highly represented in the twenty to forty age brackets. Thus, a majority of the spouses of the married couples are from Guyana. The remainder of the married group met their spouses in Canada. Those who were married after arriving in Canada are married mainly to Guyanese, and in a small number of cases to West Indians. None of the respondents are married to 'white' Canadians, even though the majority of them indicated that they were not against 'mixed' marriages.

MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS IN WINNIPEG.

MARITAL STATUS	TOTAL SAMPLE		AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
SINGLE	15	25.0	4	20.0	11	27.5
WIDOWED SINGLE	-	-	-	-	-	-
DIVORCED SINGLE	2	3.34	2	10.0	-	-
MARRIED	37	61.66	10	50.0	27	67.5
WIDOWED REMARRIED	1	1.66	1	5.0	-	-
DIVORCED REMARRIED	5	8.34	3	15.0	2	5.0
TOTAL	60	100.0	20	100.0	40	100.0

TABLE VII

TYPE OF HOUSING OF RESPONDENTS

TYPE	TOTAL SAMPLE		AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE		+
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	
HOUSE	30	50.0	4	20.0	26	65.0	
RENTED HOUSE	6	10.0	1	5.0	5	12.5	
APARTMENT	20	33.33	12	60.0	8	20.0	
CONDOMINIUM	-	-	-	-	-	-	
ROOMING	4	6.67	3	15.0	1	2.5	
TOTAL	60	100.0	20	100.0	40	100.0	

FAMILY SIZE

Table V shows that of the 60 respondents, 40 had families ranging from one child to eight children. The remaining twenty respondents are represented by the fifteen single and from among the divorced remarried, divorced single and widowed remarried.

The sample showed that the couples between forty and fifty years of age who were married and lived in Guyana for over ten years before migrating to Canada, have the largest families (7.5% with seven children and 5% with eight children). On the other extreme, respondents with the smallest families were mostly married in Canada or did so shortly before migration to Canada. This group is represented basically by younger respondents between twenty and thirty years of age. Within this group three (7.5%) had one child each and five (12%) had two children each.

Ten (25%) of the total sample with families had three children each, and those with four and five children were represented by six families respectively (a total of 30%). Five respondents (12.5%) reported having six children each. Those that are in the single category are represented mostly in the below twenty age group, with some also in the twenty to thirty age bracket. It is not strange that fifteen (25%) of the total respondents are unmarried. As indicated before, the Guyanese population in Winnipeg is a relatively new one,

TABLE V

SIZE OF RESPONDENT'S FAMILY IN WINNIPEG.

NO. OF CHILDREN	NO. OF FAMILIES		AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
1	3	7.5	2	13.34	1	4.0
2	5	12.5	4	24.66	1	4.0
3	10	25.0	3	20.00	7	28.0
4	6	15.0	3	20.00	3	12.0
5	6	15.0	2	13.34	4	16.0
6	5	12.5	1	6.66	4	16.0
7	3	7.5	-	-	3	12.0
8	2	5.0	-	-	2	8.0
9 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	40	100.0	15	100.00	20	100.0

NOTE:

THE 20 RESPONDENTS NOT SHOWN IN THIS TABLE REPRESENT THE SINGLE, SEPARATED AND DIVORCED OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE.

and when compared to the various age groupings in Guyana, is proportionately more represented by younger people in Winnipeg. For instance, the ten to forty age brackets in Winnipeg account for 78% of the total sample (see Table III). It would seem that the small size of the Guyanese population in Winnipeg limits the selection pool for spouses by Guyanese of marriageable age. Evidently, there is no substantial inter-marriage between Guyanese and 'out-groups' and indeed between members of the two major Guyanese ethnic groups in Winnipeg.

HOUSEHOLD ORGANIZATION

A number of anthropologists have taken the Marxist view as to the origin and organization of kinship and household patterns of man (Lewis H. Morgan, 1876; Marshall Sahlins and Elman Service, 1960; Elman Service, 1962; Leslie White, 1959). Frederick Engels, in his book The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (p. 95), indicated the close relationships between the economic infrastructure and kinship organization. The acquisition of property and its inheritance by specific members of the family, especially in patriarchal societies, laid the foundation for male dominance and patrilocality. In matrilocal societies, women are usually heads of household and are allowed to inherit property and are placed in decision-making positions. This tends to encourage greater cooperation and less competition among the various

member families of the group as a whole.

Anthropologists studying Caribbean household arrangements (M. Herscovits, 1940; Edith Clarke, 1956; M.G. Smith, 1962; R.T. Smith, 1956; C. Jayawardena, 1969) indicated in their respective studies that there are different communal, kinship and household arrangements in different territories in the Caribbean. The two major arguments are the 'survival' theory and the 'economic determinant' theory, supported by Herscovits and M.G. Smith respectively. The 'survival' theory inculcates the retention of certain traditional social and cultural behaviors by an ethnic group given the circumstances. This argument holds that the current household arrangement of black communities in places like Guyana is partially due to the retention of certain West African practices. The 'economic determinant' theory is more sympathetic to the Marxian analysis of kinship relations. Elements of both the 'survival' and 'economic' theories persist in Guyana, as is indicative of the different patterns of household types across ethnic boundaries and within each of the social classes (Smith, 1962; Jayawardena, 1968).

In industrialized societies, the nuclear family means not only greater mobility in search of jobs, but also less people to inherit family property and wealth. The chances of members of smaller families acquiring higher education are greater. In the case of Guyana, family patterns vary perceptibly

between Afro-Guyanese and Indo-Guyanese, and also between rural areas and urban centres.

Indo-Guyanese are basically a rural population. The extended family is advantageous to farming and other joint family ventures (see Chapter II). This household pattern is inherited from that of the Indian Sub-Continent, where the extended family is an asset rather than a liability (Irawati Karve, 1953:9). Large families are more coveted where the majority are males (the economic reason for this is obvious but cannot be dealt with here). Indo-Guyanese, by virtue of their economic relations with the land, continue the familial ties and kinship arrangements that they brought with them during the indentured period.

The urban environment, on the other hand, with its industry and modernity, could be considered as a major centre of social change. Here the population comes in direct contact with new ideas and material culture. In the urban centres, the nuclear family is a convenience, since people must move and live within the vicinity of their jobs. It is more practical for small groups (nuclear family) of people to move in search of jobs in the urban centres. Afro-Guyanese constitute the bulk of urban workers in Guyana, as such they adapted to the social patterns of the mainstream society (Despres, 1967:123). However, there are Afro-Guyanese who remained in the villages with extended families, and Indo-

Guyanese in the urban centres with nuclear families. This is supportive of the fact that kinship pattern and household organization are subjected to economic conditions.*

The household types of respondents in Winnipeg correspond somewhat to that of Guyana, by ethnicity, social class and area from which migrants came. In retrospect, all respondents and their families/relatives have been in Winnipeg for less than fifteen years. This is not a long enough period for drastic changes to take place in the household pattern. It would be naive, however, to say that no noticeable adjustments have taken place in the kinship relations among Guyanese in Winnipeg.

In the total sample, fifteen (25%) were classified as living within extended families (see Table VI). Evidently some younger couples do sponsor their parents to act as guardians (baby sitters) while they are out at work. In these circumstances, children are exposed to some measure of cultural contact and continuity as they grow up within the Canadian environment. One can hypothesize that first generation Canadians of Guyanese parents (and grandparents) will still

*The writer is of Indo-Guyanese background, of rural Guyana, and came from an extended family which at one time numbered twelve (nine children, parents and grandmother). The large number of males in this family was an asset especially during the harvesting of rice paddy and other joint family ventures.

retain certain Guyanese habits and values. On the other hand, grandparents of these extended families are least integrated into the Canadian mosaic. Grandparents with little contact with the mainstream society are less susceptible to social and cultural changes; as such, they tend to reinforce their identity with the 'old country'.

In the total sample, one (5%) of the Afro-Guyanese respondents belong to extended families in Winnipeg. This low percentage does not proportionately correspond to the percent of Afro-Guyanese extended families back in Guyana (Smith, 1962: 127). However, it is indicative of the historical pattern of household arrangements among Afro-Guyanese. Similarly, the percentage (35%) of Indo-Guyanese respondents living within extended families in Winnipeg does not correspond proportionately with family arrangements in Guyana.*

In the nuclear family group, both Afro- and Indo-Guyanese are equally represented (50% of the samples in each group). The high percentage of Indo-Guyanese in this group is perhaps illustrative of the influence of a different socio-cultural environment on the traditional practices of a group. It has been argued by some social scientists (Goode, 1963:148; Parsons, 1961:257) that with the growth of urbanization and industrialization

*For further information on kinship organization in Guyana, see Raymond T. Smith, The Negro Family in British Guiana. London: Ruthledge & Kegan Paul, 1956; and Smith and Jayawardena, "Marriage and the Family Among East Indians in British Guiana". Social and Economic Studies, Vol. VIII/4, 1959.

the family of the future will be the nuclear family, consisting of parents and their unmarried children. This has increasingly been the case with Indo-Guyanese migrating to Georgetown,* and also to places like Toronto and Winnipeg.

Twelve (20%) of the total sample were single, comprising mostly the younger population (under thirty years of age). Seven (35%) of the Afro-Guyanese population studied were in this category, while a relatively smaller number, five (12.5%) were Indo-Guyanese.

The category single parent is minimal in both ethnic groups. Two (10%) among Afro-Guyanese and one (2.5%) among Indo-Guyanese were single parents. Responses of this group during informal discussions indicated that they were not parents of illegitimate children, but were separated from or whose spouses had died.

TYPES OF HOUSING OF RESPONDENTS

In the total sample, thirty (50%) owned their own homes in Winnipeg and six (10%) rented houses. Twenty (33.33%) lived in apartments and four (6.67%) lived in rooming houses, while no respondent lived in a condominium (see Table VII). These figures are somewhat similar to the types of housing distribution

*Georgetown is the Capital City of Guyana, with a population of 164,000 (Caribbean Yearbook, 1979). Approximately 27% of the urban population consists of Indo-Guyanese.

in Guyana for the Guyanese population as a whole, but differs across ethnic lines.

Four (20%) of Afro-Guyanese respondents owned their own homes in Winnipeg, while twenty-six (65%) of the Indo-Guyanese respondents owned their homes. During discussions, a number of Indo-Guyanese respondents indicated their intentions of owning their own homes some time in the future. This is probably a reflection of Indo-Guyanese attitudes in Guyana, where over 65% of this ethnic group are home owners (almost 75% of all Indo-Guyanese live in rural districts in Guyana, and the majority own some land upon which the family house is built).

Five (12.5%) of the Indo-Guyanese respondents live in rented houses while one (5%) of the Afro-Guyanese live in this type of residence. Among the one-third of the total respondents who share apartments, twelve (60%) of the Afro-Guyanese respondents and eight (20%) of the Indo-Guyanese respondents share this type of dwelling. The respondents living in rooming tenements are relatively small in number. Three (15%) Afro-Guyanese and one (2.5%) Indo-Guyanese live under such residential arrangement.

THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF RESPONDENTS

In this sample, the Hindus form the largest single religious group, being represented by twenty-eight (46.67%) of

the total sample. Christianity forms the second largest group with twenty-five (41.67%) of the total sample, while Islam forms a smaller segment of the sample with five (8.32%). One respondent (1.67%) was an atheist and one (1.67%) did not respond to the question on religious affiliation (see Table VIII).

The Hindus in the sample are not over-represented among Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg when compared to religious affiliations of Indo-Guyanese in Guyana (Rauf, 1974). Twenty-eight (70%) of Indo-Guyanese respondents were Hindus, seven (17.5%) were Christians and three (7.5%) were Moslems. The proportion of Christian to Moslem would be more accurate in Guyana when the Winnipeg percentages are reversed; that is, in Guyana approximately 5% of this group are Christians. The one atheist and one no response to religious affiliation are both Indo-Guyanese.

Among the Afro-Guyanese respondents, eighteen (90%) were Christians and two (10%) were Moslems. This is somewhat representative of Afro-Guyanese by religious affiliation in Guyana, with a slight discrepancy. That is, over 90% of Afro-Guyanese are Christians and less than 10% are Moslems in Guyana. This group has no known representative in the Hindu religion (reasons discussed in Chapter II).

A majority (78%) of all respondents think that religious beliefs are relevant to non-traditional societies (i.e. in

TABLE VIII

RESPONDENTS RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
IN WINNIPEG.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	TOTAL SAMPLE		AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
1. CHRISTIANITY	25	41.67	18	90.0	7	17.5
2. HINDUISM	28	46.67	-	-	28	70.0
3. ISLAM	5	8.32	2	10.0	3	7.5
4. OTHER	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. AGNOSTICISM	-	-	-	-	=	-
6. ATHEISM	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
7. NO RESPONSE	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
TOTAL	60	100.0	20	100.0	40	100.0

industrial societies) because of such reasons as 'immorality', perversity and lack of spiritualism because of materialism. Ninety-five percent of the total sample also believe that all religions are equal and beneficial to man, even though just slightly over fifty percent of this category participate in regular (once a week) religious devotion at home and at the church/temple.

A number of religious and cultural associations cater to the 'cultural needs' of the immigrants. Through these associations, the two major Guyanese ethnic groups in Winnipeg bolster their cultural identities. Religious-minded Indo-Guyanese attend one or the other of a small number (six known to the writer) of temples and mosques in Winnipeg. Those who are Christians of this ethnic group do not identify with any one single denomination, but rather attend the church nearest to their residence.

There is some level of inter-cultural communication between Hindus from Guyana and Hindus from India, and also some measure of religious identity of Guyanese Moslems with Moslems from Pakistan. These 'alliances', however, are almost purely religious, and do not necessarily hold true in the socio-political and nationalistic spheres.* There is not so

*Respondents during interviews expressed different levels of resentment for Pakistanis, the term used generally for all immigrants from the Indian Sub-Continent.

much conflict of cultural values, as a conflict of social behaviors between these two immigrant groups.

Even though Hindus from Guyana, in Winnipeg, adhere to some of the fundamental practices of Hinduism (religious ceremonies, rites, etc.), they, like other Caribbean groups practice a social (parties, dances, etc.) life far removed from that of the Sub-Continent. The dual positions of being Guyanese (and West Indian) and at the same time East Indian, with cultural roots in India, places Hindus from Guyana, now living in Winnipeg, in a most peculiar situation. A study of the adaptive strategy of Hindus in western societies is an intricate task. Hindus from Guyana and India (see Pereira, 1971) in Winnipeg, adhere to the norms of the Canadian society in the street, but resort back to Hindu values and behaviors in their homes. Indian music, food, cultural behaviors and social relations persist in varying degrees from family to family.

The adaptive strategy of Afro-Guyanese living in Winnipeg, on the other hand, is not as complex and as conflicting as that of the Indo-Guyanese. Afro-Guyanese migrating to Canada are already acculturated into western values and behaviors. The degree of adjustment of this group of Guyanese is comparatively minimal. With the exception of some social relations (friendship patterns, marriage and house parties), Afro-Guyanese, by and large, 'fit' into the Canadian mosaic.

They attend church (all denominations), prefer Canadian food, and aspire to the values of the mainstream society. (see Chapter VI).

AREA IN GUYANA FROM WHICH RESPONDENTS CAME

Data regarding respondents geographical background indicate that Guyanese in Winnipeg represent almost all of the major population centres across the country (Guyana). The total number of urban respondents from Guyana now living in Winnipeg for both major ethnic groups are sixteen (26.66%). The largest number of respondents with urban background came from Georgetown, followed by New Amsterdam, Skeldon and Linden respectively (see Table IX). Five (25%) of Afro-Guyanese are from Georgetown, with two (10%) from New Amsterdam and one (5%) from the mining town of Linden. Altogether, forty per cent of the Afro-Guyanese respondents had urban background before migrating to Winnipeg. The largest number of the remaining sixty percent with rural background came from Demerara East, Demerara West, Berbice West and the Courantyne Coast (50%). The remaining ten percent are from Berbice East and the county of Essequibo.

Compared to Afro-Guyanese, only twenty percent of the Indo-Guyanese respondents had urban backgrounds. Four (10%) of the respondents were from Georgetown, two (5%) from New Amsterdam and two (5%) from Skeldon. The remaining eighty

AREA IN GUYANA FROM WHICH RESPONDENTS MIGRATED.

AREA	AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO	%
<u>URBAN-</u>				
GEORGETOWN	5	25.0	4	10.0
NEW AMSTERDAM	2	10.0	2	5.0
LINDEN	1	5.0	-	-
BARTICA	-	-	-	-
SKELDON	-	-	2	5.0
<u>RURAL-</u>				
ESSEQUIBO	1	5.0	6	15.0
DEMERARA WEST	2	10.0	8	20.0
DEMERARA EAST	2	10.0	6	15.0
BERBICE EAST	1	5.0	3	7.5
BERBICE WEST	4	20.0	5	12.5
COURENTYNE COAST	2	10.0	4	10.0
INTERIOR DIST.	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	20	100.0	40	100.0

TABLE X

RESPONDENTS PREFERENCE IN TERMS OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN MANITOBA.

PLACE	AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
URBAN	10	50.0	8	20.0
SUB-URBAN	5	25.0	15	37.5
SMALL TOWN	2	10.0	5	12.5
RURAL	1	5.0	10	25.0
FARM	-	-	2	5.0
ANYWHERE	2	10.0	-	-
NO RESPONSE	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	20	100.0	40	100.0

percent of Indo-Guyanese respondents were from rural Guyana. The bulk of this ethnic group came from the county of Essequibo, Demerara West, Demerara East and Berbice West (totalling 62.5%). Smaller percentages came from Berbice East (7.5%) and the Courentyne Coast (10%).

The preceding statistics indicate that the vast majority of respondents are of rural background. This is equally so of both ethnic groups. The reasons and implications of this will be discussed later. It is evident, however, that unemployment and regional economic disparity in Guyana are perhaps some of the major factors responsible for the basic pattern, and motivation for out-migration.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC BASE OF GUYANESE IN WINNIPEG

This chapter deals with the social classes of Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg, based on educational background and training, occupation, income, and type of housing of respondents both in Guyana and in Winnipeg. Emphasis will be placed on respondents' socio-economic position in Winnipeg in order to evaluate the current status of the respondent. As the respondent changed residence between Guyana and Winnipeg, Manitoba, social status and economic well-being may fluctuate up or down for the individual. The vacillation of economic status may be circumstantial as the immigrant faces new situations in the receiving society. Generally, however, a number of factors may determine the possibilities for economic success or failure of the immigrant during the period of transition from one society to another.

Some important variables which will determine the social and economic integration of the new immigrant are:

- 1) the social, educational and economic backgrounds of the immigrant
- 2) the socio-economic system of the sending society
- 3) the socio-economic system of the receiving society
- and 4) the needs of the receiving society in terms of skilled workers, educated and professional personnel, etc.

Guyanese migrating to Canada are basically a non-white population; they are, therefore, inclined to encounter some degree of ethno-cultural conflict in their new country of residence. On the other hand, Guyanese migrating to Canada are apt to experience minimal socio-linguistic difficulties when compared to eastern and southern European groups migrating to Canada. During the colonial administration in Guyana, the Guyanese society developed certain institutions similar to those of Canada, such as, in the legal, educational and political areas. This made the transition of Guyanese into the Canadian socio-political and economic spheres relatively simple.

While non-English speaking immigrants (Italians, Greeks, Poles, etc.) must learn to speak English in their new environment, Guyanese have the added advantage, by virtue of their linguistic and educational backgrounds, of almost immediately becoming absorbed and involved in the social and economic arenas of the mainstream society. Guyanese are, therefore, not an immediate problem to the Canadian economy. What has been observed by the writer during interviews and from the questionnaire, however, was that some respondents felt that they were being deliberately discriminated against at their workplaces on the basis of race and nationality. This has been a matter of concern for a number of respondents who felt that any type of discrimination on the job could curtail chances

for promotion in the future.

Discrimination can take two forms: aversive and dominitive (Kovel, 1970:117). "Aversive discrimination is when the actor does not direct activities toward the other person but rather by virtue of apathy does nothing constructive. The dominitive form of discrimination is when the action is directed toward a specific individual or group." (Frideres, 1975:7). Respondents indicated that the first type of discrimination they experience is characteristic of the work environment. The second type of discrimination (dominitive) has been experienced by only two respondents, who worked in highly paid and competitive areas.

To determine the socio-economic background of Guyanese in Winnipeg, information on the type of housing the respondents lived in before migrating and questions on occupation and average annual income in Guyana were used. The response to these questions were then compared to the answers of similar questions asked in relation to Winnipeg. This made it possible to identify changes in the social and economic status of the immigrant as he/she moved from one society to another.

SOCIAL CLASS IN WINNIPEG

Such terms as 'social status' and 'social class' are identified with the so-called 'free-enterprise' capitalist societies. Social stratification in principle does not exist

(or is discouraged) in socialist societies.* Guyana, like Canada, belongs to the former type of society. The social status of Guyanese, however, must not be measured on the same basis as class ascription in Canada. In Guyana, race affiliation and class ascription are closely related; that is, certain economic sectors and social classes are dominated by specific ethnic groups. Canada, on the other hand, has a more 'open-ended' social stratification system; that is, class is not so much ethnically oriented, but is based more on personal initiative. This is not to say, however, that the Canadian society is void of ethnic competition. Social pluralism in Canada is structurally different from social pluralism in Guyana. Pluralism in both societies has different causes and consequences in terms of social relations and modes of production.

The majority of respondents who migrated to Winnipeg during the late sixties and early seventies are enjoying middle class status in the Canadian society. These respondents represent the bulk of the fifty percent Guyanese who own their residence and are regularly employed. In most cases, both husband and wife are wage earners, while their grown children

*For further discussions on social status and social class, see Everett M. Rogers' Social Change in Rural Societies. 1960, Appleton-Century Crofts Inc., New York: p. 96; and Marvin E. Olson, The Process of Social Organization. 1968, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

are at school. During interviews, a number of Guyanese in Winnipeg expressed the opinion of wanting to be 'free' of the 'time-clock' at work; possible solutions given were eventual re-emigration to Guyana with substantial capital or profession/skills; opening family businesses here in Winnipeg, and thirdly, to become highly trained and educated to serve in more senior positions within the Canadian socio-economic system.

Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg are also represented within the lower middle class of the Canadian social structure. Sometimes the distinction between the status of middle and lower middle class is unclear and difficult to assess. The criteria which largely determine social status could be listed approximately in order of importance as:

1. Occupation
2. Income and wealth
3. Education
4. Ownership of material possessions such as real estate, automobiles, homes and clothing.

(Rogers, 1960:96)

People in the lower middle and lower classes enjoy the least of the above mentioned items. Members of the lower classes are usually characterized by large families, poor housing, unemployment and lack of skills, training and education. All of these conditions adversely affect social mobility. None of the respondents belong to the lower class, even though a

very small (less than 5%) number of Guyanese in Winnipeg can be considered as lower middle class. As is already shown, 50 percent of the total sample were home owners and 10 percent rented houses. This is indicative of the fact that the majority of Guyanese in Winnipeg prefer to live in single family units, which is not only convenient but also prestigious to the rest of the Guyanese community. This is also supported by the fact that only two (3.33%) of the total sample live in the so-called 'core-area' of downtown Winnipeg. Several respondents expressed the desire of wanting to live in the suburbs and in farm areas, with the intention of owning land. This would afford the means of climbing the social ladder.

SOCIAL CLASS IN GUYANA

It is clear from preceding chapters that economic polarization vis-a-vis ethnic conflicts have been of great importance in shaping the growth of Guyanese society. Differential adaptation to a single ecological system by the various ethno-economic groups further complicated the social structure of the Guyanese society. As a result, class and race form the crux of the Guyanese polity. Class, in the Guyanese context, cannot be referred to without also considering race relations and the historical development of ethnic hostility.

While the British were in Guyana, occasions for

extensive inter-ethnic communication were 'played-down' by the administration in order to exert greater control over the labour force, and also to discourage any form of Guyanese nationalism (See Chapter II). To recapitulate, the preceding situations led to the development of a socially and culturally pluralistic society in Guyana. After Guyana gained its political independence in 1966, the society was left with the legacy of British Colonialism - ethnic antagonism, economic polarization and economic dependence.

The present-day political, social and economic situations are evidently worse than during the pre-independence period. Further, it would be misleading to suggest that the Guyanese ethno-social problems could be solved under the current political administration. Evidently, class and race have taken a new shape in Guyana, and the processes of racial disunity and social insecurity remain unchecked. What is locally called 'we pon top'* politics in Guyana creates a feeling of false 'aggrandisement' within the group whose political party is in power. The exalted group not only feels but acts superior in both a political and racial sense over the defeated political party and ethnic group. This is usually

*'We are on top' (we pon top) as a political expression was popularly used during the sixties mainly by Afro-Guyanese, during the height of racial rivalry in Guyana. This term was probably used to counter the Indo-Guyanese 'Apanjaht' - vote for your own. Both terms are no more used publicly, since they are a source of embarrassment to both ethnic groups.

seen in the nature of the victory celebrations after general elections.

Within the last fifteen years, the Afro-dominated Peoples' National Congress has been in power. Initially, this party patronized its political support at the expense of the supporters of the opposition Peoples' Progressive Party. This is readily apparent in government policies, programs and spending patterns. Economic areas dominated by Indo-Guyanese (e.g. agriculture) were neglected and economic areas dominated by Afro-Guyanese (e.g. mining) were financially boosted. It could be argued that the P.P.P. had similar practices during its period in office. The present ruling party when it was in opposition had occasionally accused the P.P.P. of being pro-Indian in its policies. (Sackey, 1979:67)

Subsequently, the P.N.C. government changed its policies from political patronizing to that of "Socialist Reconstruction" under the banner of the "Cooperative Republic". The ruling party envisaged self-sufficiency (housing, clothing and food) by 1970, and then again by 1975 in its two consecutive five year development programs. (Hope and David, 1974:35) To date, these elaborate and optimistic economic schemes have not accomplished their desired goals, nor indeed improved the living standard of the population as a whole (some of the failures of these programs are discussed further in Chapter V).

The contention of the current analysis is that a new

class structure has been superimposed upon the traditional one. That is, the government policies of State Capitalism (in Guyana, called Cooperative Socialism) entails the sharing of wealth and power by relatively new segments of the Guyanese society. These new segments sharing political and economic power are:

- a) Government ministers
- b) Military elite
- c) Senior government officials (senior civil servants, ambassadors, consuls, etc.)
- d) Party executives
- and e) The emergent petty bourgeoisie.

The nationalization of certain key industries (sugar, bauxite and manganese) was intended to transform the economy from a capitalist oriented means of production to a more communal, cooperative and egalitarian economic system. This was to be fulfilled through workers participation and group cooperation (this is referred to as 'meaningful participation' by the Prime Minister). The system proved to be most corrupt, however, resulting in incessant failures and blunders on the part of the polit-bureau of the ruling party. Instead of the Guyanese society 'closing the rift' across ethnic boundaries and between social classes, the formation of new elite groups tended to reinforce the traditional social structure.

Despite the socialist rhetoric and emphasis on public

enterprise by the government of Guyana in recent years, Guyana remains structurally and functionally a western capitalist economy. In order to remain in power and enjoy the benefits of the society, the elite groups have formed a peculiar alliance. (Sackey, 1974:47) This alliance not only strengthens the position of the elites but also accentuates further split in the society between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. Discriminatory practices run rampant throughout the socio-economic system. As a further means of guarding their coveted status, the elite class has also perpetuated a politico-economic system based on the false premise of 'Guyana for Guyanese' - the sinew of such a premise is the government's policy of nationalization of foreign owned industries. The political elites in Guyana have always manipulated the masses for political ends, and this becomes explicit during electoral campaigns. Bureaucratic manipulation and exploitation are rife at all levels of government, and even within the so-called 'co-op projects' there are those who indiscriminately exploit the workers. (Jeffrey, 1975:417)

The Guyanese society is not only sub-divided on ethno-class lines, but also by region. Traditionally, urban centres, in Guyana as in other underdeveloped countries, represented the seat of colonial power and administration overseas. It was from these centres that the desires of the colonial 'mother-countries' were executed. The local people who lived in these

urban centres with their modernization and effective communicative systems became more dependent upon the metropolis for ideas and material culture. This act of external allegiance to the political-economy and culture of the 'mother-country' by local urbanites also means disassociation from their rural compatriots. In some cases this may lead to acute regionalism in the colony, with the ruralites at a disadvantage, since they play a minimal role in the mainstream social and political activities.

Some social scientists (Michael Hechter, 1975; Gonzales-Casanova, 1965; Rudolpho Stavenhagen, 1965 and Anthony Birch, 1978) have considered the internal relationships between the rural and the urban sectors of some societies as internal colonialism. To illustrate the nature of rural-urban relationship in such societies, it is justifiable to quote Birch at length:

The essence of the theory is that the relationships between members of the core community and members of the peripheral communities in a state are characterized by exploitation. The core community, having acquired an advantage over the outlying communities in the period of state building or in the early period of modernization, uses its political and economic power to maintain its superior position. The cultural and (in some cases) ethnic differences between the communities do not disappear, however, and in certain circumstances they may form the basis of demonstrations and separatist agitations by members of the peripheral communities.

(Birch, 1978:326)

In the case of Guyana, it would be incorrect to assume that internal colonialism exists in any structured way, even though there are vestiges of regional exploitation in the country. Regional economic disparity is certainly not the brain-child of the existing regime since it prevailed in Guyana during the colonial era. The present political administration, however, continues to foster regionalism as is evident in its economic policies and development programs. Recent budgetary allocations show greater spending in the public sectors (military, police, civil service, telecommunication, travel expenses for government officials abroad, etc.). On the other hand, the expenditures on drainage and irrigation and agricultural projects are relatively smaller than most public corporations and some non-profitable organizations such as the Civil Service and Defence Force (see Graph I for recent spending patterns of the government; also Hope and David, Table 5, pp.40-41).

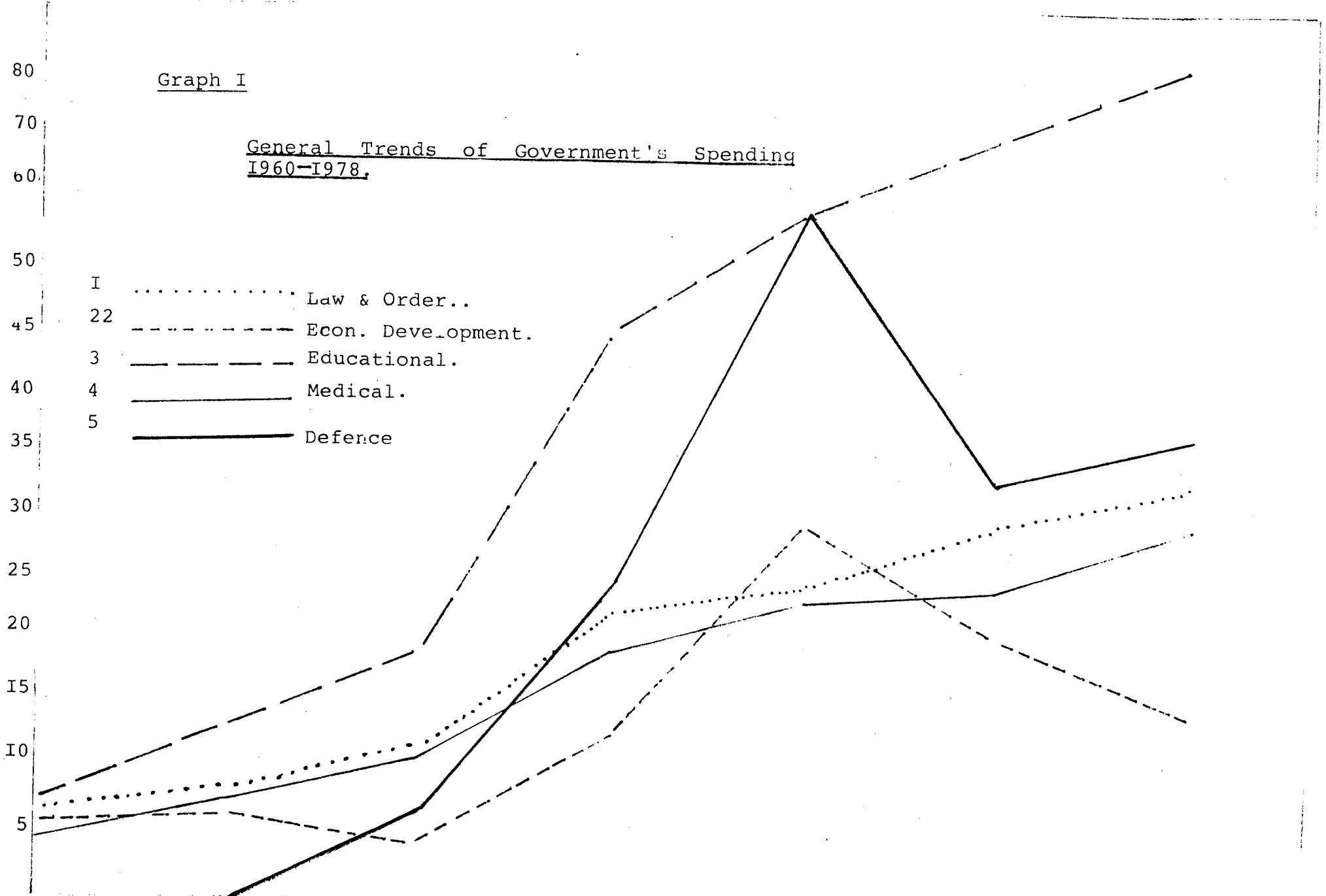
What is crucial about regionalism in the Guyanese context is the fact that the prevailing regional dichotomy has strong ethnic overtones. It has been substantiated in Chapter II that Indo-Guyanese constitute the bulk of the rural peasantry, while Afro-Guyanese form the majority of the urban proletariat. Afro-Guyanese also dominate the police force, the military and senior government representatives at home and abroad (Ministers, Ambassadors, Consuls, Judges, etc.).

Million

Graph I

General Trends of Government's Spending
1960-1978,

- I Law & Order..
- 22 - - - - - Econ. Development.
- 3 - - - - - Educational.
- 4 - - - - - Medical.
- 5 - - - - - Defence



Lower class Indo-Guyanese (and to some extent lower class Afro-Guyanese) constitute the most pressured group in Guyana. The apparent neglect of this group by the government reinforces its distrust of the bureaucracy and the emergence of 'mati'* politics. Indo-Guyanese sugar and rice workers are 'dragging their feet'. There is a general sense of apathy in rural Guyana; as a result the national economy is deteriorating constantly. It is this disfranchised group which easily gives support (at least verbally) to such concepts as 'separation' and 'partition', especially prior to and shortly after general elections. They feel underrepresented, separate and unequal. It is this group, too, which mostly seeks refuge in foreign countries.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS

Immigrants from Guyana are expected to satisfy the entry requirements to qualify for immigrant status in Canada. This is done through the point average system, in which if the applicant satisfies the expectations of the Canadian Immigration Department he is granted landed immigrant status. Some of the

*The origin of the word 'mati' is not definitely known. It is probably a corruption of the word 'mate' which was used freely by the British when they were in Guyana. In the Guyanese context the term is used generally to inculcate a feeling of solidarity, not necessarily ethnically, as the term has class and neighbourly connotations.

Table XI

LEVELS OF TRAINING AND EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS

Level	number and percent of sample		Afro-Guyanese		Indo-Guyanese	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 Primary	10	16.67	3	15	7	17.5
2. Some Secondary	8	13.34	3	15	5	12.5
3. Secondary	20	33.33	6	30	14	35.0
4. Technical	5	8.34	2	10	3	7.5
5. Vocational	2	3.33	1	5	1	2.5
6. Some Univ.	3	5.00	2	10	1	2.5
7. UNIV. Grad.	10	16.67	3	15	7	17.5
B. Post Grad.						
a) Masters	1	1.66	-	-	1	2.5
b) Doctoral	1	1.66	-	-	1	2.5
Total	60	100.00	20	100.00	40	100.00

more important criteria considered for selection are - age, training (skills), education, health, linguistic background and nationality. The last item relates specifically to the quota system; that is, the Canadian Immigration Department determines the number of immigrants that may enter the country annually from different countries of the world.

Initially, and until 1962, the Canadian Immigration Laws were stricter and more ethnocentric in a number of ways. When summarized the Canadian immigration laws were for:

- 1) Immigration for population growth
- 2) Immigration for economic development
- 3) Immigration must be selective
- 4) Immigration must be related to absorptive capacity.
- 5) Immigration is a matter of domestic policy. Its control is a national prerogative.
- 6) Immigration must not distort the present character of the Canadian population. The restriction on Asiatic immigration must remain.

(Hawkins, 1971:92-93)

The sixth condition in the above list might have made it extremely difficult for Guyanese to migrate to Canada, particularly Indo-Guyanese, since ethnically they would have been considered as Asians. This condition was directed more specifically to Indians, Chinese and Japanese, and to a lesser extent to all 'colored' groups from the tropics. The Minister of

Immigration had total power at his disposal regarding entry or deportation. The Immigration Act of 1952 gave a comprehensive list of prohibited classes on grounds of:

- 1) Nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, class or geographical area of origin
- 2) Peculiar customs, habits, modes of life, or methods of holding property
- 3) Unsuitability with regard to the climate, economic, social, industrial, educational, labour, health or other conditions or requirements existing temporarily or otherwise, in Canada or in the area or country from or through which such persons come to Canada
- or 4) Probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after admission.

(Hawkins, 1971:102)

Changes in the immigration system of Canada was accelerated during the 1960's. However, as a result of changing world events and the demand for foreign labour in Canada, small groups of immigrants from the 'third world', including Guyanese, began to emerge in Canada. The onus had shifted from selection by race and class to selection by education, skills, age, health, etc. The Canadian Immigration System became more 'open-ended' and less ethnocentric.

The criteria for selection had broader objectives so as to serve the economic, social and cultural interests of Canada

(Green Paper, Vol. 2:39). The Green Paper stipulates more specifically the immediate objectives of the labour needs of Canada as:

- 1) to promote dependent and family reunion if applicant is qualified
 - 2) to allow entry where there is a demand for labour
 - 3) to look with favour on workers in continuing demand and on entrepreneurs with financial and educational means to succeed
 - 4) to admit refugees likely to become successfully established
- and 5) to council immigrants fully about living and working conditions in Canada.

(Green Paper, Vol. 2:39-40)

Guyanese intending to migrate to Canada must adhere to the preceding stipulation. All applicants must have at least fifty points out of one hundred points for approval (see Green Paper, Vol. 2:43-39 for further explanation on the point system). The regulations established nine factors for appraisal: education and training, personal qualities, occupational demand, occupational skill, age, arranged employment, knowledge of official languages, relatives in Canada and area of destination. Guyanese migrating to Canada, by and large, have had no serious confrontation with any of the above conditions.

Table XII indicates that of the total sample, ten

(16.67%) of the Guyanese respondents in Winnipeg had only primary education. Eight (13.34%) respondents had some secondary and twenty (33.33%) had completed their secondary education.* Five (8.34%) respondents were technically trained and two (3.33%) had some vocational training. Higher up the educational scale, three (5%) had some university education, while ten (16.67%) were university graduates. There were two post-graduate respondents, one Masters and one Ph.D., accounting for 3.33 percent of the total sample. Altogether, ten (16.67%) of the total sample had lower education (primary), but thirty-five (58.33%) had higher and some technical education. The remaining fifteen (25%) had some university education or were university graduates.

When the above statistics are compared to similar breakdowns for other national groups in Canada, it becomes clear that Guyanese abroad are proportionately more educated than most immigrant groups. Table XII shows that while 16.67% of the Guyanese respondents had primary education (8 years or

*In Guyana, the completion of secondary education entails the writing of the General Certificate of Education Examination (G.C.E.) ordinary and advanced levels. The examination sheets are then sent to the University of London, England to be marked, which may result in the presentation of the G.C.E. ordinary or advanced level certificate respectively (equivalent to the grade 12 and grade 13 in Canada). In Guyana, the G.C.E. certificate qualifies a student for employment in the Public Service, teaching and also for university entrance.

Table XII

LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS IN RELATION
TO OTHER GROUPS IN CANADA.

<u>LEVEL OF EDUC.</u>	<u>GUYANESE %</u>	<u>NATIONAL %</u>	<u>UNITED KINGDOM %</u>	<u>"MEDITERRANIAN"%</u>
8 years & less	16.67	36.2	8.3	89.3
9 years to 12 yaers	58.33	44.1	68.8	9.2
13 years & over	25.00	17.8	22.2	-
Total	100	100.0	98.1	98.5

Source: A. Richmond; POSTWAR IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA.

TORONTO UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1967.

less), statistics compiled by Richmond indicate that 36.2%, 8.3% and 89.3% are represented by the national average, British and "Mediterranian" immigrants respectively. While 58.33% of the Guyanese respondents had secondary and technical training (9 years to 12 years), the corresponding figures for the national average, British and "Mediterranian" groups, were 44.1%, 68.8% and 9.2% respectively, with only the British more represented in this category than Guyanese. The thirteen years and over education groups are represented by 25% Guyanese, 17.8% national average, 22.2% British, and none of the Mediterranean groups in Richmond's sample were in this category.

In the total sample of Guyanese in Winnipeg, there are some discrepancies between Afro- and Indo-Guyanese respondents in each of the three major educational categories (primary, secondary and university). These discrepancies are minimal, however, and there seems to be a general uniformity between the group as a whole and the two ethnic groups when taken separately.

TABLE XIII

Levels of Education of Afro and Indo-Guyanese Respondents in Winnipeg.

	AFRO-GUYANESE %	INDO-GUYANESE %	TOTAL AVERAGE %
PRIMARY	15.0	17.5	16.67
SECONDARY	60.0	57.5	58.33
UNIVERSITY	25.0	25.0	25.00
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.00

The level of education of the individual, however, must not be considered as the sole determinant to social and economic success in the Canadian society. A number of respondents were successful businessmen having only primary, and in a few cases some secondary education. Personal initiative serves as an important precondition for economic success in 'free-enterprise' societies such as Canada.

JOB AND INCOME OF RESPONDENTS

The integration of Guyanese into the Canadian work force is no problem on the part of the Guyanese. Some of the major reasons are:

- 1) The official (and only established) language of Guyana is English. The educational system is patterned after that of the British. With the exception of a few minor differences between the Canadian and Guyanese school curriculum, the Guyanese is not at all unfamiliar with the Canadian educational system. The general level of verbal communication is most effective between Canadians and Guyanese. A number of respondents indicated during interviews that some Canadians were surprised at the high standard of written and spoken English by Guyanese at the work place. Canadians are of the habit of identifying Guyana with Guinea and New Guinea, and of believing that English is not the first language.

- 2) Guyana is rapidly becoming a modernized society,

Table XIV

OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENTS BY ETHNICITY
IN WINNIPEG.

OCCUPATION	RESPONDENTS		AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Physician	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
Lawyer	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
Accountant	4	6.64	1	5	3	7.5
Govt.Official	3	4.98	2	10	1	2.5
School Teacher	2	3.34	1	5	1	2.5
Priest	1	1.67	1	5	-	-
Private Business	4	6.64	-	-	4	10.0
Insurance	3	4.98	-	-	3	7.5
Sales Representative	3	4.98	1	5	2	5.0
Office Clerk	6	10.00	2	10	4	10.0
Store Salesperson	7	11.67	1	5	6	15.0
Fitter	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
Carpenter	2	3.34	1	5	1	2.5
Plumber	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
Bus Driver	1	1.67	1	5	-	-
Railway Worker	1	1.67	1	5	-	-
Machinist	3	4.98	1	5	2	5.0
Farm Equipt.Salesman	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
Electrician	3	4.98	2	10	1	2.5
Truck Driver	2	3.34	-	-	2	5.0
Seamstress	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
Textile Workers	3	4.98	1	5	2	5.0
Bank Teller	2	3.34	1	5	1	2.5
Work Foreman	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
Unemployed	3	4.98	2	10	1	2.5
Total	80	100.0	20	100.0	40	100.0

and, being in the Western Hemisphere, has close contact with North America. Guyanese migrants, therefore, are somewhat familiar with Canadian work ethics. This makes occupational adjustments in Winnipeg less arduous. Guyanese immigrants are also familiar with basic habits and values of the Canadian mainstream society.

Education and occupation are related to income. The high average education and training of Guyanese in Winnipeg indicates the middle class status of most respondents. Approximately 20 percent of the respondents, however, refused to answer the question on average annual income. No particular reason was given for not answering this question. Judging from their occupation and standard of living, it was fairly safe to assume that most of this group belong to a relatively high income bracket.

There were only three respondents who were unemployed and no respondent reported being underemployed. The three unemployed respondents had no families of their own and were at different levels of training in various skills (two at the Red River Community College and one at the Herzing Institute of Canada). The remaining fifty-seven respondents were represented in a wide cross-section of trades, skills and professions as can be seen in Table XIV .

Immigrants leaving Guyana are of diverse social and economic backgrounds, representing all classes and coming from

almost every major population center across the country. It would seem that one of the major reasons for lower classes emigrating is economic and social pressures in their home land. Those of the upper middle class left mainly because of political reasons, and also the possibility for earning higher wages in the more industrialized societies. These issues will be discussed further in Chapter V.

Thus far, the socio-economic criteria of Guyanese immigrants to Winnipeg have been described, and an attempt has been made to evaluate class by occupation and training. One could conclude that the Guyanese immigrants in the sample show optimum motivation for upward mobility, the opportunity for which was almost nil for most of them in Guyana. The samples for the two major ethnic Guyanese groups in Winnipeg show similar patterns of occupational distribution. It would seem, however, that Afro-Guyanese become more involved in white collar jobs, working particularly for the Provincial Government. A sizable percentage of this ethnic group were also employed in various trades, and some served in labouring positions. Indo-Guyanese respondents dominate in the so-called 'free-professions'; that is, areas in which the employee is not subjected to strict bureaucratic sanctions. These areas are law, medicine, accounting and store-keeper/owner. A large percentage of this ethnic group were also involved in trades of various types and as sales representatives and store salespersons.

A smaller percent of this group were in the labouring category.

EVALUATION OF SOCIAL POSITION AND STATUS

Sociologists (S.J. Makielski, 1973; F.J. Shaw and R.S. Ort, 1953; E.G. Epps, 1973; and Marion J. Levy, 1966) have devoted a great deal of time to the study of social stratification and social mobility. The study of class and society, however, becomes complicated when there is movement of people from one country to another, especially in situations where the newcomers are basically from rural communities entering urban environments. What further complicates the study of socialization and class differentiation in industrialized societies is the fact that the labour force is not usually ethnically homogeneous, but may represent a multiplicity of ethnic, national and cultural groups having a variety of values, beliefs and behaviors.

Some social scientists (Makielski, 1973:7) are also preoccupied with the biological base of human variation, and accentuate human differences, rather than the basic similarities among men of all colour and culture. However 'different' societies and cultures may appear, given the circumstances, men of varied social and cultural backgrounds could live side by side cooperatively (or competitively), working towards common goals.

One of the basic problems of new immigrants is to integrate successfully in their adopted country and ultimately

not be seen as 'foreigners', but as 'workers', 'neighbours', etc. The task of total integration, however, is difficult if not impossible for immigrants coming from diverse social and cultural backgrounds, since different individuals may react to the same situation differently. Group norms may also cause the individual to practice dual behaviors; that is, by playing the part that is expected of him in public places, and then recoiling to the cultural norms of his homeland. Guyanese, and particularly Indo-Guyanese, are apt to act in this way because of cultural persistence and ethnic identity.

Canada's political ideals are the persistence of the capitalist economic system. Class ascription and individual competitiveness form the core of the so-called 'private enterprise marketing economies'. Even though Guyanese like other national ethnic groups can, in principle, adjust to the Canadian class structure by 'fitting into' any one stratum of the social hierarchy, in practice the process of social mobility is more complex and difficult for non Anglo-Saxons. The status quo has been too long under control by the English-speaking Protestant section of the population.* Guyanese, as an outside group, must contend with this fact. Non-white out-groups may reach the height of the upper middle class in Canada only after

*For further discussions on this subject see Anthony H. Richmond's Post-War Immigrants in Canada, 1970. University of Toronto Press. Toronto. p. 96.

achieving twice as much and working twice as hard as their Anglo-Saxon counterpart. Only in a state of classlessness can there be any hope for social and economic equality.

Guyanese immigrants have mixed reactions regarding their current social status. Some respondents indicated that they had experienced an improvement in their status since coming to Canada (this is deduced from their improvements in income, housing and education). Others claim that their status had decreased since entering Canada, since they were better off in Guyana where they held senior positions, owned larger houses, land and private businesses. It would seem that the latter group emigrated because they were pressured or felt discriminated against by the ruling bureaucracy.

CHAPTER V

SOME MOTIVES FOR OUT-MIGRATION FROM GUYANA TO WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

In this chapter, some aspects of socio-political and economic reasons which motivated out-migration from Guyana are examined. The major reasons for out-migration given by respondents are: economic underdevelopment and unemployment, political (and racial) discrimination, lack of educational facilities, to join family/relatives already abroad and to a lesser extent for religio-cultural reasons.

As already discussed in Chapter I, the push-pull factor could be considered the major reason for human migration (under normal circumstances). That is, the 'push' away from the sending society, mainly because of deteriorating social and economic conditions, and the 'pull' towards the receiving society mainly because of its labour needs and the possibility for upward social mobility for the new entrants.

The effects and the reasons for the push-pull factor may vary from one society to another. That is, the need to 'escape' from one's homeland could be greater than the 'pull' towards a particular society. In this case, the motive for migration is basically political, and sometimes racial or a combination of both. For instance, most of the Chileans who leave their homeland today do so because of political

repression;* the Ugandan Asians were expelled from Uganda on the basis of race (and economics), and an appropriate case of both political despotism and ethnic repression resulting in 'out-migration' was the recent Viet-Nameese 'boat-people' incident where ethnic Chinese were forced to leave Viet-Nam.

The political and economic situations in Guyana appear to be degenerating at an accelerated pace. Guyanese still leave Guyana voluntarily, even though both the preceding reasons for migration (political and racial) are ever present.** Table shows some of the more prominent reasons for out-migration among respondents in Winnipeg.

SOME ECONOMIC MOTIVES FOR OUT-MIGRATION

The primary motive for out-migration given by respondents was economic. Twenty-five (41.66%) of the total sample migrated because of a deteriorating standard of living and the increasing cost of living in Guyana. Some of the more

*This was indicated in a discussion between the writer and one of the leaders of the Chilean group in Winnipeg.

**It has been suggested that Guyana's drive for regional integration in the Caribbean is a means of solving its racial imbalance via encouraging eventual emigration of Indo-Guyanese. (Sackey, 1978:271-273 and C.Y. Thomas, 1977:15) Also in the past, some Indo-Guyanese groups have expressed the fear of being 'swamped out' by other groups from the Caribbean should there be any kind of West Indian Federation, or socio-political integration.

important economic factors that motivate immigration are:

- 1) High unemployment (estimated to be about 40% nationally) (Sackey, 1978)
- 2) Failures of successive development programs to house, clothe and feed the Guyanese population
- 3) Government's emphasis on public enterprise (cooperatives, state corporation, etc.)
- 4) Government's exclusive control of all importation and exportation
- 5) The emphasis on non-agricultural sectors of the economy at the expense of local food production
- 6) Rationing of food and other products, and banning most foreign foods and accessories.

In preceding chapters, such issues as high unemployment rates, the failure of a number of major development programs and the emphasis on public enterprise and non-agricultural areas have been discussed. Other aspects of the economy of Guyana which have not been discussed, and which seem to have some impact on out-migration, are government marketing programs (import-export) and the banning of an assortment of goods and facilities within the country.

Indo-Guyanese, within the last four decades in particular (post World War II), had become the dominant force in the retail, and to a lesser extent the wholesale, sectors of the economy. Governmental control of importation, however, and

TABLE XV

THE MOST IMPORTANT MOTIVES FOR MIGRATING TO CANADA GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS.

MOTIVES	GUYANESE GROUP		AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
1.ECONOMIC	25	41.66	10	50.0	15	37.5
2.POLITICAL	9	15.0	2	10.0	7	17.5
3.SOCIAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.CULTURAL	3	5.0	-	-	3	7.5
5.EDUCATIONAL	12	20.0	6	30.0	6	15.0
6.RELIGIOUS	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
7.JOIN FAMILY	9	15.0	2	10.0	7	17.5
8.ADVENTURE	-	-	-	-	-	-
9.NO REPLY	1	1.67	-	-	1	2.5
TOTAL	60	100.0	20	100.0	40	100.0

high taxation on local businesses have severely curtailed the growth of private enterprise (and a local capitalist class, dominated by Indo-Guyanese). The control of importation and distribution of marketable commodities caused a number of Guyanese of the business sector to immigrate to Canada. The four respondents who own shops in Winnipeg also owned shops in Guyana before migrating. During interviews, their major complaint in relation to their businesses in Guyana was "we can't sell empty shelves", in reference to the lack of saleable goods in the country.

While the business sector is adversely affected, so is the consumer sector. Almost everyone coming from Guyana (even on holiday) complain of the lack of food supplies in the country, especially staples which were traditionally imported from abroad, and the apparent inferior quality and inadequacy of local substitutes. This results in impatient people queuing up for food supplies, especially in the urban centres (in Guyana this perpetual lining up for food is humorously referred to as 'Guyline' in synchrony with the government's program of 'Guyanization'). It would seem that because of the retrogressive economic situation in Guyana, the government has become even more obsessed with the 'grow local, eat local' rhetoric. While the government of Guyana remains reticent to the economic problems in Guyana, respondents express doubts as to the economic future of that country.

EDUCATIONAL REASONS

The second most popular reason for out-migration given by respondents was education. Twelve (20%) of the total sample came to Canada because of the need for higher education and training in various fields. The literacy level in Guyana is relatively high (92% according to the United Nations Yearbook, 1979). The need for higher education among Guyanese, both at the academic and technical levels, cannot be adequately catered to by Guyana's single university, located near Georgetown, and two technical institutes in Georgetown and New Amsterdam. These institutions also do not function to full capacity, and several times within the last decade the University of Guyana was temporarily closed during the school year for various reasons (inadequate staffing, finance, student protests, etc.). The credibility of academic and technical training has also been criticized in the past by local academicians. Six (30%) of the Afro-Guyanese respondents left Guyana to attain higher education in Canada, and six (15%) of Indo-Guyanese respondents migrated to Canada for the same reason.

MIGRATE TO JOIN FAMILY/RELATIVES

Nine (15%) of the total sample came to join their families or relatives in Winnipeg. Two (10%) of the Afro-Guyanese and seven (17.5%) of the Indo-Guyanese were in this

TABLE XVI

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION.

MOTIVE	LESS THAN GRADE 8		UP TO GRADE 12		UNIVERSITY EDUC.	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
1.ECONOMIC	5	8.33	17	30.0	3	5
2.POLITICAL	2	3.33	5	6.66	2	3.33
3.CULTURAL & RELIG.	1	1.67	2	3.33	1	1.67
4.EDUCATIONAL	1	1.67	8	13.34	3	5.0
5.JOIN FAMILY	1	1.67	3	6.66	5	8.33
6.NO REPLY	-	-	-	-	1	1.67
TOTAL	10	16.67	35	58.33	15	25.0

category. Only three (5%) of the total sample migrated for cultural reasons and one (1.67%) for religious reasons; all four representing the Indo-Guyanese group (10% of that ethnic group). It has not been clarified by migrants in the questionnaire what is actually meant when they claimed to have left Guyana because of religious and cultural reasons. During interviews, however, it was made clear by some respondents (Indo-Guyanese) that the country was 'going communist', a move they assumed would mean the end of the Hindu sub-culture in Guyana. Some Indo-Guyanese also fear the possibility of repression (a fate similar to that of Indian nationals in Uganda during 1972), by a political organization (the P.N.C.) known for its anti-Indian sentiments.*

The one (1.67%) respondent who did not respond to the question on motive for migration is an Indo-Guyanese. The writer has reasons to believe that this particular individual left Guyana for political reasons (this was indicated during

*Cause for this belief became a reality especially after the 1961-64 political and racial crisis in Guyana. It must also be noted that the Afro-Guyanese also have reasons to fear the 'Indianization' of the Guyanese society, since Indian cultural practices are ever present in the society. Some Afro-Guyanese of the last generation will also remember too well the attempts of some prominent East Indians to have the indentured system reintroduced in Guyana during the 1930's, with the intention of 'Hinduizing' the country, thus dominating mainstream social activity. This attempt was also made in Fiji and Mauritius, failing in the former island, but succeeding in the latter. (Epps, 1973:196)

informal discussions). No respondent indicated that he/she had come to Canada initially for travel or adventure. It would seem that Guyanese migrate basically to 'escape' what they perceive to be a socially and economically stultifying society, in order to improve their status and standard of living abroad.

ETHNO-POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION

The study of discrimination in Guyana and its causes and effects has been a major focus for some political analysts and anthropologists in recent years (B.A.N. Collins, 1966; H.A. Lutchman, 1973; R.R. Premdas, 1978; Leo A. Despres, 1967; R.T. Smith, 1963; and C. Jayawardena, 1969). Racial discrimination in Guyana, however, is not a new problem, but existed throughout the plantation era and took its present form with the introduction of non-African labour groups, such as Chinese, Portuguese and particularly East Indians (for elaborate accounts, see Smith, 1962, Despres, 1967 and Adamson, 1972). The internal structuring of the society by the English planter class meant that some racial groups were more favourably placed than others in the enjoyment of certain resources. (Lutchman, 1973:226)

In the total bureaucracy, Europeans and their descendants formed the apex of the stratification system, while the intermediate positions were held by the 'colored' (mulatto) section of the population. The bulk of the lower stratum of

the society was composed of the African and East Indian populations. There was one important discrepancy in the lower stratum of the bureaucracy, however, which resulted more specifically in the development of mutual distrust and alienation between these two major ethnic groups. The majority of positions (both white and blue collar) in the lower sector of the public bureaucracy was dominated by Afro-Guyanese. This meant that East Indians were not only underrepresented at the top echelon of the bureaucracy (as was the case with Afro-Guyanese) but also underrepresented in the lower ranks. Indo-Guyanese were prohibited (not by law but by convention) from entering the public service, the police force and the teaching profession on a variety of grounds, most of which were conjured up to 'keep them out'. For instance, they could not speak 'proper English' for the civil service; they were not robust and tall enough for the police force; they were not Christians, so they could not be employed to teach in the church-controlled (all denominations) schools*; etc.

This was perhaps the turning point of race relations, and subsequent racial problems in Guyana. With the exception of a small percentage, most Indo-Guyanese resorted to rural agricultural life and Afro-Guyanese continued to dominate the

*Shortly before the writer became a school teacher in Guyana, this notorious practice was brought to an end by the then P.P.P. Government. Before 1963, in order to teach at a Catholic or Anglican school, one had to conform with the respective church.

urban and eventually the public sectors of the economy. The colonial administration had succeeded in 'dividing and ruling' the Guyanese population for its own political and economic ends. Table is a disaggregation of the employment statistics in the bureaucratic sector of Guyanese work force by race in 1925. The least represented group proportionately to the total population is by far the Indo-Guyanese population. This pattern had changed somewhat as of the 1960's, but not remarkably so in the police or the civil service, even though this group has made substantial advances in the teaching profession.

TABLE XVII

RACIAL ALLOCATIONS IN BUREAUCRACY AND POPULATION, 1925
(in percentage)

Racial Groupings	Employed	Total Population
1) European and descendants	3.0	1.11
2) Portuguese	0.2	3.08
3) Chinese	0.2	0.91
4) East Indians	4.0	41.97
5) Negroes	84.7	39.36
6) Mixed	7.3	10.28
7) Not stated	0.6	.22
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Source: Daily Argosy, August 13, 1925.

In view of the fact that there is racial disparity at almost all levels of the Guyanese society (see B.A.N. Collins, 1966), political opportunism* tends to reinforce the state of inequality which now inhibits the growth of nationalism in the society. The P.P.P., during its period in office, 1957-64, was also unable to unite the two major ethnic groups (there were factions within the P.P.P. which worked counter to national integration). This led to the misconception that the entire party was pro-Indian, and subsequently the Afro-Guyanese supporters began to shy away from the P.P.P.

Political rivalry between the two major parties exacerbates the socio-economic relationships between the two major ethnic groups in Guyana. It would seem that during the P.P.P. period in office (1957-64), Indo-Guyanese became more active politically, and greater attempts were made to 'infiltrate' fields traditionally regarded as the domain of the Afro-Guyanese section of the population - the civil service, police and teaching departments.** When the P.N.C. acquired

*That is, the ruling party is using every possible means to stay in power, despite its inability to develop the economy of the country and integrate the society. For further discussion on this subject, see Ralph R. Premdas, 1978 and James A. Sackey, 1979.

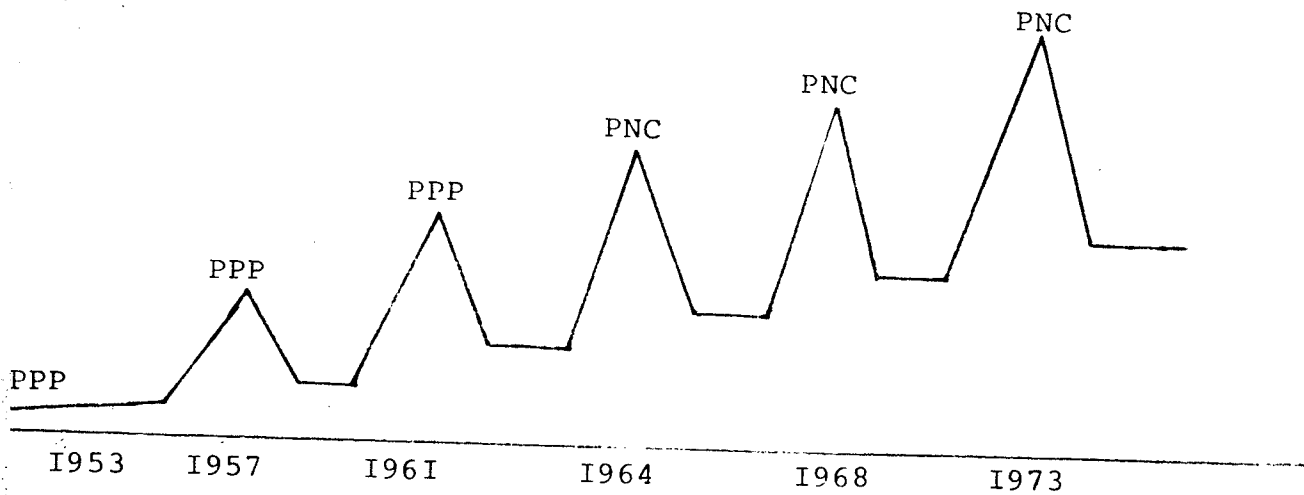
**The Winn-Parry Commission (1964) and the International Jurist Commission (1965) have both recommended a restructuring of the government services to facilitate the entry of more qualified Indo-Guyanese into positions of responsibility. For further discussion on this subject, see B.A.N. Collins' "Racial Imbalance in Public Service and Security Forces", Race 3, (1966), 235-253.

power in 1964 and onwards, the ambition and zeal of Indo-Guyanese seemed to have abated, while Afro-Guyanese once again took almost full control of the public bureaucracy.

Premdas (1976) has shown that almost the entire senior sectors of the Public Service, Police and Military Departments are under the control of Afro-Guyanese, and that Indo-Guyanese in senior positions are 'pressured' out of their positions by being transferred to positions with no authority to make decisions. This type of politics in Guyana has become the norm from one general election to another.

What is evident within the last three decades, and between five general elections, is that during the election year there is a peak in ethno-political rivalry between the two political parties and two major ethnic groups (see Fig. I). After the fervour of the general election period, ethnic antagonism subsides, but remains ever present in the society. With each succeeding general election, the peak period of ethnic and political conflicts accelerates to new heights, and the period of decline remains relatively higher than the previous period of subsidence (see Fig. I). In other words, the general level of racial tension and political conflict deteriorates with each general election.

In recent years, the government of Guyana has introduced a number of specific measures which are changing the socio-economic structure of the society, but these changes

Figure I

Levels of Racial Tension Generated by Five Consecutive General Elections in Guyana.

Diagram was developed from arguments taken by Ralph R. Premdas in 'Elections and Political Campaigns in a Racially Bifurcated State: The Case of Guyana.' Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs.vol.4 1972.

The 1951-53 period marked a session of relative inter-ethnic stability in Guyana. During that period there was only one national political party, the P.P.P. but with the formation of the P.N.C (a splinter group of the P.P.P), race relation took a new turn. The 1957 general election and subsequent general elections- 1961, 1964, 1968, and 1973 indicate a series of unprecedented 'peaks' of racial conflicts and subsequent antagonism. The inter-ethnic rivalry between elections remain relatively high, resulting in a racially and politically bifurcated society.

are not achieving national integration. The programs are designed for cultural assimilation of all sub-groups into the mainstream society. The government's cooperative schemes and national services (paramilitary, farm and interior development programs) have been criticized by the leading Hindu bodies for breaking up the extended family and other Indian traditional practices. Hindu groups have also expressed the fear of mixed marriages which might ensue as a result of young people of all ethnic groups living together in isolated camps in the interior districts.

It is indicative that there is no single motive for migration from Guyana, even though all respondents stressed a particular reason, some giving a number of reasons. As all motives interlock with each other, it is difficult to 'draw the line' between them, except in an arbitrary manner. The economic motive may be the manifest reason for the latent education motive, and vice-versa. It is also difficult to differentiate between the political and the economic motives for migration, especially for Indo-Guyanese. Large percentages of this ethnic group claimed to have left Guyana because of political and economic reasons, not only because of deteriorating politico-economic situations in Guyana, but also because of racial discrimination. This substantiates the fact that economics, race and politics are interrelated in Guyana; for instance, "Skilled non-African government employees emigrated

from Guyana as racial discriminatory practices intended to consolidate P.N.C. control over the civil service became open and widespread". (Premdas, 1979:69)

WHY WINNIPEG, MANITOBA?

The question of why respondents chose Winnipeg over other cities in Canada was partly discussed in Chapter III. To recapitulate, some reasons given by respondents were:

- a) job offer in Winnipeg
- b) relatives in Winnipeg
- c) sponsor here
- d) in transit to Toronto from Vancouver or vice versa
- e) student applying for immigrant status upon completion of their studies in Winnipeg.

The overall reason for migrating to Winnipeg was not high wages as much as existing opportunity for employment.

The possibility for economic absorption of the immigrant into the mainstream society is apparently less arduous in medium sized cities like Winnipeg, when compared to Toronto and Vancouver. In the latter two cities, large minority groups (blacks, East Indians, Chinese, etc.) are competing for limited jobs with members of the mainstream society. The stigma of racial antagonism in the labour market becomes more pronounced in larger cities. Recent incidences of racial clashes in both Toronto and Vancouver lend support to this hypothesis. A

REASONS WHY GUYANESE IMMIGRANTS CHOOSE WINNIPEG
OVER OTHER CITIES IN CANADA.

REASON	NUMBER	PERCENT
1. JOB OFFER HERE	20	33.33
2. RELATIVES HERE	9	15.00
3. FRIENDS HERE	7	11.67
4. FRIENDLY PLACE	3	5.00
5. GOOD PROSPECTS HERE	18	30.00
6. CLEANER THAN OTHER PLACES	2	3.33
7. FURTHEST FROM HOME	1	1.67
TOTAL	60	100.00

TABLE XIX

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN WINNIPEG.

LENGTH OF TIME	AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
LESS THAN 1 YEAR	-	-	-	-
1 to 3 YEARS	8	40.0	15	37.5
4 to 6 YEARS	5	25.0	12	30.0
7 to 9 YEARS	6	30.0	10	25.0
OVER 10 YEARS	1	5	3	7.5
TOTAL	20	100.0	40	100.0

number of respondents who moved from Toronto to Winnipeg proclaim fear for the future of that city in terms of race relations. One such respondent vividly recounted the humiliation of being addressed by the pejorative term 'Paki' in front of his family. Another respondent indicated that there were 'too many black people' in Toronto, as such there was 'bound to be racial problems'.

There is an excess of housing in Winnipeg. As a result, finding suitable residence has been of little problem for the immigrant from Guyana. Rent and real estate are also considerably lower than the rates in most of the larger cities in Canada. While Winnipeg is considered to be a 'quiet' and 'respectable' city by some respondents, a few have criticized its limitations for personal growth and economic expansion. Almost all respondents complained about the weather in Winnipeg. Winters, it seems, are too long and cold, especially for people from tropical areas. In the final analysis, the advantages seem to outweigh the disadvantages for Guyanese in Winnipeg.

There is no means of verifying how many Guyanese arrive and leave Winnipeg annually. Information gathered from the questionnaire, however, indicated that none of the respondents lived in Winnipeg less than one year, while over fifty percent lived in Winnipeg for over five years. This indicates that the majority of Guyanese stay in Winnipeg for relatively long periods of time.

In this chapter, the motives for migration of Guyanese to Winnipeg were discussed. Evidently, deteriorating socio-economic and political situations in Guyana are the major causes for out-migration. Guyanese who cannot tolerate the low standard of living and high unemployment and cost of living, emigrate in large numbers to Canada and the United States. This chapter also dealt with some aspects of adjustments of the immigrants as they settle in their adopted country.

CHAPTER VI

THE RESULTS OF THE IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCE

The previous chapters dealt with some aspects of the socio-economic, political and cultural situations in Guyana which resulted in the development of a socially and culturally pluralistic, and politically bifurcated society. The ethno-political relationships in the recent past which resulted in regional economic disparity and racial imbalances in the services and security forces of Guyana were also discussed. A combination of the preceding factors greatly influence the pattern of out-migration from Guyana. These hypotheses could be supported by the fact that the largest number of respondents in Winnipeg left Guyana because of economic and political reasons, of which a substantial number felt that they were ethno-politically isolated from the mainstream society.

In this chapter, the consequences of the immigration experience shall be discussed by focussing on the following issues:

- a) The sense of achievement of the immigrant
- b) Have the immigrants been able to fulfill their motives for migration?
- c) Have the immigrants any desire to remain in Canada or return to Guyana eventually?
- d) Is there a relationship between the results of the

immigration experience and activities at the associational and primary group level?

As indicated in Chapter V, Canadian Immigration policies were initially designed to attract permanent settlers of certain ethnic persuasions (mainly northern and western European) and not transient migrants 'trying to make a fast-buck'. These policies were "to be planned in order to facilitate economic absorption; and they were to be selective according to ethnic criteria." (Richmond, 1970:3) The emphasis was placed on the large influx of British immigrants and the limitation of other groups, particularly those from the so-called third world. The point here is that non-European groups were not only numerically controlled, but that ethnically and culturally they were set apart from the Anglo-Saxon sector of the population. 'Colored' groups could not enjoy the total freedom of cultural expression, since to do so would contradict the 'character' of mainstream social values and cultural behaviors. 'Colored' groups, such as Guyanese were more easily absorbed economically than culturally within the 'Canadian Mosaic'. This, needless to say, created situations of conflict and psychological stress among immigrants trying to adjust to a new socio-cultural environment.

More recently, the Federal and to a lesser extent the Provincial Governments of Canada, through various departments (Departments of Secretary of State, External Affairs, and

Immigration and Manpower), have made attempts to 'accomodate' new groups by encouraging group participation in mainstream social and cultural activities. These departments also encourage the formation of ethnic community centres, clubs, associations and action groups across the country to represent the interests of minority cultures.

Despite government's assistance, facilities for group activities are limited, and cultural continuity among out-groups is severely hampered in Canada. In Chapter I it has been argued that successful migration is not only the process of economic transition from one society to another, where perhaps the immigrant will become occupationally absorbed in the new society and then 'hope for the best'. In fact, migration is often accompanied by the complexity of cultural contact and conflict, which may have serious consequences on the process of adjustment and stabilization of the newcomer.

In order to maintain 'objective evaluation' of the process of socialization, scholars too often fail to investigate the subjective (experiential) aspects of adaptation. Immigrants are not only 'objects' to be studied, but also 'subjects' to be understood and to be related to. One way of doing this is to come in direct contact with the immigrant in his everyday life and learn to 'see' situations as they occur to him. This makes it easier to evaluate and analyze 'problems' not readily explicit to the observer.

SENSE OF ACHIEVEMENT OF IMMIGRANT

Guyanese migrating to Canada do not experience what anthropologists call 'culture shock'. When immigrants move into a country where the social and cultural systems are drastically different than their own, then they experience acute socio-cultural and linguistic 'discomforts'. That is, the unprepared immigrant may suffer a high degree of disappointment and frustration.

The basic assumptions of this study regarding migration from one society to another are that:

- a) The success of the adaptive strategy of the newcomer depends greatly upon the socio-economic and cultural commonality between the sending and the receiving societies.
- b) The greater the differences between the two societies, the more difficult the process of adjustment, resulting in the possibility of re-emigration.
- c) The cohesiveness of the immigrant group in the new environment depends on common group activity in their adopted society and the level of common identity back in the 'old country'.

The Guyanese immigrants of this study were asked whether they had experienced any form of worries and anxieties since arriving in Canada, and whether they thought life might have

been better or worse if they had remained in Guyana. Respondents were also asked whether they participated in social and cultural activities of the Canadian society. Questions on economic status, occupation, education, housing and the ownership of property were also asked with the intention of comparing and analysing social and economic statuses of the respondents between Guyana and Winnipeg.

From the preceding questions, it became evident that the majority of the respondents had made some degree of economic progress since migrating to Canada. This is seen in their improvements in occupation, education, and economic status. Respondents do enjoy a greater number of privileges and amenities which are not normally available to lower middle and lower classes in Guyana. A number of respondents could afford to visit Guyana at will, and indeed do return at regular intervals (the writer knows at least six respondents who visit Guyana at least once every year). Some respondents send home money and occasionally clothing and other accessories, but because of fear of theft at the General Post Office in Georgetown, respondents usually take gifts, etc. when personally visiting Guyana.

Respondents were generally pleased at the fact that the educational and economic systems are less structurally controlled

in Winnipeg than in Guyana.* That is to say, if one is prepared to work and conserve a portion of one's earnings, the possibility of attaining a college education and a higher standard of living in Winnipeg is not as limited as in Guyana, where unemployment is phenomenally high. One respondent complained "No matter how hard you work in Guyana, you just don't seem to be able to get ahead."

Despite the relatively improved living conditions of Guyanese living in Winnipeg, not all respondents indicated their intentions of staying in Winnipeg, and indeed of remaining in Canada. As already indicated, a number of factors are responsible for Guyanese wanting to leave Winnipeg; for instance, the weather, better opportunities elsewhere, would like to join relatives in other places. TableXIX shows that of the total sample, ten (50%) of the Afro-Guyanese and fifteen (37.5%) of the Indo-Guyanese have intentions of staying permanently in Winnipeg. Two (10%) Afro-Guyanese and five (12.5%) of the Indo-Guyanese respondents have intentions of moving to other places in Canada, while three (15%) of the Afro-Guyanese respondents and one (2.5%) of the Indo-Guyanese claimed that they would like to move to the United States. Only one (1.67%)

*Even though education to the university level is currently free in Guyana, the single university in Guyana cannot facilitate the number of students who would like to attend classes.

TABLE XXGUYANESE IMMIGRANTS INTENTIONS REGARDING RESIDENCE PATTERN IN WINNIPEG.

INTENTION	AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
1. Stay in Winnipeg	10	50.0	15	37.5
2. Move to another city in Canada	2	10.0	5	12.5
3. Move to the U.S	3	15.0	1	2.5
4. Go to another country	1	5.0	-	-
5. Return to Guyana soon	1	5.0	6	15.0
6. Return to Guyana eventually	3	15.0	10	25.0
7. Don't know	-	-	3	7.5
TOTAL	20	100.0	40	100.0

of the total sample expressed the desire of wanting to re-emigrate to another country. Six (15%) of the Indo-Guyanese respondents and one (5%) of the Afro-Guyanese expressed the intention of returning to Guyana soon, while three (15%) Afro-Guyanese and ten (25%) Indo-Guyanese indicated their plans for eventual return to Guyana.

ASSOCIATIONAL AFFILIATION OF GUYANESE IMMIGRANTS IN WINNIPEG

Guyanese living in Winnipeg initially participate only marginally in the social and cultural activities of the Canadian society. This is expected of most third world communities during the 'delicate' period of transition from highly rural and agrarian societies to more western and technological societies. Successful adaptation may come slowly for some members of traditional groups. In such a case, new immigrants must be prepared to adjust to 'new' social habits and tastes at the expense of discarding some 'old' behaviors.

Cultural persistence is most peculiar among Indo-Guyanese. As a group they retain certain aspects of their social and cultural practices in Canada. As already delineated in previous chapters, Indo-Guyanese may 'act' Canadian in the street and at the work place, but they could quite as easily recoil into Hindu (or Moslem) cultural behaviors in their homes. This may result in a number of Indo-Guyanese playing the dual roles of being East Indians and Canadians at the same

time. This duality, it would seem, does not produce internal conflicts in the lives of Indo-Guyanese, but rather accentuates group solidarity and fosters cultural identity.

The strategy of maintaining ethno-cultural exclusiveness, particularly in plural societies, is no new phenomenon to East Indians. East Indians in Guyana (as indicated in Chapter II) had countered the mainstream society with the establishment of a communal pattern which promoted social solidarity and 'Hinduization' among rural Indo-Guyanese. This was a compelling need especially during the period when they were socially and culturally ostracised from the rest of the Guyanese society.

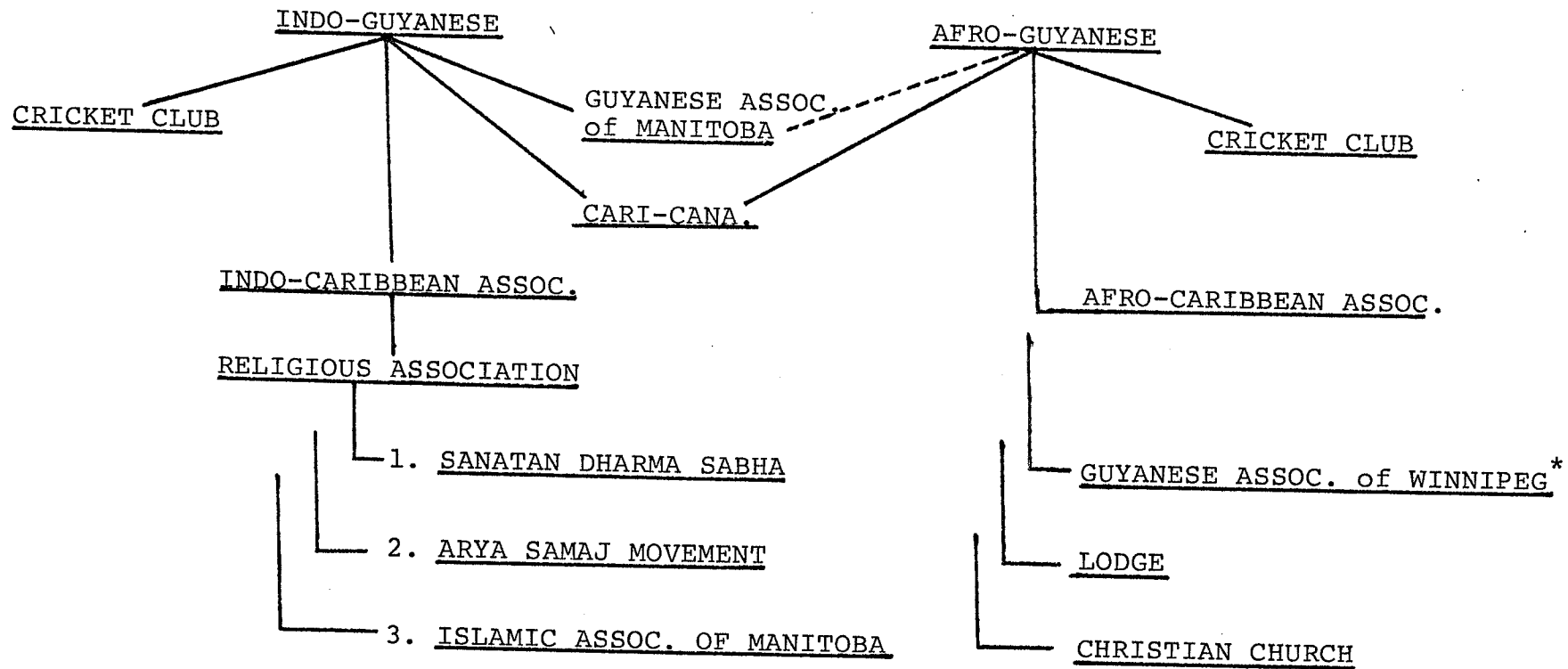
In Winnipeg, as was the case in Guyana, religion becomes the media through which group cohesiveness is fostered during the difficult period of initial contact with the host society. The 'Canadian Mosaic', which encourages the cultural integration of the various groups, does not oppose the existence nor the rejuvenation of sub-cultures. Indo-Guyanese as a cultural group, therefore, do not feel threatened or harassed in an environment of multiculturalism. Hinduism as a complete way of life promulgates that the 'Universal Principle of Unity in Diversity' entails the 'rightness' of all religions and cultures.*

*Hence the lack of the missionary zeal and the desire to convert non-Hindus into Hinduism in India (and Guyana). This is not necessarily the case for both Islam and Christianity; these religions take comfort in numbers.

Hindus, therefore, tend to co-exist and function culturally in any environment without losing their identity, once given the opportunity, while at the same time respecting the beliefs of other cultural groups.

In the event of socio-cultural rejection by the host society in Winnipeg, Afro-Guyanese must contend with some forms of ostracism, until such time when they are accepted as part of the host society. This is not to say, however, that Afro-Guyanese as a group do not practice certain social behavior peculiar to that group. Afro-Guyanese have their own group affiliations and ethnic proclivity. Afro-Guyanese group norms are closely related to western ideals, and as such this group as a whole tends to be more prone to earlier assimilation into the social and cultural behaviors of the host society than the Indo-Guyanese group.

The pattern of socio-cultural affiliations of Afro- and Indo-Guyanese indicates that there is a somewhat divided Guyanese community in Winnipeg, Manitoba. This unstructured (it has no social and economic base) ethno-cultural dichotomy is evident in Fig.II . Joint group participation is minimal between these two cultural groups, thus, replicating the ethnic relations of Guyana in Winnipeg. Indeed, Afro- and Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg tend to indulge in a number of distinct social and cultural activities. It should also be noted that there seems to be a relatively high degree of difference



* THE GUYANESE ASSOCIATION of WINNIPEG IS NOT OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED BY THE SECRETARY of STATE DEPARTMENT.

FIGURE II
PATTERNS OF SOCIOCULTURAL AFFILIATION OF
AFRO AND INDO-GUYANESE IN WINNIPEG, MANITOBA.

between these two groups in terms of associational activities. This is seen in the apparent rivalry between the Guyanese Association of Manitoba (G.A.M.) and the Guyanese Association of Winnipeg (G.A.W.).* These two associations are supported basically by Indo-Guyanese (G.A.M.) and Afro-Guyanese (G.A.W.) respectively, and it is very much evident that the rank and file of the two organizations have strong political associations with the two political parties in Guyana, the P.P.P. and the P.N.C.** As a result, all attempts in the past to merge these two associations (the G.A.M. and G.A.W.) have failed. The Guyanese community in Winnipeg has retained a number of plural traits characteristic of the plural society in Guyana. That is, the two major ethnic groups continue the practice of inter-group segmentation and ethno-cultural solidarity. In plural societies, group solidarity and cultural persistence occur "when groups living within a political unit practice very

*The writer was informed by a respondent that the G.A.W. was formed to counter the G.A.M. A number of Afro-Guyanese claimed that they were not encouraged by members of the G.A.M. to join that association, even though its constitution made it mandatory that all Guyanese who wish to become members are free to do so.

**When representatives of the two political parties of Guyana visit Winnipeg, they are usually accommodated by members of the two associations in Winnipeg. An executive member of the G.A.M. informed the writer that a visiting Minister of the Gov't (P.N.C.) of Guyana endorsed the formation of the G.A.W. in order to rally support for the party abroad.

different systems of compulsory or basic institutions. Under these conditions, the cultural plurality of the society corresponds to its social plurality." (Despres, 1976:16) The preceding definition of social and cultural pluralism aptly fits the Guyanese society at home. The Guyanese community in Winnipeg, however, has retained only some fundamental aspects of cultural pluralism.

In Winnipeg, the continuance of cultural pluralism, and the forces of ethnic disintegration are structurally and functionally not to the same degree of intensity as in Guyana. The socio-economic, political and cultural forces which operate in Canada are different structurally from those of Guyana. It could be argued that Canada is a heterogeneous society and not a plural one. Heterogeneous societies could be defined as societies "where groups within a political unit practice and share the same system of basic institutions but, at the same time, participate in different systems of alternate and exclusive institutions." (M.G. Smith, 1965:769) Most modern industrialized societies display the heterogeneous character.

Cultural pluralism, as it exists in Guyana, can function only minimally between Guyanese groups in Canada. The extent to which Indo-Guyanese are structurally separated from Afro-Guyanese in Guyana by virtue of Guyana's economic infrastructure does not exist in Winnipeg. The major reasons being that the Canadian socio-economic and political systems are not

ethno-culturally determined.

Whatever social, political and cultural differences currently exist between the two Guyanese groups in Winnipeg will eventually be minimized. New immigrants tend to retain a number of behavioral traits of the sending society until such time when they are accepted by members of the host society. By the same token, children of immigrants born in the host society may not identify with the social and political structures of their parents homeland. In other words, second (and subsequent) generation Canadians of Guyanese progenitors will be highly 'Canadianized'. It would seem that the ethno-social and cultural relations between Afro- and Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg would improve only after the group as a whole has been in Canada for a relatively long period of time.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SOCIAL FUNCTIONS ATTENDED BY RESPONDENTS

Regarding membership in associations/organizations, the data show that a large section (75%) of the respondents stated that they were members of religious and other associations. The general membership for religious associations is higher among Indo-Guyanese than Afro-Guyanese. One probable reason is that Hinduism serves both as religious and social functions for Hindus. For instance, at the temple (on Sunday morning) and also after religious services in the home, Hindus socialize by exchanging views on a variety of subjects, recapitulating

past experiences (talk ol' stories) of the home society and participating in a meal usually prepared by the host. These religious gatherings produce a network of interrelationships among Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg resulting in a system of communal contact and mutual assistance in times of difficulties. These religious services also serve to maintain close contact with families, friends and politics in Guyana.

The Moslem sector (mainly Indo-Guyanese) reflect similar patterns of social behavior as do the Hindus. The Guyanese Association of Manitoba, through its monthly newsletter, keeps a large sector of the Guyanese population in Winnipeg informed on the significance of certain cultural practices, religious holidays and festivities.* The Hindu festival of 'Phagwah' (the coming of spring) was celebrated in several homes and temples in Winnipeg during the month of March. Hindu respondents re-enacted the festivity in their homes as if they were back in Guyana. It is interesting to note, however, that one respondent expressed his lack of enthusiasm to participate in this festive occasion (even though he is a Hindu) because as he puts it, "the white people may not like it and may learn to dislike us because we are culturally

*The government of Guyana has made religious holidays statutory. There are at least two national holidays for each of the three major religions of Guyana (Christianity, Hinduism and Islam).

too different."

Data given in relation to ethnic composition of social functions attended by respondents indicate that the Guyanese population as a whole and as ethnic sectors are somewhat cliquish. This is evident at 'socials' (called fetes in Guyana). At Canadian socials, Guyanese in attendance of both ethnic groups associate more freely with each other. This is probably so because of the fact that at Canadian parties all Guyanese would be classified as coloreds. Some respondents, however, indicated their preferences of 'white parties' where they can mix, since it gives them a sense of 'belonging' to the Canadian society. On the other hand, socials held by either Guyanese group seem to result in 'ethnic seclusion'. That is, there is minimal attendance by Indo-Guyanese of Afro-Guyanese fetes and vice versa in Winnipeg. This type of 'social distance' is not uncommon in Guyana.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MAINSTREAM SOCIETY

In relation to the immigrants' experiences with the host society, respondents were asked the following general questions:

- 1) How do they feel about other groups in Winnipeg (whether they liked them, tolerated them or disliked them)?
- 2) How did they feel about female members of their

- families marrying members of other ethnic groups?
- 3) Respondents assessment of how Canadians see them.
 - 4) Whether Canadians expected respondents to change the way they lived, in terms of dress, food, linguistic accent, friendship pattern and social and cultural practices.
 - 5) What kinds of information and social activities respondents were most interested in.
- and 6) Whether respondents had missed Guyana and had intentions of repatriating sooner or later.

I. Friendship Pattern

With reference to the friendship pattern of respondents as shown in TableXXI, there are some discrepancies between Afro- and Indo-Guyanese. Eight (40%) of the Afro-Guyanese claimed that their friends were mostly Guyanese, while twelve (30%) of the Indo-Guyanese respondents felt that their friends were mostly Guyanese. Ten percent of both ethnic groups indicated that their friends were mostly West Indians and five percent of both groups that they did not care from which group their friends came.

It is interesting to note that one (5%) of the Afro-Guyanese respondents showed preference for Indo-Guyanese friends, but no Indo-Guyanese respondent reciprocated this attitude. Fourteen (35%) of the Indo-Guyanese preferred friendships from among their own ethnic group, while only four

TABLE XXI

RESPONDENTS FRIENDSHIP PATTERN IN WINNIPEG†

PATTERN	AFRO-GUYANESE		INDO-GUYANESE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
1. Mostly Guyanese	8	40.0	12	30.0
2. Mostly West Indians	2	10.0	4	10.0
3. Mostly Indo-Guyanese	1	5.0	14	35.0
4. Mostly afro-Guyanese	4	20.0	-	-
5. Mostly Canadians	1	5.0	-	-
6. equally mixed	3	15.0	8	20.0
7. Don't care	1	5.0	2	5.0
TOTAL	20	100.0	40	100.0

(20%) of the Afro-Guyanese stated that they preferred to associate with members of their own group. Three (15%) and eight (20%) of the Afro- and Indo-Guyanese respondents respectively, indicated that their friends were equally mixed; that is, from all groups mentioned in the questionnaire. One Afro-Guyanese indicated his preference for Canadian friends.

Studies done on racial attitudes between Afro- and Indo-Guyanese in Guyana (Elliot P. Skinner, 1971:117-133 and Joseph B. Landis, 1973:199-226) have shown that ethnic relations and associational patterns in that country are economically and culturally based (see Chapter II for additional discussion). Some members of both ethnic groups have shown admiration for each other; for instance, Indo-Guyanese have been regarded as thrifty and hardworking by some Afro-Guyanese, while the latter group have been admired by the former group for being strong and 'good natured'. The bulk of these two groups, however, antagonize members of the opposing group whenever possible.

While the majority of Indo-Guyanese in the rural areas are seen as 'coolies' and as being backward, urban Indians of the business and professional sectors are regarded as 'cunning' and 'miserly' by Afro-Guyanese. Indo-Guyanese also have their stereotypical description for Afro-Guyanese, who are described as being 'lazy', hedonistic and 'lack the ability to sacrifice short term pleasures for long term benefits'.

Landis describes this mutual antagonism as the result

of what he calls 'superordinate' racialism versus 'defensive' racialism. Afro-Guyanese believe that Indian culture, values and work ethics are being superimposed upon them. As a result, Afro-Guyanese have taken a 'defensive' racial attitude by claiming to be 'superior' by virtue of their western culture, and domination of the public sectors. This 'superordinate' and 'defensive' racial disposition contributed to the 1963 race riots in Guyana. The Afro-Guyanese were afraid of Guyana achieving independence under a predominantly Indian government. It should be noted, however, that twenty-five percent of the Afro-Guyanese in Landis' report have shown favourable attitudes towards Indians, and thirty-one percent were not against mixed marriages. Only eleven percent of the Indo-Guyanese in Landis' study indicated the acceptance of Afro-Guyanese as close friends, and three percent favoured mixed marriages.

It is not inappropriate to assume that this type of 'superordinate' racialism of Indo-Guyanese exists in Winnipeg, Manitoba. This argument can be supported by the friendship pattern and socio-cultural and ethnic activities of this group. More recently, the growth of anti-colored sentiments in Canada made it difficult for groups such as the Indo-Guyanese to hide behind the facade of 'superordinate' racialism. As a matter of fact, Indo-Guyanese are now at the 'other end of the stick'; they can only take a defensive position under the present social and economic system.

II. Marital Pattern

Respondents expressed mixed reaction regarding mate selection within the Guyanese group as a whole. Approximately one-third of the total sample indicated that they have no objection as to anyone from an out-group marrying female members of their families. The remaining two-thirds, represented mainly by Indo-Guyanese, preferred to have a narrower mate selection pool; for instance, from among West Indians, East Indians (from India) and Indo-Guyanese.

The inter-ethnic marital pattern of Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg corresponds somewhat to that of Guyana. Endogamic practices among East Indians are common almost anywhere this ethnic group exists in large communities - East Africa, Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam, Fiji and Mauritius, to name a few places. Endogamy and cultural persistence for East Indians are synonymous, since for this group, inter ethno-cultural nuptiality reinforces the belief in 'cultural purity'.

The attitude of 'cultural insularity' on the part of Indo-Guyanese, both at 'home' and in Winnipeg, could also be considered as remaining vestiges of the caste system. Even though the caste structure is no more functional in New World Indo- communities, some aspects of this antiquated social practice can still be experienced in some of the Hindu homes in Guyana and in Winnipeg. This could be observed through Indo-Guyanese friendship and marital patterns, eating habits and entertainment

III. Social and Cultural Functions

There are a number of social and cultural organizations in Winnipeg, apart from the G.A.M. and the G.A.W., which can serve the social needs of Guyanese immigrants. Some relevant organizations which are open to the Guyanese group as a whole are:

- 1) The Caribbean Canadian Association
- 2) The Afro-Caribbean Association
- 3) The Indo-Caribbean Association
- 4) The Indian Association of Winnipeg
- and 5) A number of Caribbean clubs and ethnic and national associations.

The Caribbean Canadian Association (Cari-Cana) is a non-partisan social organization which by its mixed membership creates areas of contact between Caribbean and Canadian groups. The Afro-Caribbean Association is more socio-politically inclined than the preceding association. This group, nevertheless, serves a number of social functions for the benefit of concerned West Indians. The Indo-Caribbean Association is ethno-politically and culturally inclined, since it has a cultural base. This association has strong religious overtones and is pro-Indian, even though it has not openly condemned other groups.

There are also a number of Indian cultural associations which are open to both Hindus and Moslems from Guyana. These

associations, however, attract Indo-Guyanese basically for religious purposes and not for social and political reasons. Some reasons for this are discussed in Chapter III. The preceding associations, though beneficial to minority groups such as Guyanese, act as a counter force to internal cohesiveness of the Canadian society.

IV. Other Ethnic Groups

Respondents were asked how they felt towards a number of distinct groups in Winnipeg; whether respondents liked them a lot, liked them some, tolerated them or disliked them.

Answers from the questionnaires were ranked from one to four according to the preceding stipulations, as is shown in Table XXII.

Afro-Guyanese respondents largely indicated their preference for West Indians and, to some extent, liked such groups as Africans, East Indians, French Canadians and Whites from other countries. There was a general feeling of tolerance for Canadian Indians and a consensus of dislike for British Canadians. Indo-Guyanese respondents have also ranked West Indians as number one, but synchronically showed their preferences for East Indians. The Indo-Guyanese indicated that to some extent they liked Africans and Whites from other countries, while they tolerated Canadian Indians, French Canadians and disliked British Canadians.

Afro- and Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg are attracted to

TABLE XXIIRANKING OF HOW RESPONDENTS FEEL ABOUT SOME ETHNIC GROUPS IN WINNIPEG.

GROUP	AFRO-GUYANESE RANK	INDO-GUYANESE RANK
1. West Indian	1 st	1 st
2. African	2 rd	2
3. East Indians	2	1
4. Canadian Indian	3	3
5. British Canadian	4	4
6. French Canadian	2	3
7. Whites from other countries	2	2

NOTE:

- 1 = Like them a lot
- 2 = Like them some
- 3 = Tolerate them
- 4 = Dislike them.

West Indians for social and ethno-cultural reasons. At the opposite extreme, the intolerance of British Canadians shown by both Guyanese groups is probably indicative of their colonial experience. When the British were in Guyana prior to 1966, they exploited both ethnic groups socially and economically. The British planters did not tolerate social mobility among Indo-Guyanese, and politically and socially exploited Afro-Guyanese in the urban centres.

During interviews, some respondents expressed open verbal hostility against other third world groups in Winnipeg. There seems to be a fear of competition for limited jobs in the city.* One respondent indicated her dislike of new immigrants on the basis that "they work long hours, drive big cars and make plenty noise at home" and that this would "definitely make white people turn against us all". This respondent was concerned about her job, neighbourhood and possible conflicts for her children at school.

ATTITUDES OF IMMIGRANTS TOWARD GUYANESE SOCIETY IN WINNIPEG AND IN GUYANA

Respondents were asked during interviews what they

*Group competition and verbal hostility recently exploded in fistcuffs between Pakistani and Filipino immigrants in the north-end of Winnipeg, and also alleged assaults on members of the relatively new Vietnamese group by members of the mainstream society. Winnipeg Free Press, June 14, 1980.

thought about the Guyanese community in Winnipeg, what they liked or disliked about the group as a whole. It is the writer's suspicion that Afro-Guyanese respondents had little desire to discuss race relations of Guyanese in Winnipeg, since the interviewer was an Indo-Guyanese. However, most Guyanese of both ethnic groups expressed the need for unity of all Guyanese in a foreign country.

A number of respondents expressed their dislike of some of the new values and attitudes adopted by younger Guyanese in Winnipeg. The peculiar sexual freedom and the opportunity to be 'independent' at an early age in North America, means the eventual total breakdown of the extended family and of cultural mores for most Hindus in Winnipeg. Almost all respondents stated that they disliked the general lack of concern, interest or care expressed by grown Canadian children for their parents. A few respondents exemplified their concern by citing the large numbers of older members of Canadian families being placed in 'old folks homes' and in nursing homes.

Some aspects of Canadian life-style which most Guyanese liked and wished to adopt were the Canadians ability to work hard and to 'get ahead socially and economically'. Some respondents admired the sense of 'good will' and lack of 'noseyness' among Canadians. The preceding assertion was usually made immediately after respondents reflected on the

Guyanese habits of 'tantalisin', 'busin' and 'talk name'.*

A number of respondents also admired the apparent lack of open bureaucratic corruption and petty personal thefts in the street, called 'choke and rob' in Guyana.

Table XXIII on self concept of Afro- and Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg indicates that the majority of both groups ranked as number one their Guyanese identity. Afro-Guyanese ranked themselves as coloreds, as immigrants, as Africans, as individuals and as citizens respectively. Indo-Guyanese considered themselves secondly as East Indians, as immigrants, as individuals, as coloreds and as citizens in that order. It is interesting to note that Indo-Guyanese respondents see themselves secondly as East Indians and only fifthly as coloreds. Respondents had a somewhat different concept of how Canadians see them (see Table XXIV). Afro-Guyanese, for instance, believed that Canadians considered them as 'coloreds' first and then as

*'Tantalisin':- the speech habit of exposing associates and friends in the company of others.

'Busin':- literally to 'abuse' verbally in an offensive way, not generally accepted by the abused.

'Talk name':- petty gossip, generally harmless but quite irritating to some Guyanese. The preceding terms are salient performances in the communication culture of working class Guyanese. These speech patterns are occasionally accompanied by physical violence between adversaries. A number of respondents indicated their pleasure in not having to 'put up' with that kind of behavior in the Canadian society.

TABLE XXIIISELF CONCEPT OF INDO AND AFRO-GUYANESE IN WINNIPEG.

DESCRIPTION	AFRO-GUYANESE RANK	INDO-GUYANESE RANK
1. Colored.	2 nd	5 th
2. Guyanese	1 st	1 st
3. African	4 th	-
4. East Indian	-	2 nd
5. Pakistani	-	-
6. Immigrant	3 rd	3 rd
7. Citizen	6 th	6 th
8. Individual	5 th	4.th

NOTE: Ranking was done on the basis of percentage

e.g 1 = the greater percent

6 = the lower percent.

TABLE XXXIV

RESPONDENTS RANKING OF DESCRIPTION OF HOW CANADIANS SEE THEM.

DESCRIPTION	AFRO-GUYANESE RANK	INDO-GUYANESE RANK
1. Coloreds	1 st	3 rd
2. Guyanese	4 th	4 th
3. Africans	2 nd	-
4. East Indians	-	1 st
5. Pakistanis	-	2 nd
6. An Immigrant	3 rd	5 th
7. As Citizens	-	-
8. Other	-	-

Africans, immigrants, and then as Guyanese respectively. The final rank could only be arrived at after verbal communications had been set up between the immigrant and members of the host society. Indo-Guyanese respondents stated that they believed that Canadians see them firstly as East Indians, then as Pakistanis, coloreds, Guyanese and as immigrants respectively. Indo-Guyanese do not mind being referred to as East Indians, but they abhor the pejorative expression 'Paki'.

RESPONDENTS ATTITUDES TOWARDS GUYANESE SOCIETY

The majority of respondents stated that they missed some aspects of the Guyanese society. They referred to the conviviality of the Guyanese social life, and the peculiar sense of humour and easy pace of the Guyanese people. Respondents also indicated that they missed the weather in Guyana and the variety of tropical fruits, vegetables and sea foods available in the local markets all year round. A number of Indo-Guyanese indicated that they missed some aspects of cultural and religious life in Guyana, reflecting on the large communal gatherings at religious and wedding feasts and on religious holidays. Afro-Guyanese indicated that they missed the Guyanese style Saturday night fetes (parties) and the easy life of the country districts.

Respondents were asked what they missed least about Guyana. A number of answers were given of which the most

important were economic underdevelopment, high unemployment, political and bureaucratic corruption, lack of essential goods and the national service (it is expected that all government employees serve voluntarily on various state-run projects each year). Some of the answers given by respondents seem to be highly subjective being influenced by the ethnic and political affiliations of respondents. However, there is some truth as to the deplorable state of affairs in Guyana. The high level of out-migration in recent years lends support to this argument.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the results of the Guyanese immigrant experience in Winnipeg were discussed. Such areas as sense of achievement of the immigrant, friendship pattern, attitudes towards non-Guyanese migrant groups, marriage pattern and associational affiliation were also discussed. It became clear that the phenomena of social stratification and cultural pluralism can develop simultaneously in some societies (for example, Guyana). These two social forces still exist in Guyana despite the introduction of 'Socialism' in that country. The ethno-cultural antagonism and economic polarization perpetuated by the colonial administration still take precedence over national unity.

The ethno-political relationship between Afro- and Indo-Guyanese in Guyana constitutes one of the more serious problems

of that society. The problem is complicated further by the fact that cultural persistence (with its racial overtones) on the part of Indo-Guyanese creates situations which counter the development of any form of Guyanese identity. It is not an exaggeration to say that the opposing values and behaviors of the more adamant believers of the two cultures of Guyana create a situation of perpetual internal conflict. This is apparently so especially when either cultural group attempts to superimpose itself on the other.

Members of the two ethnic groups from Guyana now living in Winnipeg, Canada, still retain some aspects of their respective Guyanese behavior, in their adopted country. Pluralism as exists in Guyana, however, cannot be successfully perpetuated on a long term basis by Guyanese groups in Winnipeg. The conditions for the continuation of the Guyanese type of social and cultural pluralism are absent, thereby creating the possibility for new cultural values to be developed after the migrants and their descendants have lived in the host society for a considerable length of time. But as of the moment, there is a clear-cut dichotomy in terms of social and cultural activities and political affiliations between Afro- and Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY OF THIS STUDYSTATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study was undertaken basically to explore the immigration experience of Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. The Guyanese group, as a whole in Winnipeg, is not culturally and ethnically homogeneous; in fact, the two Guyanese ethnic groups under study in this thesis practice a number of distinct cultural behaviors and maintain some social values peculiar to their peer groups back in Guyana. This is not to say, however, that there are no common characteristics between Afro- and Indo-Guyanese in Guyana or in Winnipeg. As a matter of fact, these two groups share a number of 'Guyanese attitudes and behaviors' - sport activities, fetes, sense of humour, educational background, etc.

This study attempted to determine the type of socio-economic, ethno-cultural and political situations which 'moulded' the so-called 'plural society' of Guyana. This study also examines some aspects of cultural persistence by Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg and its influence on ethnic relations with Afro-Guyanese and other groups in that city. To achieve this objective, changes in occupation, income, social class and cultures of the Guyanese group as a whole were studied. Also

their subjective assessment of social status, job and income satisfaction and interests in the Canadian society were examined.

Sixty-five questionnaires were distributed over a period of four months, of which sixty were completed. A number of Guyanese immigrants outside of the questionnaire group were also interviewed. Records were kept of participation/observation of social and cultural functions held by the groups under study.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

This study helped to fill an important gap in the anthropological research of minority groups. To the best of the writer's knowledge, this was the first anthropological study done on Guyanese abroad. This was also the first study done on any group from the Caribbean living in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Equally important, this research on Guyanese in Winnipeg was among the first of its kind which analysed some of the processes of social and cultural change of Caribbean migrant groups within the theoretical framework of social and cultural pluralism.

CONCLUSIONS

It was concluded in Chapter VII that some vestiges of

cultural and ethnic identity persist among Indo-Guyanese, and aspects of ethnic solidarity and social behaviors were retained by Afro-Guyanese in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Although the total sample represented approximately twenty-five percent of the total Guyanese group in Winnipeg, and a number of socio-economic and cultural issues were dealt with, it would be naive to say that the Guyanese population in Winnipeg is understood in its entirety. There were a number of problems and issues concerning Guyanese in Winnipeg which were not dealt with in this study (for instance, problems of re-emigration, sponsorship of relatives, and financially supporting relatives back in Guyana - some of these issues were discussed during interviews). It would be an arduous task to delineate or to analyse all aspects of adaptation of any group adjusting to a new socio-cultural and physical environment.

In order to evaluate the adaptive strategy of Guyanese living in Winnipeg, it was necessary to analyse some aspects of the Guyanese society (in Guyana). The relevance of a comparative analysis of migrants before and after the process of migration is imperative for an understanding of some of the more important reasons for cultural continuity, or cultural assimilation of the newcomers in the host society.

Demographically, Guyanese respondents in the sample are of both major ethnic groups, representing almost every major population centre, all social classes, and political

persuasions and religious affiliations of Guyana. Nearly all of the respondents indicated middle and upper middle class background, with a small percentage lower class and an even smaller group of upper class background. Almost eighty percent of the respondents had secondary and post secondary education (twenty-five percent had a college education). As professionals back in Guyana, a number of respondents held high paying positions in the civil service, the teaching profession and the private sectors (this was delineated during interviews in the homes of respondents).

Concerning ethnic relations in Guyana, the economic polarization and ethnic politics of the present time continue to foster group identity and concomitant cultural conflict as perpetuated by the colonial administration. In Guyana, race, class and politics are inextricably bound together, forming an ethno-culturally and socially pluralistic society. Ethnic competition and political rivalry are exacerbated by population pressure and high unemployment on the coastal-belt, where over ninety percent of the total population of the country lives. A combination of the preceding factors invariably leads to out-migration of Guyanese qualified for entry into the industrialized world (mainly the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada).

In Winnipeg, Guyanese immigrants do not aggregate into ethnic clusters and national enclaves. In this study, no two

respondents lived in the same street, let alone as neighbours. This is perhaps so because of their relatively small numbers in the city. They are distributed at random across Winnipeg, living in apartments but mostly in their own homes.

As far as achieving their goals for migrating is concerned, the majority of respondents claimed that they had at least partially achieved their objectives. That is, they were able to gain better education and training, earn more money, purchase houses, cars and a number of appliances not available or too costly in Guyana. Those who felt that they did not achieve their goals seemed to be more 'homesick' and were desirous of moving elsewhere or to re-emigrate to Guyana.

Concerning social and cultural interaction with the mainstream society, both ethnic migrant groups from Guyana participated differentially in community activities, as well as in religious and cultural associations in Winnipeg. Afro-Guyanese share a greater number of values and behaviors of the host society than the Indo-Guyanese population; as a result, they are more 'openly' involved in Canadian social and cultural norms. Indo-Guyanese, on the other hand, find comfort in inter-group activity, as such, in the event of rejection by members of the host society suffer minimal anxiety especially during the period of transition from one society to another. This argument in the case of Guyana has been supported by Despres (1968) and Rauf (1974). They appear to integrate and not

assimilate into the Canadian society. Further, Hindu cultural retentions prevent 'deculturization' and 'reculturation' of Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg.

Regarding religious beliefs, Indo-Guyanese respondents seem to think that Hinduism will survive the onslaught of modernization and industrialization. Respondents were asked whether they thought that religion was relevant to non-traditional societies. The answer was invariably 'yes', the major reason given was that there is a general lack of 'spiritual values' and too much emphasis placed on materialism in highly technological societies. One prominent Hindu in Winnipeg explained it thus, "Men will reach a climax in scientific development and still all their problems will not be solved. Religions which are materially inclined will be rendered ineffective, while the more 'personalized' religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism will survive."

The Hinduism practiced by Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg, however, is going through a process of change when compared with the way it is practiced in Guyana. This could be seen in the length of ceremonies (which is considerably shorter in Winnipeg) and the general attitudes of participants, which seem to be less enthusiastic than in the 'home' country. Also it is environmentally not feasible to perform some of the larger ceremonies outdoors under huge tents constructed for this purpose. Some of these ceremonies (e.g. Bhagawats) may last

from one to several days.

Other Hindu religious practices are also severely affected in Winnipeg; for instance, in Guyana after the religious ceremony called 'Jhandi' is performed, a red flag* attached to the end of a pole approximately twelve to fifteen feet long is planted in the front yard of the home of the devotee. This practice would surely be misunderstood by the majority of Canadians. In Winnipeg, Hindu weddings are usually confined to apartments and in houses (the writer attended three such weddings), as a result guest lists are considerably shorter than in Guyana. This tends to minimize the festive occasion, to the displeasure of a number of respondents.

Despite the real social and cultural problems which exist between Afro- and Indo-Guyanese in Guyana, some attempts have been made, directly and indirectly, both at the individual and the communal levels to integrate the two groups. Through the educational system, the existence of a single national language (English) and increasing ethnic interactions in the rural and urban sectors, new peripheries of social and cultural contacts are being forged.

In Winnipeg, on the other hand, these two groups are of marginal importance to the socio-cultural and political

*A number of Hindus in Guyana were harassed by the British army during the political crises of 1953 and 1961, for being 'communists' since they flew red flags on their front lawns.

systems of Canada. Also, they are minority groups and as such do not have to openly compete against each other in their adopted society as is the case in Guyana. Indo- and Afro-Guyanese are therefore less susceptible to socio-economic and cultural conflicts in Winnipeg than in Guyana.

The above summary was arrived at through a combination of 1) data from the questionnaire, 2) interviews and informal discussions, 3) researching the relevant literature, and 4) participant/observation by the writer both in Guyana and in Winnipeg.

In conclusion, one can stipulate that the Guyanese group in Winnipeg, as a whole, could contribute a great deal to the development of the community. They are young, educated and skilled and at the same time they are predisposed of the Canadian work ethics. Also the fact that Guyanese in Winnipeg do not live in ethnic or national clusters reduces the possibility of tension which may arise if they were out of contact with the mainstream society.

It is suggested that the selection criteria for new immigrants in Canada (the emphasis on education, skill and training) make the the process of economic absorption for both Indo- and Afro-Guyanese less arduous. The majority of Guyanese who were interviewed and who lived in Winnipeg for a considerable length of time (over 5 years), expressed the desire of wanting to remain in Canada. This indicates that the

longer the immigrant stays in Canada, the greater the possibility of integration. By the same token, it is suggested that the Guyanese (of both ethnic groups) who cannot integrate or assimilate are perpetually 'homesick', and may re-emigrate as soon as possible.

It is also concluded that some aspects of social and cultural persistence on the part of Indo-Guyanese (i.e. the continuation of marital and friendship patterns, household organization and religious practices) have resulted in a high degree of group solidarity by Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg. Afro-Guyanese, on the other hand, have also retained some aspects of their group norms (food, fetes, family organization, religious practices), but because they were largely acculturated into western/Christian values before migrating, their initial period of contact with the host society was less difficult than for Indo-Guyanese. The preceding stipulations indicate that the two ethnic groups being studied do apply different adaptive strategies in the host society.

It was observed by the writer during interviews and informal discussions in the homes of respondents that children of Guyanese immigrants born in Winnipeg show a greater interest for 'things' Canadian than for 'things' Guyanese. For instance, Guyanese children in Winnipeg show greater interest in hockey and football than in cricket. Through the educational system and interaction with children of the host society, Guyanese

children have developed the 'taste' for Canadian food, dress and such social behaviors as 'dating'. These young Canadians of Guyanese parents also speak with a distinct 'Canadian accent'. It could, therefore, be presumed that descendants of Guyanese immigrants living in Winnipeg are likely to be 'Canadianized' and have little attachment to Guyana.

SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present study was not intended to be a complete study of Guyanese immigrants in Winnipeg; nor was this research designed to accentuate the so-called differences between Guyana's two major ethnic groups living in Winnipeg. It was the writer's intention to investigate and evaluate some aspects of adaptation of a minority immigrant group (Guyanese) in an industrialized society.

It is suggested that more studies of minority migrant groups may make significant contribution to sociological theory. Such studies might investigate, for instance, the factors contributing to the reasons for cultural persistence among some groups and cultural assimilation among others in new environments. The consequences of migration on mental and physical health within various periods of time should also be studied in more detail. This type of investigation would open new avenues for understanding the subtler effects of migration not readily observed.

It is also suggested that social anthropologists exert more energy investigating the attitudes of the dominant group(s) which contribute to their developing and maintaining patterns of prejudice and possibly xenophobia. Usually, members of minority groups may become ethnocentric and self-assertive as a defence mechanism against pressure from the dominant group(s). It would also be of interest to study and analyse the effects of groups migrating from developed to less developed societies (e.g. Europeans in East Africa), their attitudes and ethnic relations with members of the host society and vice-versa.

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APPENDIX

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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR M.A. THESIS

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect information which will assist the writer to analyse problems and interpret situations facing the immigrant from Guyana living in Winnipeg, Manitoba. All information will be confidential and will be used for statistical purposes only. Please answer all questions carefully and deliberately, as the usefulness of this survey depends on the completeness of your answers. There are no right or wrong answers so please feel free to be frank and honest in your replies. Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

NOTE

The term ETHNIC, for the purposes of this research, refers to a group distinguished by common cultural characteristics. e.g. Afro-Guyanese, Indo-Guyanese, Amerindian, etc.

1. What is your age (in years)? _____
2. Marital Status?
 1. _____ Single
 2. _____ Married
 3. _____ Divorced
 4. _____ Separated
 5. _____ Widowed
3. Where were you born? Please name
 1. Village _____
 2. District _____
 3. Town _____
 4. County _____
 5. Country _____
4. How long did you live there, in years? _____
- 4b. Where else did you live in Guyana? List names of places.

5. When you were living in Guyana, how many people were in your household? _____
6. Who were they?
 1. _____ Father
 2. _____ Mother
 3. _____ Children
 4. _____ Other (specify relations): _____
7. Are any of those in question 6 now living with you? _____
8. If any, who? _____
9. If any members of your Guyanese household are not living with you now
 1. Who are they? _____
 2. Where are they? _____
 3. Why did they remain in that particular place?

10. If your whole family (wife/husband and children) now live in Winnipeg, did you come together from Guyana or did you come at different times?
1. Together
 2. At different times
11. If at different times, why? List reasons.
- _____
- _____
12. Are you planning to join others of your family somewhere else?
1. Yes
 2. No
- 12b. Why to Question 12. _____
- _____
13. If yes to Question 12, who will you join? Indicate relations.
- _____
14. Do you have relatives in any other country besides Guyana and Canada?
1. Indicate country(ies) _____
 2. Indicate relations _____
15. What sort of housing did you live in before leaving Guyana?
1. House owned by your parents
 2. House owned by you
 3. A rented house
 4. Room and board
 5. Other (specify): _____
16. Were you satisfied with your housing conditions there?
1. Completely satisfied
 2. Fairly well satisfied
 3. Not very satisfied
 4. Not satisfied at all

17. Why did you feel that way about your housing? _____

18. What was your occupation in Guyana? _____
19. What was your husband/wife's occupation in Guyana?

20. What was your average annual income while you lived in Guyana? _____
21. Did you like your last job in Guyana? _____
22. If No to Question 21, why? _____

23. While you were in Guyana, do you have reasons to believe that you were discriminated against?
1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No
- 23b. By whom? _____
- 23c. In what ways? _____

24. Would you like to return to Guyana sometime in the future?
1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No
- 24b. 1. _____ Visit
2. _____ Permanently
25. Why to Question 24b? _____

26. What kinds of changes would you like to see in Guyana?
1. _____ Social
2. _____ Political
3. _____ Economic
4. _____ Cultural
5. _____ Other (specify): _____

26b. What changes in Guyana might cause you to return permanently?

27. What do you miss most about Guyana? _____

28. What do you miss least about Guyana? _____

29. Do you think that there will eventually be a political solution to the problems of Guyana?

1. _____ Yes

2. _____ No

29b. If no, why? _____

30. Before coming to this country, what did you think life would be like here? _____

31. In what ways have you found the items mentioned in Question 30 different from your expectations? State briefly.

31b. Have you lived in a country other than Guyana or Canada?

32. Was Canada your first choice of country to immigrate to?

1. _____ Yes

2. _____ No

32b. If no, what other country would you have rather gone to?

33. How long do you intend to stay in this country?

- 1. _____ The rest of my life
- 2. _____ Months
- 3. _____ Years
- 4. _____ Not sure

34. If not for the rest of your life, where do you expect to go? _____

34b. Why do you expect to go there? _____

35. Since you have been in this country have you had any good or bad experiences in dealing with the climate? _____

36. Have you had any good or bad experiences in trying to communicate with native born Canadians?

- 1. _____ Good
- 2. _____ Bad
- 3. _____ Both

37. Have you had any good or bad experiences concerning your children's education? (e.g. problems at school, kind of education they are getting). _____

38. When you arrived in this country, how much did the following help you get started?

	<u>Very Much</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>They were A Hindrance</u>
1. Relatives	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Friends	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Guyanese Assoc.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Govt. Agencies	_____	_____	_____	_____

	<u>Very Much</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>They were A Hindrance</u>
5. Local Individuals of this country.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Other agencies (specify)	_____	_____	_____	_____

39. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

In this country it is best:	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
1. Keep to yourself	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Protest or demonstrate when things go wrong	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Mix in with local people	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Marry local people	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Respect the differences between people	_____	_____	_____	_____

40 Since arriving in Canada, how important have the following been to you in learning about this society?

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>
1. Newspapers	_____	_____	_____
2. Television	_____	_____	_____
3. Radio	_____	_____	_____
4. Friends	_____	_____	_____
5. Movies	_____	_____	_____
6. Relatives	_____	_____	_____
7. Other (specify)	_____	_____	_____

41. Do you prefer Guyanese or Canadian versions of the following, or both?

	<u>Guyanese</u>	<u>Canadian</u>	<u>Both</u>
1. Do you prefer Guyanese or Canadian food.	_____	_____	_____

	<u>Guyanese</u>	<u>Canadian</u>	<u>Both</u>
2. Do you prefer Guyanese or Canadian parties (dances, fetes)	_____	_____	_____
3. Do you prefer Guyanese or Canadian style of dress	_____	_____	_____
4. Do you prefer to speak Guyanese or Canadian dialects of English	_____	_____	_____
5. Do you prefer Guyanese or Canadian company (e.g. friends, associates, etc.)	_____	_____	_____

42. Are you a member of any Guyanese, Caribbean or Canadian associations here?

1. _____ Guyanese
2. _____ Caribbean
3. _____ Canadian
4. _____ Other (specify) : _____

43. If yes to any item of Question 42, why do you belong?

43b. Name association(s) to which you belong.

44. Approximately how many Guyanese do you think live in Winnipeg?

45. How many (approx.) Guyanese do you know personally?

45b. Are they of both the major ethnic groups (Afro and Indo-Guyanese)? _____

46. What kind of people would you say tend to live in your neighbourhood? Are they old or young?

1. _____ Old
2. _____ Young
3. _____ Both

46b. Are they mostly native born Canadians or foreign immigrants?

1. Mostly Canadians
2. Mostly Immigrants
3. Equal of both

46c. Are they mainly renters or owners?

1. Renters
2. Owners

46d. In what other ways would you describe them?

47. How many close friends do you have here? _____

47b. Are they members of your own ethnic group, other ethnic groups from Guyana, or Canadians?

1. Own ethnic group
2. Other Guyanese ethnic groups
3. Canadians
4. Other (specify): _____

48. Do you expect to stay in this neighbourhood?

1. Yes
2. No

48b. If No to Question 48, why do you expect to move?

48c. Where would you like to go? _____

49. How many people now share your residence? _____

49b. Who are they? _____

50. Is your residence a flat or a house?

- 1. Single family apartment
- 2. Townhouse
- 3. House
- 4. Other (specify): _____

51. If owner of your own home, did you get a mortgage to buy it?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

52. How did you get the mortgage?

- 1. From relative
- 2. From friend
- 3. Private loan
- 4. Building society
- 5. Local authority
- 6. Loan company
- 7. Insurance company
- 8. Bank
- 9. Other (specify): _____

53. If renting, who is your landlord?

- 1. Relative (relationship): _____
- 2. Member of my ethnic group
- 3. Other ethnic Guyanese (specify): _____
- 4. White landlord who lives here
- 5. White landlord who lives off the premises
- 6. Other (specify): _____

54. Are you in any way satisfied or dissatisfied with your present place of residence?

- 1. Satisfied
- 2. Dissatisfied

In what ways? _____

55. Where would you prefer to live?
1. In the city
 2. In the suburb
 3. In a small town or village
 4. On a farm
56. Would you prefer to live:
1. Near your relatives
 2. Near to your own ethnic Guyanese group
 3. Near other Guyanese ethnic groups
 4. Near other immigrants
 5. Near the local people
 6. By yourself
57. Which of the six elements you just mentioned is most important to you? _____

58. Which of the six is least important to you? _____

59. When you settled in this city, was it because: (check the two most important reasons)
1. There was work
 2. There was a place to live
 3. Both housing and work were available
 4. You had relatives here
 5. Some other reasons (What): _____

60. What sorts of problems have you had in trying to find work since you arrived in this country? _____

61. Have you turned down any jobs since you came to this country?
1. Yes
 2. No

61b. What sorts of jobs have you turned down? _____

61c. Why did you turn them/it down? _____

62. How soon after you arrived in Winnipeg did you start working?

1. _____ Weeks (insert numbers)

2. _____ Still haven't

63. What was your first job? _____

64. How did you find your first job? _____

65. Are you still employed in your first job?

1. _____ Yes

2. _____ No

66. If no, why did you leave? _____

67. What other jobs have you had since coming to this country?
Put them in order with present job last.

First _____

Second _____

Third _____

Fourth _____

68. How satisfied with your present job are you?

1. _____ Very satisfied

2. _____ Fairly satisfied

3. _____ Not too satisfied

4. _____ Not satisfied at all

69. Are you now doing the work you are qualified to do?

1. _____ Yes

2. _____ No

69b. If no, why is that? _____

70. How long have you been in your present job? (weeks)

71. What are your prospects for promotion in your present job?
1. _____ Very good
 2. _____ Good
 3. _____ Fair
 4. _____ Not good

71b. Why is that? _____

72. What is your average weekly income? _____

73. Is there a very specific job which you hope to get?
1. _____ No
 2. _____ Yes

73b. If yes, what is it? _____

74. Have you taken, or are you taking any training courses since coming to this country?
1. _____ No
 2. _____ Yes

- 74b. If yes, what kind of training was it?
1. _____ General education
 2. _____ Course for qualification upgrading
 3. _____ Preparing for exam
 4. _____ Job apprenticeship
 5. _____ University education
 6. _____ Other (specify): _____

75. Was it useful?

1. No

2. Yes

75b. If no, why not? _____

76. What about you and your family, do you have resources back in Guyana?

1. Yes, money and property

2. Yes, some property

3. Yes, some money

4. Virtually nothing in Guyana

77. Do you have reasons to feel that you have lost a lot in leaving Guyana?

1. Yes

2. No

77b. In what ways? (eg. material wealth, prestige, socially, culturally) Explain: _____

78. Who has helped you financially since you left Guyana?

1. Relatives

2. Friends

3. Agencies and organizations (which): _____

4. Local people

5. No one

79. What is your religious affiliation?

1. Christianity Denomination: _____

2. Islam

3. Hinduism

4. Agnosticism

5. Atheism

6. Other (name): _____

80. How important is religion to you in your total scheme of things?

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important
- 3. Unimportant

81. How often do you engage in religious devotion at home?

- 1. Daily
- 2. Weekly
- 3. Once a month
- 4. Sometimes
- 5. Not at all

82. Do you think that religious beliefs are relevant to non-traditional societies, that is, to industrialized societies?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

82b. Why, to Question 82? _____

82c. If you believe in a supreme Deity, do you believe that all religions are equal and beneficial? _____

83. Do you think that people in this country expect you to change the way you live at all? That is, do they prefer Guyanese to:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>They Don't Care</u>	<u>I Don't Know</u>
1. Eat Canadian food	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Marry white people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Speak in a Canadian accent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Live in their residential areas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Have mainly Canadian friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

84. When you read the newspaper or seek other sources of information, what interests you most?

- 1. Local news of your community
- 2. News of this city
- 3. News of Guyana
- 4. News of this country
- 5. International news
- 6. News of the Caribbean

(You may tick off more than one item.)

84b. Which item is most important? _____

84c. Which item is least important? _____

85. Living in a socially, culturally and ethnically different (from your own) environment can be discouraging. What kinds of worries and anxieties do you have at present? (List as fully as possible.) _____

86. Are you doing anything about these anxieties and worries? _____

87. Do you think you might have had less worries if you were living in Guyana?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

87b. If yes, why? _____

88. Would you please answer the following questions by telling me if you strongly-agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement.

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
1. People of my community feel very insecure at present	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. The Govt. of this country is friendly to immigrants in general	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. My neighbors are generally friendly to me	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. No matter how I am treated here, this is now my home	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. The people of this country are sympathetic to immigrants	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. It is better to be educated in this society in order to be successful	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. In this country when a choice is made, a native of this country is more likely to be given a job than an immigrant	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. We are unwanted wherever we go	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. One must work hard in order to do well in the end	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
10. The Guyanese probably have no future in this country	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. In this country, one is judged for what groups he belongs to more than for how he behaves as an individual	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
12. I feel superior to members of the local population	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

89. From what you have been able to tell by now, how do people in this country see you?

- 1. Colored
- 2. Guyanese
- 3. African
- 4. East-Indian
- 5. Pakistani
- 6. An Immigrant
- 7. European
- 8. A citizen
- 9. Other (specify): _____

You may tick off more than one item.

90. Is this also the way you see yourself?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

90b. If no, how, then, do you see yourself? _____

91. Do you plan to become a citizen of this country?

- 1. I already am
- 2. Yes, definitely
- 3. Yes, if I can
- 4. Maybe, and maybe not
- 5. No

92. Why? _____

93. (Tick those which you agree with, leaving blank those you disagree with.) I have no objection to female members of my family marrying:

- 1. An East-Indian (from India)
- 2. An Indo-Guyanese

- 3. ____ An Afro-Guyanese
- 4. ____ A white member of this society
- 5. ____ A black member of this society
- 6. ____ Anyone from the Caribbean
- 7. ____ Any other person

94. How do you feel about the following groups of people?

	<u>Like them a lot</u>	<u>Like them some</u>	<u>Tolerate them</u>	<u>Dislike them</u>
1. West Indians	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. British/Canadians	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. French/Canadians	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Whites from other countries	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Africans	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. East-Indians	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. Canadian Indians	_____	_____	_____	_____