

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

A Thesis presented to the
Department of Anthropology
The University of Manitoba
Manitoba, Canada

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

By
Harry Persaud

1980

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

BY

HARRY PERSAUD

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

© 1980 ✓

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVER-
SITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to
the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this
thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY
MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the
thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Acknowledgement

In the research of this thesis, I am indebted to Professor John Matthiason, my thesis advisor who has been of tremendous assistance in helping me to plan the lay-out of this work. I would also like to thank Prof. Richard Lobdell and Prof. Louis Allaire for their invaluable criticisms and recommendations made prior to the final draft of this thesis.

My appreciation also goes to Prof. David Stymeist for reading chapters II and III and for suggesting appropriate changes where necessary. My thanks also to Prof. Cecil Pereira for assisting me with the questionnaire and for his many helpful suggestions.

My gratitude to Prof. Henry for his generosity and encouragement and my thanks to Prof. Ram Azaad for our many hours of interesting discussions. Also my special thanks to the Caribbean Canadian Association of Winnipeg for offering me a grant in order to complete this study.

My sincere thanks to the Guyanese immigrants who took part in this study and co-operated at all times, without their assistance this could not have been possible. I would also like to offer my gratitude to the many people who have made my visit to the University of Manitoba a most interesting one.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife Shawn for her helpful advise and for patiently typing the first draft of this thesis, and also Mrs. Phyllis Albertson for expertly typing the final copy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	i-v
CHAPTER I	
THE PROBLEM	1
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	1
SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY	7
SCOPE OF THIS STUDY	9
ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS	11
SUMMARY OF MIGRATION PATTERN	11
CHAPTER II	
SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF GUYANESE IMMIGRANTS IN WINNIPEG, MANITOBA	13
RACE AND POLITICS IN GUYANA	13
AFRO-GUYANESE: CULTURAL ASSIMILATION	16
INDO-GUYANESE: CULTURAL PERSISTENCE	18
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION	20
VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION	24
CHAPTER III	
METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES	32
ORGANIZATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE	33
POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS	34
THE SAMPLE	38

	PAGE
RESPONSE	39
THE COLLECTION OF DATA	41
TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE	49
CHARACTERISTICS OF GUYANESE POPULATION IN WINNIPEG	50
AGE GROUP	52
MARITAL STATUS	54
FAMILY SIZE	56
HOUSEHOLD ORGANIZATION	58
TYPES OF HOUSING OF RESPONDENTS	63
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF RESPONDENTS	64
AREA IN GUYANA FROM WHICH RESPONDENTS CAME	69

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC BASE OF GUYANESE IN WINNIPEG	72
SOCIAL CLASS IN WINNIPEG	74
SOCIAL CLASS IN GUYANA	76
LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS	84
JOB AND INCOME OF RESPONDENTS	93
EVALUATION OF SOCIAL POSITION AND STATUS	97

CHAPTER V

SOME MOTIVES FOR OUT-MIGRATION FROM GUYANA TO WINNIPEG, MANITOBA	100
SOME ECONOMIC MOTIVES FOR OUT-MIGRATION	101
EDUCATIONAL REASONS	105

	PAGE
MIGRATE TO JOIN FAMILY	105
ETHNO-POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION	108
WHY WINNIPEG, MANITOBA	115

CHAPTER VI

THE RESULT OF THE IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCE	119
SENSE OF ACHIEVEMENT OF IMMIGRANT	122
ASSOCIATIONAL AFFILIATION OF GUYANESE IMMIGRANTS IN WINNIPEG	126
ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SOCIAL FUNCTIONS ATTENDED BY RESPONDENTS	132
ATTITUDES TOWARDS MAINSTREAM SOCIETY	134
I. Friendship Pattern	135
II. Marital Pattern	139
III. Social and Cultural Functions	140
IV. Other Ethnic Groups	141
ATTITUDES OF IMMIGRANTS TOWARDS GUYANESE SOCIETY IN WINNIPEG AND IN GUYANA	143
RESPONDENTS ATTITUDES TOWARDS GUYANESE SOCIETY	148
CONCLUSION	149

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY OF THIS STUDY	151
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	151
IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY	152
CONCLUSIONS	152
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	160

	PAGE
BIBLIOGRAPHY	162
APPENDIX	173
QUESTIONNAIRE	174

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES	PAGE
I. The National Level of Socio-Cultural Integration, Major Voluntary Associations in Guyana	26-30
II. Patterns of Out-Migration from Guyana to Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom	35
III. Age of Guyanese Respondents	53
IV. Marital Status of Respondents	55
V. Size of Respondents Family	57
VI. Type of Household of Respondents by Ethnicity	53
VII. Type of Housing of Respondents	55
VIII. Respondents Religious Affiliation in Winnipeg	66
IX. Area in Guyana from which Respondents Came. .	70
X. Respondents Preference in Terms of Place of Residence in Manitoba	70
XI. Levels of Training and Education of Respondents	85
XII. Levels of Education of Respondents in Relation to Other Groups	91
XIII. Levels of Education of Afro- and Indo-Guyanese Respondents in Winnipeg	92
XIV. Occupation of Respondents by Ethnicity in Winnipeg	94
XV. The Most Important Motives for Out-Migration Given by Respondents	103
XVI. Levels of Education and Distribution of Motives for Migration	106

TABLES	PAGE
XVII. Racial Allocations in Bureaucracy and Population 1925	110
XVIII. Reasons Why Respondents Choose Winnipeg Over Other Cities in Canada	116
XIX. Length of Residence in Winnipeg	116
XX. Guyanese Immigrants Intentions Regarding Residence Pattern in Winnipeg	125
XXI. Respondents Friendship Pattern	136
XXII. Ranking of How Respondents Feel About Some Ethnic Groups in Winnipeg	142
XXIII. Self Concept of Indo- and Afro-Guyanese in Winnipeg	146
XXIV. Respondents Ranking of Description of How Canadians See Them	147

FIGURES

I. Levels of Racial Tension Generated by Five Consecutive General Elections in Guyana . . .	113
II. Patterns of Socio-Cultural Affiliation of Afro- and Indo-Guyanese in Winnipeg	129

GRAPHS

I. General Trend of Government Spending 1960-1978	83
--	----

MAPS

I. Map of Guyana and Coastland	Front Piece
--	-------------

VENEZUELA

GUYANA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

BARTICA

ESSEQUIBO RIVER

DEN/AMSTEL VREEDEN-HOOP

GEOGETOWN VICTORIA

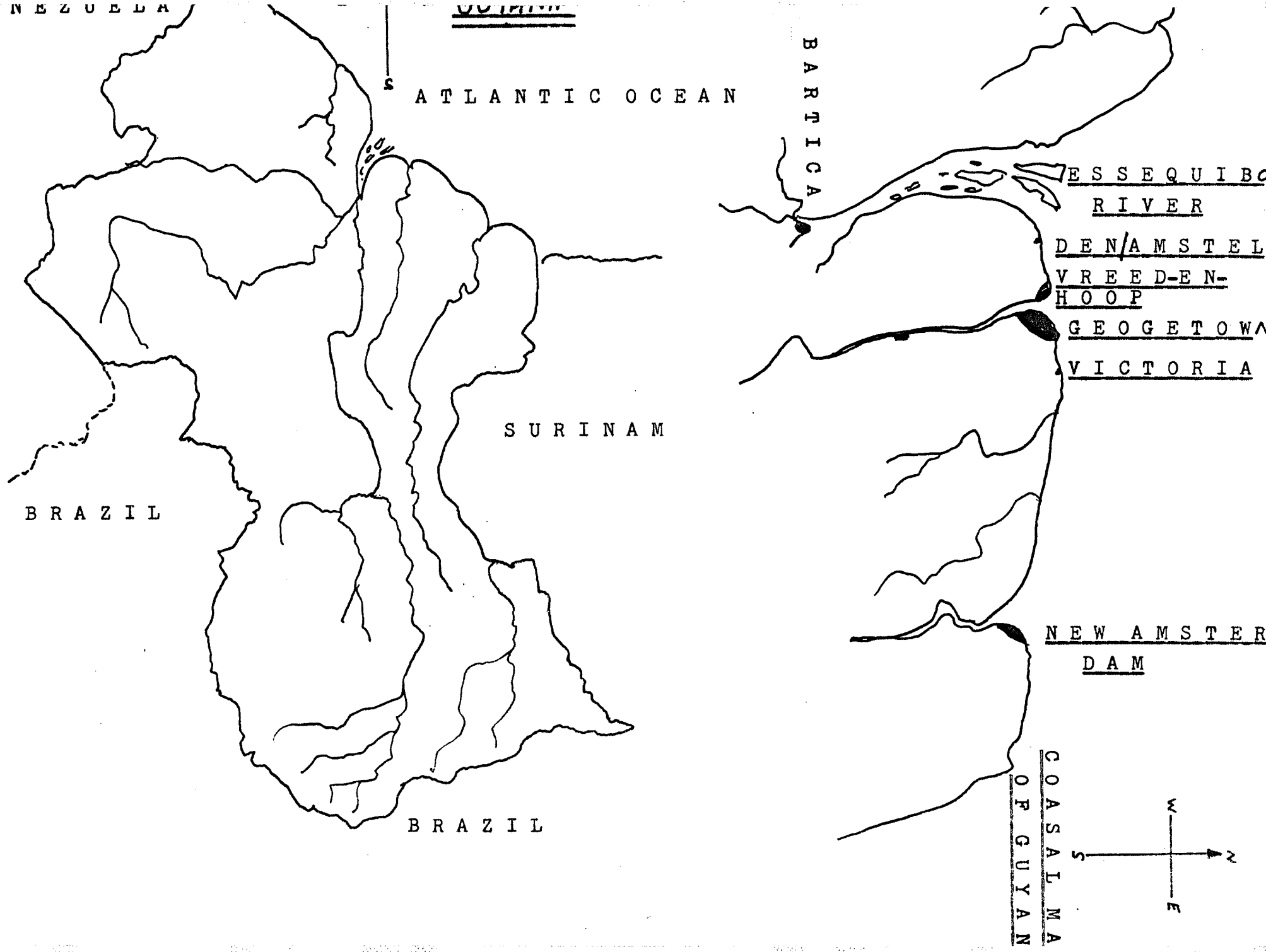
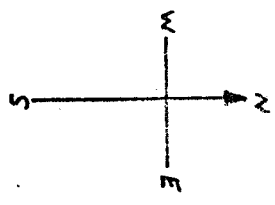
SURINAM

BRAZIL

NEW AMSTERDAM

BRAZIL

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