

A Comparison of the Influence of Immigration on the Political Cultures
of High River, Alberta, and Brooks, Alberta

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Abstract

This thesis compares the impact of immigration on the political cultures of the town of High River, Alberta, and the city of Brooks, Alberta, from 1996 until 2012.

High River and Brooks are located in southern Alberta, and are home to large meat processing facilities. Both municipalities experienced population growth from 1996 until 2012, but while the immigrant and non-permanent resident population of High River increased by 108.82% from 1996 until 2011, the immigrant and non-permanent resident population of Brooks increased by 368.38% in the same period.

Two indicators of political engagement are used, including voting results from provincial elections held in 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008. In addition, local newspaper publications are reviewed; the *High River Times* and *The Brooks Bulletin* are examined for two months preceding a provincial election, during the month of an election, and for one month following an election.

Cette thèse fait une comparaison de l'impact de l'immigration sur les cultures politiques de High River, Alberta, et de Brooks, Alberta, entre 1996 et 2012 .

High River et Brooks sont situés dans le sud de l'Alberta, et il y a des usines de transformation de la viande dans les deux villes. La population des deux municipalités a augmenté entre 1996 et 2012, mais bien que la population immigrante et de résidents non-permanents de High River ont augmenté de 108,82% entre 1996 et 2011, cette population de Brooks a augmenté de 368,38% dans le même période.

Deux indicateurs d'engagement politique sont utilisés, y compris les résultats des élections provinciales tenues en 1997, 2001, 2004, et 2008. En outre, les publications des journaux locaux, le *High River Times* et *The Brooks Bulletin*, sont examinés deux mois avant une élection provinciale, au cours du mois d'une élection, et pendant un mois après.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The impact of the process of immigration on multiculturalism in Canadian society is well documented. However, less examined is the relationship between immigration and political culture. The interaction of immigration and political culture is interesting because of its consequences; immigration to Canada is set to continue and this process will inevitably have an impact on the political culture of Canadian society.

The impact of the process of immigration on political culture is important because political culture is essentially a reflection of the political attitudes and beliefs of a society. Does immigration alter the political attitudes and beliefs of a society? Is the political culture of a society changed by the arrival of immigrants? These questions are important as immigration to Canada continues. To explore these questions, it is crucial to begin with an understanding of political culture.

Political culture was defined by Almond and Verba in *The Civic Culture* as a set of orientations, or attitudes, toward a special set of social objects and processes; the objects and processes refer to the political system and the role of the individual within this system (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 13). This understanding coincides with Nelson Wiseman's conception of the three central components of political culture. First, fundamental values that are transmitted through political socialization indicate ideology. The second component of political culture includes policies that have been respected historically. The third component involves ritualized practices (Wiseman, 2007, p. 14). To examine the political culture of an area, such as a nation, is therefore to study the ideology of a society, its policies, and its ritualized practices, as indicated through dominant values.

Political culture has a significant role in society in terms of political policies and practices. As a manifestation of a society's ideology and dominant values, political culture is the realm within which political socialization occurs. The transmission of beliefs and values through political socialization has immense

consequences. For instance, in examining the differences between democratic and totalitarian states, Almond and Verba argued that the same institutions, such as the political party and the elective legislature, were present in both types; the crucial difference was the political culture surrounding these institutions (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 5). The significance of political culture in society is clear, but the process of transmitting political culture is less tangible.

Political attitudes and beliefs form the core of a society's political culture, so how they are transmitted and conveyed among individuals is extremely important. Political socialization is the learning of politics and it involves agents such as the family, school, peers, the church, media and political actors (Wiseman, 2007, p. 19). It is effectively the transmission of values in a society. This is particularly interesting when considered in relation to immigration since the injection of new values into a society, through new inhabitants, considerably affects political socialization, and thereby political culture. Immigration disrupts the traditional agents of political socialization by altering values associated with the family, school, peers, the church, media and political actors.

Immigration to Canada is not a contemporary phenomenon. The settlement of Canada has involved multiple waves of immigration, each wave made unique by varying regional, political and economic complexities. The impetus for immigration has varied at different historical periods, and so does the interpretation of the influence of immigration on political culture.

Louis Hartz acknowledged the complex relationship between immigration and political culture. Hartz's fragment theory put forth the idea that immigrants bring a cultural and political understanding from their society of origin to their new society. The fragmentation of the society of origin occurs at the point of the immigrants' departure; the new society has the same political culture of the society of origin, and it develops on a different trajectory since other elements are no longer present.

Some authors, such as Kenneth McRae, dismissed the impact of immigration on the political culture of society. In reference to Hartz's fragment theory, McRae argued that the liberal tendency of English Canada remained intact throughout

successive waves of immigration during the mid-nineteenth century. The immigrants who arrived before the mid-nineteenth century embraced the liberal notions of property ownership and social equality (McRae, 1964, p. 246). Furthermore, McRae contended that the immigrants that arrived in Canada at the turn of the twentieth century were largely absorbed into the existing English political culture because the American liberalism of the English fragment was “immensely attractive to immigrants of every ethnic origin” (McRae, 1964, p. 265). Rather than altering the political culture of English Canada, these immigrants were integrated.

In contrast, Wiseman attributed significant influence to the process of immigration in terms of the development of political culture. Wiseman explained provincial political culture in Canada by applying Hartz’s fragment theory to offer distinct portraits of the political culture of each province, and expanded these portraits by also considering economic development.

Wiseman’s understanding of political culture provides the basis for an examination of the impact of immigration on political culture. The ideology of a society, its policies, and its ritualized practices, are revealed through its dominant values. Dominant values are transmitted through political socialization. Therefore, in order to explore the impact of immigration on political culture, it is necessary to discuss political socialization. Political socialization is important in examining immigration and political culture because it is the way in which immigrants engage with, and influence, an existing political culture.

The influence of immigrants on an existing political culture can be studied through forms of political engagement, such as voting. This is a direct interaction with a society’s political culture. Political engagement can also be examined more indirectly through the discourse of a community; this is revealed in local newspaper publications. Therefore, it possible to measure a change in the political culture of an area over a period of time using indicators such as voting results and local newspapers, as these reveal the political engagement of the community. It is interesting to consider whether the political culture of a community, measured in this capacity, is changed over a period of time by increased immigration.

This thesis will explore the impact of immigration on the political cultures of Brooks, Alberta, and High River, Alberta, through a cross-unit study from 1996 until 2012. These communities both received an influx of immigration during this period, and they share many commonalities.

High River and Brooks are both located in southern Alberta, but High River is significantly closer to Calgary than Brooks. Each location is home to a large meat processing facility; Cargill Meat Solutions in High River has 2,000 employees (Cargill, 2016, para. 2), while JBS Food (formerly known as XL Foods Lakeside Packers) has over 2,000 employees (JBS Food, n.d., para. 2).

In 2011, High River had a population of 12,920 (Statistics Canada, 2015d), an increase of 75.57% from 1996 (Statistics Canada, 2013d). The immigrant and non-permanent resident population made up 10.99% of High River's overall population in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2015d). Brooks had a population of 13,325 in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2015c), an increase of 32.02% since 1996 (Statistics Canada, 2013c). However, the immigrant and non-permanent resident population of Brooks was 23.90% of its total population in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2015c). High River is therefore comparable to Brooks in terms of population size and economic industry, although with a different demographic composition. These communities provide ideal comparisons to examine the impact of immigration on the political culture of a community, using the indicators of voting results and local newspapers.

Chapter II

Literature Review – Theories of Political Culture

In order to research the effect of immigration on the political culture of the communities of Brooks and High River, it is necessary to begin with an understanding of political culture. In *The Civic Culture*, authors Almond and Verba approached the study of political culture in relation to the development of democratic participation. At the time of *The Civic Culture*'s publication in 1963, Almond and Verba identified an emerging world political culture of participation; in this world culture, states could either develop democratic participation, or a totalitarian model of governance (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 4). Almond and Verba argued that the institutions present in a democratic state, such as the political party and the elective legislature, were also present with a totalitarian state; the crucial difference was the political culture surrounding these institutions.

Almond and Verba understood democratic political culture in terms of democratic citizenship and the notion of citizens who were active in politics, with informed, analytic and rational participation. The existence of a democratic political culture is the result of elements such as the attitudes and belief systems of citizens, towards both their own government and larger society. The intangibility of the elements of political culture makes it difficult to recreate or spread democratic political culture, since the components of political culture cannot be concretely identified. Almond and Verba's study of political culture arose from this problem.

They began their examination of political culture by noting that the emergence of a third culture, the civic culture, occurred in Great Britain as modern and traditional cultures combined (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 8). Factors such as secularization and religious tolerance, as well as the development of a merchant class, meant that Great Britain was able to foster a "pluralistic culture based on communication and persuasion, a culture of consensus and diversity, a culture that permitted change but moderated it" (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 8). For them, this culture is the civic culture.

The purpose of discussing civic culture was to determine the content of this

democratic political culture, so that it could be spread to other states. In this examination, political culture as an object of study emerged. To define political culture as an object of study, Almond and Verba compared the democracies of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Mexico. These states had varying historical experiences, as well as political and social structures, so their comparison provided an informative framework for examining political culture and its components.

In *The Civic Culture*, these authors defined political culture as a set of orientations, or attitudes, toward a special set of social objects and processes; the objects and processes refer to the political system and the role of the individual within this system. To expand this concept of political culture further, the political culture of a nation was understood to be the distribution of patterns of orientation towards political objects among the members of the nation (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 15). Therefore, the political culture of a state is formed by the orientations of individuals, which create larger patterns that are discernable at a broader level.

For them, the term 'culture' was understood as a "psychological orientation toward social objects" (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 14); this is interesting because it emphasizes the central role of attitudes and beliefs in political culture. As a result, the term 'political culture' refers to the political attitudes and beliefs of a society; this is a specific meaning for a concept with intangible components. In order to make these components more tangible, and more identifiable for study, they defined specific modes of political orientation and classes of political objects.

The authors stated that political orientation in political culture involved three main types of orientation: cognitive, affective and evaluational. Cognitive orientation was the knowledge and belief of the political system, its roles and actors, as well as the system's performance. Affective orientation was understood as the feelings about the political system, its roles, actors and performance. The difference between cognitive and affective orientation is subtle; the former involves knowledge and beliefs, while the latter involves attitudes. Finally, evaluational orientation referred to judgments and opinions about political objects. Political objects themselves are integral to the discussion of political culture, since they are

the targets of political orientations.

Almond and Verba divided political objects into two categories: the individual as political actor, and the political system. The political system contains three types of political objects, including roles or structures, and actors, as well as policies or decisions. The political object of roles or structures can include legislative bodies, executives or bureaucracies. In this sense, an individual's knowledge of, and attitude towards, a specific legislative body indicates their political orientation. The second political object identified was actors; this meant legislators, administrators or monarchs. An opinion held by an individual about an elected official is therefore part of their political orientation. Thirdly, political objects can include policies and decisions, as well as the enforcement of decisions. Therefore, the knowledge of, and attitude towards, a court ruling can also indicate political orientation.

Finally, Almond and Verba argued that political objects are also identified by their location within the political process itself. If a political object is part of the input process, such as a political party, it is involved with the transmission of demands from society into the political authority or government, where these demands are transformed into policies (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 15). By contrast, a political object found in the output political process was considered to be administrative and comprised of enforcing authoritative policies; courts exemplify an object in the output side of the political process.

The examination of political culture undertaken by Almond and Verba was similar to the exploration of political culture by Louis Hartz; both discussions were conducted through comparative analysis. Almond and Verba's discussion of political culture stemmed from their exploration of democratic political culture. The examination of political culture undertaken by Louis Hartz in *The Founding of New Societies* was focused on the fragmentation of political culture, and the evolution of political culture fragments as unique entities.

The Civic Culture explored political culture by comparing the democracies of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Mexico; Louis Hartz examined political culture in the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and

Australia. The states selected by Hartz differ from those selected by Almond and Verba because the focus of Hartz's discussion is the fragmentation of European political culture, rather than the dissemination of democracy.

Hartz's fragment theory puts forth the idea that immigrants bring a cultural and political understanding from their society of origin to their new society. The fragmentation of the society of origin occurs at the point of the immigrants' departure; the new society has the same political culture of the society of origin, and it develops on a different trajectory since other elements are no longer present. For instance, the presence of a feudal fragment in a new society means there is no underlying liberal whiggery present, since the fragment detached from Europe before the Enlightenment period; therefore there is no potential for the development of socialism (Hartz, 1964, p. 26).

The societies of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia were formed from the fragments of European political culture. By examining the fragment upon which each of these societies was founded, Hartz expanded the understanding of political culture within these states and the overall concept of political culture in terms of nation-states. According to *The Founding of New Societies*, fragment theory offers an explanation for the political culture of Canada.

Kenneth McRae furthers Hartz's discussion through a detailed examination of fragment theory in relation to Canadian political culture. McRae identifies distinct French and English speaking fragments in Canada. To understand McRae's application of Hartz's fragment theory to Canada, it is beneficial to examine McRae's conception of each fragment.

McRae argues that the French-speaking fragment present in Canada stems from the absolutist system of royal government that began in the French colony in 1663 (McRae, 1964, p. 221ss). The effect of absolutism on the French colony was pervasive; as a result, economic development occurred through secondary industries and price regulation, and a military presence provided the colony with defense. Absolutism also cemented the religious authority in the colony and supported a feudal system of seigneurial land tenure, which McRae argues was

effective, since it provided security, order and social cohesion.

McRae states that as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was a visible separation between the interests and identities of French Canadians and France; the traditionalism of the absolutist fragment contrasted the society of origin (McRae, 1964, p. 229ss). The emerging, distinct identity of French Canada in this period can partially be attributed to low immigration and a population that was mostly Canadian born at this time; the fragment was developing separately from the society of origin. During the eighteenth century, the separation between France and French Canada became more distinct. Absolutism in France was more severe than in French Canada, and the Enlightenment that occurred in France never transpired in French Canada as a result. Instead of absolutism being eliminated through revolution, it persevered in French Canada.

McRae argues that the main impact of the Conquest and the Treaty of Paris in 1763 was the solidification of the authority of the church; the clergy developed into an authoritarian elite in French Canada, with religious, social and political roles. In the context of British rule, and the presence of English-speaking merchants, the church emerged as a point of defense for French Catholic culture. The Québec Act in 1774 further cemented the distinctness of French Canada as a fragment society; Catholicism, French civil law and feudal land tenure were assured but there was no legislative assembly for representation.

McRae notes that the traditional, absolutist French fragment in Canada was established further by the French Revolution. The revolution in France reinforced the separate identities of the fragment and the society of origin; the traditional society of the fragment was not challenged. However, he does acknowledge that the Rouge movement led by Louis Joseph Papineau in the mid-nineteenth century challenged the traditional society of French Canada. Papineau's nationalist demands for political democracy, as well as objections to clerical authority, are identified by McRae as a form of social radicalism that remained present in French Canada (McRae, 1964, p. 233ss).

This analysis of the English-speaking fragment in Canada, according to Hartz's fragment theory, is based on the notion of the American liberal and the arrival of the

Loyalists to Canada after the American Revolution. McRae dismisses the idea that the Loyalist influx to Canada occurred because of underlying toryism in the United States; rather, the United States is understood as fundamentally liberal. Therefore, he argues that English-speaking Canada is a fragment of the original American fragment, as evidenced through the American liberal tendencies of the Loyalist settlers. The American liberal is visible in both the Loyalists that settled in eastern Canada and those who established themselves in Upper Canada. McRae argues that the separation of Upper and Lower Canada in 1791 is evidence of the objection of the Loyalists to the feudal land tenure that existed, and therefore the underlying American liberal tendency of the Loyalists.

According to McRae, the presence of the Loyalists settlers in Upper Canada initiated the expansion and the “unrolling of the North American frontier: (McRae, 1964, p. 236). In this environment, Loyalists became socially indistinguishable from the American settlers who arrived during this period to Western Canada in search of available land. This pan-North American understanding of English Canada emphasizes the American liberal tendency of the Loyalists and downplays their monarchist beliefs. The monarchist beliefs of the Loyalists were influential in the development of Canada through events such as the War of 1812. However, an emphasis on this aspect of the Loyalists has “obscured the all-important parental relationship” (McRae, 1964, p. 239) between English Canada and the United States. Through this understanding, McRae reiterates his conception of English Canada as a fragment of the United States, and its liberal tendencies.

However, he does acknowledge that the Loyalists settlers were different from Americans in ways other than monarchist beliefs, and this slightly distinguishes English Canada from the United States. The Loyalists believed in the rule of law, and supported moderation, gradualism, compromise; the Loyalists strove to preserve the existing political order. This differs from the American liberal, and the effect is visible throughout Canadian history. For instance, the comparison of Western settlement in United States and Canada reveals a difference in law and authority; informal law on the American frontier sharply contrasts the federal criminal law enforced by the North West Mounted Police on the Canadian

Prairies. Hence, the Loyalist fragment in Canada is different from the United States because it is a defeated fragment; Loyalist liberalism in Canada is marked by a sense of doubt and defeat as a result.

According to McRae, the liberal tendency of English Canada remained intact throughout successive waves of immigration during the mid-nineteenth century. By embracing the liberal notions of property ownership and social equality, the immigrants who arrived before the mid-nineteenth century cemented the liberal tendency of English Canada (McRae, 1964, p. 246).

McRae uniformly dismisses the possibility that Aboriginal populations contributed to either the French or English fragments in Canada. Specifically, he states that the English fragment in Western Canada was unaffected by the Aboriginal populations and organized agrarianism developed uninhibited (McRae, 1964, p. 263). This certainly does not acknowledge the significance of the Métis population in Manitoba, and its connections to both the French and English fragments. While he does discuss the Northwest Rebellion in 1885, it is examined only in the context of language dualism within a federal state (McRae, 1964, p. 258).

In the same sense, McRae also rejects the possibility that the immigration that occurred at the turn of the twentieth century had an impact on either fragment. In his discussion of immigration to Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century, he argues that a dualist society such as Canada is sensitive to immigration since this process alters the ethnic composition of society. The immigrants that arrived in Canada at the turn of the twentieth century were of a varied ethnic origin. However, these immigrants were largely absorbed by the English fragment rather than the French fragment; this is due to ideological factors and not simply language preference. The American liberalism of the English fragment was “immensely attractive to immigrants of every ethnic origin” (McRae, 1964, p. 265), and immigrants were absorbed into the English fragment, assimilated without leaving any mark. Interestingly, specific groups, such as the Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobors, resisted being absorbed into liberal society due to their religious beliefs, and these groups experience visible resentment as a result. These groups contributed significantly to the development of agriculture in Western Canada but

their impact on the English fragment is completely dismissed.

Gad Horowitz continues the discussion of political culture in Canada by examining the presence of conservatism, liberalism and socialism. Horowitz refers to the fragment theory put forth by Hartz, but rejects the notion of a pan-North American political culture that is supported by McRae. By emphasizing the ideological differences between English Canada and the United States of America, Horowitz not only rejects pan-North Americanism but also argues that the political culture of English Canada is distinct.

According to the fragment theory developed by Hartz, Horowitz identifies French Canada as a feudal society, founded on the basis of feudal or tory values; socialism is not present, since socialism develops by way of a chain reaction stemming from liberalism. French Canada, as a feudal society, does not develop whig liberalism and as a result, does not in turn develop democratic liberalism or, furthermore, socialism (Horowitz, 1966, p. 144). This is similar to the analysis of French Canada provided by McRae, according to Hartz's fragment theory. Whereas Horowitz states that French Canada does not develop socialism due to its ultimate lack of liberalism, McRae argues that a revolutionary reaction to absolutism does not occur in French Canada because the absolutism is moderate. These interpretations differ but the argument is the same; the fragment of French Canada does not experience a reactionary shift in political culture from feudalism to socialism, or away from absolutism as a result of revolution.

In contrast to French Canada, English Canada is understood as a liberal bourgeois fragment; despite the presence of liberalism, there are insufficient tory values to foster the development of socialism. Horowitz disagrees with this understanding, and emphasizes the significance of a 'tory touch' in Canada.

Horowitz argues that Hartz's assertion of a 'tory touch' in English Canadian political culture is evidence against the pan-North American assessment of political culture advocated by McRae, and to a lesser degree, by Hartz himself. English Canada is not simply a fragment of the liberal bourgeois society of the United States of America, but is distinctly affected by a tory, or socialist, touch (Horowitz, 1966, p. 148). He identifies McRae's dismissal of socialism in Canada as the author's flaw in

his application of Hartz's fragment theory.

However, Horowitz agrees with Hartz and McRae in acknowledging the importance of the Loyalists in terms of founding a distinct political culture in English Canada. The Loyalists that arrived in Canada from the United States during the period of the American revolution contributed a sense of pre-revolutionary American whiggery with a 'tory touch' to English Canada's political culture (Horowitz, 1966, p. 151ss); this differs from the understanding of the Loyalists as representing British toryism, as put forth by Lipset. Nonetheless, the Loyalists represent the basis for socialism within English Canadian political culture, and their presence contributes to the founding distinctiveness of English Canada from the United States of America.

Literature Review - Theories of Political Culture and the Influence of Immigration

Horowitz continues his discussion of political culture in English Canada by emphasizing the impact of continued immigration. He specifically focuses on the arrival of British immigrants to English Canada from 1815 until 1850, and argues that while the points of departure are evident in terms of the fragments present in English Canadian political culture, it is more challenging to identify the point of congealment discussed by Hartz. He suggests that the point of congealment of English Canadian political culture, meaning the point at which political culture becomes fixed, came after the Loyalists. This understanding of political culture as a fluid entity that becomes frozen, or congealed, at a certain point is based on an understanding of immigration as influential if it occurs before the point of congealment. Horowitz states:

“The political culture of a new nation is not necessarily fixed at the point of origin or departure; the founding of a new nation can go on for generations. If the later waves of immigration arrived before the point of congealment of the political culture, they must have participated actively in the process of culture formation.” (Horowitz, 1966, p. 153)

This concept is challenging since it contends that there is a point at which political culture becomes fixed, permanent, and immovable. By dismissing the influence of

immigration that occurred after this seemingly arbitrary point of congealment, Horowitz narrows his own discussion of conservatism, liberalism and socialism in Canada. His examination of conservatism, liberalism and socialism remains valuable but appears incomplete as a result.

In discussing political culture in English Canada through an examination of conservatism, liberalism and socialism, Horowitz offers a portrait of federal political parties in Canada in associating conservatism and toryism with the right of centre Conservative party; liberalism with the centre Liberal party; and socialism with the left of centre Cooperative Commonwealth Federation – New Democrat Party (CCF-NDP). Liberalism, in terms of the Liberal party, is more closely aligned with British liberalism than American. The interaction of the centre and the left of centre, meaning the Liberal party and the CCF-NDP, is particularly notable because it is based on an interdependent relationship. The Liberal party looks to the CCF-NDP at the left for innovation, while the CCF-NDP relies on the centre Liberal party to implement the innovations. The centre Liberal party remains locked between the right and the left, unable to merge with either side but swayed between them periodically as they each rise and fall in strength.

Horowitz states that the triumph of the centre over both the left and right is a distinct aspect of English Canadian political culture. In this sense, the Liberal party is a centre party due to both cultural and institution factors; the presence of non-liberal ideologies and multiple political parties means that there is a socialist, left of centre party. Only the absence of this socialist left of centre party would eliminate the centre party.

In addition to the distinct presence of a centre political party in Canada, Horowitz identifies the red tory as another unique aspect of English Canadian political culture. The red tory is understood as a combination of socialism and toryism; either an ideological Conservative with socialist notions, or an ideological socialist with tory notions (Horowitz, 1966, p. 158). The presence of this figure in English Canadian political culture contributes to a broader understanding of political culture in Canada.

Horowitz significantly expands the understanding of political culture in

Canada by arguing against the notion of a pan-North American political culture. Canadian political culture is undeniably distinct from American political culture; as Hartz argues, these societies were each founded by different fragments. Additionally, Canada and the United States have distinct political cultures because they have experienced different settlement patterns and economies; the influence of these factors on the development of political culture is significant.

However, Horowitz fails to fully understand political culture in Canada for two reasons. Firstly, he focuses on English Canada and this is problematic because it dismisses French Canada. Since this perspective divides French and English Canada in an impossible manner, it fails to take into account the interaction and influence of these two founding societies on one another. Further, by attributing the presence of conservatism, liberalism and socialism in English Canadian political culture to the development of federal political parties, he eliminates French Canada from a discussion of national politics.

Secondly, by discussing English Canada as a monolithic group, Horowitz does not acknowledge the broad regional differences that comprise this group. Essentially, Horowitz transforms the pan-North American understanding of Hartz's fragment theory into a pan-Canadian one. This pan-nationalist approach does not offer insight into the distinct regional political cultures present in Canada. Horowitz does acknowledge the importance of regional cleavages in Canada by stating that class voting in Canada is overshadowed by regional and religious-ethnic voting (Horowitz, 1966, p. 170), but this is insufficient as an acknowledgment of the importance of regions in terms of a discussion of political culture.

Nelson Wiseman continues the examination of political culture in Canada through his discussion of provincial political culture. As discussed above, Wiseman's conception of the three central components of political culture includes fundamental values that are transmitted through political socialization, indicating ideology; policies that have been respected historically; and ritualized practices (Wiseman, 2007, p. 14). Based on this understanding, Wiseman explains provincial political culture in Canada by applying Hartz's fragment theory to offer distinct portraits of the political culture in each province. However, Wiseman also uses

Lipset's formative events explanation in his discussion of provincial political culture, since it similarly considers the "transplantation of cultural traits" (Wiseman, 1996, p. 22) in the development of political culture. According to Lipset, formative events are responsible for the origin of cultures; these cultural molds are further marked by lesser, yet still undeniably influential, incidents referred to by Wiseman as quakes.

For example, in the case of Alberta's provincial political culture, Wiseman identifies the expansion of the Canadian Pacific Railway as a shared dominant event in the formation of Western Canada's political culture. More specific to Alberta, however, Wiseman argues that the settlement of the province by Americans during the 1890s solidified the mold of Alberta's political culture as one focused on direct democracy. In identifying the quake in the political culture of Alberta, he states that the post-World War Two discovery of oil successfully reoriented the province's economy.

Wiseman also considers staples theory and the impact of economic development in his examination of Canadian provincial political culture. In discussing staples theory, culture can be viewed as a reflection of economic production, meaning that the application of capital and labour to staples effectively creates power relations and political consciousness. In this sense, political culture is molded by the economy through capital and labour. Immigration, as a source of labour, is therefore inherently related to the development of political culture. By considering Hartz's fragment theory, as well as formative events and economic development, Wiseman is able to offer a detailed explanation of provincial political culture.

Research Question

From this discussion of the formation of provincial political culture, a question emerges regarding the impact of immigration on the political culture of a community.

How does the arrival of newcomers such as immigrants influence the

political culture of a city?

Hypothesis

The political culture of a city is transformed by the arrival of immigrants because of their impact on its ideology, policies, and ritualized practices, measurable through indicators of political engagement such as voting and local newspapers.

Wiseman's understanding of political culture as the ideology of a society, its policies, and its ritualized practices, provides the basis for examining the impact of immigration on political culture. These components of political culture form the society's dominant values, which are transmitted through political socialization. Therefore, in order to explore the impact of immigration on political culture, it is necessary to discuss political socialization.

Political culture is fostered through political socialization and engagement, and therefore political engagement is a way of studying and understanding political culture. Political socialization among immigrants is examined by White, Nevitte, Blais, Gidengil, and Fournier. The authors attempt to determine how immigrants are socialized to the political culture of a new society, and the impact of the political environments in the societies of origin of the immigrants on this socialization (White, Nevitte, Blais, & Gidengil, 2008, p. 268). In discussing the concept of political socialization, three primary understandings emerge.

Exposure theory contends that the socialization of immigrants to the political culture of the new society is directly influenced by the amount of exposure the immigrants have to that political culture (White et al., 2008, p. 269). Conversely, the theory of transferability argues that immigrant socialization to a new political culture is primarily dependant on the previous experiences of the immigrant in their society of origin, implying that their prior interest in politics and political participation is indicative of their level of engagement within the new society (White et al., 2008, p. 269). In this sense, premigration learning is considered to be beneficial to socialization within the new society, assuming that prior political participation was active.

Thirdly, resistance theory suggests that political orientations are developed early in life, in the immigrant's society of origin, and these orientations are influenced by exogenous political, social or economic shocks, including war and economic or political crises (White et al., 2008, p. 269). This theory is particularly interesting to consider in the discussion of political socialization because of its focus on premigration learning as a negative factor (White et al., 2008, p. 270). Resistance theory therefore understands political socialization as cumulative and significantly challenging, since political orientations cemented early in life are used to filter and incorporate new political knowledge and experiences within the new society (White et al., 2008, p. 269).

It is clear that political socialization is innately linked to political engagement. This is particularly interesting in considering the socialization of immigrants to the political culture of a new society since active political engagement is associated with support for "both the dominant values of the mass public and the rules of the political system" (White et al., 2008, p. 271). It can be argued that successful political socialization includes adherence with dominant societal values and an understanding of the political system.

According to White, Nevitte, Blais, Gidengil, and Fournier, the act of voting occurs as a result of exposure to the political system of the new society, meaning that exposure to politics is a prerequisite for voting (White et al., 2008, p. 277). However, it is interesting to note that the society of origin of immigrants does not appear to significantly influence political engagement since immigrants from varying origins become politically socialized in a similar manner (White et al., 2008, p. 277). The crucial determinant for political participation appears to be exposure to the politics of the new society, and it can be assumed that the length of exposure will increase participation and direct acts of political interaction, such as voting.

It can be argued that voting is the most substantial indicator of political engagement since it involves an action and it is a behavioral demonstration of participation (White et al., 2008, p. 271). However, the act of voting is limited to individuals who are citizens and therefore are eligible to participate in the electoral process. It is important to note that the participation of immigrants with the

electoral system may not be direct, unless they have obtained Canadian citizenship and therefore are eligible for such practices as voting. Immigrants could be comprised of those persons who have immigrated to Canada and obtained their citizenship. However, immigrants could also hold permanent resident status in Canada instead of citizenship; permanent residents have been granted the right to live permanently in Canada by immigration authorities (Statistics Canada, 2015f). Non-permanent residents, an additional category of newcomer to Canada, refers to persons from a country other than Canada in possession of a work or study permit, or a persons who is a refugee claimant, as well as non-Canadian-born family members who live with them in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2015f).

While some immigrants (permanent residents and non-permanent residents, including refugees) are not yet citizens, they are nevertheless entrenched in the political system of Canada. Mechanisms such permanent residence and visa permit processes mean that there is a pre-citizenship interaction for newcomers with the Canadian state. Moreover, the political culture of a community is not just determined through direct voting by those individuals who are citizens. Political socialization means that immigrants who cannot vote nonetheless have an impact on voting results because their presence in the community influences the voting choices of their fellow residents.

Along with voting and partisan intensity, White, Nevitte, Blais, Gidengil, and Fournier identified an interest in elections as a primary indicator of political engagement (White et al. 2008, p. 271). Furthermore, issues related to newcomers may gain prominence in a local newspaper if the presence of immigrants in the community has become a specific election standpoint.

Another substantial indicator of political engagement involves the publications of local newspapers. The articles, editorials, and response letters to editors, in newspapers reveal the local discourse surrounding the issue of immigration, and provide a portrait of how a city perceives itself as a political community. Additionally, local newspapers indicate the overall interest of a community in an election through the articles published on this topic during the months before and after the election. Local newspapers therefore act as a reflection

of the discourse of a community, highlighting major concerns and issues.

Local newspapers are relevant indicators of political engagement due to their entrenched role as political objects in the input process. In the understanding of political culture put forth by Almond and Verba, newspapers are considered as structural political objects in the political input process. The political input process, meaning the method by which societal demands are transmitted to the political system to be converted into authoritative policies, is essential society communicating its concerns to the polity. Structural political objects including political parties, interest groups, and the media of communication, such as newspapers, are prevalent in the input process (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 16). Therefore, local newspapers function as indicators of political engagement because as objects in the political input system, they act as reflections of the community discourse and inform the polity of societal concerns.

Methodology

In order to explore the research question of how the arrival of newcomers such as immigrants influences the political culture of a city, a cross-unit study of the town of High River, Alberta, and the city of Brooks, Alberta, will be conducted. Elkins and Simeon state that collective groups such as nations, regions, or ethnic communities have political cultures (Elkins & Simeon, 1979, p. 129ss). In the study of political culture, these collective groups act as the unit of analysis. Elkins and Simeon describe two methods of studying the political culture of a collectivity, wherein political culture is considered to be either explanatory or descriptive of a collective group. When political culture is examined as a means of explanation, the goal is to explain the differences between one or more collectivities; a comparative approach is required. Almond and Verba employed this method of comparison in their analysis of political culture and democracy in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Mexico.

This comparative study will be specific to the time period from 1996 until 2012. The period from 1996 until 2012 has been selected because it provides data prior to the influx of immigration to these communities and demonstrates the

increase in immigration over time, thereby creating a context for this discussion. The year 1996 was specifically selected as an initial starting point because the federal census was conducted in this year, establishing overall and immigration populations for High River and Brooks to be used as a comparative basis for changes in proceeding years. The federal censuses were held every five years, providing this source of quantitative population data again in 2001, 2006, and 2011. The study terminates in 2012, as this was the year of the provincial election following the most recent federal census in 2011. Provincial elections were also held in 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008. The election results will be used as a source of data to provide markers for any shift in political culture.

To complete the cross-unit study of the town of High River and the city of Brooks, a comparison will be made in terms of demographic changes, provincial election results, and local newspaper publications.

Brooks is interesting to consider in examining the relationship between immigration and political culture because the city has undergone a transformative change in the past two decades. Home to the JBS Food (formerly known as XL Foods Lakeside Packers) meat processing facility with over 2,000 employees (JBS Food, n.d., para. 2), Brooks has become a leading centre of immigrant settlement in southern Alberta, and in rural Canada at large. The city experienced an increase of 32.02% in its overall population between 1996 and 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2013c, 2015c), while its immigrant and non-permanent resident population rose by 368.38% during this period (Statistics Canada, 2013c, 2015c). This is evidence of a demographic shift in the population of Brooks.

Brooks identifies itself as a multicultural community and has labeled itself as The City of 100 Hellos (“City of Brooks community profile”, n.d., p. 7). It recently experienced a change in its population diversity and community profile through an increase in its non-Canadian born inhabitants. The city was the subject of a 2007 National Film Board of Canada documentary, *24 Days in Brooks*, which portrayed a strike at Lakeside Packers, an employer of many newcomers in the city. The emergence of the meat packing industry in Alberta has had a substantial impact economically, as well as socially and politically, within communities and has drawn

many newcomers to Brooks through manual, assembly line positions that appeal to non-English speaking immigrants and refugees (Broadway, 2001, p. 44). Another film, entitled *Brooks - The City of 100 Hellos*, profiles the lives of the immigrants, refugees and temporary foreign workers who are employed at Lakeside Packers and the impact on the community (Brandy Y Productions Inc., n.d., para. 2).

While both High River and Brooks are located in southern Alberta, High River is significantly closer to Calgary. The town is also home to a large meat processing facility, Cargill Meat Solutions; it has 2,000 employees (Cargill, 2016, para. 2). Though High River has continued to experience population growth over the past two decades, it has not received significant numbers of immigrants. Its overall population rose by 75.57% between 1996 and 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2013d, 2015d), but the immigrant and non-permanent resident population of High River only increased by 108.82% during this period. While this is a significant increase, it pales in comparison to the increase of 368.38% in the immigrant and non-permanent resident population of Brooks.

High River therefore provides an effective comparison to Brooks in terms of population size and economic industry, although with a different demographic composition. Using specific indicators political engagement, it is possible to examine the impact of immigration on the political culture of a community through the comparison of High River and Brooks.

Two primary indicators of political engagement will be used to examine the political cultures of High River and Brooks. First, voting results from provincial elections during the period from 1996 until 2012 will be reviewed. Voting is a method of political participation and it is a direct interaction with the political system. However, it also conveys indirect interaction with the political system as voting is influenced by issues in the community. Since political beliefs and orientations are conveyed through the act of voting, voting results are therefore reflective of political culture. As markers of political culture, voting results can indicate a change in the political culture of an area by illustrating whether or not a shift has occurred in the voting pattern.

The second indicator of political engagement in High River and Brooks

involves local newspapers. The local newspapers, the *High River Times* and *The Brooks Bulletin*, will be examined during the months surrounding provincial elections from 1996 until 2012. By examining the local newspapers for two months preceding an election, during the month of an election, and for one month following an election, issues of community concern and public discourse are revealed. This creates a portrait of the political culture of these communities. Additionally, the discourse in the local newspapers indicates the emergence of community support organizations, such as food banks and shelters, as a response from the overall community to an increase in social issues, including also crime and housing. This contributes to determining if a shift in political culture has occurred.

By examining the political cultures of High River and Brooks through these political indicators, it is expected that the political culture of Brooks will have changed significantly from 1996 until 2012, while the political culture of High River, will have remained constant over this period.

Chapter III

Results – High River, Alberta

This chapter will examine the political culture of High River in order to establish a comparison with the city of Brooks, Alberta. The town of High River is located in southern Alberta, south of the city of Calgary. Cargill Meat Solutions is a large meat processing facility located at High River that underwent an expansion in 1996; it continues to be a major employer for the town.

Though High River has experienced population growth from 1996 till 2012, it did not receive significant numbers of immigrants and these immigrants have not impacted its political culture. Although Cargill Meat Solutions may appeal to newcomers to through manual, assembly line positions, the proximity of the city of Calgary has allowed employees to secure affordable housing in this city while commuting to High River for work. As a result, the impact of immigrants arriving from 1996 till 2012 has had a minimal impact on the political culture of High River.

In order to reveal the limited impact on the political culture of High River by immigrants arriving from 1996 till 2012, two indicators of political engagement in High River will be examined. Election results from the provincial elections during this period will be reviewed, and newspaper articles published in the *High River Times* surrounding the election periods will be examined.

Demographic Changes from 1996-2012

In order to understand the impact of immigration on the political culture of High River, it is necessary to first examine the demographic changes that have occurred in the town from 1996 till 2012. This is accomplished by analyzing the results from Canadian censuses that were held in 1996, 2001, 2006, and 2011, as well as the National Household Survey that was conducted in 2011. Census results discussed in the following analysis are portrayed in Table 1.

The analysis of the results of the censuses and the National Household Survey begins with understanding the terms used in reference to population. In all four censuses, three categories were provided to indicate the citizenship status of

the respondent in order to sort the population. The term non-immigrant was used in the 1996 and 2006 censuses, as well as the 2011 National Household Survey to indicate persons born in Canada, or those born outside of Canada with Canadian citizenship by birth; these persons did not immigrate to Canada (Statistics Canada, 2015f). In the 2001 census, these persons were referred to as the Canadian-born population (Statistics Canada, 2013b).

The term immigrant was also employed in both the 1996 and 2006 censuses, as well as the 2011 National Household Survey, while the 2001 census referred to these persons as the foreign-born population. These terms refer to those persons who are, or have ever been, landed immigrants or permanent residents, and who have been granted the right to live permanently in Canada by immigration authorities (Statistics Canada, 2015f). It is important to note the some immigrants are also Canadian citizens (Statistics Canada, 2015f).

The 1996, 2001, and 2006 censuses, and the 2011 National Household Survey, also utilized the term non-permanent resident. Non-permanent resident is used to indicate a person from a country other than Canada who is in possession of a work or study permit, or who is a refugee claimant, as well as non-Canadian-born family member who lives with them in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2015f). These terms effectively reveal the citizenship status of respondents, adding a distinct descriptor to the population results.

Through the use of the terms non-immigrant, immigrant, and non-permanent resident, it is possible to illustrate a portrait of High River's population according to the citizenship status of its residents. At the 1996 Canadian census, the population of High River was 7,359 persons, and 91.45% spoke only the English language as their mother tongue. The majority of the town's population, 88.94%, identified themselves as non-immigrants, while only 9.24% were immigrants. The non-permanent resident population of High River in 1996 was non-existent. However, the population of High River increased by 26.99% between 1996 and 2001; this was the largest rise in population for the town during the period from 1996 till 2011.

The population increase that occurred from 1996 till 2001 was primarily comprised of non-immigrant persons; the immigrant population only increased by

5.88%, or 40 persons, during this period. Perhaps most significantly, the town of High River also witnessed the arrival of 40 non-permanent resident persons during this period. This was a change for the town, since it had previously not held any non-permanent resident population.

While the largest population increase occurred between 1996 and 2001, High River experienced its most substantial population shift between 2001 and 2006. Although the overall population only increased by 14.67% during this period, the immigrant population increased by 48.61%. This is interesting because the lowest overall population increase for High River coincided with the highest increase in the population of immigrant persons. The addition of 350 immigrant persons to High River from 2001 till 2006 was minimized slightly by a decrease in the number of non-permanent residents from 40 to 25 persons. However, the immigrant and non-permanent resident population reached 10.22% in 2006, a slight increase from 10 years earlier.

The immigrant and non-permanent resident population of High River increased again from 2006 till 2011, but this change was minimal at an increase of only 0.77% to 10.99% of the overall population. Although the overall total population rose by 20.57% from 2006 till 2011, the most notable changes during this period was the 600% increase in non-permanent resident persons, and the 30.51% increase in persons whose first language was neither English, nor French. Despite this increase, the non-immigrant population remained dominant in High River 2011, at 87.46%, slightly below the non-immigrant population of 88.94% in 1996. Persons who spoke only the English language as their mother tongue in 2011 remained relatively consistent with the results from 1996, at 88.24%.

The analysis of the results from Canadian censuses that were held in 1996, 2001, 2006, and 2011, as well as the National Household Survey that was conducted in 2011, reveal that High River experienced some changes in its demographic composition from 1996 till 2012. The town experienced an influx of immigrant persons between 2001 and 2006, coinciding with the lowest unemployment rate experienced by High River, 2.60%, during the period from 1996 to 2012. This is interesting to consider as it suggests the wave of immigrant persons may have been

related to available employment opportunities in High River, such as those at Cargill Foods. However, the results from the censuses and the National Household Survey indicate that High River did not undergo a dramatic demographic shift from 1996 till 2012. Instead, it maintained its majority population of non-immigrant persons.

The below table portrays the results from each of the four censuses.

Table 1											
Federal Census - 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011											
National Household Survey - 2011											
Census Date	High River, Alberta - Population										
	Population	Percent Change - Population	Median Age (Years)	Non-Immigrant Population	Percent Change - Non-Immigrant Population	Immigrant Population	Percent Change - Immigrant Population	Non-Permanent Resident Population	Percent Change - Non-Permanent Resident Population	Percentage of Population - Immigrant and Non-Permanent Resident	Visible Minority Population
1996	7,359	Not applicable.	Not available.	6,545	Not applicable.	680	Not applicable.	0	Not applicable.	9.24%	265
2001	9,345	26.99%	38.4	8,435	28.88%	720	5.88%	40	Undefined.	8.13%	350
2006	10,716	14.67%	40.7	9,530	12.98%	1,070	48.61%	25	-37.50%	10.22%	640
2011	12,920	20.57%	41.8	11,300	18.57%	1,245	16.36%	175	600.00%	10.99%	860

(Statistics Canada, 2013d)
(Statistics Canada, 2013b)
(Statistics Canada, 2015b)
(Statistics Canada, 2015d)
(Statistics Canada, 2015f)

The significant increase in the immigrant population discussed above is evident in the results displayed from each of the four censuses.

The below table portrays the census results related to language.

Table 2				
Federal Census - 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011 National Household Survey - 2011				
Census Date	High River, Alberta - Languages			
	Total Population by Mother Tongue - English Only	Total Population by Mother Tongue - French Only	Total Population by Mother Tongue - English and French	Total Population by Mother Tongue - Non-official Languages
1996	6,730	70	10	395
2001	8,420	90	20	660
2006	9,650	85	0	885
2011	11,400	185	20	1,155
(Statistics Canada, 2013d) (Statistics Canada, 2013b) (Statistics Canada, 2015b) (Statistics Canada, 2015d) (Statistics Canada, 2015f)				

These results illustrate the increase in total population in High River according to both non-official languages and French only as the respondent's mother tongue.

The below table provides the economic data from the four censuses.

Table 3								
Federal Census - 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011 National Household Survey - 2011								
Census Date	High River, Alberta - Economic Data							
	Labour Force Participation Rate - Population 15 years of age and over	Employment Rate - Population 15 years of age and over	Unemployment Rate - Population 15 years of age and over	Total Private Dwellings	Number of Owned Dwellings	Percentage of Dwellings - Owned	Number of Rented Dwellings	Percentage of Dwellings - Rented
1996	70.00%	66.60%	5.00%	2,735	2,130	77.88%	605	22.12%
2001	68.60%	65.40%	4.70%	3,550	2,740	77.18%	805	22.68%
2006	67.00%	65.20%	2.60%	4,185	3,290	78.61%	890	21.27%
2011	68.10%	65.00%	4.60%	5,260	4,310	81.94%	950	18.06%
(Statistics Canada, 2013d) (Statistics Canada, 2013b) (Statistics Canada, 2015b) (Statistics Canada, 2015d) (Statistics Canada, 2015f)								

The decrease in the unemployment rate from 2001 till 2006 discussed above is displayed in these results.

Provincial Election Results

In the electoral division of Highwood, where the town of High River is located, conservative parties dominated the provincial elections that occurred during the period from 1996 until 2012. Highwood division, which also encompasses Okotoks, Nanton, and Stavely, as well as Black Diamond and Turner Valley, elected candidates from the Progressive Conservatives in the 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008 elections. In each of these elections, the Progressive Conservative candidate obtained a significant portion of the votes cast. However, the 2012 election witnessed the success of the Wildrose Alliance Party, marking a shift in provincial politics for the division of Highwood from its Progressive Conservative history.

Examining the provincial electoral results from the division of Highwood contributes to understanding the political culture of High River, and the impact from

the arrival of immigrants during the period from 1996 till 2012. Although not all immigrants possess Canadian citizenship, their impact on the election results extends beyond voting to a pre-Citizenship interaction with their neighbours, their community, and the various levels of government. The electoral results therefore reveal the impact of immigrants on political culture in High River, whether as Canadian citizens, permanent residents, or non-permanent residents.

The Progressive Conservatives dominated the Highwood division from 1997 until 2008. The candidate for the Progressive Conservatives in both the 1997 and 2001 elections was Don Tannas, while in the 2004 and 2008 elections it was George Groeneveld. This consistency in candidates was evidenced in the percentage of votes received by the Progressive Conservatives in these elections, which ranged from 63.60% to 79.90%. The achievement of 79.90% of votes received for the Progressive Conservatives occurred in the 2001 election, when the Liberal Party received its lowest percent of the votes for the period from 1997 till 2008.

The differential in the percentage of votes received by the Progressive Conservatives and the Liberal Party is also notable, varying between a high of 67.9 percent difference in the 2001 election to a low of 46.2 percent difference in the 2004 election. There was also a substantial reduction in the overall voter turnout in these two elections, from 55.95% in the 2001 election to 45.04% in the 2004 election. In the 1997 election, the percent difference in the votes received by the Progressive Conservatives and the Liberal Party was 55.8%, while the overall voter turnout was 56.36%. The 2008 election witnessed a percent difference of 51.2%, and an overall voter turnout of 40.97%.

Although the difference between the percentage of votes received by the Progressive Conservatives and the Liberal Party in the 1997 and 2008 elections does not display the same relationship to overall voter turnout, it is interesting to consider that the difference in the percentage of votes received by these parties was its most minimal when a significant reduction occurred in the overall voter turnout. This could indicate that this reduction in voter turnout was associated with a decline in voters for the Progressive Conservatives in the 2004 election.

The stability in Progressive Conservative candidates in the 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008, elections was not seen in the candidates put forth by the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party. In each of these elections, the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party had different candidates, although their percentage of votes received remained mostly unaffected.

The percentage of votes received by the Liberal Party in the 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008, elections ranged from 12.0% to 17.4%. Interestingly, the Liberal Party obtained their highest percentage of votes received, 17.4%, in the 2004 election when overall voter turnout was at a low 45.04% and the votes received were distributed among candidates from six parties. This was also the election that resulted in the lowest percentage of votes received for the Progressive Conservatives between 1997 and 2008. Despite their inability to obtain the majority of votes in these elections, the Liberal Party maintained second place behind the Progressive Conservatives in each election. Conversely, the New Democratic Party experienced more fluctuation in their election results during this period.

The percentage of votes received by the New Democratic Party in the 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008, elections did not surpass 4.60%, and fell as low as 3.30%. It is interesting to note that when the New Democratic Party received 4.60% of votes in the 2001 election, this coincided with the lowest percent of votes received by the Liberal Party in this period. In addition to receiving fewer votes than both the Progressive Conservatives and the Liberal Party in these elections, the New Democratic Party also received fewer votes than the Social Credit, the Alberta Green Party, and, starting in 2008, the Wildrose Alliance Party.

In the 2012 election, the division of Highwood elected the candidate for the Wildrose Alliance Party, Danielle Smith. This was a departure from the Progressive Conservative candidates elected in the 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008, elections. However, the difference in percentage of votes received by the Wildrose Alliance Party and the Progressive Conservatives was minimal, at 10.1%. This is significant when considering the substantial percent differences that existed between the

Progressive Conservatives and the Liberal Party in the 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008, elections.

While the Wildrose Alliance Party and the Progressive Conservatives received the majority of the votes in the 2012 election, 52.60% and 42.50% respectively, the Liberal Party experienced a significant reduction in votes received. At 2.90% of the votes received, the Liberal Party gained only slightly more votes than the New Democratic Party, which received 2.0% of votes. However, the number of votes received by the Wildrose Alliance Party increased by 618.43%. These results reveal an expansion of the conservative political culture of the provincial electoral division of Highwood in 2012.

Table 4								
Province of Alberta - General Elections - 1997-2012								
Election Date	Provincial Results		Electoral Division of Highwood					
	Political Party	Seats	Eligible Electors	Percent Voter Turnout	Candidates	Political Affiliation	Results	
							Votes Received	Percent Votes Received
March 11, 1997	Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta	63/83	24,225	56.36%	Don Tannas	Progressive Conservative	9,551	70.00%
					Howard Paulsen	Liberal	1,944	14.20%
					John Bergen	Social Credit	1,566	11.50%
					Hugh Logie	New Democratic Party	592	4.30%
March 12, 2001	Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta	74/83	29,806	55.95%	Don Tannas	Progressive Conservative	13,321	79.90%
					Leonard Borowski	Liberal	2,000	12.00%
					Gunhild Hoogensen	New Democratic Party	773	4.60%
					Julie Walker	Alberta Greens	581	3.50%
November 22, 2004	Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta	62/83	23,519	45.04%	George Groeneveld	Progressive Conservative	6,737	63.60%
					Lori Czerwinski	Liberal	1,846	17.40%
					Brian Wickhorst	Alberta Alliance	731	6.90%
					Sheelagh Matthews	Alberta Greens	547	5.20%
					Catherine Whelan Costen	New Democratic Party	433	4.10%
					Cory Morgan	Separation Party	300	2.80%
March 3, 2008	Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta	72/83	28,922	40.97%	George Groeneveld	Progressive Conservative	7,715	65.10%
					Stan Shedd	Liberal	1,647	13.90%
					Daniel W. Doherty	Wildrose Alliance Party	1,405	11.90%
					John Barrett	Alberta Green Party	691	5.80%
					Carolyn Boulton	New Democratic Party	391	3.30%
April 23, 2012	Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta	61/87	32,659	58.76%	Danielle Smith	Wildrose Alliance Party	10,094	52.60%
					John Barlow	Progressive Conservative	8,159	42.50%
					Keegan Gibson	Liberal	547	2.90%
					Miles Dato	New Democratic Party	392	2.00%

(Elections Alberta, n.d. a)
(Elections Alberta, n.d. b)

Newspaper Review – *High River Times*

As an indicator of political culture, newspapers reveal the issues of concern within a community and the public discourse surrounding these matters. It can be argued that, “a newspaper at its best is a community talking to itself.” (“It all starts”,

1998, p. 6). Therefore, in order to further reveal the impact of immigrants on the political culture of High River, an examination of the local newspaper, the *High River Times*, is completed.

Provincial election periods drive community discussion and public discourse, and the results of these elections are themselves indicators of political culture. Therefore, the examination of the *High River Times* is targeted to the two months preceding an election, the month of an election, and the month following an election. This four month period serves to illustrate the major issues of community concern and public discourse, contributing to a portrait of the political culture of High River.

In order to examine the newspaper articles during periods of provincial elections from 1996 till 2012, the *High River Times* is reviewed over four month periods in 1997; 2001; 2004; 2008; and 2012, as portrayed in the table below.

Table 5	
High River Times - Periods Reviewed	
Period Examined - High River Times	Provincial Election
January - April, 1997	March 11, 1997
January - April, 2001	March 12, 2001
September - December 2004	November 22, 2004
January - April, 2008	March 3, 2008
February - May, 2012	April 23, 2012

Several major themes are presented in the *High River Times* from 1997 till 2012, including Safe Communities, Economic Development, and Cargill Foods. The theme of Safe Communities appears consistently in the *High River Times* during the four month periods reviewed from 1997 till 2012. Housing is a major focus of this theme, and this topic appears regularly in the *High River Times* as a discussion of rental availability and affordability, as well as seniors housing and homelessness. An article in September 1998 discusses the lack of low cost housing in High River and the high cost of construction (“Low rent apartments”, 1998, p. 3), while another profiles the family of an employee at Cargill Foods living temporarily in the George

Lane Park campground due to an inability to secure rental accommodations in High River (Campbell, 1998, p. 3).

The housing situation caused difficulty for employers in terms of recruiting, and also resulted in persons commuting to work in High River from Calgary where they had secured affordable housing (Gillanders, 1998, p. 6). The issue was expanded in February 2008 when a temporary foreign work at Cargill Foods was reported as having slept outside on a park bench in -10 degree Celsius weather, after a dispute with his roommate; a language barrier and the lack of an emergency shelter in High River were listed as the primary causes for the situation (Patterson, 2008, p. 1).

Another aspect of the Safe Communities theme within the *High River Times* involved crime, including vandalism. Vandalism incidents such as uprooting planted flowers, disturbing gravestones, and minor damage to vehicles was a concern, with the *High River Times* reporting 311 crimes of mischief in 2003 (Campbell, 2004, p. 3).

Vandalism and crime became a central issue in the 2004 municipal election, and candidates were requested to comment on their position in the *High River Times*. One candidate for Town Council, Luther Dougherty, stated that work with the RCMP and the town's Youth Justice Committee, would contribute to resolving issues related to crime ("Municipal elections 2004: Candidates", 2004, p. 3).

The Youth Justice Committee had been a prevalent topic in regards to youth and crime in High River in 1997. Serving to connect the formal youth justice system, the community services, and the public, the Youth Justice Committee provided education programs and recommends alternatives for young offenders such as community service (McTighe, 1997, p. 10). An editorial in March 1997 encouraged High River residents to volunteer for the Youth Justice Committee, highlighting both its role in crime prevention and the rehabilitation of youth who have committed a criminal offense ("Youth justice group", p. 6), and the committee continued to have a strong presence in High River.

Crime was also discussed in the *High River Times* with specific reference to Cargill Foods. The detailed reporting of a physical altercation that occurred in

January 1997 between two Cargill Foods employees, who were both residents of Calgary focused on the RCMP's need to obtain Vietnamese translation services to determine the cause of the incident ("Plant punch up", 1997, p. 4).

Safe Communities also included discussion of the food bank in High River, including the donation of a new refrigeration unit by Cargill Foods in 2012 to store the monthly donation of 300 pounds of meat by the company (Wedemire, 2012, p. 16). The town's annual food drive was featured prominently in the *High River Times* in 2010 (Massey, 2010, p. 5), presenting an interesting reflection of the need for an annual food drive, which had been identified in 1998 (Hjalte, 1998, p. 8).

The theme of Economic Development is discussed in depth by an editorial in the *High River Times* in January 1997 supporting an economic development plan to be presented to the Town Council by the Chamber of Commerce; the article emphasized the importance of attracting retailers and manufacturers to High River to deter the town's transformation into a commuter bedroom community for Calgary ("Economic plan", p. 6). Despite the efforts to ensure High River did not develop into a bedroom community for commuters working in Calgary, significant interest was expressed in February 1997 in the development of a commuter train, following a petition submitted by employees at Cargill Foods (McBride, 1997, p. 12).

The approval of the economic development plan by the Town Council was lauded as a step towards self-directed change ("Plan gives High River", p. 8). An Economic Development Office was established to respond to inquiries from businesses interested in establishing in High River, and to market the town on a long-term basis (Rooney, 1997a, p. 1). The board of directors for the Economic Development Office included representatives from the Town of High River, as well as the Tourism Action Committee and the Chamber of Commerce (Rooney, 1997a, p. 1).

As the major employer in High River, Cargill Foods was a focal point of the *High River Times* from 1997 till 2012. An employment advertisement for Cargill Foods appeared in the *High River Times* in January 1997 for full-time meat cutter positions on the assembly line, with duties ranging from cutting, trimming and boning. The advertisement stated that full training would be provided, and it

announced in bold font that “Cargill Foods is an equal opportunity employer” (“Employment opportunity”, p. 22).

This employment advertisement was followed in February 1997 by the profile of a local butcher who obtained his beef from either Cargill Foods in High River, or Lakeside Packers in Brooks, in order to support Alberta ranchers (Campbell, 1997, p. 3). As part of a special *Beef Breeders Supplement*, this profile served to convey the positive, community-based relationship of beef production in Southern Alberta. A link can be made between the profile of the local butcher, and the employment opportunities at Cargill Foods, as the profile provides a community-oriented perspective on the beef production at Cargill Foods.

However, despite the positive portrayal of beef production in Alberta, the possible development of a hog processing plant near High River in 1997 was met with local concern. The Municipal District of Foothills, which surrounds High River, submitted a bid for the Maple Leaf Meats hog facility and aimed to bring its 1,500 new jobs to the High River area (McTighe, 1997g, p. 4). Despite the existing rail line and highway near Cargill Foods, as well as the available labour market in Calgary, the *High River Times* featured Letters to the Editor from local residents expressing their frustration with locating the hog processing plant near High River. This concern was related to the impact on the town from further heavy truck traffic, noise, dust, and the smell from the facility (Henbeffer, 1997, p. 7). One letter stated:

“This is just what we do not need – another stinking plant. The one we have is too much.” (Turner, 1997, p. 7).

Additionally, residents were concerned with the water supply in High River and its ability to support two meat processing plants (Turner, 1997, p. 7).

The frustration from High River residents regarding the possible development of a hog processing facility touched on the odour that these types of plants generate, and this was a prominent issue in early 1997 in relation to Cargill Foods. Residents argued that the smell from Cargill Foods, increased due to a recent expansion, was negatively impacting their quality of life and property values, and could be in violation of the Clean Air provisions of the Alberta Environmental Protection and Enhancement Act (Loven, 1997, p. 1). A petition was submitted to

Premier Ralph Klein regarding the odour (Loven, 1997, p. 1), and the Alberta Environmental Protection agency was researching several complaints (Loven, 1997, p. 2).

Cargill Foods responded by conducting an internal review in March 1997 (McTighe, 1997f, p. 2). In April 1997, Cargill Foods announced that it had upgraded its equipment, hired two scrubber operators, a full-time maintenance person, and an environmental coordinator (McBride, 1997c, p. 1). The facility's concern with the odour emissions was related to its relationship with the residents of High River. The General Manager, Dan Schnitker stated:

“I think we are good for the community and we generate a lot of money...It (the odor problem) is the only negative thing that is brought to up to us on a regular basis. We need to get it resolved.” (as cited in McBride, 1997c, p. 2). As a result, Cargill Foods also brought in consultants recommended by Alberta Environmental Protection, developed an internal committee to investigate environmental complaints, and proceeded with developing a pre-treatment facility at the plant's lagoon in order to reduce the emissions into the water (McBride, 1997c, p. 2).

Conclusion

Although there were immigrant and non-permanent resident persons who arrived in High River from 1996 till 2011, the immigrant and non-permanent resident population of High River did not increase significantly during this period, rising from 9.24% to 10.99%. The discourse surrounding Safe Communities, Economic Development, and Cargill Foods, in the *High River Times* from 1997 till 2012 reveals that the town was not specifically impacted by the arrival and presence of immigrants and non-permanent residents, but rather by the growth of the overall population, and the rapid expansion of the community. This is evidenced by the veiled inferences found in discussions of community fragility.

Issues such as vandalism, odour from the meat processing plant, food bank supplies, and housing, indicate that High River continued to experience the same issues throughout this period. This is perhaps one explanation for the election of the Wildrose Alliance Party in 2012, following an historical period of Progressive

Conservative candidates for the Highwood riding. High River may have been attempting to seek resolution to these community issues after subsequent Progressive Conservative leadership did not result in community stability, and residents turned to the Wildrose Alliance Party as a solution.

Chapter IV

Results - Brooks, Alberta

This chapter will examine the political culture of Brooks, Alberta. The city of Brooks is located in southern Alberta, southeast of Calgary. The cities of Lethbridge and Medicine Hat are respectively located to the southwest and southeast of Brooks. The XL Foods Lakeside Packers meat processing facility is located in the city; it was expanded in 1997 and is a main employer in Brooks.

The city experienced significant population growth from 1996 until 2012, including significant numbers of immigrants. The XL Foods Lakeside Packers facility acted to draw newcomers to the city, and their presence contributed to shaping the city and its political culture. As is evidenced through the analysis of the local newspaper, *The Brooks Bulletin*, these immigrants had an impact on the political culture of the city.

In order to reveal the impact on the political culture of Brooks by immigrants arriving from 1996 until 2012, two indicators of political engagement will be examined. Election results from the provincial elections from 1996 until 2012 will be reviewed, and newspaper articles published in *The Brooks Bulletin* during the months surrounding these election periods will be examined.

Demographic Changes from 1996-2012

The potential impact of immigration on the political culture of Brooks, Alberta, can be understood through an examination of the city's demographic changes from 1996 until 2012. This is accomplished by analyzing the results from Canadian censuses that were held in 1996, 2001, 2006, and 2011, as well as the National Household Survey that was conducted in 2011. The National Household Survey provides information on immigration and ethnocultural diversity; education and labour; mobility and migration; income and housing (Statistics Canada, 2015d). It was held as a supplementary addition to the 2011 census. Census results discussed in the following analysis are portrayed in Table 6.

Census Date	Brooks, Alberta - Population										
	Population	Percent Change - Population	Median Age (Years)	Non-Immigrant Population	Percent Change - Non-Immigrant Population	Immigrant Population	Percent Change - Immigrant Population	Non-Permanent Resident Population	Percent Change - Non-Permanent Resident Population	Percentage of Population - Immigrant and Non-Permanent Resident	Visible Minority Population
1996	10,093	Not applicable.	Not available.	9,300	Not applicable.	680	Not applicable.	0	Not applicable.	6.74%	315
2001	11,604	14.97%	30.0	10,460	12.47%	930	36.76%	50	Undefined.	8.45%	645
2006	12,498	7.70%	31.9	10,290	-1.63%	2,080	123.66%	125	150.00%	17.64%	2,135
2011	13,325	6.62%	33.8	10,140	-1.46%	2,680	28.85%	505	304.00%	23.90%	3,560

(Statistics Canada, 2013c)
(Statistics Canada, 2013a)
(Statistics Canada, 2015a)
(Statistics Canada, 2015c)
(Statistics Canada, 2015e)

As seen in the previous chapter, the analysis of the results of the censuses and the National Household Survey begins with understanding the terms used in reference to population. The three categories used to distinguish the citizenship status of the respondent include the terms non-immigrant, immigrant, and non-permanent resident¹.

1996 Census

At the 1996 Canadian census, the population of Brooks was 10,093 persons and 90.56% spoke the English language as their mother tongue. The majority of the town's population, 92.14%, identified themselves as non-immigrants while only 6.74% were immigrants. The non-permanent resident population of Brooks in 1996 was non-existent.

¹ The term non-immigrant refers to persons born in Canada, or those born outside of Canada with Canadian citizenship by birth; these persons did not immigrate to Canada (Statistics Canada, 2013a). The term immigrant refers to persons who are, or have ever been, landed immigrants or permanent residents, and who have been granted the right to live permanently in Canada by immigration authorities (Statistics Canada, 2015f). The terms non-immigrant and immigrant can refer to persons who are Canadian citizens.

Conversely, the term non-permanent resident is used to indicate a person from a country other than Canada who is in possession of a work or study permit, or who is a refugee claimant, as well as non-Canadian-born family member who lives with them in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2015f).

1996-2001

The total population of Brooks increased by 14.97% between 1996 and 2001; this was the largest rise in population for the city during the period from 1996 until 2011. The population increase that occurred in Brooks from 1996 until 2001 was primarily comprised of immigrant persons; the immigrant population rose by 36.76% during this period, while the non-immigrant population increased by only 12.47%. Additionally, Brooks experienced the arrival of 50 non-permanent resident persons from 1996 until 2001. This marked a shift for the city since its non-permanent resident population in 1996 was zero.

Although the city of Brooks experienced its largest increase in total population between 1996 and 2001, its most substantial population shift occurred between 2001 and 2006. The overall population increased minimally during this period at 7.70%; however, the immigrant population increased by 123.66%. This is notable because of the significant increase in the immigrant population, and because this increase occurred in Brooks during a period of minimal total population growth. The outcome was a shift in the demographic composition of the city, which was also bolstered by the addition of 125 non-permanent residents during this period. The immigrant and non-permanent resident population of Brooks reached 17.64% in 2006, an increase of over 10% from 1996.

The immigrant and non-permanent resident population of Brooks increased again between 2006 and 2011, from 17.64% of the total population to comprising 23.90%. This included a significant increase in the number of non-permanent residents, from 125 to 505 persons. Despite a minimal increase in the total population of only 6.62% during this period, the demographic composition of the city was markedly different in 2011. Of the total population in 2011, only 73.55% reported that their first language was English only, while 23.45% indicated that their first language was neither English, nor French. This sharply contrasts the results from 1996, when 90.56% indicated that their first language was English only, and 6.99% of the population responded that their first language was neither English, nor French.

The analysis of the results from Canadian censuses that were held in 1996, 2001, 2006, and 2011, as well as the National Household Survey that was conducted in 2011, reveal that Brooks experienced significant changes in its demographic composition from 1996 until 2011. Brooks experienced a substantial influx of immigrant persons between 2001 and 2006, coinciding with the lowest unemployment rate experienced by the city, 3.0%, during the period from 1996 to 2012. This suggests that the settlement of immigrant persons in Brooks was related to available employment opportunities in the city, such as those at Lakeside Packers. Moreover, the results from the censuses and the National Household Survey indicate that Brooks experienced a dramatic demographic shift from 1996 until 2012. The percentage of the population comprised of immigrant and non-permanent resident persons increased from 6.74% in 1996 to 23.90% in 2011.

The below tables portrays the census results related to language.

Table 7				
Federal Census - 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011				
National Household Survey - 2011				
Census Date	Brooks, Alberta - Languages			
	Total Population by Mother Tongue - English Only	Total Population by Mother Tongue - French Only	Total Population by Mother Tongue - English and French	Total Population by Mother Tongue - Non-official Languages
1996	9,140	80	0	705
2001	10,280	100	15	1,045
2006	10,120	180	10	2,185
2011	9,800	200	30	3,125
(Statistics Canada, 2013c)				
(Statistics Canada, 2013a)				
(Statistics Canada, 2015a)				
(Statistics Canada, 2015c)				
(Statistics Canada, 2015e)				

It is interesting to note that there are increases in the total population according to non-official languages and French only as the respondent's mother tongue, while the total population of respondents with English as their first language decreased from 1996 until 2011.

The below table provides the economic data from the four censuses.

Table 8								
Federal Census - 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011 National Household Survey - 2011								
Census Date	Brooks, Alberta - Economic Data							
	Labour Force Participation Rate - Population 15 years of age and over	Employment Rate - Population 15 years of age and over	Unemployment Rate - Population 15 years of age and over	Total Private Dwellings	Number of Owned Dwellings	Percentage of Dwellings - Owned	Number of Rented Dwellings	Percentage of Dwellings - Rented
1996	74.70%	70.70%	5.40%	3,660	2,305	62.98%	1,350	36.89%
2001	78.60%	74.80%	4.80%	4,190	2,660	63.49%	1,530	36.52%
2006	78.00%	75.60%	3.00%	4,830	2,955	61.18%	1,875	38.82%
2011	78.30%	73.70%	5.90%	5,035	3,580	71.10%	1,460	29.00%
(Statistics Canada, 2013c) (Statistics Canada, 2013a) (Statistics Canada, 2015a) (Statistics Canada, 2015c) (Statistics Canada, 2015e)								

The low unemployment rate from in 2006 discussed above is displayed in these results.

Provincial Election Results

Conservative parties led the provincial elections that occurred in the division of Strathmore-Brooks, which includes the city of Brooks, during the period from 1996 until 2012. The provincial electoral division of Strathmore-Brooks, which also encompasses Strathmore, Gleichen, Duchess, and Bassano, elected candidates from the Progressive Conservatives in the 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008 elections. The Progressive Conservative candidates received a significant percentage of the votes in these elections, but the 2012 election marked a shift in provincial politics in Strathmore-Brooks from a more moderate conservatism to a

more strident right-wing party. The Wildrose Alliance Party was successful in the 2012 election, ending the long held Progressive Conservative reign in this division.

By examining the provincial electoral results from the division of Strathmore-Brooks, a further understanding is gained of the political culture of Brooks, and the impact from the arrival of immigrants during the period from 1996 until 2012. Immigrants have an impact on election results by voting, if they possess Canadian citizenship. However, as not all immigrants possess Canadian citizenship, their impact extends beyond voting to a pre-Citizenship interaction with their neighbours, their community, and the various levels of government. Issues of concern in the community during election periods have the potential to influence voters, and these issues are not restricted to residents who are Canadian citizens. For example, voting residents may be concerned about a shortage of housing related to an influx of newcomers. The discourse surrounding this issue could involve voting Canadian citizens, as well as non-voting permanent residents, and non-permanent residents. Therefore, the potential impact of immigrants on the political culture of Brooks is present regardless of whether immigrants are engaging as voting Canadian citizens, or as non-voting permanent residents, and non-permanent residents.

The Progressive Conservatives were elected in the Strathmore-Brooks division from 1997 until 2008. The candidate for the Progressive Conservatives in the 1997, 2001, and 2004 elections was Lyle Oberg; in the 2008 and 2012 elections it was Arno Doerksen. With the exception of the 2012 election, the stability in Progressive Conservative candidates had a positive relationship with the percentage of votes received, which ranged between a low of 64.05% in 2004 to a high of 75.09% in 2001.

The achievement of 75.09% of votes received by the Progressive Conservatives in the 2001 election coincided with the highest percentage of votes received by the Liberal Party, 15.52%, during the period from 1997 until 2012. The 2001 election also witnessed the lowest percentage of votes received for the New Democratic Party and the Social Credit during this period, though the Social Credit did not have a candidate in the 2008 and 2012 elections. This is interesting to

consider as it suggests that voters in 2001 may have been drawn to more centre parties from the polarized left and right of the New Democratic Party and the Social Credit.

Voter turnout in the 2001 election was not markedly different than turnout in the 1997 election, increasing minimally from 46.87% to 46.91%, and the unemployment rate at the time had decreased by 0.6% since the previous election in 1997. However, the city of Brooks experienced its largest increase in total population between 1996 and 2001, and this could have impacted the political party choice of voters due to the pressure on the city during this period to respond to issues of growth and expansion.

The voter turnout in the division of Strathmore-Brooks declined sharply in the 2004 and 2008 elections, dropping as low as 35.56%. Despite the apparent connection between an increase in the total population, voter turnout, and a shift in votes received by political parties, the 2004 provincial election results dispel any parallel. The city of Brooks experienced an increase of 123.66% in its immigrant population from 2001 and 2006, yet the voter turnout in the 2004 and 2008 elections was the lowest during the period from 1997 until 2012.

The Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party did not maintain the stability in candidates demonstrated by the Progressive Conservatives. With the exception of the New Democratic Party candidate in the 2001 and 2004 elections, the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party had different candidates in each election from 1997 until 2012.

The Liberal Party received a fairly consistent percentage of votes in the 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008, elections, ranging from 9.69 % to 15.52%. Notably, the lowest percentage of votes received for the Liberty Party, 9.69%, occurred in the 2008 election when the Wildrose Alliance Party made its first appearance on the provincial ballot. Although not able to gain the majority of the votes received in the Strathmore-Brooks division, the Liberal Party maintained its second place position behind the Progressive Conservatives in the 1997, 2001, 2004 and 2008 elections. This consistency in voting results was not shared by New Democratic Party.

The percentage of votes received by the New Democratic Party in the 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008, elections ranged between 2.54% and 6.02%. Although the New Democratic Party consistently received fewer votes than the Liberal Party and the Progressive Conservatives, it is interesting to note that it also received a lower percentage of the votes than the Wildrose Alliance Party in the 2008 election. However, the New Democratic Party came in third place in the 2012 election behind the Wildrose Alliance Party and the Progressive Conservatives; this is notable because it is only time during the period from 1997 until 2012 that the New Democratic Party received more votes than the Liberal Party.

The 2012 election marked a change in the provincial politics of the Strathmore-Brooks division. The Wildrose Alliance Party was elected with 55.58% of the votes received, and the Progressive Conservatives received only 39.13% of the votes. While overall voter turnout increased by 16.86% from 2008 until 2012, the Wildrose Alliance Party itself gained an increase in votes of 772.41%.

The 2012 election results indicated a shift in voters between these two conservatives parties, and reveal a strong shift in the political culture of the provincial electoral division of Strathmore-Brooks towards the right-wing Wildrose Alliance Party, away from the more moderate Progressive Conservatives. This shift is indicative of major changes in the fabric of Brooks as a community.

Table 9								
Province of Alberta - General Elections - 1997-2012								
Election Date	Provincial Results		Electoral Division of Strathmore-Brooks					
	Political Party	Seats	Eligible Electors	Percent Voter Turnout	Candidates	Political Affiliation	Results	
							Votes Received	Percent Votes Received
March 11, 1997	Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta	63/83	21,271	46.87%	Lyle Oberg	Progressive Conservative	7,235	72.57%
					Roger Nelson	Liberal	1,272	12.76%
					Dan Borden	Social Credit	862	8.65%
					Richad Knutson	New Democratic Party	600	6.02%
March 12, 2001	Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta	74/83	24,372	46.91%	Lyle Oberg	Progressive Conservative	8,585	75.09%
					Barry Morishita	Liberal	1,774	15.52%
					Christopher Sutherland	Independent	511	4.47%
					Don MacFarlane	New Democratic Party	290	2.54%
November 22, 2004	Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta	62/83	25,686	35.96%	Lyle Oberg	Progressive Conservative	5,916	64.05%
					Carrol Jaques	Liberal	1,178	12.75%
					Mark D. Ogden	Alberta Alliance	831	9.00%
					Jay Kolody	Separation Party	576	6.24%
					Don MacFarlane	New Democratic Party	416	4.50%
					Rudy Martens	Social Credit	319	3.45%
March 3, 2008	Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta	72/83	28,755	35.56%	Arno Doerksen	Progressive Conservative	7,623	74.56%
					Gerry Hart	Liberal	991	9.69%
					Amanda H. Shehata	Wildrose Alliance Party	935	9.15%
					Chris Bayford	Alberta Green Party	362	3.54%
					Brian Stokes	New Democratic Party	313	3.06%
April 23, 2012	Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta	61/87	27,996	52.42%	Jason Hale	Wildrose Alliance Party	8,157	55.58%
					Arno Doerksen	Progressive Conservative	5,743	39.13%
					Brad Bailey	New Democratic Party	409	2.77%
					Alex Wychopen	Liberal	299	2.04%
					Glen Dundas	Separation Party	68	0.46%
(Elections Alberta, n.d. a)								
(Elections Alberta, n.d. b)								

Newspaper Review – *The Brooks Bulletin*

In order to expand the analysis of the impact of immigrants on the political culture of Brooks, a detailed review of the local newspaper, *The Brooks Bulletin*, was undertaken. Newspapers reflect issues of local concern, and the corresponding

public discourse, thereby acting as indicators of political engagement and creating portraits of the political culture of a community. This is especially evident during periods surrounding provincial elections. Therefore, the examination of *The Brooks Bulletin* is focused on the two months preceding an election, the month of an election, and the month following an election. This four month period provides a spotlight on the major issues of community concern and public discourse, contributing to a portrait of the political culture of Brooks. *The Brooks Bulletin* was reviewed over four month periods in 1997; 1998; 2001; 2004; 2007; 2008; 2010; and 2012, as displayed in the table below.

Table 10	
The Brooks Bulletin - Periods Reviewed	
Period Examined - The Brooks Bulletin	Provincial Election
January - April, 1997	March 11, 1997
January - April, 2001	March 12, 2001
September - December 2004	November 22, 2004
January - April, 2008	March 3, 2008
February - May, 2012	April 23, 2012

Several major themes are presented in *The Brooks Bulletin* from 1997 until 2012, including Newcomers and the XL Foods Lakeside Packers processing facility, Infrastructure, and Safe Communities. These themes are commonly interwoven, and often appear as interrelated discussions.

The theme of Newcomers and the Lakeside Packers facility is prevalent in *The Brooks Bulletin*, which is indicative of a city attempting to come to terms with a shift in its demographic composition. An editorial in 1998, published approximately 20 months after the opening of the expanded Lakeside Packers, described the negative impact on Brooks from the arrival of new persons to the city. The Editor associated an increase in break-ins, petty theft, and robberies, with the influx of hundreds of newcomers to Brooks in the years preceding 1998, stating that:

“...many of these people do not have the resources to support themselves once they arrive and so there is great pressure on our social support

systems... this folks, is what is causing others to leave Brooks.” (Nesbitt, 1998, p. A4)

Concern was also expressed that these newcomers, specifically referred to as having arrived due to the expansion of Lakeside Packers, did not have children; this was reflected in the enrolment numbers at local schools in 1998 (Parker, 1998, p. A1).

The city’s diverse demographic composition resulted in Brooks’ inclusion in a discussion tour related to changes to the Temporary Foreign Workers program in 2010; approximately 2,000 Temporary Foreign Workers lived in the city at that time, most employed at the Lakeside Packers facility (Stanway, 2010b, p. A8).

However, employment of diverse communities at the Lakeside Packers facility encountered some challenges. In 2004, a group of primarily Sudanese persons alleged that Lakeside Packers had terminated them due to their protest of working conditions and racism at the facility. Officially terminated for misconduct, this group had difficulty obtaining Employment Insurance and met with a federal Member of Parliament to discuss their concerns (Ocol, 2004, p. A1). Interestingly, the allegations of poor working conditions and racism at Lakeside Packers were refuted by another employee of African heritage at the facility in a letter to the Editor.

“We have among us in Brooks from Africa, doctors, engineers, teachers, nurses and you can name them all, doing various jobs either relate to our field of education or not, that is our individual choice. Therefore, newcomers publicizing their personal job related matter using the Sudanese people as being discriminated at is very sad and disgraceful to the rest of us from Africa” (Obeng, 2004, p. A6).

This letter to the Editor expresses frustration with the fired employees labeling their situation as being the result of racism, and aptly describes the various professional and educational backgrounds of the newcomers living and working in Brooks.

An article featuring a candidate for the City Council during the 2010 municipal election highlights the presence of immigrant newcomers in Brooks, and their involvement with the community. Ahmed Kassem, an immigrant from Africa and an assistant health safety manager at XL Foods Lakeside Packers, stated that he

was running to bring new perspectives and to demonstrate to newcomers that they can participate in socioeconomic activities (Stanway, 2010a, p. A10).

“When they see an immigrant person running, it will encourage them, not only to vote, but to consider where they stand in society.” (as cited in Stanway, 2010a, p. A10).

Just as this article indicates that immigrants in Brooks were making an effort to participate in the community, it is clear from an article in *The Brooks Bulletin* that the city was making an effort to accommodate these newcomers, and to respond to the emerging social needs. A settlement agency operating at Lakeside Packers, SAAMIS Immigration, offered support and language classes to employees from abroad, including Iraq, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Cambodia (Vineburg, 1998e, p. A2). In addition, the food bank operating in Brooks received active community support (“Community pulls together”, 2001, p. A6). However, the need for intense support of the food bank from the residents of Brooks is perhaps indicative of the broader community changes underway during this period, especially in relation to the city’s expanding population and infrastructure needs.

The concern for Infrastructure features regularly in *The Brooks Bulletin*, and is a marker of the city’s increasing population. The discussion is focused on the repair of roads and bridges in the community, as well as the expansion of roads to support the growth of the city. Funding from the Provincial government in 1998 was allocated by the city of Brooks to local road improvements such as repaving (Vineburg, 1998d, p. A8).

The topic of road infrastructure is also clearly linked to safety, and many articles in *The Brooks Bulletin* highlighted issues of vehicles accidents. The intersection at Highway 1 and Cassils Road east of Brooks dominated the public discourse around traffic safety starting in 1998, and the demand for an overpass was identified by the Brooks council as a priority in 2001 (“Town sets”, 2001, p. A7). Furthermore, specific concern was raised about the safety of the intersection on Highway 1 at the Lakeside Packers facility, west of Brooks (Burgess, 1997a, p. A3).

Safety is closely linked to a discourse of crime in *The Brooks Bulletin*, a central subject of the Safe Communities theme. An article in early 1997 announced

that the local Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachment would be sending regular updates to media outlets in Brooks on the crime occurring in the community (Stroud, 1997, p. A8). Continued communication from the RCMP to the community through *The Brooks Bulletin* also included a warning for businesses to take extra precautions to secure their property from vandalism and theft (Vineburg, 2001b, p. A1). Vandalism and theft continued to be issues of concern in Brooks in relation to homes and vehicles (Break-ins, 2010, p. A4).

This discourse on crime in *The Brooks Bulletin* is interesting to consider in relation to the population increase experienced by the city. The RCMP detachment in Brooks went so far as to directly correlate the population rise to an increase of 2,500% in the number of persons held for intoxication between 1996 and 1997.

“It is a sign of changes in the town... A sign of more people abusing alcohol and a sign perhaps of more young people in town.” (as cited in Burgess, 1997b, p. A1).

The association of the population increase with crime by the local RCMP reflects an issue of concern in the community. This concern expanded to other issues of crime and safety in Brooks during this period, including women’s safety. The Brooks & District Women’s Safe Shelter Society featured regularly in *The Brooks Bulletin*, and it is notable that a permanent location was opened in 2001 (Parker, 2001, p. A3).

Reports of crime in *The Brooks Bulletin* frequently referred to employees at Lakeside Packers, such as the attempted sexual assault of a female employee at one of the temporary housing trailers at the facility (“Woman fights”, 2001, p. A1). Additionally, publications also referred more indirectly to the newcomer population of the city. An article describing the outcome of a trial described how “all the testimony had to translated into Arabic” (“Trial finds”, 1998, p. B3). This is interesting because it demonstrates that the community discourse around Safe Communities and crime was linked directly to the immigrant and non-permanent resident population of the city, rather than the overall increase to the population of Brooks.

Housing was also a primary aspect of the theme of Safe Communities, and it is repeatedly featured in *The Brooks Bulletin* in terms of availability and

development related to community growth, linking it closely to the theme of Infrastructure. The housing discussion begins with the establishment of a housing registry by Town of Brooks and the Chamber of Commerce in early 1997, to assist employees at Lakeside Packers and other newcomers with obtaining rental accommodation (“Housing registry”, 1997, p. A1). This was shortly after the opening of the expanded Lakeside Packers facility a few months earlier in January 1997, and is indicative the immediate impact that this processing plant had on Brooks.

Housing sales increased in 1998 in Brooks, an indication of the need for housing in the community “even though potential homeowners can find cheaper real estate in [nearby] Lethbridge or Medicine Hat” (Vineburg, 1998b, p. A6). The need for housing in the city was also articulated through the active presence of Habitat for Humanity, which built its second house in Brooks in 2001 (Vineburg, 2001a, p. B5).

The topic of housing in Brooks is linked to a broader discussion of Infrastructure, development, and growth in the city. A plan for affordable housing construction in the southeast of Brooks, and the allowance of rental units in the single-family home neighbourhood of Pleasant Park, raised discontent during a municipal election forum in 1998 (Vineburg, 1998f, p. A1). Although residents raised concern over the inclusion of rental units within established subdivisions such as Pleasant Park, the development of new housing in the southeast sector of the city created apprehension because of its homogenous nature. Jeremy Sturgess, the architect who designed the southeast sector plan, stated that intent of the developer, Genesis, to separate multi-family units from single family homes could have a drastic impact.

“It was very important for us not to ghettoize the southeast sector but to integrate a variety of income types.” (as cited in Vineburg, 1997c, p. A1).

The relationship between housing and newcomers in Brooks is highlighted by an article dispelling the notion that applicants for mortgages were being denied by community banks due to their recent arrival in the city.

“... three local banks contacted by *The Brooks Bulletin* deny that anyone has been turned down for a mortgage if they haven’t lived in Brooks for a period of time.” (Vineburg, 1998a, p. C2)

The articles in *The Brooks Bulletin* during this period suggest that the discussion of housing was interrelated with both overall population growth, as well as the presence of immigrants and non-permanent residents. This discourse was veiled at times, such as during the discussion of ghettoizing the new housing developments through homogenous housing. However, it was also featured overtly and in direct relation to newcomers. Therefore, the discussion of housing in *The Brooks Bulletin* demonstrates the impact of the presence of immigrants and non-permanent residents on the political culture of Brooks, as the presence in the community has given rise to a new set of issues.

Conclusion

The immigrant and non-permanent resident population of Brooks increased substantially from 1996 until 2011, from 6.74% to 23.90%. This is important because nearly one quarter of the city of Brooks was comprised of immigrants and non-permanent residents by 2011, despite an overall population increase of 32.02%. The result is that the demographic composition of Brooks shifted during this period, forcing the city to respond to issues of growth and expansion, as well as those related directly to the presence of immigrants and non-permanent residents within the community.

The themes of Newcomers and the XL Foods Lakeside Packers processing facility, Infrastructure, and Safe Communities, in *The Brooks Bulletin* reveal that Brooks struggled with interrelated issues of population growth and demographic changes during this period. However, there is no apparent connection between the provincial political shift from the Progressive Conservatives to the Wildrose Alliance Party, and the presence of immigrants and non-permanent residents in Brooks.

Chapter V

Conclusion

This thesis examined the impact of immigration on the political cultures of Brooks, Alberta, and High River, Alberta, through a cross-unit study from 1996 until 2012. It was anticipated that the political culture of Brooks had changed significantly from 1996 until 2012, and that the political culture of High River had remained constant over this period. The two indicators of political engagement used to conduct this examination, voting results from provincial elections and local newspaper publications, revealed that this hypothesis was accurate.

The impact of immigration on the political culture of High River and Brooks is revealed through the first indicator of political engagement, voting results from provincial elections. The voting results from the provincial elections during this period indicate that both High River and Brooks experienced a similar shift in their voting patterns at the provincial level.

In the provincial elections held in 1997, 2001, 2004, and 2008, the electoral divisions of Highwood and Strathmore-Brooks similarly demonstrated consistency in their election of the Progressive Conservative candidates. Moreover, the Progressive Conservatives demonstrated stability in these ridings by having the same candidates repeated in consecutive elections. The Progressive Conservative candidate in the Highwood division was the same in the 1997 and 2001 elections, and in the 2004 and 2008 elections, while the Progressive Conservative candidate in the Strathmore-Brooks division remained the same in the 1997, 2001, and 2004 elections, as well as in the 2008 and 2012 elections.

A parallel between the two electoral divisions can also be drawn in terms of voter turnout in the provincial elections. While the voter turnout in Strathmore-Brooks remained lower than in Highwood in each of the provincial elections, it followed the same overall pattern in both divisions. In the 1997 and 2001 elections, voter turnout in Highwood remained stable, falling slightly from 56.36% to 55.95%. In Strathmore-Brooks, it was also constant, rising minimally from 46.87% to 46.91%. In the 2004 and 2008 elections, the division of Highwood experienced voter turnout

of 45.04% and 40.97%; in Strathmore-Brooks, voter turnout had also decreased from the 1997 and 2001 elections, to 35.96% in 2004 and 35.56% in 2008.

While voter turnout in Highwood and Strathmore-Brooks reached its lowest point in the 2008 election, it rose significantly to its highest level in the 2012 election, to 58.76% in Highwood and 52.42% in Strathmore-Brooks. This is especially interesting in terms of the impact of immigration on the political culture of High River and Brooks. The federal census data reveals that both communities experienced the largest increase in their overall populations between 1996 and 2001, corresponding with substantial and stable voter turnout in the 1997 and 2001 provincial elections.

High River and Brooks both witnessed the most significant increases to their immigrant populations between 2001 and 2006, and to their non-permanent resident populations between 2006 and 2001. When considered in relation to the census data, it is interesting to note that the voter turnout in both communities decreased during the periods of significant immigration, and the arrival of significant numbers of immigrants and non-permanent residents (2004 and 2008 elections). However, the voter turnout rose dramatically in both Highwood and Strathmore-Brooks in the 2012 election, following a period in which the immigrant and non-permanent residents populations had been residing in High River and Brooks for a few years.

The census data and the results of the provincial elections appear to indicate that the political cultures of these communities were both unaffected by immigration from 1996 until 2012. However, the second political indicator of the local newspapers leads to the belief that this is only the case for High River. The local newspapers lead to the understanding that High River was impacted by changes to its overall population and the expansion of the community, while Brooks was specifically affected by increases to its immigrant and non-permanent resident populations.

Nearly one quarter of the city of Brooks was comprised of immigrants and non-permanent residents by 2011. The impact of this demographic shift on the political culture of Brooks is exposed through the discourse found in the local

newspaper, *The Brooks Bulletin*. Brooks was faced with issues of Safe Communities during the period from 1996 until 2012, as well as significant challenges related to Infrastructure. The themes of Newcomers featured prominently in the local newspaper during this period, and it was interwoven with the discussion of the XL Foods Lakeside Packers meat processing facility, which dominated the community's discourse.

In analyzing the results of this study, it is interesting to consider the presence of the meat packing plants in both High River and Brooks in terms of the impact of immigration on the political culture of these communities. Both High River and Brooks have been affected by the existence of meat packing facilities as major employers in their communities. Cargill Meat Solutions in High River employs 2,000 people (Cargill, 2016, para. 2), while XL Foods Lakeside Packers has over 2,000 employees (JBS Food, n.d., para. 2). This is the result of a focused effort by the provincial government, which identified meat packing operations as a method of job creation, encouraged by low taxes and low wages for workers (Broadway, 2001, p. 42).

However, the emergence of the meat packing industry has had substantial impacts economically, as well as socially and politically, within communities. Broadway states that beef packing as a process shifted from urban centres to rural communities starting in the 1960s, with the emergence of the Iowa Beef Packers (IBP) company in the United States 1961 (Broadway, 2001, p. 40). The Iowa Beef Packers implemented an assembly line structure to the beef packing, in place of the traditional skilled butcher method (Broadway, 2001, p. 41). The effect of this restructuring was twofold: production was increased, while the need for skilled labourers was reduced.

Broadway offers the example of IBP's Finney County facility in Kansas to illustrate the social consequences on rural communities of the hiring practices of the meat packing industry. In Finney County, IBP recruited local labour, as well as recent newcomers from Latin countries, as well as South East Asia (Broadway, 2001, p. 43). Social services in the community were highly pressured by the sudden population growth, which had resulted in a housing shortage, and the increased

presence of young immigrant families who came to Finney County to work in the IBP facility (Broadway, 2001, p. 43). From 1980 to 1985, the population of Garden City in Finney County rose by 6,000 people and the crime rate increased during this period as well, by 40 percent (Broadway, 2001, p. 43).

Broadway attributes the change in the crime rate in Finney County from 1980 to 1986, and the increased demand in social services, with the presence of young, single males and recent immigrants drawn to the community by jobs in the meat processing facility. It is possible to conclude that these community changes had a substantial impact on the political culture of the area.

The meat packing industry has undergone many changes to improve production costs. However, the emphasis on using capital to reduce labour has arguably had the greatest effect on the communities in which these facilities are located. Assembly line production in meat packing facilities means that workers are of low skill and are underpaid. In this type of assembly line production in meat processing, workers perform a single task (Broadway, 2001, p. 41) and since these tasks are manual, assembly line positions are appealing to non-English speaking immigrants and refugees (Broadway, 2001, p. 44). This has the potential to create the social issues experienced by Finney County in Kansas.

While the discourse in the local newspapers has led to the belief that Brooks experienced social issues related to the increase in its immigrant and non-permanent resident populations, categorized in the theme of Newcomers, this is not the case for High River. High River appears to have experienced challenges more related to the overall population growth and the corresponding expansion of its community. The different impact on the political culture of these communities by the influx of immigration from 1996 until 2012 is clear, and is possibly associated with the proximity of these communities to major urban centres.

High River and Brooks are both located in southern Alberta, but it is possible that High River's proximity to Calgary has offset the impact of immigration to the political culture of this town. The nearby urban centre of Calgary appears to have absorbed many of the social pressures stemming from the increased population of immigrants and non-permanent residents in High River. Conversely, Brooks has

experienced a different reality due to its isolation from any large cities. This has resulted in a more pronounced impact on the political culture of this city, as the immigrant and non-permanent resident population has fostered significant social and political pressures that have contributed to impacting the political culture of Brooks.

The understanding of political culture put forth by Almond and Verba as the distribution of patterns of orientation towards political objects (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 15) can be applied to the results of this study for both High River and Brooks. Almond and Verba argued that political parties and media of communication, as political objects within the input process, are involved with the transmission of demands from society into the political government, where these demands are then transformed into policies (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 15). The political indicators of provincial election results and local newspapers reveal that there is a distinct relationship between political culture and the orientation of society towards political parties and local newspapers as the political objects in the input process.

Moreover, the impact of immigration on the political culture of Brooks is aligned with Wiseman's understanding of political culture as dominant values revealed through a society's ideology, policies, and ritualized practices. By examining the political cultures of High River and Brooks through the political indicators of voting results from provincial elections and the local newspapers, political engagement in High River and Brooks was measured during the period from 1996 until 2012. The local newspaper indicator of political engagement provides a portrait of the political cultures of High River and Brooks through linkages to political socialization. In effect, this discourse is how dominant values are transmitted.

While an effective indicator of political engagement, the results from the provincial elections were limited to the ridings in which High River and Brooks are located. This contributed to an overall portrait of the provincial politics of these communities but the results could be further refined in future studies to specific poll stations. This could reveal significant detail about the voting results from specific

populations within High River and Brooks, but would require identifying the neighbourhoods in which immigrants and new Canadians reside within these municipalities.

Furthmore, the indicators of political engagement used in this thesis were limited in terms of political attitudes, values, and practices. It would be effective to employ surveys of residents, including non-immigrant, immigrant, and non-permanent resident, respondents; this could contribute a portrait of attitudes and beliefs held by residents, and would offer insight into municipal political culture.

High River and Brooks provided an effective comparison to examine the influence of immigration on the political culture of a community. They are comparable in terms of both population size and economic industry, but their varying demographic composition resulting from different immigrant and non-permanent resident populations provides a valuable opportunity to examine the relationship between immigration and political culture. While both High River and Brooks moved towards a more strident form of conservatism in terms of provincial politics during the period from 1996 until 2012, the discourse in the local newspaper leads to the belief that the political culture of Brooks has been significantly impacted by immigration.

This thesis therefore contributes to the discussion of political culture and the influence of immigration, which is increasingly important as immigration to Canada continues.

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