

**York University**  
**Department of Political Science**  
AS/POLS 4135 3.00 Politics of Aging  
**Winter 2017**

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**Seminar:** Friday 11:30 - 14:20  
**Location:** MC 216

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### **Course Description**

Aging populations are a feature of most developed nations. At present, one in seven Canadians is 65 and older, but this will increase to three-and-a-half within 20 years.

This course studies the implications of an aging population on politics and policies. The course will focus on impacts – including intergenerational conflicts – in employment as well income security policy, such as pensions. We will focus on how demographic shifts shape the debates, policies, and programs of the welfare state. Throughout the course will also analyze health and long-term care and may touch on housing and related topics.

The course begins with a brief overview and history of the welfare state with regard to older citizens. The course then proceeds to an examination of the key demographic and related trends underway in Canada. The major portion of the course analyzes the interaction of rapidly aging populations with specific policies, primarily those related to employment, pensions and health care. The course includes a comparison to developments in selected other developed nations, especially the United States and East Asian countries.

The central theme of the course is that demographic conditions must be considered in seeking to understand and account for development in policy and politics. A secondary theme is that the aging of the population impacts not only policies for the elderly, but also policies for younger citizens and ‘working-age’ citizens.

### **Course Materials**

The required readings for this course are available electronically from the York Libraries and by following the links in this course outline. Additional readings will be provided and/or placed on reserve at the Scott Library.

The **first case** study will be 1,000 of your own words. This is due on January 27.

The second case study will be more detailed. You will receive comments from the professor (and colleagues in the class) on areas that need to be expanded. In writing the second case study you will need to conduct more interviews and also some academic research (books and articles) to place the case study in context. The second case study will be more interesting, creative and in-depth than the first. It will be 1,500 of your words and is due on Feb. 16.

## **RESEARCH ESSAY PROPOSAL GUIDELINES**

The proposal may be conceived as a map that provides direction for the research and writing of the research essay. The more detailed and developed the map, the less difficult it should be to write the essay.

You may select any topic of interest related to policy development and analysis, although logically it might be closely linked to our course and to your previous article review. The readings for our course may also provide you with suggestions or ideas, as well as sources. Aim to have a focussed topic, problem, issue, controversy, debate or dilemma that is central to your proposal. Avoid vague and general topics. For your proposal you should also indicate why what you have selected to explore is interesting and important.

The proposal will require library and web-based research and you must include bibliography that includes the works consulted so far. It will not be acceptable to have only on-line documents in your bibliography.

There is no one format that will be most appropriate for the proposal. The length of the proposal should be about 500 words in addition to a short bibliography of key sources. You may use the case studies as starting points for your research proposal, and research paper. The proposal is due on March 3.

## **RESEARCH ESSAY GUIDELINES**

The research essay must be professional in all aspects. As such, it must have a cover page, title, table of contents, five or six sections (such as introduction, etc.), bibliography and, if you wish, appendices. You are encouraged to use a few visual aids – graphs, charts, photos, diagrams and tables – that must be clearly labelled and referenced. The essay should be a holistic work that demonstrates considerable research and reflection, as well as strong writing skills. At least 50% of your citations must be from academic sources (books and articles).

The essay must be at least 16 pages in length using double-spacing and 12 point font. Grades will be deducted for grammatical errors. You must have the paper read (edited) by others before submitting it. Please attach your proposal to the essay. The research essay is due on March 31.

Seniors' Valence Concerns in Election Campaigns  
*Long-Term Care, Home Care, and Income Security*

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21 April 2017  
AP POLS 4135  
Politics of Aging Dr.  
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## **Table of Contents**

I.	Introduction: Research Question, Methodology and Hypothesis	p.3
II.	Background: Why Do Political Parties Care about the Senior Vote?	p.4
III.	Home Care, Long-Term Care, and Pensions in Political Platforms	p.10
	a. The 2006 Election	p.12
	b. The 2008 Election	p.16
	c. The 2011 Election	p.18
	d. The 2015 Election	p.22
IV.	Results and Limitations	p.24
V.	Conclusion	p.27
VI.	Works Cited	p.28

## **List of Tables**

Table 1.	Voter Turnout Among Seniors, 2006-2015	p.5
Table 2.	Voter Turnout Among Youth, 2006-2015	p.6
Table 3.	Population of Youth and Seniors in Canada 2006-2016	p.6
Table 4.	Political Choice of Canadian Seniors in CARP Poll, 2014	p.9
Table 5.	Comparison of Platform Promises and Election Results, 2006	p.15
Table 6.	Comparison of Platform Promises and Election Results, 2008	p.18
Table 7.	Comparison of Platform Promises and Election Results, 2011	p.21
Table 8.	Comparison of Platform Promises and Election Results, 2015	p.25

In every election, political parties attempt to gain the upper hand by consolidating the support of their traditional base among the population, while augmenting it with segments of voters whose votes are gained through issues of the day. Young voters are attracted with promises of free post-secondary education. Single mothers care deeply about skyrocketing apartment rental fees and the cost of daycare for their children. Middle-aged people listen when tax credits for home improvement or the use of public transit permeate the platforms of political parties. Academics are attentive to the future of the environment and complex social policy. Farmers in small towns across the country hope that parties will continue encouraging citizens to buy local, and hope that the federal government will keep the price of oil low. Perceivably, the votes of seniors across Canada depend on certain political issues in a similar fashion.

However, as was mentioned, political parties rely on their traditional base for support. Stereotypically, the Liberal Party of Canada finds its support among the Laurentian elite of Toronto, Ottawa, Kingston, and Montreal, whereas the Conservative Party of Canada (and its predecessors) expected votes from Alberta and the west. Quite obviously, the Bloc Quebecois' only option has always been to appeal to Quebec citizens' sense of nationalism and desire for sovereignty. The New Democratic Party of Canada often attracts the support of hopeful undergraduates that believe in a more inclusive and equitably future for all. Voters who grew up voting for a particular party may have tendencies to continue doing so into their adulthood. Even charismatic political leaders can forever impact a voter's choice: Trudeau (P.E.) Liberals, Diefenbaker Conservatives, and Layton New Democrats

remain essential voices to election discourse today. Alternatively, voters in Alberta remain hesitant to support the party of the elder Trudeau in disgust of the energy policies put in place throughout his mandate.

I. Introduction: Research Question, Methodology, and Hypotheses

This paper attempts to situate Canadian seniors within the multitude of factors that electors face each time they are asked to cast their vote. This paper asks: how have the valence issues related to seniors, long-term/home care and income security in retirement, impacted Canadian federal elections since 2006? A few aspects of this research question must be defined here. For the purposes of this study, seniors (the elderly or aged will be used synonymously) shall be defined as those aged at least 65 years old. This statistic was chosen for the simple reason that the majority of statistics accessible to interpret the results of Canadian federal elections through age demographics have chosen to use this age bracket. Furthermore, the current age of government pension eligibility in Canada is 65, which is relevant to the discussion to come in this report. Federal election statistics and political issues will be prioritized to reflect the pan-Canadian scope of this research. Finally, the elections examined in this paper will have taken place in the last eleven years. This choice can be explained for two principle reasons. Statistics with regards to the demographic characteristics of voter turnout in federal elections in Canada are available from the year 2004 until the present. Second, this period of time is meant to overlap baby boomers' progression into their senior years: this may have an impact on the discourse of election campaigns.

With reference to methodology, this paper examines academic literature, government election reports, non-governmental organisations' polls and perspectives, and newspaper articles to compile sufficient points of view to answer the research question. The third section of this paper examines political party platforms for each of the three major political parties, and will note the series of essays compiled by Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan on the Canadian elections since 2006. A series of tables have been compiled to compare statistics and election promises.

This paper hypothesizes the following in response to the research question: seniors' valence concerns have begun to emerge in the 2011 and 2015 elections, but were not deciding factors in the 2006 or 2008 votes. This result indicates the growing worry surrounding ageing in Canada. To begin this discussion, Section II outlines the statistics with regards to senior turnout and voting patterns in federal elections following the year 2006. This section sets the stage for why political parties in Canada may care about seniors' concerns. Section III examines each election since 2006 in turn, noting the emergence of seniors' valence issues in the political discourse. The fourth section briefly discusses the shortcomings of this study, and will recommend opportunities for further research. This paper concludes with Section V, which sums up the key findings of this research study.

## II. Background: Why Do Political Parties Care About the Senior Vote?

In the last eleven years, Canadians have voted in four federal elections: 2006, 2008, 2011, and 2015. Table 1 illustrates the estimated turnout of Canadians aged 65 to

74, and 75 and over, for each aforementioned election. It is important to note that these statistics represent the percentage of eligible voters in these age brackets, not

**Table 1. Voter Turnout Among Seniors, 2006-2015**

	2006 Election <sup>1</sup>	2008 Election <sup>2</sup>	2011 Election <sup>3</sup>	2015 Election <sup>4</sup>	Average
Canadians 65-74 years of age (%)	77.5	68.4	75.1	78.8	74.95
Canadians 75+ years of age (%)	61.6	67.3	60.3	67.4	64.15

the number of *registered* voters. As the table demonstrates, on average, nearly three quarters of eligible voters in Canada aged 65 to 74 have voted in elections in the last eleven years. As a point of comparison, table 2 chronicles the turnout of eligible voters aged 18 to 24 and 25 to 35. In each election, the elderly are much more likely to vote than youth. Klassen finds three reasons that explain this difference: elderly are more dependent on the welfare state, are less likely to move, and have, on average, more time to devote to participating in politics in a variety of forms.<sup>5</sup> In each of the last three censuses, seniors outnumbered young people, with a notable increase in the 2016 statistics, which leads one to ponder upon the ageing of

<sup>1</sup> Elections Canada, "Estimation of Voter Turnout by Age Group at the 39th Federal General Election, January 23, 2006," *Elections Canada*, 2008, [http://www.elections.ca/res/loi/rep39ge/estimation39ge\\_e.pdf](http://www.elections.ca/res/loi/rep39ge/estimation39ge_e.pdf), 5.

<sup>2</sup> Elections Canada, "Estimation of Voter Turnout by Age Group at the 2008 Federal General Election," *Elections Canada*, 2008, [http://www.elections.ca/res/rec/part/estim/estimation40\\_e.pdf](http://www.elections.ca/res/rec/part/estim/estimation40_e.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> Elections Canada, "Estimation of Voter Turnout by Age Group and Gender at the 2011 Federal General Election," *Elections Canada*, 2014, <http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=rec/part/estim/41ge&document=report41&lang=e#p41>

<sup>4</sup> Elections Canada, "Estimation of Voter Turnout by Age Group and Gender at the 2015 General Election," *Elections Canada*, 2016, <http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=rec/part/estim/42ge&document=p1&lang=e#d1>

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Klassen, *Retirement in Canada*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2013), 109.



**Table 2. Voter Turnout Among Youth, 2006-2015**

	2006 Election <sup>6</sup>	2008 Election <sup>7</sup>	2011 Election <sup>8</sup>	2015 Election <sup>9</sup>	Average
Canadians 18-24 years of age (%)	43.8	N/A	38.8	57.1	46.6
Canadians 24-35 years of age (%)	49.8	48.0	45.1	57.4	50.1

Canada's baby boom generation. This noted, table 3 compares the most recent statistics of population in these age groups. These statistics speak to the electoral

**Table 3. Population of Youth and Seniors in Canada 2006-2016**

	2006 Census <sup>10</sup>	2011 Census <sup>11</sup>	2016 Census <sup>12</sup>
Canadians Aged 15-24 (thousands)	4220.875	4535.585	4535.6
Canadian Aged 65+ (thousands)	4335.25	4945.055	5990.4

power this segment of the population potentially has. Political parties must attend to seniors' issues because they can depend upon this demographic showing up on election day. Furthermore, in a first-past-the-post system, where a Prime Minister is

<sup>6</sup> Elections Canada, "Voter Turnout 2006," 5.

<sup>7</sup> Elections Canada, "Voter Turnout 2008," 6.

<sup>8</sup> Elections Canada, "Voter Turnout 2011."

<sup>9</sup> Elections Canada, "Voter Turnout 2015."

<sup>10</sup> Statistics Canada, "Statistics Canada: Age and Sex Highlight Tables, 2006 Census", *Government of Canada*, 2007, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/hlt/97-551/pages/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=PR&Code=01&Table=1&Data=Count&Sex=1&StartRec=1&EndRec=13&Sort=2&Display=All&CSDFilter=5000>.

<sup>11</sup> Statistics Canada, "2011 Census of Canada: Topic-based tabulations – Age (131) and Sex (3) for the Population of Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Divisions, Census Subdivisions and Dissemination Areas, 2011 Census", *Government of Canada*, 2012, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/tbt-tt/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=101998&PRID=10&PTYPE=101955&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2011&THEME=88&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=>.

<sup>12</sup> Statistics Canada, "Population by sex and age group", *Government of Canada*, 2016, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo10a-eng.htm>.

chosen via the election results of 338 individual ridings, the elderly vote is even more significant, because in many rural ridings, such as in Northern Ontario, rural Quebec, and the Atlantic provinces, these people compose a disproportionate amount of the population.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the elderly vote is a portion of the electorate targeting, yet as Klassen is quoted commenting, “getting the older vote is hard work.”<sup>14</sup>

To hypothesize for a moment, this group could vote as a block in each election, therefore strengthening the electoral power wielded by the elderly. In his book, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Downs argues that voting behaviour derives from an individual’s analysis of whether to vote, and then for whom to vote.<sup>15</sup> Following this, it is rational to come to the conclusion that seniors that have chosen to vote at all (see above) would then vote along similar party lines, based on whose policies best fit their interests.<sup>16</sup> The term oft used to describe the potential for the elderly to vote as a block is ‘grey power’.<sup>17</sup> This idea has precedent in recent elections around the world. In his article for TIME, Stein quotes a study completed in the United States and the United Kingdom that found:

people over 65 — compared with people under 30 — were nearly twice as likely to be against gay marriage; twice as likely to be pro-Brexit; half as likely to support legalization of marijuana; nearly five times less likely to

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<sup>13</sup> Leuprecht quoted in Joe Friesen & John Ibbitson, “Three parties, one strategy: Capture the senior vote,” *The Globe and Mail*, (Toronto and Ottawa, Canada), Aug. 23, 2012, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/three-parties-one-strategy-capture-the-senior-vote/article573843/>.

<sup>14</sup> Klassen quoted in Colin Perkel, “Voting seniors grow in political importance,” *yorkregion.com*, (York, Canada), Sept. 14, 2015, <http://www.yorkregion.com/news-story/5842043-voting-seniors-grow-in-political-importance/>.

<sup>15</sup> Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1957), 37-38.

<sup>16</sup> Scott Davidson, *Going Grey*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 49.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

want to spend money on education; 60% more likely to vote for Donald Trump; and nearly 50% more likely to say immigrants have a negative impact on society.<sup>18</sup>

From this quote, the perception of the voting behaviour among the aged is that this demographic typically votes for conservative political parties. Berglund referred to similar hypotheses in Norway, where younger people have inclinations towards the left-leaning political parties, and the aged more likely to vote along centrist and right-of-centre lines<sup>19</sup>. MacManus finds that it is commonly presumed that seniors in the United States are more likely to be partisan than their younger peers due to their loyalty to organisations or institutions that they were linked to earlier in life<sup>20</sup>. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the elderly will typically vote for the right-leaning political party, candidate, or position in a given election.

If the stereotype that the elderly will typically vote for the conservative party, candidate, or position in a given election were accurate, there would be little merit to discussing how political parties engage the senior vote. However, a CARP (formerly the Canadian Association of Retired Persons) poll, dated 3 October 2014, illustrates Canadian seniors are diverse in their political behaviour. Table 4 demonstrates that Canadian seniors do not vote along one particular party line. In fact, it would seem that in the 2015 Canadian federal election, the party that received the most votes from the elderly would likely have been the New Democratic Party. Ironically, this same party suffered a crushing defeat in 2015,

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<sup>18</sup> Joel Stein, *Why Older People Shouldn't Vote — and Other Ideas Unpopular With My Parents*, *TIME*, August 18, 2016, <http://time.com/4457131/why-older-people-shouldnt-vote-and-other-ideas-unpopular-with-my-parents/>.

<sup>19</sup> Frode Berglund, "Same Procedure as Last Year? On Political Behavior amongst Senior Citizens," *World Political Science* 2, no. 1 (2006): 111.

<sup>20</sup> Susan A. MacManus, *Young v. Old, Generational Combat in the 21st Century* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 62.

**Table 4. Political Choice of Canadian Seniors in CARP Poll, 2014<sup>21</sup>**

Placement on Political Spectrum	Right	Centre	Left	Something Else	I don't know
Percentage of Canadian Seniors	33	21	38	2	4

winning a mere 4 seats in the newly enlarged House of Commons, in comparison with the 103 it had won four years earlier.<sup>22</sup> These results undermine the supposed grey power of the ageing baby boom generation. It should be noted here that some political parties are generational in their support: Lemieux finds that the Parti Québécois, albeit a political party at the provincial level, fits the criteria of being a generational party due to the fact that it mobilized a cohort of electors, mostly born between 1945 and 1959.<sup>23</sup>

However, there is no doubt that the ageing population remains a large portion of the overall Canadian electorate. To explain their voting behaviour, Davidson posits two principle factors: position and valence.<sup>24</sup> Position relates to the viewpoints of political parties on what merits an important issue, be it economic inequality, tax levels, or legalisation of marijuana.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, CARP's poll would support this reasoning for voter behaviour: their poll found that seniors listed the legalisation/decriminalization of marijuana as the Liberal Party of Canada's defining

<sup>21</sup> CARP, "CARP Political Poll Report," *CARP*, 2014, <http://zweb-s3.uploads.s3.amazonaws.com/carp/2014/10/Political-Report.pdf>.

<sup>22</sup> David Crane, "From Third to First and Back to Third: The 2015 NDP Campaign," in *The Canadian Federal Election of 2015*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016), 110.

<sup>23</sup> Vincent Lemieux, *Les Partis Générationnels au Québec: Passé, Présent, Avenir*, (Laval: Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2011), 78-79.

<sup>24</sup> Davidson, *Going Grey*, 50.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid* 51.

issue, yet did not list this concern once when asked to describe the topics they would like to discuss throughout the election.<sup>26</sup> When all parties agree that a particular area of public life is of concern (such as economic growth and educational standards), valence points to the discrepancy between parties ability to convince voters of their efficacy in managing the portfolio.<sup>27</sup> According to Vincent, senior concerns carry legitimacy.<sup>28</sup> As such, political parties must tailor their election platforms to account for seniors' issues.

Two key pertinent seniors' concerns will be accounted for in this report: home care and long-term care; and retirement income, including the Old Age Security and Canada Pension Plan debates. These two topics both polled the highest in the previously cited CARP poll, which asked, "Which of the following issues do you want candidates to discuss on your doorstep in the 2015 election?"<sup>29</sup> As will be demonstrated, the political quandaries of long-term care and retirement income are both related to the valence factors that help explain seniors' voting behaviour. Section III will discuss these topics through the lens of each federal election in Canada since 2006.

### III. Home Care, Long-Term Care, and Pensions in Political Platforms

In the results of a poll conducted for the Canadian Medical Association (CMA) in August 2015, seventy-four percent of Canadians indicated that the federal government should give more money to provinces and territories, based on the

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<sup>26</sup> CARP, "CARP Political Poll Report".

<sup>27</sup> Davidson, *Going Grey*, 51.

<sup>28</sup> John A. Vincent, *Politics, Power, and Old Age*, ed. Brian Gearing, (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999), 18.

<sup>29</sup> CARP, "CARP Political Poll Report".

number of elderly peoples among their populations, to account for growing costs and evolving health care needs.<sup>30</sup> Duckett and Peetoom highlight the growing need for home care and long-term care: of the 2200 seniors' residences in Canada in 2008-2009, only nine percent of seniors lived in facilities with less than fifty beds.<sup>31</sup> Yet, on any given day, individuals for whom neither residential nor home care is available occupied 5200 "acute care hospital beds".<sup>32</sup> All this said, only fourteen percent of people over the age of eighty-five lived in residential homes, highlighting the need for home care.<sup>33</sup> Thankfully, Fierlbeck finds that long-term care, including home care, continuing care, living in place, and assisted living, compose one of the six objectives of the vision for the future of health care systems in Canada, agreed to by clinicians, policy analysts, and policy makers.<sup>34</sup> While the above statistics do not adequately describe the status of seniors' health care in Canada, there is no doubt that long-term care and home care are valence issues for which all political parties must account in contemporary Canadian elections.

Likewise, retirement savings and income security for seniors is not a new concern for Canadians. The predecessor to the OAS was first created in 1927 through the introduction of the *Old Age Pensions Act* and was replaced with the *Old*

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<sup>30</sup> Canadian Medical Association, "New survey shows majority of Canadians support the federal government "topping up" health care funding of provinces and territories with older populations," *CMA*, August 18, 2016, <https://www.cma.ca/En/Pages/new-survey-shows-majority-of-canadians-support-the-federal-government.aspx>.

<sup>31</sup> Stephen Duckett & Adrian Peetoom, *Canadian Medicare*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 99.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid* 100.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>34</sup> Katherine Fierlbeck, *Health Care in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 306.

*Age Security Act* and the *Old Age Assistance Act* in 1951.<sup>35</sup> In the years that have followed the economic crisis of the 1970s, Canada's retirement system was amended by Liberal and Conservative parties alike, in the name of fiscal restraint.<sup>36</sup> Even through the political change, LaRoche-Côté et al. find that on average, the income retirement plans in contemporary Canada provide "relatively high levels" of income replacement for those citizens who worked into their fifties.<sup>37</sup> As Klassen points out, the CPP is only intended to replace approximately twenty-five percent of the earning on which the workers' contributions were based, and as such for those who did not work into their fifties or maintained jobs that did not contribute to the public pension system (homemakers), income security becomes in doubt, later in life.<sup>38</sup> As such, political parties must account for both those who have depending on their contributions to public pension programs and those seniors who are at risk of poverty later in life. The following sections will analyze income security and long-term/home care as they were discussed in the platforms of each major political party throughout the Canadian federal election since 2006.

*a. The 2006 Election*

The 2006 election marked the first of four consecutive victories for Prime Minister Stephen Harper's Conservative Party. In this first win, Harper's election platform did

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<sup>35</sup> Mark Novak & Lori Campbell, *Aging and Society, A Canadian Perspective*, (Toronto: Nelson Education Canada, 2010), 188.

<sup>36</sup> Sirvan Karimi, *Beyond the Welfare State: Postwar Social Settlement and Public Pension Policy in Canada and Australia*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 195.

<sup>37</sup> Sébastien LaRoche-Côté, John Myles & Garnett Picot, "Income Security and Stability During Retirement in Canada," *Retirement Policy Issues in Canada*, eds. Michael G. Abbott, Charles M. Beach, Robin W. Boadway, & James G. MacKinnon, (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 93.

<sup>38</sup> Klassen, *Retirement in Canada*, 71.

not, once, refer to long-term care or home care.<sup>39</sup> Instead, the reformation of health care, including the reduction of patient wait-times, developed into one of the top priorities of his government's mandate.<sup>40</sup> Paul Martin's Liberals included a section of their policy book entitled "Addressing the Concerns of Seniors" in which they touted their work to secure home care standards in the 2004 health accord, in addition to calling for a "*National Pharmaceuticals Strategy*" in conjunction with the provinces and territories.<sup>41</sup> The NDP were most effusive in declaring their support for long-term care and home care: promises included an immediate increase of 10 000 long-term care units in the first year (40 000 by 2009), a plan to work with provinces and territories to introduce the recommendations of the Romanow report with reference to home care, and the enactment of a Seniors' Charter.<sup>42</sup> Two of the three principal political parties of the 2006 election discussed long-term care and home care in their political platforms.

All three parties were much more detailed in their support for pensions and retirement savings. The Conservatives pledged their support for the Canada Pension Plan (henceforth CPP), Old Age Security (henceforth OAS), and Guaranteed Income Supplement (henceforth GIS) in addition to a series of tax related measures including a raise in the amount of federal income tax eligible for tax credit and a

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<sup>39</sup> Conservative Party of Canada, *Stand Up For Canada*, (Conservative Party of Canada, 2006), [https://www.poltext.org/sites/poltext.org/files/plateformes/can2006pc\\_plt\\_en\\_14112008\\_165519.pdf](https://www.poltext.org/sites/poltext.org/files/plateformes/can2006pc_plt_en_14112008_165519.pdf).

<sup>40</sup> Faron Ellis & Peter Woolstencroft, "A Change of Government, Not a Change of Country: The Conservatives and the 2006 Election," *The Canadian Federal Election of 2006*, ed. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 77.

<sup>41</sup> Liberal Party of Canada, *Securing Canada's Success*, (Liberal Party of Canada, 2006), [http://www.maharaj.org/pdf/platform\\_en.pdf](http://www.maharaj.org/pdf/platform_en.pdf), 18.

<sup>42</sup> New Democratic Party of Canada, *Jack Layton: Getting Results for People*, (New Democratic Party of Canada, 2006). 11, 13, 38.



promise to avoid any new taxes throughout the mandate.<sup>43</sup> These promises were supplemented with the Conservative policy centrepiece of a reduction in the Goods and Services Tax, which would affect all Canadians, including seniors.<sup>44</sup> Similar to their approach to home care and long-term care, the Liberals touted their previous successes with reference to pensions, but promised to continue this work and to work with provinces and territories to create an employment climate where Canadians could work past the age of 65.<sup>45</sup> Prime Minister Paul Martin did not provide a direct response to the Conservatives' GST cut, except to note that actions his Party had taken in 2005 were more progressive.<sup>46</sup> The NDP was extensive in their retirement saving policy proposals through the protection of pensions with a new benefits insurance system, the implementation of an annual review of seniors' needs, the tightening of rules preventing underfunding of private pension plans, and the expansion of the CPP to recognize the contributions of caregivers.<sup>47</sup> The New Democrats refuted the Conservatives' tax cut by highlighting the growing threat to medicare: leader Jack Layton argued that all Canadians should need is their health card, not their credit card.<sup>48</sup> In sum, all three political parties promised help to seniors through their pension and retirement savings.

In this election, it would seem that the valence issues of health care and retirement savings did not drastically affect the outcome. Table 5 illustrates the lack of support

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<sup>43</sup> Conservative Party of Canada, *Stand Up*, 32.

<sup>44</sup> Ellis & Woolstencroft, "Change of Government," 76.

<sup>45</sup> Liberal Party of Canada, *Canada's Success*, 18-19.

<sup>46</sup> Stephen Clarkson, "How the Big Red Machine Became the Little Red Machine," *The Canadian Federal Election of 2006*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 33.

<sup>47</sup> NDP, *Getting Results*, 37-38.

<sup>48</sup> Alan Whitehorn, "The NDP and the Enigma of Strategic Voting," *The Canadian Federal Election of 2006*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 111.

garnered by political parties with extensive promises related to home care and long-term care. In this election, political parties' who appealed to seniors' concerns

**Table 5. Comparison of Platform Promises and Election Results, 2006**

Political Party	Conservative Party of Canada	Liberal Party of Canada	New Democratic Party of Canada
Platform Promises on Long-Term Care and Home Care	None	-National Pharmaceuticals Strategy	-Immediate and long-term increase in long-term care units -Romanow recommendations -Seniors' Charter
Platform Promises on Pensions and Retirement Savings	-Support for CPP, OAS, and GIS -Pledge of no new taxes throughout mandate -Raise amount of income tax eligible for credit from \$1000 to \$2000 in 2006, and \$2500 in five years -Overall reduction in sales tax	-Continue previous commitments to CPP and GIS -Create climate for Canadians to work past 65	-Implement a Benefits Insurance Program -Initiate an annual review of seniors' needs -Tighten rules regulating the underfunding of private pension plans -Amend the CPP formula to reflect caregiver careers -Abandon appeal of Supreme Court decision extending CPP survivor benefits for same-sex couples
Percentage of Seats Won <sup>49</sup>	40.26	33.44	9.4

regarding long-term care and health did not ultimately win. However, the

Conservative pledge to reduce the GST and the Liberal and NDP's lack of similar cuts

<sup>49</sup> "Appendix A: Results of the 39th Federal Election by Percentage of Votes and Number of Seats Each Party Received," *The Canadian Federal Election of 2006*, eds. Jon. H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 328.

speak to a so-called ‘position’ issue (see: Davidson) in this election that may, in part, explain seniors’ voting behaviour.

*b. The 2008 Election*

In 2008, the Conservatives were re-elected with yet another minority government, and again did not mention home care or long-term care in their platform.<sup>50</sup> The platform reflected a broader strategy on behalf of the Party to celebrate their record while committing little to new spending: a mere \$50 million of new money was allotted for health and fitness, generally.<sup>51</sup> Unlike the previous election, the Liberal Party also did not make a single promise with reference to long-term care or home care.<sup>52</sup> Their Party struggled throughout the campaign to ward off the attack Stéphane Dion, was Again, the NDP prioritized home care in their platform, writing, “we will expand home care so seniors and people with disabilities can live in dignity in their own homes,” and promising 100 000 more Canadian families access to home care.<sup>53</sup> The NDP attempted to frame the question of this debate outside of management of the economy, to include trustworthy leaders and protection of

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<sup>50</sup> Conservative Party of Canada, *The True North Strong and Free: Stephen Harper’s Plan for Canadians*, (Conservative Party of Canada, 2008), <http://wcel.org/sites/default/files/2008-conservative-platform-e.pdf>.

<sup>51</sup> Faron Ellis & Peter Woolstencroft, “Stephen Harper and the Conservatives Campaign on Their Record,” *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 42-43.

<sup>52</sup> Liberal Party of Canada, *Richer, Fairer, Greener: An Action Plan for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (Liberal Party of Canada, 2008), <https://www.scribd.com/document/6308750/Liberal-Party-of-Canada-2008-English-Platform>.

<sup>53</sup> New Democratic Party of Canada, *Jack Layton and the New Democrats: A Prime Minister on your family’s side, for a change*, (New Democratic Party of Canada, 2008), [https://www.poltext.org/sites/poltext.org/files/plateformes/can2008ndp\\_plt\\_eng\\_14112008\\_160417.pdf](https://www.poltext.org/sites/poltext.org/files/plateformes/can2008ndp_plt_eng_14112008_160417.pdf), 21-22.

families.<sup>54</sup> Here again, it would seem that long-term care and home care played little role in the electoral results and general political discourse.

The conversation surrounding retirement savings and pensions was also negligent in the 2008 election. The Conservative Party did not once refer to the CPP or pensions in their platform.<sup>55</sup> The Liberal Party offered support for low-income seniors through increases to the GIS.<sup>56</sup> The NDP highlighted workers' pensions and Quebec's role in managing the QPP, and pledged to make the federal disability tax credit fully accessible to all CPP disability pensioners.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the NDP reiterated their promise from 2006 to create the Canadian Pension Benefits Insurance Fund to ensure that workers receive their private pensions even if the employer were to go out of business.<sup>58</sup> While all three political parties referenced income security in seniors in some way, this valence issue was not a deciding factor in the 2008 election.

Table 6 compares the election results with each party's stance on long-term care and home care. Again, home care and long-term care were not the valence issues of the day when it came to the 2008 election. Furthermore, income security among seniors played a role in the overall discourse, but was, by no means, a principal factor in determining the outcome of the vote. Leadership of the assorted political parties, especially with reference to Stéphane Dion of the Liberals, impacted this election greatly.

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<sup>54</sup> Lynda Erickson & David Laycock, "Modernization, Incremental Progress, and the Challenge of Relevance: the NDP's 2008 Campaign" *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 114.

<sup>55</sup> Conservative Party of Canada, *True North*.

<sup>56</sup> Liberal Party of Canada, *Richer, Fairer, Greener*, 39.

<sup>57</sup> New Democratic Party of Canada, *Jack Layton*, 10, 40, 42.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

**Table 6. Comparison of Platform Promises and Election Results, 2008**

Political Party	Conservative Party of Canada	Liberal Party of Canada	New Democratic Party of Canada
Platform Promises on Long-Term Care and Home Care	None	None	-Expand home care to reflect Romanow report -Access to home care for 100 000 families
Platform Promises on Pensions and Retirement Savings	-Senior Age Credit Amount increase by \$1000 -Fairness for seniors collecting USA Social Security	-Increase GIS by \$600 per year, \$800 per year for low income couples	-Create the Canadian Pension Benefits Insurance Fund -Ensure access to federal disability tax credit for all CPP disability pensioners
Percentage of Seats Won <sup>59</sup>	46.43	25	12.01

*c. The 2011 Election*

In the 2011 election, Prime Minister Harper's Conservatives finally broke through the fog and formed a majority government in Ottawa. This vote also reduced the Liberal Party to third-party status in the House of Commons. However, as the trend of election wins continued for the Conservatives, so did their omission of any reference in their platform to long-term care and home care.<sup>60</sup> The lone series of references to senior health is embedded in a promise not to cut health transfer payments to the provinces and to "continue investing in priorities" due to the

<sup>59</sup> "Appendix A: Results of the 40th Federal Election by Percentage of Votes and Number of Seats Each Party Received," *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 314.

<sup>60</sup> Conservative Party of Canada, *Here For Canada: Stephen Harper's Low-Tax Plan for Jobs and Economic Growth*, (Conservative Party of Canada, 2011), [https://www.poltext.org/sites/poltext.org/files/plateformes/can2011pc\\_plt\\_en\\_12072011\\_114959.pdf](https://www.poltext.org/sites/poltext.org/files/plateformes/can2011pc_plt_en_12072011_114959.pdf).

comprehensive Strategic and Operating Review.<sup>61</sup> Under the Harper regime, the lack of “signature” policy in election campaigns was evident in through the platform and its emphasis on macro themes related to fiscal responsibility and low taxes.<sup>62</sup> One particular tax credit, however, would affect the home care conversation: the Conservatives did offer \$2000 per year in a tax credit for those persons choosing to forego working in order to care for their infirm relatives.<sup>63</sup> The Liberal Party platform listed home care as a “priority” in conversation surrounding health care, and offered the Family Care Employment Insurance Benefit which would provide funding for family members to take up to six months off of work to care for a gravely ill relative.<sup>64</sup> This platform reflected the Party’s overall move to the left, which resulted in little difference between NDP and Liberal policy.<sup>65</sup> The New Democrats, as is the trend, offered the most extensive list of support for long-term care and home care: supplement the *Home Retrofit Program* and the *Home Adaption for Seniors’ Independence Program* (HASIP) to help renovate seniors’ homes to be more accessible; initiate the *Inter-generational Home Forgivable Loan Program* to cover retrofitting costs up to \$35 000; establish a new transfer payment to provinces, ensuring a basic level of home care for all Canadians; and to establish a new transfer payment to provinces to increase the number of quality long-term care spaces

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>62</sup> Faron Ellis & Peter Woolstencroft, “The Conservative Campaign: Becoming the New Natural Governing Party?” *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press: 2011), 31.

<sup>63</sup> Conservative Party of Canada, *Here For Canada*, 28.

<sup>64</sup> Liberal Party of Canada, *Your Family, Your Future, Your Canada*, (Liberal Party of Canada, 2011), [http://www.liberal.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/liberal\\_platform.pdf](http://www.liberal.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/liberal_platform.pdf), 29-30.

<sup>65</sup> Brooke Jeffrey, “The Disappearing Liberals: Caught in the Crossfire,” *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2011), 65.

available.<sup>66</sup> Positioned as only slightly left-of-centre, the New Democrats offered a list of reasonable alternatives to the Conservative plan, and therefore were considered the most likely alternative to Prime Minister Harper.<sup>67</sup>

When speaking to retirement savings and income security, all three political parties offered ideas for seniors. The Conservatives were least specific: they touted their previous action to allow senior couples to split their pension incomes for tax purposes and increased the amount of GIS seniors could receive before losing benefits.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the Harperites promised a “top-up” of the GIS in the amount of \$600 for single seniors and \$840 for couples and doubled the amount all Canadians could save through the Tax-Free Savings Accounts (TFSA).<sup>69</sup> The Liberals were extensive in their policies: a gradual increase in the CPP, a voluntary supplement to the CPP (Secure Retirement Option, or SRO), enhancement of the GIS, and protection for seniors if private businesses go bankrupt.<sup>70</sup> Following the discussion above, the NDP plans on retirement savings were only slightly different from the Liberals’: double the C/QPP; add voluntary contributions to the government pension accounts; increase the GIS to lift every senior out of poverty; and tighten the legislation surround businesses that go bankrupt.<sup>71</sup>

In sum, seniors’ concerns seem to be emerging in the 2011 election. Table 7 compares the platform promises of each political party. All three parties recognized

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<sup>66</sup> New Democratic Party of Canada, *Giving Your Family a Break: Practical First Steps*, (New Democratic Party of Canada, 2011), <http://xfer.ndp.ca/2011/2011-Platform/NDP-2011-Platform-En.pdf>, 6, 11.

<sup>67</sup> David McGrane, “Political Marketing and the NDP’s Historic Breakthrough,” *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press: 2011), 82-83.

<sup>68</sup> Conservative Party of Canada, *Here For Canada*, 28.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, 28-29.

<sup>70</sup> Liberal Party of Canada, *Your Family*, 32.

<sup>71</sup> New Democratic Party of Canada, *Giving Your Family*, 5.

**Table 7. Comparison of Platform Promises and Election Results, 2011**

Political Party	Conservative Party of Canada	Liberal Party of Canada	New Democratic Party of Canada
Platform Promises on Long-Term Care and Home Care	-Family Caregiver Tax Credit	-Home care listed as a “priority” -Family Care Employment Insurance Benefit to cover cost of family home care	- <i>Home Retrofit Program</i> and <i>Home Adaption for Seniors’ Independence Program</i> - <i>Inter-generational Home Forgivable Loan Program</i> -New transfer payments for long-term care and home care
Platform Promises on Pensions and Retirement Savings	-Previous action -‘Top-up’ of GIS: \$600 for singles, \$840 for couples -Maximum of TFSAs up to \$10 000	-Increase in CPP -Secure Retirement Option: voluntary supplement to CPP -Enhancement of GIS -Protection for seniors with private pension plans	-Double the C/QPP -Add voluntary contribution to government pensions -Expand GIS to lift every senior out of poverty -Tighten legislation to protect seniors when businesses go bankrupt
Percentage of Seats Won <sup>72</sup>	53.90	11.04	33.44

the need for pension reform, and highlighted their assorted ideas for saving. As has been the case in elections previous, the NDP were most extensive in their support for long-term care and home care. Tax savings and management of the economy were two of the key talking points in the 2011 election, perhaps pointing towards the emergence of seniors’ concerns as primary to election discourses.

<sup>72</sup> “Appendix A: The Results in Summary,” *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2011), 332.



*d. The 2015 Election*

The 2015 election was the first in nine years to witness a party other than Stephen Harper's Conservatives in office. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his 'sunny ways' took parliament by storm, making gains across the country to secure a stunning majority government. Contrarily, the NDP were reduced, again, to third-party status, erasing many of the gains they had made in the 2011 election.

By and large, home care and long-term care were decidedly on the radar of politicians in 2015. The Conservative Party labeled one chapter in its election platform as "Our Conservative Plan for Hard-Working Families and Seniors," yet did not back this claim with extensive promises with reference to home care and long-term care.<sup>73</sup> The only reference to health care for the elderly is through a promise to continue funding research in palliative care.<sup>74</sup> Noting that the chapters of this platform were listed in order of prominence to the Party, the Conservatives settled on the economy as their valence issue, and spent little time discussing other matters.<sup>75</sup> The Liberal Party, newly reinvigorated under the most recent Trudeau, promised the following: to prioritize investments in affordable care and seniors' facilities; to invest \$3 billion over the next four years in home care; and to work with provinces to develop a new health accord.<sup>76</sup> Jeffrey labels the Liberal platform in the 2015 election as "progressive but credible," which, when juxtaposed with the NDP

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<sup>73</sup> Conservative Party of Canada, *Protect Our Economy: Our Conservative Plan to Protect the Economy*, (Conservative Party of Canada, 2015),

<http://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/2454398/conservative-platform-2015.pdf>, 7.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, 135.

<sup>75</sup> Faron Ellis, "Stephen Harper and the 2015 Conservative Campaign: Defeated but Not Devastated," *The Canadian Federal Election of 2015*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016), 39.

<sup>76</sup> Liberal Party of Canada, *Real Change: A New Plan for a Strong Middle Class*, (Liberal Party of Canada, 2015), <https://www.liberal.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/New-plan-for-a-strong-middle-class.pdf>, 7-9.

option, offered Canadians a slightly left-of-centre alternative to the then-sitting Prime Minister.<sup>77</sup> As in previous elections, the NDP offered specific ideas for long-term care and home care: expand home care to 41 000 more seniors; provide funding for 5000 more nursing home beds; negotiate a new health accord; and implement a “National Strategy on Aging”.<sup>78</sup> Though their platform included details with reference to home care, the NDP lost the battle to act as the viable alternative to the Conservatives, to the Liberals, and thus, their ideas rang hollow.<sup>79</sup>

The pension debate in the 2015 election was the most detailed of the four votes this paper has chronicled. The Conservative platform reiterated its stance on TFSAs, but also promised to give seniors greater flexibility through lowering the minimum withdrawal requirements for Registered Retirement Income Funds, and through consulting with Canadians on the future of their voluntary retirement savings plans.<sup>80</sup> The Liberals promised to continue the Conservative policy of allowing senior couples to split their income for tax purposes.<sup>81</sup> A key component of the Liberal platform was lowering the age of eligibility for OAS and the GIS back to 65, and added to this restoration with an increase of ten percent to the GIS, giving approximately one million vulnerable Canadians, often women, almost \$1000 per year.<sup>82</sup> Finally, the Liberals also promised to link OAS and GIS increases to a new

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<sup>77</sup> Brooke Jeffrey, “Back to the Future: The Resurgent Liberals,” *The Canadian Federal Election of 2015*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016), 77.

<sup>78</sup> New Democratic Party of Canada, *Building the country of our dreams: Tom Mulcair’s plan to bring change to Ottawa*, (New Democratic Party of Canada, 2015), <http://xfer.ndp.ca/2015/2015-Full-Platform-EN.pdf>, iv, 1-2, 4.

<sup>79</sup> David McGrane, “From Third to First and Back to Third: The 2015 NDP Campaign,” *The Canadian Federal Election of 2015*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016), 86.

<sup>80</sup> Conservative Party of Canada, *Protect Our Economy*, 63-64.

<sup>81</sup> Liberal Party of Canada, *Real Change*, 7.

<sup>82</sup> Liberal Party of Canada, *Real Change*, 7.

“Seniors Price Index” to ensure the income supplements would reflect growing costs.<sup>83</sup> The NDP’s plan for seniors’ income security was as follows: lowering the age of eligibility for OAS and GIS to 65, increasing both the C/QPP and GIS, tightening bankruptcy rules; roll back increase in TFSA maximum, and end income splitting, while “protecting seniors’ ability to split their pension income.”<sup>84</sup> In sum, each political party contributed to the discussion on pension and income security for seniors.

The 2015 election marks a significant change in discourse from the 2006 analysis in section III.A. Table 8 compares each of the parties’ election promises to their overall seat distribution in the newly enlarged House of Commons (308 seats to 338). All three political parties recognize the value of income security to the election discourse, and with the weight of the baby boom population scheduled to tip the demographic scales in favour of the elderly, this trend is likely to continue. Only the Conservative Party did not reference home care or long-term care in their electoral platform.

#### IV. Results and Limitations

The research question for this paper asked: how have the valence issues related to seniors, long-term/home care and income security in retirement, impacted Canadian federal elections since 2006? This paper has attempted to chronicle the development of these issues in the platforms of the three major political parties in Canada: the Conservative Party of Canada, the Liberal Party of Canada, and the New Democratic Party of Canada. The hypothesis that the elections of 2006 and 2008

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> New Democratic Party of Canada, *Building the country*, 10, 29.

**Table 8. Comparison of Platform Promises and Election Results, 2015**

Political Parties	Conservative Party of Canada	Liberal Party of Canada	New Democratic Party of Canada
Platform Promises on Long-Term Care and Home Care	-Continued funding of palliative care research	-Investments in affordable housing and seniors' facilities -\$3 billion allotted for home care over four years -New health accord with provinces	-Home care for 41 000 more seniors -5000 new nursing home beds -New health accord with provinces -National Strategy on Aging
Platform Promises on pensions and retirement savings	-Protect TFSA increase -Lower minimum withdrawal requirement on Registered Retirement Income Funds -Consult with Canadians on future of voluntary retirement savings	-Continue income splitting for senior couples -Decrease age of eligibility for OAS and GIS to 65 -Increase GIS by 10% -Link OAS and GIS increases to new Seniors Price Index	-Lower age of eligibility for OAS and GIS -Raise both C/QPP and GIS -Tighten bankruptcy rules -Roll back increase in TFSA maximum -End income splitting, while maintain protection for seniors
Percentage of seats won <sup>85</sup>	29.29	54.44	13.02

would see the least attention paid to these seniors' valence issues was confirmed to a degree. In 2006 and in 2008 neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals truly had a strategy for long-term care and home care. The NDP has consistently raised concerns on this matter, but did not prevail in dramatically increasing their percentage of seats in the House of Commons until 2011. In the latter two elections, both the Liberal and NDP parties spoke to these concerns, affirming the hypothesis in part. However, pension and income security have permeated political platforms

<sup>85</sup> "Appendix A: The Results in Summary," *The Canadian Federal Election of 2015*, eds. Jon H. Pammett & Christopher Dornan, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016), 381.

for the entirety of the last eleven years. In each election, parties put forward ideas on how Canadians could save more for their retirement, and often suggested increasing the OAS and GIS to aid those elderly without sufficient financial means. The results point to retirement income as a valence concern unrelated to the incoming demographic imbalance: Canadians care about saving for retirement generally.

The limitations of this study are worth noting. First and foremost, to pick a singular valence issue that shapes a political election is unrealistic, and was not the intent of this paper. Instead, two particular issues were examined, to compare parties' perspectives on matter most important to Canadians. Second, this study does not include all pertinent political parties to the Canadian federal scene: the Bloc Quebecois and the Green Party of Canada were both omitted. Finally, as a primary point of analysis, this report studied the published platforms of each major political party. An alternative to this would be an examination of debates, speeches, and the results of surveys and polls throughout the campaigns. This opportunity for further research would examine the two valence issues of this paper through their use in political discourse. As a final opportunity for continued research on this topic, valence issues, such as the management of the economy and national defence, may be more pertinent in deciding the outcome of a given election. Long-term care, home care, retirement savings, and income security are not the only political factors pertinent to the elderly vote.

V. Conclusion

In sum, the voting power of seniors is not to be ignored in future Canadian elections. While, indeed, seniors are diverse in their political allegiances, the sheer number of potential votes to be accumulated through pandering to valence and position concerns of these voters is not to be denied. Two key valence concerns were noted in this report: long-term/home care and retirement savings/income security. While the discourse surrounding home care has increased in the most recent elections, not all political parties have recognized the role of policies related to this topic. Retirement savings and income security, however, have been and will continue to be valence issues for elections to come.

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