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LOOKING BACKWARD, LOOKING FORWARD: PART 2

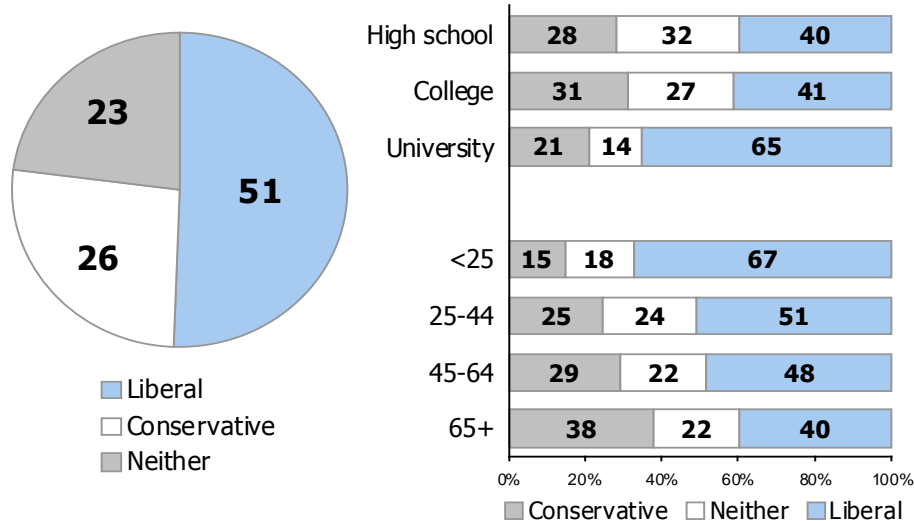
FORCE TWO: FROM THE GREENING TO THE GREYING OF NORTH AMERICA: THE NEW GERONTOCRACY AND WHY IT COULDN'T BE MORE POORLY TIMED

[Ottawa – January 2, 2013] Canadian society has never been older. The more apocalyptic grey tsunami scenarios are no doubt exaggerated as we can see in successful Scandinavian societies which are faring very well despite the 'pig-and-python' demographic. Yet there is something disturbing about the new generational fault lines in Canada.

These problems are expressed clearly in both the economy and even more vividly the political realm. Youth unemployment is extremely high, the notion that post secondary human capital is worth the ever mounting debt associated with it is weakening and the new gen Y and millennial entrants find a labour market cluttered at the far end with the stubbornly entrenched boomers who have seen 'freedom 55' morph into freedom 75 and beyond.

Figure 2.1: Political ideology

Q. Do you consider yourself a small "c" conservative or a small "l" liberal?



Note: Figures adjusted to exclude those who did not provide valid responses.
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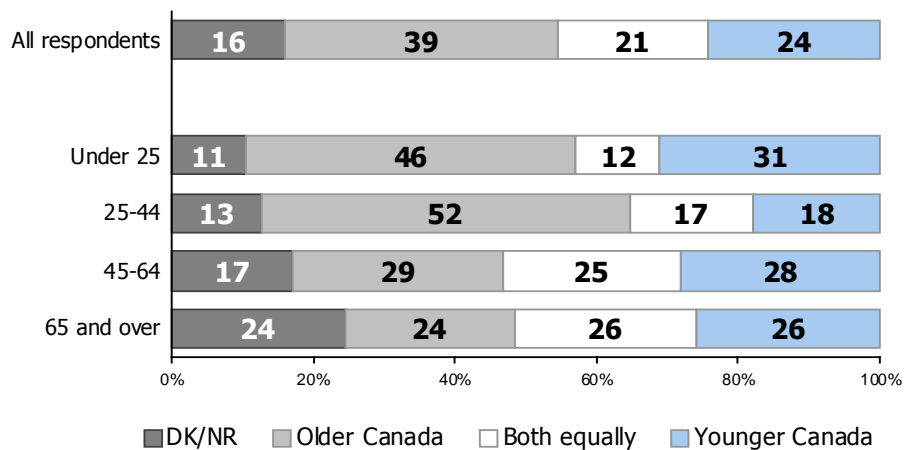
BASE: Canadians; November 20-28, 2012 (n=1,181)

Moreover, younger Canada is dramatically different from older Canada. It is much more ethnically diverse; it grew up digitally and has different attitudes to community, privacy and authority. It is also much more secular and better educated than previous generations. We also now see a widening gap emerging on core values as the socially conservative values still powerful in older Canada have little relevance to younger Canada (see Figure 2.1).

All of these differences place young and old Canada in a state of often contradictory values and economic interests (noting large areas of coincidental values and interests as well). The tensions may be no greater than the enflamed tensions of the sixties and early seventies but one does not get the sense that the dramatic reforms to racial discrimination and civil rights, women's equality, and the end of the cold war which resulted from that period of conflict are on the horizon for this generation. Couple this with an unusually grim outlook on the economic future and we can see the ingredients of a major problem for an aging society that desperately needs the innovation and dynamism of its younger cohort to fend off the daunting economic challenges we face.

Figure 2-2: Perceived treatment of older vs younger Canada

Q. About half of Canada's population, younger Canada, is under the age of 42, while the other half, older Canada, is over 42. Do you think the Government of Canada focuses more on the values and interests of younger Canada or older Canada?



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BASE: Canadians; February 21-28, 2012 (n=3,699)

When we look to the realm of politics in Canada, the picture grows darker still. Simple political arithmetic can make some of the point. Twenty years ago, younger and older voters were roughly similarly sized portions of the electorate (13 and 15 per cent, respectively). Today, older voters are relatively fifty percent larger share of the overall electorate (12 versus 19 per cent).¹

As the older cohort grew relative to younger voters, the young vote started to tune out. In the 1990s, voting rates among youth plummeted approximately 15 percentage points while seniors' voting rates remained steady.² Today, seniors out-perform youth on Election Day by a margin of

¹ Figures derived from Statistics Canada CANSIM table #051-001, accessible online at: <http://goo.gl/F2zzU>

² Source: Barnes, Andre, "Youth Voter Turnout in Canada: 1. Trends and Issues", Library of Parliament publication #2010-19-E, April 2010. Accessible online at: <http://goo.gl/gYVMJ>

nearly two-to-one.³ Effectively, a younger voter has about one-third to one-quarter the impact today that they did twenty years ago.

Throwing one final ingredient into the mixture we note that while the senior vote tended to be fairly evenly split across Liberal and Conservative options in the past it now shows dramatic convergence around the Conservatives. Putting these three factors together goes a long way to explaining why a federal government which champions values of security, safety, respect for authority, family values etc. has been so successful.

From the vantage point of political calculus, it makes great sense to consolidate a vote around emotionally resonant policies and communications which will appeal to a group that will vote en masse for you. By corollary, it makes sense to discourage the participation of younger voters (who won't vote for you if they were to show up) through negative advertising and policy positions that are of little or reverse interests to younger voters. The net result, however, is a gerontocracy which reflects the exaggerated and imagined fears of older Canada precisely at the time when we urgently need the more optimistic and innovative outlooks of the relatively scarcer younger portion of our society. So good politics becomes highly suspect as a tool for meeting the severe challenges of the twenty first century.

This growing disjuncture between the public interest and what works in the realm of the political marketplace is a stern challenge and the mounting generational tensions in our society are just one particularly unwelcome expression of this.

³ Source: Elections Canada, "*Estimation of Voter Turnout by Age Group*", 2004-2011. Accessible online at: <http://goo.gl/7SxUb>



Detailed Tables

Political Ideology						
<i>Q. Forgetting about your current party choice, do you consider yourself a small "l" liberal or a small "c" conservative? Note: This question refers to overall political beliefs or ideology, not support for political parties</i>						
	Liberal (1-3)	Neither (4)	Conservative (5-7)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	48%	22%	25%	6%	1181	2.9
REGION						
British Columbia	56%	16%	24%	4%	141	8.3
Alberta	45%	16%	35%	5%	125	8.8
Saskatchewan	56%	11%	31%	3%	35	16.6
Manitoba	36%	26%	28%	10%	41	15.3
Ontario	49%	17%	29%	6%	509	4.3
Quebec	47%	37%	13%	4%	218	6.6
Atlantic Canada	41%	19%	29%	11%	106	9.5
GENDER						
Male	47%	21%	29%	4%	688	3.7
Female	49%	23%	21%	7%	493	4.4
AGE						
<25	65%	18%	14%	4%	73	11.5
25-44	48%	23%	23%	7%	387	5.0
45-64	46%	21%	28%	5%	501	4.4
65+	39%	22%	37%	3%	179	7.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	36%	29%	26%	9%	309	5.6
College or CEGEP	39%	26%	30%	6%	429	4.7
University or higher	63%	13%	21%	3%	443	4.7
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Conservative Party	10%	14%	73%	3%	334	5.4
NDP	71%	20%	6%	4%	313	5.5
Liberal Party	77%	13%	7%	4%	250	6.2
Green Party	62%	24%	10%	3%	70	11.7
Bloc Quebecois	34%	52%	13%	1%	49	14.0
Other	10%	48%	32%	10%	16	24.5



Perceived Treatment of Older versus Younger Canada

Q. About half of Canada's population, younger Canada, is under the age of 42, while the other half, older Canada, is over 42. Do you think the Government of Canada focuses more on the values and interests of younger Canada or older Canada?

	Those under the age of 42	Those 42 and over	Both are treated equally	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	24%	39%	21%	16%	3699	1.6
REGION						
British Columbia	20%	40%	20%	20%	678	3.8
Alberta	24%	39%	21%	16%	461	4.6
Saskatchewan/Manitoba	30%	34%	19%	17%	229	6.5
Ontario	27%	38%	21%	13%	821	3.4
Quebec	20%	41%	22%	17%	960	3.2
Atlantic Canada	30%	35%	16%	19%	550	4.2
GENDER						
Male	22%	41%	23%	13%	1750	2.3
Female	26%	36%	19%	18%	1949	2.2
AGE						
<25	31%	46%	12%	11%	207	6.8
25-44	18%	52%	17%	13%	932	3.2
45-64	28%	29%	25%	17%	1464	2.6
65+	26%	24%	26%	24%	1096	3.0
EDUCATION						
High school or less	29%	31%	20%	19%	1188	2.8
College or CEGEP	26%	37%	21%	16%	1253	2.8
University or higher	18%	47%	22%	13%	1258	2.8
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Conservative Party of Canada	26%	31%	29%	14%	1069	3.0
Liberal Party of Canada	21%	49%	18%	12%	694	3.7
NDP	25%	42%	17%	16%	916	3.2
Green Party	21%	50%	17%	12%	220	6.6
Bloc Quebecois	23%	43%	16%	18%	196	7.0
Other	34%	33%	20%	13%	94	10.1
Undecided	21%	30%	20%	29%	432	4.7

Methodology

This series draws on data collected from **four separate surveys**. Two of these surveys used Interactive Voice Response (IVR) technology, which allows respondents to enter their preferences by punching the keypad on their phone, rather than telling them to an operator.

In an effort to reduce the coverage bias of landline only RDD, we created a dual landline/cell phone RDD sampling frame for this research. As a result, we are able to reach those with a landline and cell phone, as well as cell phone only households and landline only households. This dual frame yields a near perfect unweighted distribution on age group and gender, something almost never seen with traditional landline RDD sample or interviewer-administered surveys. This methodology is not to be confused with the increasing proliferation of non-probability opt-in online panels which have recently been incorrectly reported in major national media with inappropriate margin of error estimates.

The field dates for the **first survey** are February 21-28, 2012. In total, a random sample of 3,699 Canadians aged 18 and over responded to the survey. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/-1.6 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

The field dates for the **second survey** are November 20 – December 3, 2012. In total, a random sample of 5,433 Canadians aged 18 and over responded to the survey (including a sub-sample of 4,548 decided and leaning voters). The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/-1.3 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

The two remaining surveys were conducted exclusively online using EKOS' unique, hybrid online/telephone research panel, *Probit*. Our panel offers exhaustive coverage of the Canadian population (i.e., Internet, phone, cell phone), random recruitment (in other words, participants are recruited randomly, they do not opt themselves into our panel), and equal probability sampling. All respondents to our panel are recruited by telephone using random digit dialling and are confirmed by live interviewers. Unlike opt-in online panels, *Probit* supports margin of error estimates. We believe this to be the only probability-based online panel in Canada.

The field dates for the **third survey** are December 14-21, 2011. In total, 2,005 Canadians aged 18 and over responded to the survey. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/-2.2 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

The field dates for the **fourth survey** are November 20-29, 2012. In total, 1,181 Canadians aged 18 and over responded to the survey. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/-2.9 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

Please note that the margin of error increases when the results are sub-divided (i.e., error margins for sub-groups such as region, sex, age, education). All the data have been statistically weighted to ensure the samples composition reflects that of the actual population of Canada according to Census data.