PARTICIPATION OF OLDER PERSONS IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE

Alexandre Sidorenko
Plan of Presentation

1. Introduction. Political orientation and political participation of older persons
2. Organizations of (with) older persons: Civil society organizations; NGOs; Labour Unions; Political parties
3. Participation in decision making: Coordinating bodies; Consultative bodies
4. Political and public participation in the international policy frameworks on ageing
5. Political and public participation in national policy actions on ageing (instrumental review)
6. Conclusion

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1. Political Orientation and Political Participation of Older Persons

**Political orientation:**
- the content, intensity, and stability of the *attachments* individuals have to political objects.

**Political participation:**
- the ways in which individuals *attempt to influence* or *take part* in governmental activity.
1. Political Orientation and Political Participation of Older Persons

Political Orientation

Older persons are more notable for their similarities to other age groups than their differences. I.e., chronological age and life-course are less important in defining political orientation than effects associated with birth cohorts and historical periods.
1. Political Orientation and Political Participation of Older Persons

Political Participation
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Political Participation can be of different scale:

Citizen control

Manipulation of public consciousness

Political participation can take different forms:

- direct;
- representational, by selecting representatives from membership-based groups and associations;
- political, by electing representatives;
- information-based, with data aggregated and reported directly or through intermediaries to local and national decision makers.

- Virtual Social Movement Networks

Means of political participation of older persons:

- Organizations of (with) older persons
  - (institutionalized participation)
  - Civil society organizations – NGOs
  - Labour Unions
  - Political parties

- Political influence of older persons (non-institutionalized participation)
  - Voting
  - Campaigning
  - Protesting

- Participation in decision making
  - (institutionalized & non-institutionalized participation)
  - Coordinating bodies
  - Consultative bodies
  - Ad hoc consultations
Organizations of older persons provide an important means of enabling participation through advocacy and promotion of multigenerational interactions, particularly for older women, who as individuals often remain voiceless. Furthermore, these groups can help to harness the political influence of older persons and ensure that they can effectively participate in decision-making processes at all levels of government.

(Peggy Kelly, UNDESA 2007)
Civil society organizations – Non-Governmental Organizations

2. Organizations of (with) older persons: Civil society organizations

AARP, USA
Formerly the American Association of Retired Persons, is a United States-based non-governmental organization and interest group, founded in 1958. “...a nonprofit, nonpartisan membership organization for people age 50 and over ... dedicated to enhancing quality of life for all as we age,” which "provides a wide range of unique benefits, special products, and services for our members.” 40 million members

PRO, Sweeden
The Swedish National Pensioners’ Organization (Swedish: Pensionärernas riksorganisation, PRO): advocacy group representing pensioners. 400 000 members (2012)

HelpAge India. Set up in 1978, and since then have been raising resources to protect the rights of India's elderly and provide relief to them through various interventions.
2. Organizations of (with) older persons: Civil society organizations

Civil society organizations – Non-Governmental Organizations

**National**

**CooperAcción, Peru**

**Provida, Columbia**

**Age-in-Action, South Africa**
Founded in 1956 as "The South African Council for the Aged" Represents more than 2.7 million older people. It also has over 800 NGO's as members who provide vital services to more than 150 000 older persons in need of care. **Mission**: to protect and promote the interests and well-being of all elderly persons.
2. Organizations of (with) older persons: Civil society organizations

Civil society organizations – Non-Governmental Organizations

International

- HelpAge International
- International Federation on Ageing
- Fédération Internationale des Associations de Personnes Agées
- International Association of Gerontology and Geriatrics
- The European Federation of Older People
- International Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse
Labour Unions provide for older persons:

- an important source of representation
- information
- advocacy
- resources
- activities and
- support.

Exert considerable influence in economic and social policymaking.
There are several reasons for the labour unions to keep retirees as members:

- The union’s strength in bargaining process depends on the number of union’s members
- Older members may be of help during the industrial conflict as volunteers and supporters (older persons cannot be fired)
- Older members can help in gaining new members

Martin Kohli in: Grey Power?... FIAPA, 2002
Labour Unions: the special case of FERPA

EUROPEAN FEDERATION OF RETIRED AND OLDER PERSONS = RETIRED PEOPLES’ TRADE UNION

FERPA is a member of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC). It was founded in 1993 by pensioners who wanted to carry on their trade union struggle for a fairer, more democratic, more civic-minded and inclusive society with young people and active workers. FERPA’s 10 million-strong membership makes it the most representative pensioners union in Europe today. It coordinates its policy with that of the ETUC, especially on social security and social protection, with a particular focus on pensions, health care, and action against social exclusion and poverty, which affect more than 50 million of Europe’s citizens, over 16 million of them older people, many of whom are older women living alone.
Two tendencies in party politics in contemporary Europe:

- The ‘greying’ of “traditional” political parties
- Emergence of new parties of pensioners and retirees (“grey interest parties”)

The ‘greying’ of “traditional” political parties:

- older age cohorts can find themselves in the majority, significantly affecting the way such parties understand, prioritize and respond to issues of the day...

(E.g., as with the members of the British Conservative Party during 1990s (Whitely, Syed and Richardson 1994) or the electorate of the Czech Republic’s Communist Party (Hanley 2001))
Emergence of new parties of pensioners and retirees ("grey interest parties")

...Regardless of their vote-getting potential, newly emerging minor parties can serve as a marker for emergence of new issues and an early indicator that (wider) groups of voters may be re-defining and re-negotiating socio-political identities or seeking vehicles for protest.

Herzog, 1987

Moreover, in a number of European states grey interest parties have already enjoyed sufficient electoral success to exercise political leverage. In a certain number of cases, they have entered parliament and even government.
In a number of European states grey interest parties have already enjoyed sufficient electoral success to exercise political leverage. In a small number of cases, they have entered parliament and government. It appears only three countries in Western Europe saw no grey interest parties form: Ireland, Iceland and France.

Success stories of “grey interest parties”
Success stories of “grey interest parties”

**Croatia**  **Croatian Pensioners' Party** (Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika, HSU)
Founded: 1996
Parliamentary elections 2003: 4%, 3 seats (of 151)
Parliamentary elections 2007: 4.1% 1 seat (of 153)

**Italy**  **Pensioners' Party** (Partito Pensionati)
Founded: 1987
2004 European elections: 1.1%, 1 seat in the European Parliament

**Luxembourg**  **Alternative Democratic Reform Party**
Founded: 1987
1989 parliamentary elections: 7.3%, 4 seats (of 60)
1994 parliamentary elections: 9.0%, 5 seats
1999 parliamentary elections: 11.3%, 7 seats
2004 parliamentary elections: 9.9% 5 seats
2009 parliamentary elections: 8.1% 4 seats
## Success stories of "grey interest parties"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Founded</th>
<th>Elections 2007</th>
<th>Seats (of 250)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Russian Federation</td>
<td>Pensioners’ Party (Partiya pensionerov, PP)</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1.95%, 1 deputy elected</td>
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<td>Serbia</td>
<td>Party of United Pensioners of Serbia (Partija ujedinenich pensionera Srbije, PUPS)</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>3.91%, 5 seats (of 250)</td>
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<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>General Elderly Alliance (Algemeen Ouderen Verbond, AOV)</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>3.6%, 6 seats (of 150)</td>
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Success stories of “grey interest parties”

Slovenia  Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia (Demokratična stranka upokojencev Slovenije, DeSUS)

Parliamentary elections 1992: contested as part of United List of Social Democrats (ZLSD), 1 seat
Parliamentary elections 1996: 4.32% 5 seats (of 90)
Parliamentary elections 2000: 5.17%, 4 seats
Parliamentary elections 2004, 4.0%: 4 seats
Parliamentary elections 2008, 7.47%: 7 seats
2000-4 - coalition with Liberal Democrats (LDS), United Social Democrats (ZSLD), and Slovene People’s Party. No ministerial portfolio, deputy speakership of parliament. 2004: coalition with Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS), New Slovenia – Christian People’s Party (NSi), Slovenian People's Party (SLS). One ministerial portfolio (defence)
Will growing political pressures from a group of older people dominate all political processes and influence outcomes in their favour?

Not necessarily:

Where and when an individual grows up matters for political participation in later life. ... Chronological age is only a proxy variable for many other characteristics and does not have a simple social meaning (Jennings and Markus 1988: 308). Thus, older persons is not a homogeneous and consistent group from all possible perspectives, including a political one.
3. Participation in decision making:
Coordinating bodies; Consultative bodies
National Coordinating Bodies on Ageing – with membership of older persons’ organizations –

DO THEY EXIST?
China National Working Commission on Ageing

Established in October 1999.

Members: Departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Ministries; State Commissions; State Administrations offices; All China Federation of Trade Unions, All China Women's Federation, Chinese Communist Youth League, and China National Committee on Ageing.

1. Research on and formulation of strategies and major policies on ageing; coordinating and facilitating the relevant departments to implement the development plans on ageing;
2. Coordinating and facilitating relevant departments to protect the rights and interests of the elderly;
3. Coordinating and facilitating relevant departments to strengthen macro-level guidance and comprehensive management of the work on ageing; promoting various kinds of activities for the physical and psychological wellbeing of the elderly;
4. Guiding monitoring and supervising the work on ageing of the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities;
5. Organizing and coordinating important activities on ageing in China initiated and sponsored by U.N. and the other international organizations.
3. Participation in decision making: **Consultative bodies**

**Austria:** The Federal Senior Citizens Advisory Council  
**Established:** 1998  
Serves as an *institutionalised discussion forum* for the dialogue between political decision makers and the representatives of the senior citizens' organisations on issues specific to senior citizens.

**Tasks:**  
- Making proposals for social, economic, health policy, housing policy and cultural measures in senior citizens' policy  
- Drawing up a long-term senior citizens' plan, including proposals for financing the implementation of the plan  
- Making statements on draft bills and regulations which might affect the interests of senior citizens

**The Austrian Senior Citizens Council**  
**Established:** 2000  
The official representative body of older people. The Senior Citizens Council has the same rights as the legal representative bodies of employees, business people and farmers in all matters which affect older people in Austria.
3. Participation in decision making: **Consultative bodies**

**Cyprus**: The Coordinating Body for Older Persons
Chaired by the Minister of Labour and Social Insurance. Includes representatives of governmental departments; trade unions; NGOs and older persons.

Advisory role on policy issues: social services; health services; and special privileges to facilitate the access of older people to different sites and services.

**The Advisory Board**
Appointed by the Minister of Labour and Social Insurance. Includes representatives of governmental departments, NGOs, local authorities and older persons. The role: to advise the Minister on the implementation and the improvement of legislation related to older persons.

**India**: National Council of Older Persons
25 per cent of its members drawn from the government and 75 per cent comprising academics and retired persons from both rural and urban communities. The Government accepts the Council as a watchdog agency designed to monitor policy on ageing.
3. Participation in decision making: **Consultative bodies**

**Mexico: The National Institute of Older Persons (INAPAM)**
Includes representatives of government: other national stakeholders; older persons.
Role (objectives): promotes human development for older persons through achieving higher level of welfare and quality of life. Strives to provide opportunities for employment and social assistance; and reduce extreme inequalities, including gender.

**Spain: State Council for the Elderly**
A collegiate inter-ministerial body of an advisory and consultative nature in the General State Administration, assigned to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.
Role: institutionalizing the collaboration and participation of older persons in defining, applying and following up on policies on care, social inclusion and quality of life.
Older persons serve as board members of the Council, with 25 of the 60 board members representing confederations, federations or associations for the elderly.
3. Participation in decision making: **Consultative bodies**

**Denmark**: multi-level consultative process involving government, service management, older persons and their relatives

**AgeForum**
Established in 1996 by the Ministry of Social Affairs as an independent consultative body.

**Objective**: monitor and assess the situation of older persons. Assist older persons in organizing their lives. Assist authorities and other stakeholders in designing legislation and services by raising awareness of the heterogeneity of older population as regards various needs.

**A Council on Housing for the Elderly** – a consultative body to the Ministry of Social Affairs on matters concerning housing for older people and persons with disabilities.

**Senior Citizens Councils** – local level bodies formed through *direct election* by the citizens 60+. Local authority *must* consult council on matters of policy on ageing, incl. annual budgets, plans for building dwellings for the elderly, proposals to initiate activities for older people, care programmes, etc.
3. Participation in decision making: **Consultative bodies**

**Complaints Councils** - consist of members elected by and among the members of the Senior Citizens Council, by and among the members of the Local Council, and one member elected by the disabled persons organisations. Evaluates complaints about eligibility assessment and determination of services for personal assistance, and respite care and relief.

**Committees of users and relatives**

*Objective*: promote dialogue and cooperation between the residents, their relatives and the management of care homes and various assisted living accommodation.

Set up by Local Councils.
4. Political and public participation in the international policy frameworks on ageing
“Areas of concern to ageing individuals”:

- Health and Nutrition
- Protection of Elderly Consumers
- Housing and Environment
- Family
- Social Welfare
- Income Security and Employment
- Education
4. Political and public participation in the international policy frameworks on ageing

1. General policy recommendations

31. The following summarized considerations, based on the above remarks, may provide guidelines for the consideration of policies and specific actions:

(j) The principal ways in which older people find personal satisfaction are through [inter alia] participation in community organizations and organizations of older people and participation in the political process as informed citizens.

3. Areas of concern to aging individuals

Recommendation 28
... Older persons should be included in the governmental and other decision-making processes in the political, social, cultural and educational areas among others
IV. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

A. Role of Governments

86. Governments are urged ... to utilize fully the support provided by intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, including retirees' and elderly people's organizations.

91. ... The co-ordination [of national implementation actions] must flow from co-operation between those in positions of responsibility in all sectors and the representatives of pensioners and the aged, in order to ensure the participation of the latter when decisions of direct concern to them are being taken.
7. Older persons should remain integrated in society, participate actively in the formulation and implementation of policies that directly affect their well-being and share their knowledge and skills with younger generations.
The **aim** of the Madrid Plan is “to ensure that persons everywhere are able to age with security and dignity and to continue to participate in their societies as citizens with full rights”.

It is essential to recognize the ability of older persons to contribute to society by taking the lead not only in their own betterment but also in that of society as a whole.
4. Political and public participation in the international policy frameworks on ageing

**POLITICAL DECLARATION**

**Article 5**
We also recognize that persons, as they age, should enjoy a life of fulfilment, health, security and active participation in the economic, social, cultural and political life of their societies.

**Article 12**
The expectations of older persons and the economic needs of society demand that older persons be able to participate in the economic, political, social and cultural life of their societies.

**CENTRAL THEMES OF THE MADRID PLAN OF ACTION**

(c) Empowerment of older persons to fully and effectively participate in the economic, political and social lives of their societies…;

(e) Ensuring the full enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights, and civil and political rights of persons …;
Issue 1: Active participation in society and development

21. Objective 1: Recognition of the social, cultural, economic and political contribution of older persons.

Actions
(c) Provide opportunities, programmes and support to encourage older persons to participate or continue to participate in cultural, economic, political, social life and lifelong learning;

22. Objective 2: Participation of older persons in decision-making processes at all levels.

Actions
(a) Take into account the needs and concerns of older persons in decision-making at all levels;
(b) Encourage, when they do not already exist, the establishment of organizations of older persons at all levels to, *inter alia*, represent older persons in decision-making;
(c) Take measures to enable the full and equal participation of older persons, in particular older women, in decision-making at all levels.
4. Political and public participation in the international policy frameworks on ageing

Can we expect new international consensus documents on ageing?
We, the representatives of the countries gathered in Brasilia, Brazil, from 4 to 6 December 2007 at the Second Regional Intergovernmental Conference on Ageing in Latin America and the Caribbean: towards a society for all ages and rights-based social protection,

26. Pledge to make the necessary consultations with our Governments to promote the drafting of a *convention* on the rights of older persons within the framework of the United Nations;
28. Decides to establish an open-ended working group (...) for the purpose of strengthening the protection of the human rights of older persons by considering the existing international framework of the human rights of older persons and identifying possible gaps and how best to address them, including by considering, as appropriate, the feasibility of further instruments and measures (...);

29. Further decides that the open-ended working group shall:
   (a) Meet at United Nations Headquarters in New York;
   (b) Decide on its calendar and programme of work by consensus at an organizational meeting early in 2011;

30. Invites States and relevant bodies and organizations of the United Nations system (...), as well as intergovernmental and relevant non-governmental organizations with an interest in the matter, to make contributions to the work entrusted to the working group (...)

Excerpts from the Resolution:
Draft Agenda

1st meeting
Wednesday 21 March (9.30 a.m.) – Friday 23 March 2012 (1 p.m.)
Council of Europe, Palais de l’Europe, Room 14

Item 1: Opening of the meeting and adoption of the agenda
Item 2: Election of a Vice-Chair
Item 3: Discussion on a non-binding instrument on the promotion of the human rights of the elderly
PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES
COMMITTEE ON JURIDICAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Working Group on Protecting the Human Rights of Older Persons

PRELIMINARY DRAFT INTER-AMERICAN CONVENTION ON PROTECTION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF OLDER PERSONS
5. Political and public participation in national policy actions on ageing (instrumental review)
Austria
Pursues the principle of a policy which is *not for, but with older people*.

The Federal Act on the Promotion of the Interests of the Older Generation (Federal Senior Citizens Act, Federal Law Gazette No. 84/1998 of 21.6.1998) brought about the establishment of the Federal Senior Citizens Advisory Council for the representation of the interests of the older generation *vis-à-vis* political decision-makers at a national level, and the General Promotion of Senior Citizens secured the financing of advice, information and support for senior citizens via the senior citizens' organisations.
2. Basic principles

2.6. Dialogue with civil society and social partners

Strategic Priorities

8. Participation and human rights

Measures:

8. A. Support the participation of older people in decision-making on issues that have significant impact on their lives, including through organizations of older persons, organizations working with and for older persons and local and regional advisory councils of older persons. Put emphasis on the involvement in decision-making of disadvantaged groups of older persons, including older persons from ethnic and other minorities.
5. Political and public participation in national policy actions on ageing

Republic of Mauritius

National Policy on Ageing “Ageing with Dignity, Respect and Smile”

5.3 General Policy Orientations

Orientation 6 – Partnership

For the effective implementation of the National Policy on Ageing, there is a need to evolve a broad base partnership comprising Government, the Corporate Sector, NGOs, Community-Based Organizations, International and Regional Actors.

Chapter 6. Implementation

6.5 Role of the civil society and corporate sector

NGOs and Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) are called upon to play a vital role in the realization of the goals of the National Policy on Ageing...

NGOs, CBOs and the Corporate Sector, networking with other stakeholders at national, regional and international level, will be expected to play an executive, catalyst and enabling role...in formulation and implementation of appropriate programmes/activities...
India: National Policy on Older Persons
Implementation

91. ...Apex level organizations of older persons have special responsibilities in this regard so that they can function as a watchdog, energies continuing action, mobilize public opinion and generate pressure for implementation of the Policy.

94. Every three years a detailed review will be prepared by the nodal Ministry on the implementation of the National Policy. There will be non-official participation in the preparation of the document. The review will be a public document. It will be discussed in a National Convention...

95. An autonomous National Council for Older Persons headed by the Minister for Social Justice and Empowerment will be set up. ...Adequate representation will be given to non-official members representing Non-Government Organisations....

96. An autonomous registered National Association of Older Persons (NAOPS) will be established to mobilize senior citizens, articulate their interests, promote and undertake programmes and activities for their well being and to advise the Government on all matters relating to the Older Persons.
During 2002-2007, national action on ageing focused on:

1. Establishing or strengthening social protection mechanisms (e.g., introducing social pensions; stabilizing existing retirement and pension schemes);
2. Extending health-care benefits to older persons;
3. Adjusting labour markets and care systems to correspond to accelerated demographic ageing;
4. Increasing the participation of older persons in various areas of society, including promoting the employment of older persons;
5. Introducing training in geriatrics and gerontology;
6. Preventing discrimination against and abuse of older persons;
7. Establishing intergenerational solidarity programmes; and
8. Enhancing the awareness of ageing-related issues
During 2002-2007, MAJOR OBSTACLES in implementing the Madrid International Plan of Action were the following:

1) Limited coverage of older persons by formal social protection schemes + declines in informal systems;
2) Lack of access to adequate care;
3) Insufficient participation of older persons in societal life;
4) Limited possibilities for older persons in continuing education and training;
5) Limited arrangements for independent living of older persons to allow ageing in place;
6) Lack of age-disaggregated data and policy related research

(Continuing…)

During 2002-2007, MAJOR OBSTACLES in implementing the Madrid International Plan of Action were the following:

7) Lack of empowerment of older persons for claiming their rights as citizens;
8) Low level of participation by older persons in evaluating current policies and programmes;
9) Insufficient attention to the needs of rural older persons;
10) Unsatisfactory efforts to mainstream concerns of older persons into policy
11) Lack of age-disaggregated data and policy related research
The capacity of countries to address the issues of ageing of their populations.

Key constraints:

- Lack of capacity to develop specific, comprehensive policies on ageing;
- Scarcity of ageing-specific data and information;
- Insufficient awareness of the benefits of social inclusion and the integration of older persons;
- Lack of tangible efforts to engage or include older persons in policy processes;
- Difficulties in translating existing strategic documents into concrete implementation measures; and
- Resource constraints.
6. [Instead of] Conclusion
Second review and appraisal of the Madrid Plan of Action on Ageing (2012 – 2013)

The theme:
“Full implementation of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing: social situation, wellbeing and dignity, development and the full realization of all human rights for older persons”
### Policies on ageing: areas of challenges and policy priorities, 2008 - 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UN Regions</th>
<th>Income security</th>
<th>Development &amp; Participation</th>
<th>Health care</th>
<th>Social care (incl. LTC)</th>
<th>Rights</th>
<th>Environment</th>
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