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ONTARIO BY-ELECTIONS ANALYSIS
AUGUST 2013

Though something for everyone, NDP big winners on the night

Wins by each party mean a fall election remains unlikely

The results from the five summer by-elections have produced very good news for the NDP, who won ridings in London and Windsor by huge margins; relief among Liberals in holding onto seats in Scarborough and Ottawa; and mixed feelings for Progressive Conservatives, who earned an Etobicoke-Lakeshore breakthrough in Fortress Toronto, but further ceded opposition momentum to Andrea Horwath's NDP.

All five seats were previously held by Liberal cabinet ministers.

Clearly, the previous government's baggage has affected impressions of Premier Wynne and her government, contributing to Liberal losses in three of their former ridings. But despite much doubt earlier this week, the Liberals have demonstrated they cannot be counted out as an electoral force. Their superior on-the-ground organization helped the party hold its seats in Scarborough and Ottawa.

The old adage that by-elections are won by the local candidate held true tonight, as the highest profile candidates in each riding won their seats.

Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Scarborough-Guildwood	London West	Windsor-Tecumseh	Ottawa South
46% Doug Holyday	36% Mitzie Hunter	42% Peggy Satler	61% Percy Hatfield	42% John Fraser
42% Peter Milczyn	31% Ken Kirupa	33% Ali Chahbar	20% Robert de Verteuil	39% Matt Young
8% P.C. Choo	28% Adam Giambrone	16% Ken Coran	12% Jeewen Gill	14% Bronwyn Funciello

In Scarborough, the Liberals were able to attract a strong candidate in Mitzie Hunter, who will be a prominent voice in the Liberal caucus. In Ottawa, John Fraser is well-known in his riding – he was Dalton McGuinty's right hand in the city for more than a decade – and will be seen as a dependable and hard-working MPP.

Doug Holyday's win for the PCs in Etobicoke is significant for the Party and PC Leader Tim Hudak, as it demonstrates the PCs can contend in the 416. But it was Holyday's personal status as Deputy Mayor of Toronto, long-time councillor for the region, and former mayor of Etobicoke before amalgamation that made the difference, more than a widespread wave of PC support.

For the NDP, Percy Hatfield and Peggy Satler's victories in Windsor and London will add articulate voices to their caucus, helping Andrea Horwath convince Ontarians that the NDP is ready to govern. And the size of their margins of victory, especially in London, suggests that when voters reject Liberal candidates they may be willing to skip right over the Opposition Tories and move to the third party in a big way.

However, the outcome of the race will not lead to major changes at Queen's Park. Kathleen Wynne and the Liberals maintain their minority government, although it has now been reduced by three seats since the 2011 election. The 107-member house will now have 50 Liberals (including Speaker Dave Levac), 37 Tories, and 20 New Democrats.

Winning two of the races is a decent outcome for the Liberals, but not strong enough to make them pull the trigger on a fall election. While the PCs and NDP have momentum entering the fall sitting – and, feeling their messages are resonating, may want an election sooner rather than later – they cannot call a vote of non-confidence without the government's consent. The Legislature should survive until at least the spring, when it is expected the NDP and PCs will defeat the next Liberal budget when it is introduced.

The result also means that legislative gridlock is likely to continue at Queen's Park. Since Wynne became Premier, the government has managed to pass only one bill – the Budget. The PCs are expected to continue to tie up committees and the House, preventing other legislation from getting passed. The release of the Auditor General's report on the Oakville gas plant cancellation, and the findings on the diluted chemotherapy medications, will also add fuel to the opposition's fire.

Etobicoke-Lakeshore

Deputy Mayor Doug Holyday delivered in a big way for Tim Hudak and the PCs, winning the first 416-area Tory seat since 1999. As a former Mayor of Etobicoke and councillor for neighbouring Etobicoke Centre, Holyday was able to use his profile to beat out Peter Milczyn's campaign experience and roots in the riding. It is expected that Hudak will reward Holyday with a high-profile critic portfolio, and he will be tasked with expanding the Tory foothold in the city.

The Liberals poured heavy resources into this race, and will be sorely disappointed at Milczyn's loss. Re-election looked assured for the Liberals until Holyday stepped up to run. His high profile and name recognition proved insurmountable, demonstrating the principle that local candidates matter much more in by-elections.

Mayor Ford will take this win as a personal victory, and a sign that "Ford Nation" is alive and strong in the city.

Scarborough-Guildwood

In an election focused on transit and transportation issues, Mitzie Hunter rode the Scarborough subway promise to a victory for the Liberals. Hunter, the former CEO of the Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance, is expected to become a prominent voice for the party in the city, and could have a cabinet position in her future. The Liberals will take this win as a sign that embracing revenue tools for transportation is not the kiss of death, and will help them refine their messages on the issue for a general election.

The PCs managed to make this race closer than originally expected, due to a strong pro-subway platform. Adam Giambrone delivered a much stronger showing than expected, finishing just behind the

PC Candidate. Despite his name recognition, he was ultimately undermined by his contentious nomination and lack of local roots.

London West

Initially expected to be a tight three-way race, London West turned into a clear victory for school board trustee Peggy Sattler, the NDP candidate. The party made a major push to overcome the PCs in the final days, including a front-page ad buy in the London Free Press and direct appeals to Liberal voters. Since the last election, Andrea Horwath has added seats in the key cities of Waterloo, London, and Windsor, demonstrating that her focus on pocketbook issues and health care are resonating across southwestern Ontario.

Despite a strong campaign and the endorsement of the London Free Press, Ali Chahbar was unable to take the riding for the PCs. The loss is a disappointment for the party, and again demonstrates an inability for the PCs to run against the NDP.

The Liberals' decision to run Ken Coran, former head of the secondary school teachers' union, was a rare miscue and backfired massively. Instead of demonstrating Premier Wynne's ability to mend fences with organized labour, the move reignited teacher anger at Coran and the party. That, and Coran's inability to recover from a disastrous campaign launch that saw him fumble questions around basic biographical information, played a significant part in dropping the party to third place.

Windsor-Tecumseh

In the most clearly-predicted by-election outcome, Percy Hatfield easily won the riding for the NDP. A former journalist and city councillor, Hatfield was the most prominent candidate in the field. Expect him to be rewarded with an important critic portfolio, and to become a key party spokesman in the region.

Unexpectedly, PC candidate Robert de Verteuil managed to leap over the Liberals into second place. The PC messages on jobs and manufacturing found an audience in a city with one of the highest unemployment rates in the province. Finishing with 12% is a steep decrease for the Liberals, who won over 40% of the vote with Dwight Duncan on the ballot in 2011.

Ottawa South

Initially expected to be an easy victory for the Liberals, it turned into a hotly-contested battle with the PCs. Long-time McGuinty Constituency Assistant John Fraser will inherit his old boss's job as MPP. Fraser is well-regarded and should be a solid member of the caucus.

Although the demographics of the riding are attractive for the Tories, they ultimately found it was one of the only Ontario seats where their anti-McGuinty message did not resonate, and they were unable to find a message that stuck. Candidate Matt Young finished in a strong second place with 38% of the vote.

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NDP candidate Bronwyn Funicello, a local school board trustee, raised the party's vote share but failed to seriously challenge for the win. With five concurrent by-elections, the NDP was unable to repeat the concentration of resources that brought them victory in Kitchener-Waterloo last year.

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Doug Holyday

Etobicoke-Lakeshore

Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario

Campaign Office:

700 Kipling, Unit 100

Etobicoke, ON

M8Z 5G3

info@dougholyday.ca

Phone: 416-364-2800

Doug Holyday is a strong fiscal conservative with a record of making government work efficiently and effectively. As Mayor of Etobicoke and Toronto City Councillor, Doug has worked tirelessly to make sure taxpayer money is spent wisely. Most recently, as Deputy Mayor of the city of Toronto, Doug has made it his mission to stop the gravy train by negotiating reasonable salaries for city workers, instituting more efficient and less expensive garbage collection and balancing budgets.

Doug has been a strong proponent of accountable spending at city hall, drawing attention to reckless overspending and pushing for better transparency when it comes to taxpayer dollars. This is the kind of accountability he wants to see at Queen's Park.

Having lived his entire life in Etobicoke, first as a businessman then as a politician, Doug knows the people here. Deputy Mayor Holyday's track record of community involvement, business leadership and public service has been recognized by the International Rotary Foundation, which named him a Paul Harris Fellow for his contribution to the people of Etobicoke.

Doug and his wife Franca are lifelong residents of Etobicoke. They have two sons, Stephen and David. Stephen and his wife, Margaret, are the parents of two young daughters, Andrea, Jennifer and newly arrived Thomas.

Doug Holyday is the change in direction that this province needs. He knows that after ten years of Liberal mismanagement, the people of Etobicoke want to see some accountability at Queen's Park. Mounting deficits and wasteful scandals have put the province on the wrong track. Doug recognizes that today's Ontario is not the economic engine that it used to be and he wants to be part of the Ontario PC team with a plan to turn it around.



Mitzie Hunter

Scarborough-

Guildwood

Liberal Party of Ontario

Campaign Office:
Markington Square 3201-
3227 Eglinton Ave. East,
Unit 143
Scarborough, ON
M1J 3M5
mitzie@votehunter.ca
Phone: 416-479-0534

Mitzie Hunter understands our community and the power of working together. A lifelong citybuilder, she is passionate about unlocking the city's potential by ensuring fair and inclusive access to employment and prosperity.

As the CEO of the Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance, Mitzie worked to solve some of our toughest social, economic and environmental challenges.

Mitzie and her family immigrated to Canada from Jamaica in 1975. She grew up in Scarborough and graduated from U of T (Scarborough Campus) with a BA, and recently completed her MBA from the Rotman School of Management.

As part of Kathleen Wynne's team, Mitzie will bring people together to solve problems, and to create jobs and opportunity in our community.



Peggy Sattler
London West
New Democratic Party of Ontario

Campaign Office:
233 Wharnccliffe Road South
peggysattler@ontariondp.ca
Phone: 519-914-1711

For the past 13 years I've advocated for balance and accountability as a Thames Valley District School Board Trustee and conducted research to help local decision-makers make plans for job creation.

I am running in this election because now, more than ever, people in London need a leader who brings people together and gets the job done.

The byelection will give the citizens of London West an opportunity to choose an MPP who is committed to hard work, accountability, and delivering results.

I commit to work every single day to put the needs of London families on the top of the agenda at Queen's Park. You can count on me to focus on getting results that make people's lives better.

As a community leader, I learned it is possible to balance a budget and support thriving public services. It means that every tax dollar counts. As your MPP, I will hold the government accountable, and advocate for a fair and balanced budget while protecting the services we all value.

As a mother, and someone who has an aging parent, I understand how critical it is to access health care services when you need them. As your representative at Queen's Park, I will work with Andrea Horwath to ensure that our health care dollars are being spent on frontline services and cutting wait times, not wasted on hospital CEO bonuses or scandals.

Above all, the citizens of London have told me that we need a local leader who can deliver real results. People are sick and tired of the same-old politics that ignores today's challenges like jobs and the growing cost of living.



Percy Hatfield

Windsor-Tecumseh

**New Democratic Party of
Ontario**

Campaign Office:
Parkway Plaza, 7201
Tecumseh Rd.

percyhatfield@ontariondp.ca

I've been lucky in life to have jobs that allow me to hear from the public, to learn first-hand what is happening in our community.

I was a municipal affairs reporter with the CBC in Windsor and had my own segment, "Percy's Political Panel."

After 30 years of working as a radio and television journalist, it was time for me to give back to the community. I wanted to stop just covering the news and become a leader in making change.

Working for people is what motivated me to run for City Council in the first place. Since day one, I've been focused on delivering results for Windsor and Essex County.

Sitting on the Planning and Economic Development Standing Committee, I brought Windsor and regional leaders together to create jobs. Our local efforts to strengthen the local economy relies on developing partnerships.

More than ever, Windsor needs strong local leaders who can bring people together to get the job done.

The citizens of Windsor-Tecumseh have an opportunity to choose an MPP who not only will work hard for them locally, but is committed to job creation, making this government accountable and delivering results.

I will work every single day to put the needs of Windsor-Tecumseh families on the top of the agenda at Queen's Park. You can count on me to focus on getting results that make people's lives better.

Being your representative at Queen's Park isn't going to change my commitments locally. I will always be a proud and active member of the Riverside Branch of the Royal Canadian Legion. I will continue to help raise funds for important community groups like the Easter Seals, United Way and the Hospice.

If elected, what will change is that Windsor-Tecumseh will have a proven fighter in its corner in Toronto. A local leader who won't let them ignore today's challenges like jobs, healthcare and the growing costs of living.



John Fraser

Ottawa South

Liberal Party of Ontario

Campaign Office:

1901 Bank St., Ottawa ON,
K1V 8A1

jackie@votejohnfraser.ca

Phone: 613-731-0534

John Fraser is committed to Ottawa South, and has proven experience in bringing our community together to find solutions to the issues that matter to our families. A life-long resident of Ottawa South, born and raised in Elmvale Acres and Alta Vista, John attended school here, began his career here and raised his family here.

John understands the challenges that businesses face, having spent 18 years managing small and medium sized local businesses before entering public service. For the last 14 years, John has served alongside Dalton McGuinty in Ottawa South, working to bring community-based solutions to the issues of importance to the people that live and work here. Among these are the expansion of the Ottawa Regional Cancer Centre, the redevelopment of St. Patrick's Home, programming for children's mental health and youth addiction and the expansion of our community centres and programs.

Deeply committed to the community he has called home for over 50 years, John has been an active volunteer in a number of local organizations and initiatives. He spearheaded the Our Children, Our Hospital campaign to save the Cardiac Care Unit at CHEO and organized a fundraiser which raised \$20,000 for the Heron Road Emergency Food Bank. For a number of years, he served as a palliative care volunteer at the General Campus of the Ottawa Hospital and as a coach to the Canterbury Mustangs Football Team.

John is married to his high school sweetheart, Linda, also a lifelong resident of Ottawa South and they have three grown children, Kirsten, John Jr. and James.