

Estimate of Turnout in Indigenous Communities in the 43rd and 44th General Elections

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Main Takeaways

- The estimated on-reserve turnout for the 44th general election in 2021 was 44.5%; and for the 43rd general election in 2019, 51.8%. This represents a 7.3 percentage point (p.p.) decrease.
- The gap between the estimated turnout on reserve and the national turnout increased to 18.1 p.p. in the 44th general election, compared with 15.2 p.p. in the 43rd general election.
- The estimated turnout for Inuit communities was 32.0% in 2021 and 43.6% in 2019 (-11.6 p.p.).
- The turnout for polling divisions associated with Métis settlements was 41.8% in 2021 and 46.3% in 2019 (-4.5 p.p.).
- The turnout for registered electors living on reserves and Métis settlements, when broken down by age and gender, generally follow the turnout trends of the overall eligible Canadian elector population.
- The registered electors in Inuit communities were not only the youngest but also followed a different age distribution. In Inuit communities, the largest cohort of registered electors was the 25–34-year-olds, and beyond that age group the size of each ageing cohort decreased.

Introduction

The mission of Elections Canada is to ensure that Canadians can exercise their democratic rights to vote and be a candidate in federal elections. Although Elections Canada does not collect personal information that would identify Indigeneity, research has demonstrated that some groups, including Indigenous electors, tend to vote less than the general Canadian population. Several methods have been implemented over time to identify challenges these electors face, as well as voter participation trends, while still maintaining privacy and the secrecy of the vote.

This document details estimates of turnout in Indigenous communities (First Nations, Inuit, Métis) for the 43rd and 44th general elections. There was no report produced after the 43rd election due to the operational requirements involved in preparing for a general election during the COVID-19 pandemic. Elections Canada used the same methodological approach as in previous studies (see below), with one change. Votes by special ballot were not included in previous studies. However, given the increased use of that voting option due to the pandemic context of the 44th general election, we include certain types of special ballots in this study. Please see Appendix A for more details.

To date, two main approaches have been developed to estimate voter participation among First Nations, Inuit and Métis electors. The first approach, not covered by this report, involves conducting surveys and looking at self-declared voting among those who identify as Indigenous. One of the main advantages of this approach is that it provides individual-based information such as values and attitudes, which allows for more complex analyses of determinants of voting among Indigenous voters (Fournier and Loewen 2011).

The second approach, outlined in this report, involves identifying [polling divisions](#) that best correspond to the geographic boundary of an Indigenous community and then calculating voter turnout rates of registered electors in these polling divisions. This type of analysis is ideal for identifiable geographic clusters like First Nations reserves, but it does not account for the Indigenous populations living outside of reserves such as in urban centres. In 2012, Elections Canada published a [retrospective report](#) using this methodology to estimate on-reserve turnout in general elections between 2004 and 2011 (Bargiel 2012). The same methodology was applied to produce [infographics for the 42nd general election](#) (Elections Canada 2016a) and a [summary table of on-reserve voter turnout by province](#) following the 43rd general election (Elections Canada 2020d).

Following the 44th general election, Elections Canada has been prioritizing work to [improve its services to Indigenous electors](#). The data in this report is helping to inform that important work.

Turnout

On reserves

Looking at the entire population of registered electors, overall turnout decreased by 4.4 percentage points (p.p.) between the 43rd and the 44th general elections, from 67.0% to 62.6%.

Our analysis shows that the decrease in voter turnout between the 2019 and 2021 general elections was larger for the on-reserve population than it was for the overall Canadian population. The estimated on-reserve turnout was 51.8% in 2019 and 44.5% in 2021, which is a 7.3 p.p. decrease. This makes the gap between the estimated on-reserve turnout and the national turnout increase from 15.2 p.p. in 2019 to 18.1 p.p. in 2021.

Table 1 shows the breakdown of the estimated voter turnout on reserve by province and territory during the 43rd general election in 2019, compared with that during the 44th general election in 2021.

Table 1: On-Reserve Turnout by Province and Territory – 43rd and 44th General Elections

Province/ Territory	2019 (43rd GE)			2021 (44th GE)			Difference (p.p.)
	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	
Newfoundland and Labrador	753	2,154	35.0%	352	2,142	16.4%	-18.6
Prince Edward Island	488	753	64.8%	432	730	59.2%	-5.6
Nova Scotia	8,802	14,110	62.4%	6,833	13,128	52.0%	-10.4
New Brunswick	5,510	10,564	52.2%	6,185	13,120	47.1%	-5.1
Quebec	9,780	37,529	26.1%	8,953	38,375	23.3%	-2.8
Ontario	29,906	63,170	47.3%	25,651	61,247	41.9%	-5.4
Manitoba	16,162	39,692	40.7%	11,624	39,472	29.4%	-11.3
Saskatchewan	25,695	45,174	56.9%	16,568	42,158	39.3%	-17.6
Alberta	17,633	42,908	41.1%	14,842	41,776	35.5%	-5.7
British Columbia	97,797	154,221	63.4%	91,716	159,422	57.5%	-5.9
Northwest Territories	230	569	40.4%	41	179	22.8%	-17.6
All polling divisions associated to Reserves	212,756	410,844	51.8%	183,197	411,749	44.5%	-7.3
Canada	18,350,359	27,373,058	67.0%	17,209,811	27,509,496	62.6%	-4.4

In both the 2021 and 2019 elections, Prince Edward Island saw the highest turnout in polling divisions associated with reserves at 59.2% and 64.8%. This is consistent with previous iterations of the study, where Prince Edward Island always sees strong turnout on reserves relative to other provinces and territories. (Bargiel 2012, Elections Canada 2016a). British Columbia also saw relatively high turnout. However, as noted in Appendix A, it is difficult to tell between the voters who live on reserve and those who do not; those who do not may be affecting the turnout rate. Unfortunately, given the limitations of the data, it is unknown how the turnout would change without the presence of non-Indigenous voters.

Every province and territory saw a decrease in turnout between the 43rd and 44th general elections. The decrease was largest in Newfoundland and Labrador, the Northwest Territories and Saskatchewan.

In fact, of the 5 electoral districts with a decrease in turnout on reserves over 20 percentage points, 4 of them were in Saskatchewan:

- Carlton Trail-Eagle Creek (-27.6 p.p.)
- Regina-Qu'Appelle (-27.2 p.p.)
- Moose Jaw-Lake Centre-Lanigan (-25.0 p.p.)
- Cypress Hills-Grasslands (-20.9 p.p.)

The electoral districts all had turnouts over 70.0% percent in 2019 but averaged just 48.1% in 2021.

The fifth electoral district was Labrador. In 2019, 32.7% of electors on reserve cast a ballot, compared with just 11.5% in 2021. A breakdown of turnout on reserves by electoral district is available in Appendix B. A breakdown of turnout on reserves by voting method and by province and territory is available in Appendix C.

Quebec reserves continue to have the lowest average turnout in the country, though the decrease between the 43rd and 44th general elections was the smallest.

Turnout on reserves in the electoral district of Kenora

In the riding of Kenora, Ontario, the operation of the local polling station of three fly-in communities (Cat Lake, Poplar Hill, and Pikangikum) was cancelled ahead of election day despite having been planned and advertised on the voter information cards that had been sent to electors. Once the election was called, the returning officer replaced the election day poll with a one-day advance poll, based on his understanding of local needs and upon learning of a conflict with hunting and cultural activities on election day. This poll change was not communicated clearly to electors or to the community leadership ahead of election day. Elections Canada headquarters only became aware

of it on election day, after it was too late to act. A [full report](#) detailing the review of the facts is available on the Elections Canada website (Elections Canada 2022b).

Kenora is a riding with 65 reserves on its territory. While Elections Canada normally only reports on-reserve turnout data by electoral district, in this case, the usual method would not give results specific enough to help assess the impact of the situation described above on voter turnout. Table 2 below shows the turnout for all voting methods used by the electors in the polling divisions associated with Cat Lake, Poplar Hill, and Pikangikum. The turnout results of these three communities are compared with those of 2019. Table 2 also shows these results against the general turnout trends for all polling divisions associated with reserves in Kenora and the turnout for Kenora overall.

Table 2: Turnout in Cat Lake, Poplar Hill and Pikangikum, Polling Divisions with Reserves, and Kenora Electoral District as a Whole – 43rd and 44th General Elections

Reserve	Polling No.	2019 (43 rd GE)			2021 (44 th GE)			Difference (p.p.)
		Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	
Cat Lake	21	97	164	59.1%	77	195	39.5%	-19.6
Poplar Hill	18	121	318	38.1%	51	308	16.6%	-21.5
Pikangikum	22	144	1,199	12.0%	13	1,172	1.1%	-10.9
All polling divisions associated with reserves in Kenora	N/A	6,139	12,713	48.3%	4,971	12,814	38.8%	-9.5
Kenora Total	N/A	28,060	46,766	60.0%	26,201	46,382	56.5%	-3.5

As Table 2 shows, these three communities experienced declines in turnout between 2019 and 2021 that were greater than those for polling divisions associated with reserves in the riding and the riding as a whole.

In Inuit communities

Similar to the trend observed on reserves, the estimated turnout in Inuit communities decreased between 2019 and 2021. The decrease was greater than that for the on-reserve population (-11.6 p.p. vs -7.3 p.p.).

In total, the estimated turnout for Inuit communities was 43.6% in 2019, compared with 32.0% in 2021. Table 3 shows the turnout in Inuit communities by Inuit region for 2019 and 2021. A breakdown of turnout in Inuit communities by voting method and by province and territory is available in Appendix C.

Table 3: Inuit Turnout by Region – 43rd and 44th General Elections (2019 and 2021)

Province/ Territory	Inuit Region	2019 (43rd GE)			2021 (44th GE)			Difference (p.p.)
		Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	
Newfoundland and Labrador	Nunatsiavut	886	1,685	52.6%	793	2,112	37.5%	-15.1
Quebec	Nunavik	2,831	8,209	34.5%	2,331	8,506	27.4%	-7.1
Northwest Territories	Inuvialuit	657	1,839	35.7%	519	1,821	28.5%	-7.2
Nunavut	Nunavut	9,428	19,910	47.4%	7,181	21,408	33.5%	-13.9
All Inuit Communities	Inuit Nunangat	13,802	31,643	43.6%	10,824	33,847	32.0%	-11.6

This table shows that the decrease in turnout was observed across the country but particularly marked in Nunatsiavut and Nunavut. Nunatsiavut, which is located within Labrador, saw a decrease in turnout of -15.1 p.p. This significant decrease is less than the decrease in turnout on reserves in Labrador, which was -21.2 p.p.

In Métis settlements

The eight Métis settlements identified, in contrast to the estimated on-reserve and Inuit communities, had a decrease in turnout more in line with the national decrease in turnout (-4.4 p.p.). The turnout for polling divisions associated with Métis settlements was 46.3% in 2019 and 41.8% in 2021 (-4.5 p.p.). Table 4 shows the turnout of Métis settlements in 2019 and 2021. A breakdown of turnout in Métis settlements by voting method and province and territory is available in Appendix C.

Table 4: Turnout in Métis Settlements by Province – 43rd and 44th General Elections (2019 and 2021)

Province	2019 (43rd GE)			2021 (44th GE)			Difference (p.p.)
	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	
Alberta	1,304	2,814	46.3%	1,155	2,766	41.8%	-4.5

Turnout by Age and Gender

Following every general election since 2008, Elections Canada has released a report on the estimated turnout by age and gender. This report calculates turnout as the total number of votes by the estimated number of eligible electors. It uses a different methodology than that used for the official voting results, which looks at the number of registered electors. The benefit of looking at eligible electors rather than registered electors is a more accurate comparison of turnout over time, because changes in the register coverage between elections do not impact the analysis.

In the report, estimates are only possible at the electoral district level. Estimates of eligible electors at the polling division level are not possible at this time. Given that this report seeks to look at results at the polling division level, Elections Canada is unable to produce estimates of turnout by age and gender using the estimated eligible population.

Instead, this report will show the turnout by age and gender of registered electors. This data is valuable because it reveals demographic differences in voting habits within the on-reserve, Inuit and Métis settlement populations. However, readers should be cautioned that only general trends of the results should be compared to the turnout by age and gender for the general population. As the denominators used are different (registered electors versus eligible population), the turnout for each demographic group can not be compared directly. Readers should also note that the register coverage remained stable between 2019 and 2021, so, while comparisons can be made between the 43rd and 44th general elections, future results may not be comparable with the results presented in this report.

The report breaks down age into the following groups:

- 18–24
- 25–34
- 35–44
- 45–54
- 55–64
- 65–74
- 75+

It further breaks down the category of 18–24-year-olds into "first-time" and "not-first-time" voters. The "first-time" category includes youth eligible to vote federally for the first time. The "not-first-time" category includes those youth under 25 years old who were previously eligible to vote federally.

For the 2019 general election, the “first-time” category includes individuals born between October 20, 1997, and October 21, 2001. The “not-first-time” one includes those born between October 22, 1994, and October 19, 1997 (Elections Canada 2022a).

For the 2021 general election, the “first-time” category includes individuals born between October 22, 2001, and September 20, 2003. The “not-first-time” one includes those born between September 21, 1996, and October 21, 2001 (Elections Canada 2021).

In the following section, data for non-binary electors is suppressed when the total count is less than five. When data about non-binary electors is suppressed for confidentiality reasons, we randomly assign each non-binary elector into the men or women category with 50% probability. To reflect the addition of some non-binary electors to the categories, we call these categories “men+” and “women+”.

Also, please note that the numbers published in this section may be slightly different from the total numbers published in Table 1, Table 3 and Table 4. This is due to rounding errors that are required when estimating the number of registered electors by age and gender.

Reserves

Forty-third general election

During the 43rd general election in 2019, 410,843 electors lived in polling divisions associated with reserves. There were 207,569 men+ and 203,275 women+. Figure 1 shows the breakdown of registered electors on reserve by age group and gender.

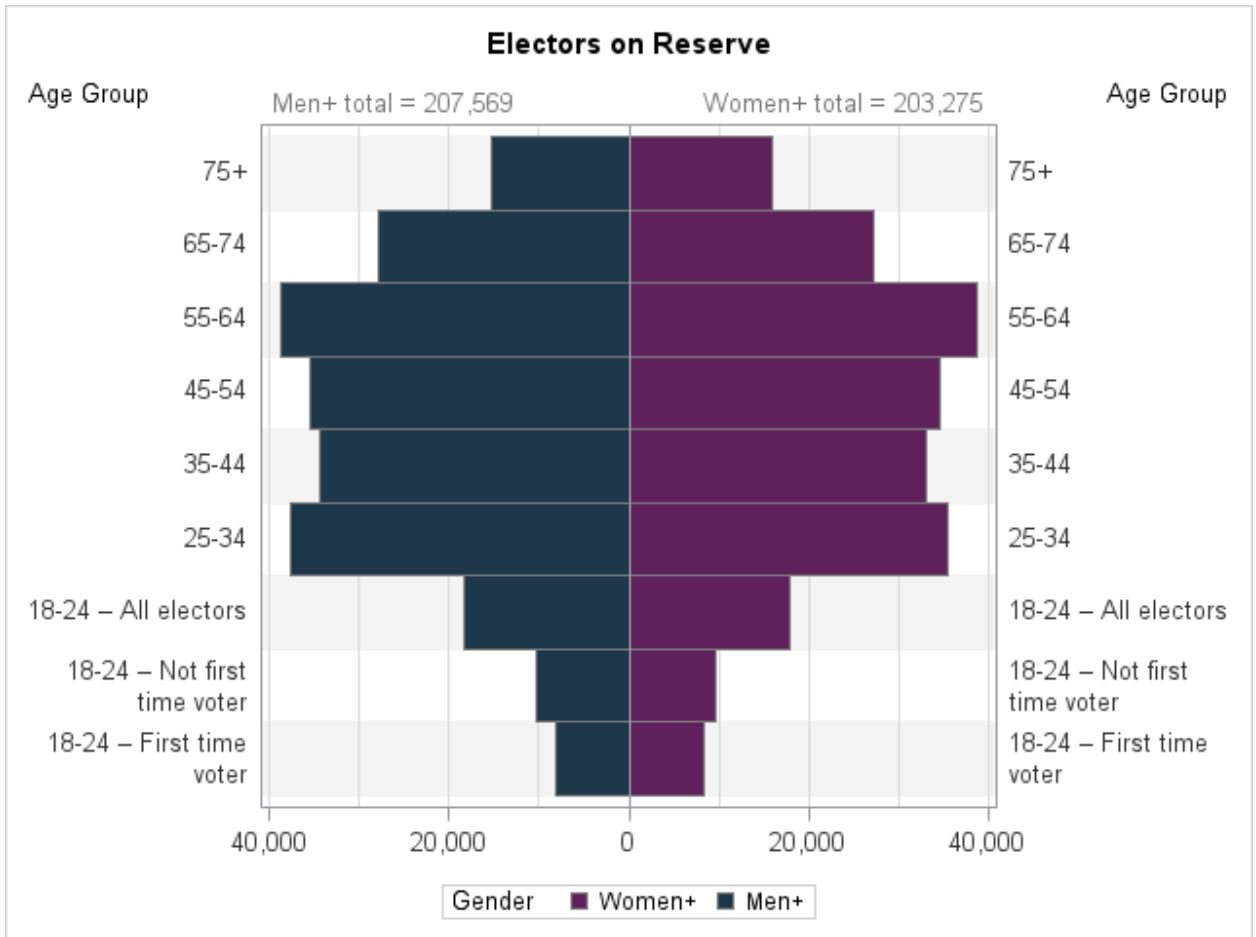


Figure 1: Number of Registered Electors on Reserve, by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)

Table 5: Text Version of "Figure 1: Number of Registered Electors on Reserve, by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)"

Age Group	Men+ Electors	Women+ Electors
18–24 – First-time voters ¹	8,163	8,306
18–24 – Not first-time voters ²	10,238	9,702
18–24 – All electors	18,401	18,008
25–34	37,613	35,583
35–44	34,332	33,136
45–54	35,429	34,526
55–64	38,666	38,744
65–74	27,791	27,320
75+	15,336	15,958
Total	207,569	203,275

The results show that the most populous age cohorts for both genders were in the 55–64 range. This was also true for the general Canadian population (Elections Canada 2021). However, unlike the general Canadian population, the second largest population was the 25–34-year-olds, not the 45–54-year-olds. Given that the on-reserve population is much younger than the off-reserve population (Statistics Canada 2022), this result makes sense.

Another divergence from the general population is the relatively few first-time youth voters. Despite being a younger population, only 45.2% of registered electors aged 18–24 were first-time voters on reserve, compared with 54.2% of all eligible Canadians who were first-time voters in the 18–24 age group (Elections Canada 2021). To help us understand what might be driving this trend, we can look at the breakdown of turnout on reserve by age group and gender.

¹ During the 43rd general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 and 21 years old on election day.

² During the 43rd general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 22 and 24 years old on election day.

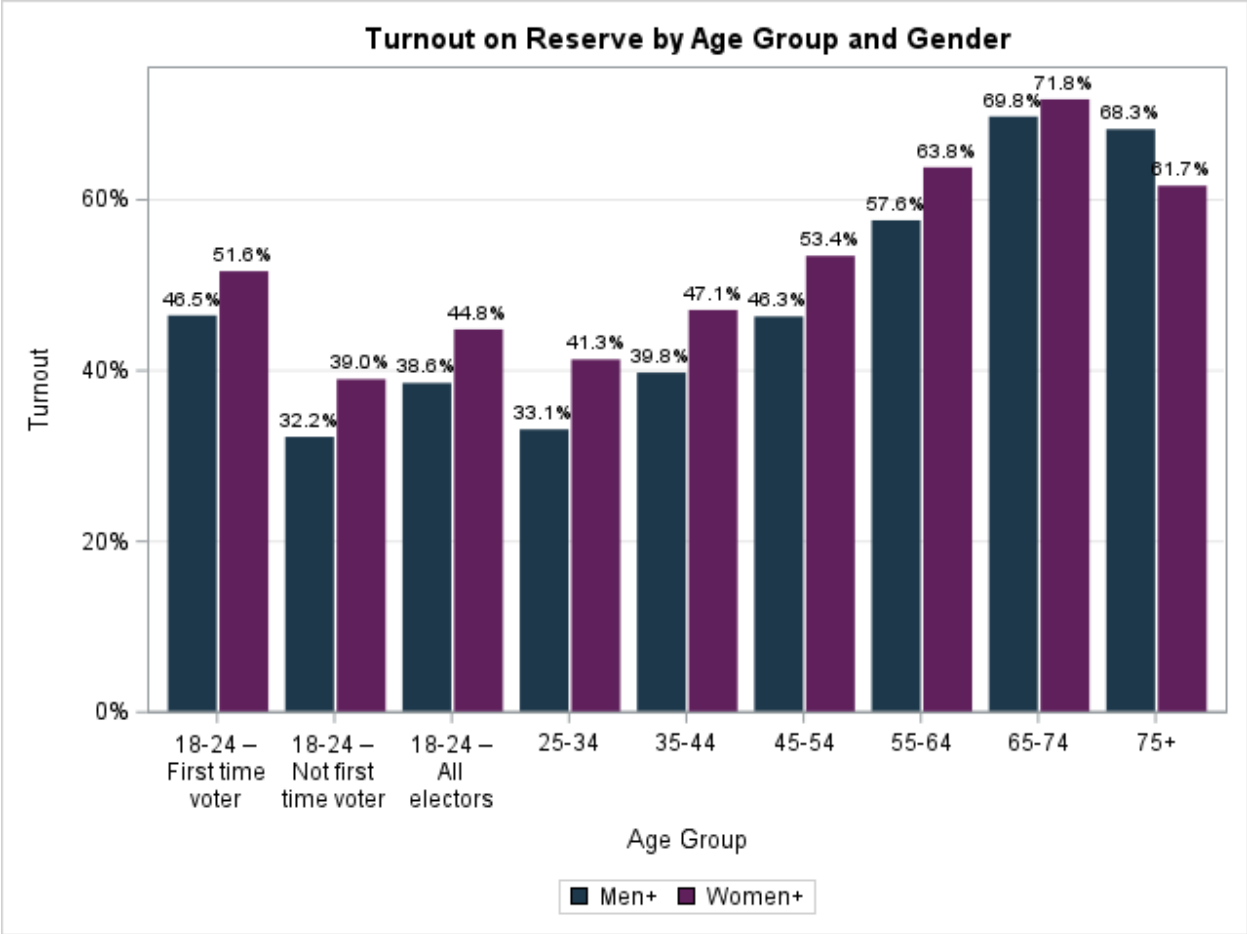


Figure 2: Breakdown of Elector Turnout on Reserve by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)

Table 6: Text Version of "Figure 2: Breakdown of Elector Turnout on Reserve by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)"

Age Group	Men+ Turnout	Women+ Turnout
18–24 – First-time voters ³	46.5%	51.6%
18–24 – Not first-time voters ⁴	32.2%	39.0%
18–24 – All electors	38.6%	44.8%
25–34	33.1%	41.3%
35–44	39.8%	47.1%
45–54	46.3%	53.4%
55–64	57.6%	63.8%
65–74	69.8%	71.8%
75+	68.3%	61.7%

³ During the 43rd general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 and 21 years old on election day.

⁴ During the 43rd general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 22 and 24 years old on election day.

Figure 2 shows the on-reserve turnout by gender and age group. Women participated at a higher rate (54.6 percent) than did men (49.0 percent) across all age groups to age 74. The size of the gap decreases with age until the 75+ category, where men participated more than women. This trend is consistent with the overall trend for the entire Canadian population (Elections Canada 2021). For both men and women, the turnout increases with age until age 74, after which the turnout decreases slightly. Again, this is a consistent trend with the Canadian population (Elections Canada 2021).

However, there are two exceptions to the trend. The first is that, for on-reserve voters, the turnout of first-time voters is much higher than not-first-time youth voters. This is despite the fact that, for the Canadian population as a whole, the turnout of first-time and not-first-time youth voters was comparable (Elections Canada 2021). The second is that, counter to the general trend of turnout increasing with age, the 18–24 group turnout is slightly higher than the 25–34 group turnout.

These exceptions can be explained by our previous observations of the age pyramid. We noted there are relatively few registered electors in First Nations reserves who are first-time voters. We know that youth coverage was lower for all Canadians (Elections Canada 2019b), and, if fewer eligible first-time electors on First Nations reserves registered compared with the Canadian average, then turnout of registered electors might be higher as a result.

Forty-fourth general election

During the 44th general election, 411,749 electors lived in polling divisions associated with reserves. There were 205,586 women, 206,133 men and 30 electors who selected “another gender” during their registration. Due to the small number of non-binary electors, a breakdown of this group by age and the turnout rate is not available. Figure 3 below shows the breakdown of registered electors on reserve by age group and gender.

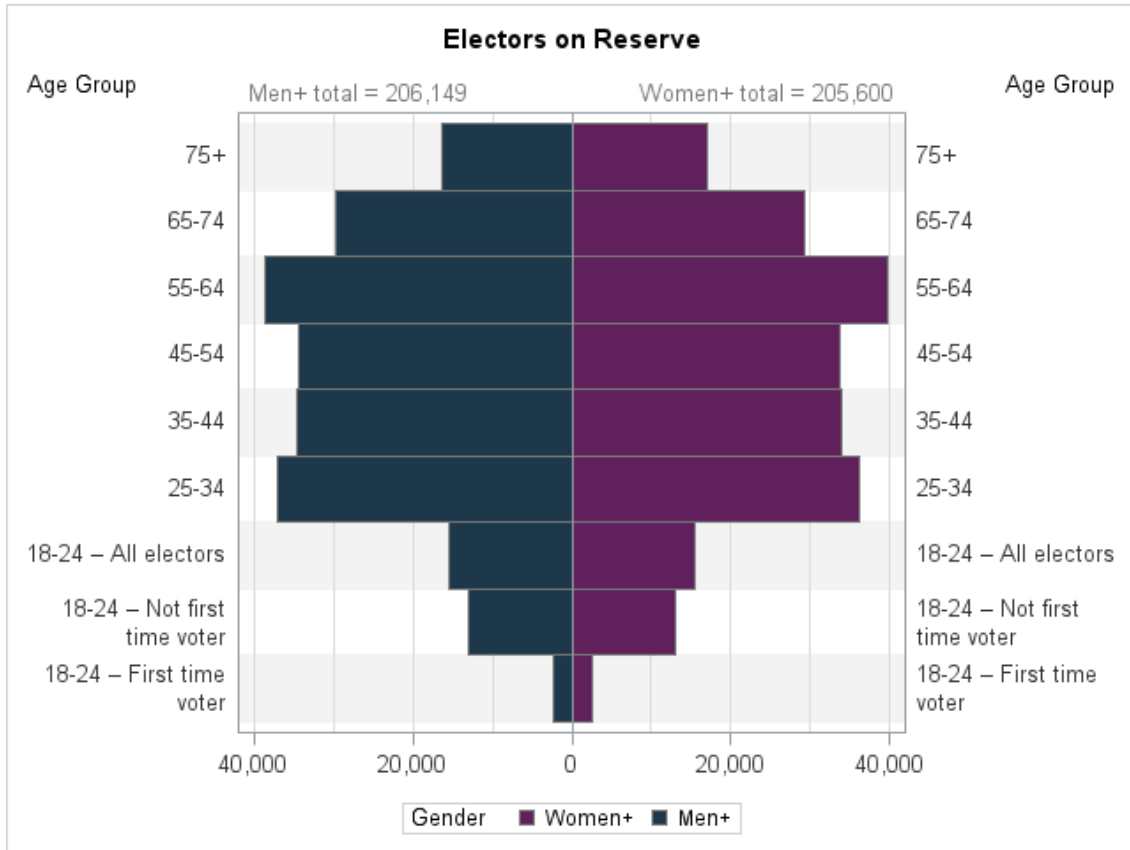


Figure 3: Number of Registered Electors on Reserve, by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)

Table 7: Text Version of “Figure 3: Number of Registered Electors on Reserve, by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)”

Age Group	Men+ Electors	Women+ Electors
18–24 – First-time voters ⁵	2,353	2,538
18–24 – Not first-time voters ⁶	13,088	12,968
18–24 – All electors	15,440	15,507
25–34	36,988	36,240
35–44	34,713	34,012
45–54	34,308	33,782
55–64	38,652	39,631
65–74	29,644	29,365
75+	16,403	17,065
Total	206,149	205,600

⁵ During the 44th general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 years old and 19 years and 10 months old on election day.

⁶ During the 44th general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 19 years and 11 months old and 24 years old on election day.

Overall, the demographic trends for the 44th general election match those of the 43rd election. Figure 3 shows that the 55–64 age group cohort is again the largest, followed by the 25–34 age group. In 2021, we also saw a smaller gap between the size of the men+ and women+ registered electorate. In 2019, men+ represented 50.5% of the registered electorate, compared with 2021, where men+ represented 50.0%.

The results also show that there are very few first-time electors (15.8%), compared with not-first-time electors in the 18–24-year-old category. Compared with 2019, this is partially to be expected. There were four years between the 42nd general election in 2015 and the 43rd general election in 2019, compared with around just two years between the 43rd general election in 2019 and the 44th general election in 2021.

However, this proportion seems to imply more than the difference that could be attributed to demographics. For comparison, the estimated proportion of eligible electors in all of Canada who were first-time youth electors was 26.2% (Elections Canada 2020a). This demographic difference is similar to the one observed in the 43rd general election.

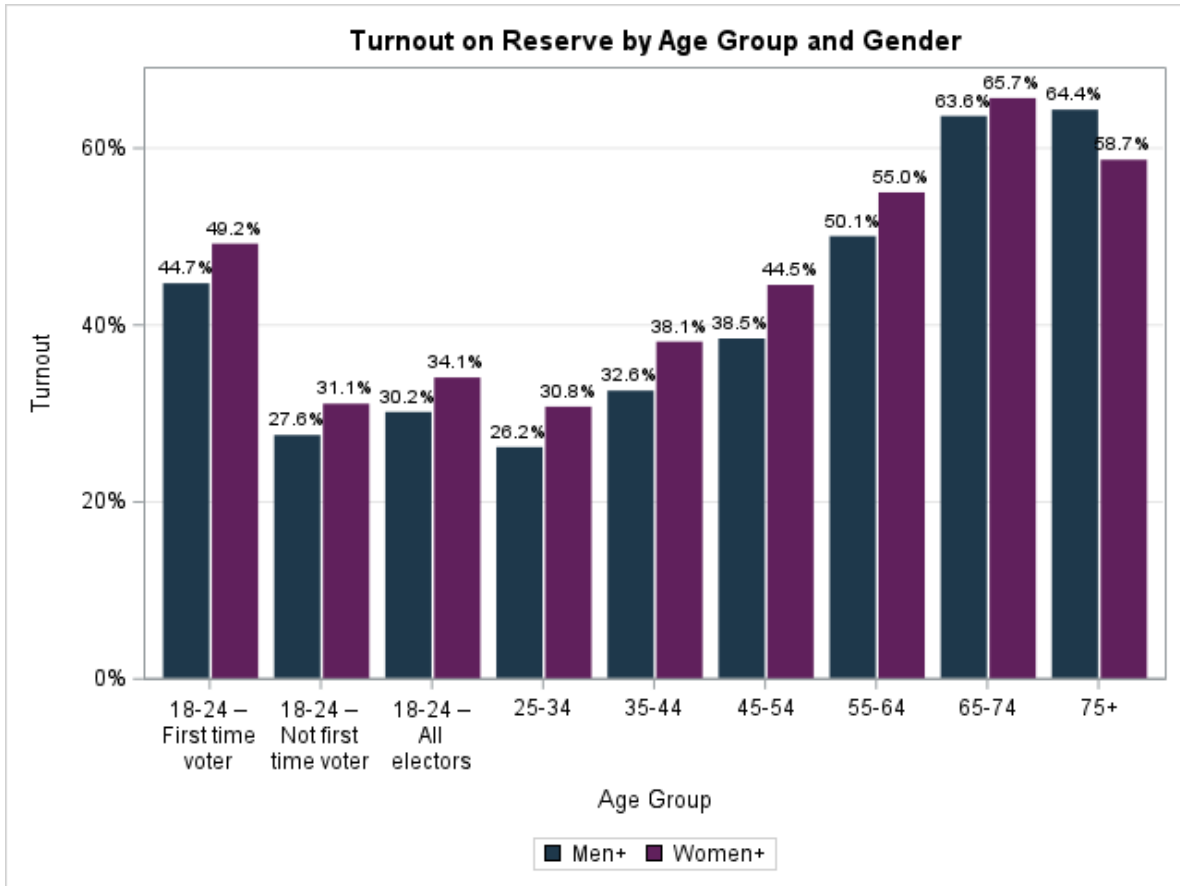


Figure 4: Breakdown of Elector Turnout on Reserve by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)

Table 8: Text Version of “Figure 4: Breakdown of Elector Turnout on Reserve by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)”

Age Group	Men+ Turnout	Women+ Turnout
18–24 – First-time voters ⁷	44.7%	49.2%
18–24 – Not first-time voters ⁸	27.6%	31.1%
18–24 – All electors	30.2%	34.1%
25–34	26.2%	30.8%
35–44	32.6%	38.1%
45–54	38.5%	44.5%
55–64	50.1%	55.0%
65–74	63.6%	65.7%
75+	64.4%	58.7%

⁷ During the 44th general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 years old and 19 years and 10 months old on election day.

⁸ During the 44th general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 19 years and 11 months old and 24 years old on election day.

As Figure 4 shows, turnout increases with age, a finding that is consistently seen across many studies about electoral participation and consistent with the on-reserve turnout trends in 2019. Also, as with 2019, we see a relatively high turnout for first-time voters compared with that of other youth voters and the same slightly higher turnout of the 18–24 group relative to the 25–34 group. If fewer eligible first-time electors registered compared with the Canadian average, then turnout of registered electors might be higher as a result.

Comparing the turnouts by age and gender with those in 2019, we see that the decrease in turnout is slightly greater for women+ than men+ for all age groups to age 64. We also see that the decrease in turnout is greatest among the 18–24-olds (-8.4 p.p. for men+ and -10.7 p.p. for women+) but is still quite significant, except for the oldest voters (-3.9 p.p. for men+ and -3.0 p.p. for women+) and the youngest, first-time voters (-1.7 p.p. for men+ and -2.4 p.p. for women+). However, given that it is likely, based on national trends, that compared with other age cohorts less of the eligible youth population is registered (Elections Canada 2022c), we should take these results with caution.

Inuit communities

Forty-third general election

During the 43rd general election, 31,643 electors lived in polling divisions associated with Inuit communities. Due to the small number of non-binary electors, the number must be suppressed. There were 16,079 men+, 15,564 women+. Figure 5 below shows the breakdown of registered electors in Inuit communities by age group and gender.

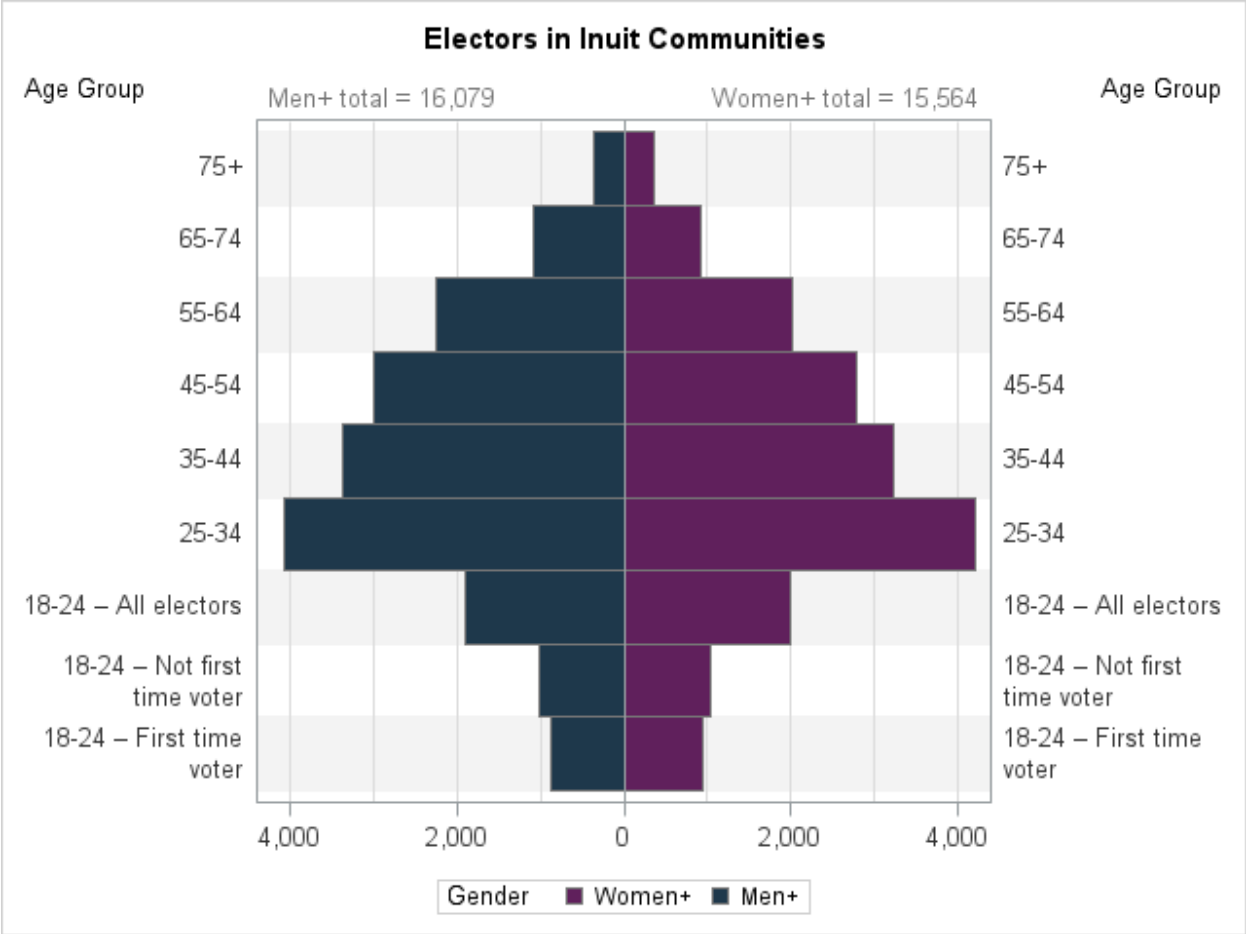


Figure 5: Number of Registered Electors in Inuit Communities, by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)

Table 9: Text Version of "Figure 5: Number of Registered Electors in Inuit Communities, by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)"

Age Group	Men+ Electors	Women+ Electors
18–24 – First-time voters ⁹	884	955
18–24 – Not first-time voters ¹⁰	1,011	1,051
18–24 – All electors	1,895	2,006
25–34	4,087	4,215
35–44	3,380	3,248
45–54	3,006	2,793
55–64	2,253	2,011
65–74	1,094	921
75+	364	369
Total	16,079	15,563

As we can see, the Inuit population is much younger than the on-reserve population and Canadian population, with the largest cohort of registered electors being 25–34, and the size of the electorate dropping significantly for each ageing cohort. The proportion of electors aged 18–24 who were first-time voters was 47.1%, which is slightly higher than the on-reserve population but still much lower than 54.2% of all eligible Canadians (Elections Canada 2021).

Figure 6 shows the complete breakdown of voter turnout by age and gender.

⁹ During the 43rd general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 and 21 years old on election day.

¹⁰ During the 43rd general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 22 and 24 years old on election day.

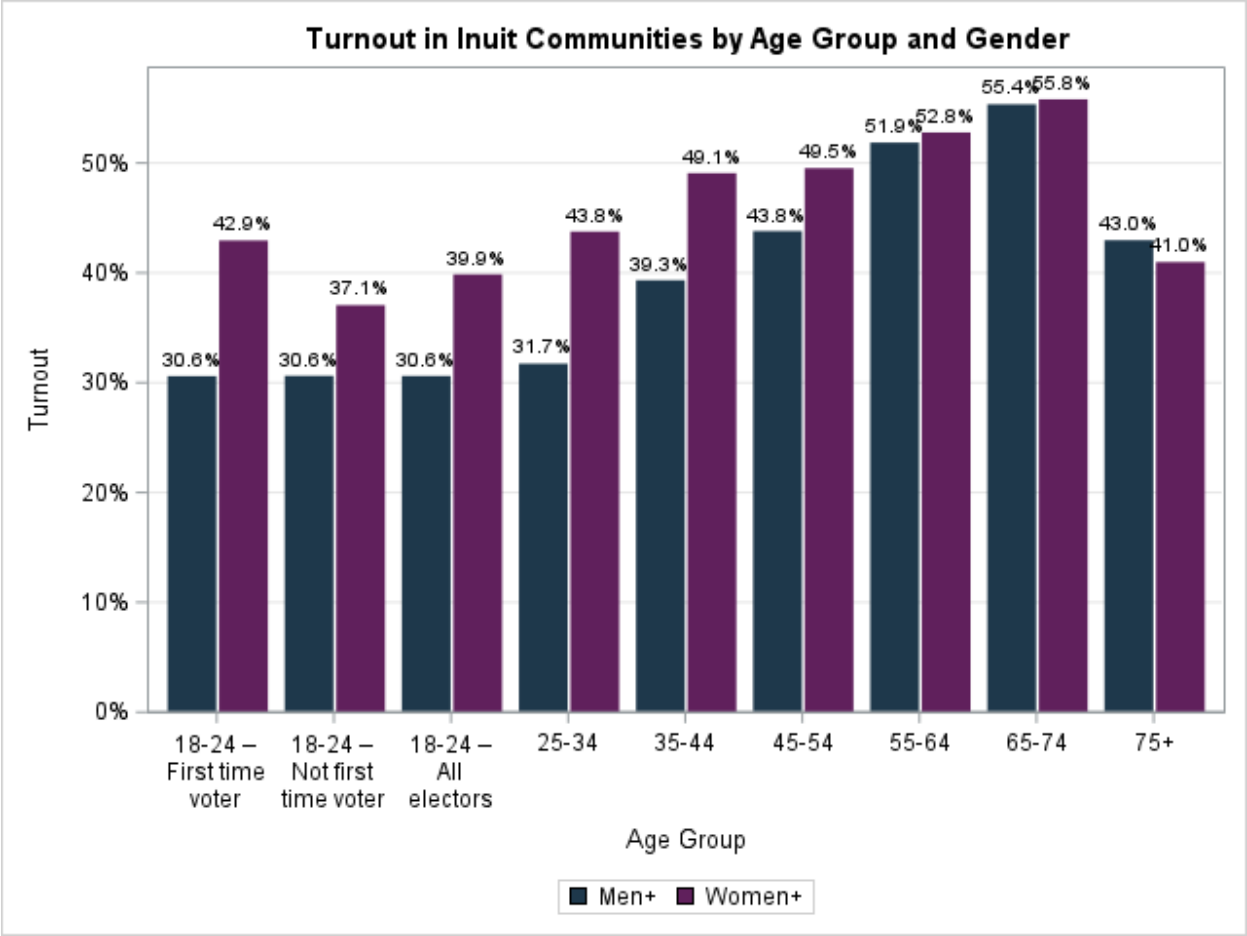


Figure 6: Breakdown of Elector Turnout in Inuit Communities by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)

Table 10: Text Version of "Figure 6: Breakdown of Elector Turnout in Inuit Communities by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)"

Age Group	Men+ Turnout	Women+ Turnout
18–24 – First-time voters ¹¹	30.6%	42.9%
18–24 – Not first-time voters ¹²	30.6%	37.1%
18–24 – All electors	30.6%	39.9%
25–34	31.7%	43.8%
35–44	39.3%	49.1%
45–54	43.8%	49.5%
55–64	51.9%	52.8%
65–74	55.4%	55.8%
75+	43.0%	41.0%

¹¹ During the 43rd general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 and 21 years old on election day.

¹² During the 43rd general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 22 and 24 years old on election day.

Some age groups, notably in the 25–44 age range, see a turnout similar to that of the on-reserve population in 2019. However, the trends in turnout for the older cohorts in Inuit communities diverged from the Canadian population and even the on-reserve population. While the two latter groups saw turnout increasing greatly with age, generally doubling between the youngest and the 65–74 cohort, the increase is more modest within Inuit communities. Not only that, but the turnout decreased more sharply between the 65–74 and 75+ cohorts, compared with the much smaller decline observed in the general and on-reserve populations. In fact, the turnout of 75+ year-olds in the Inuit Nunangat is 25.3 p.p. lower for men+ and 20.7 p.p. lower for women+, when compared with the turnout of the on-reserve population.

For first-time voters, we see that the turnout for men+ is roughly the same as that for not-first-time youth voters, but the turnout difference between these two groups for women+ is much more pronounced. While Elections Canada does not publish register coverage for the Inuit Nunangat, it does publish coverage for Nunavut, which covers roughly two-thirds of the population of the Nunangat. The register coverage for Nunavut in June 2019 was 80.0%, which is lower than the national average (93.5%) (Elections Canada 2019b). As mentioned in the previous section, when fewer eligible electors are registered in a given demographic group, the turnout of registered electors may be higher.

Forty-fourth general election

During the 44th general election, 33,845 electors lived in polling divisions associated with Inuit communities. There were 17,142 men+ and 16,705 women+. Figure 7 below shows the breakdown of registered electors in Inuit communities by age group and gender.

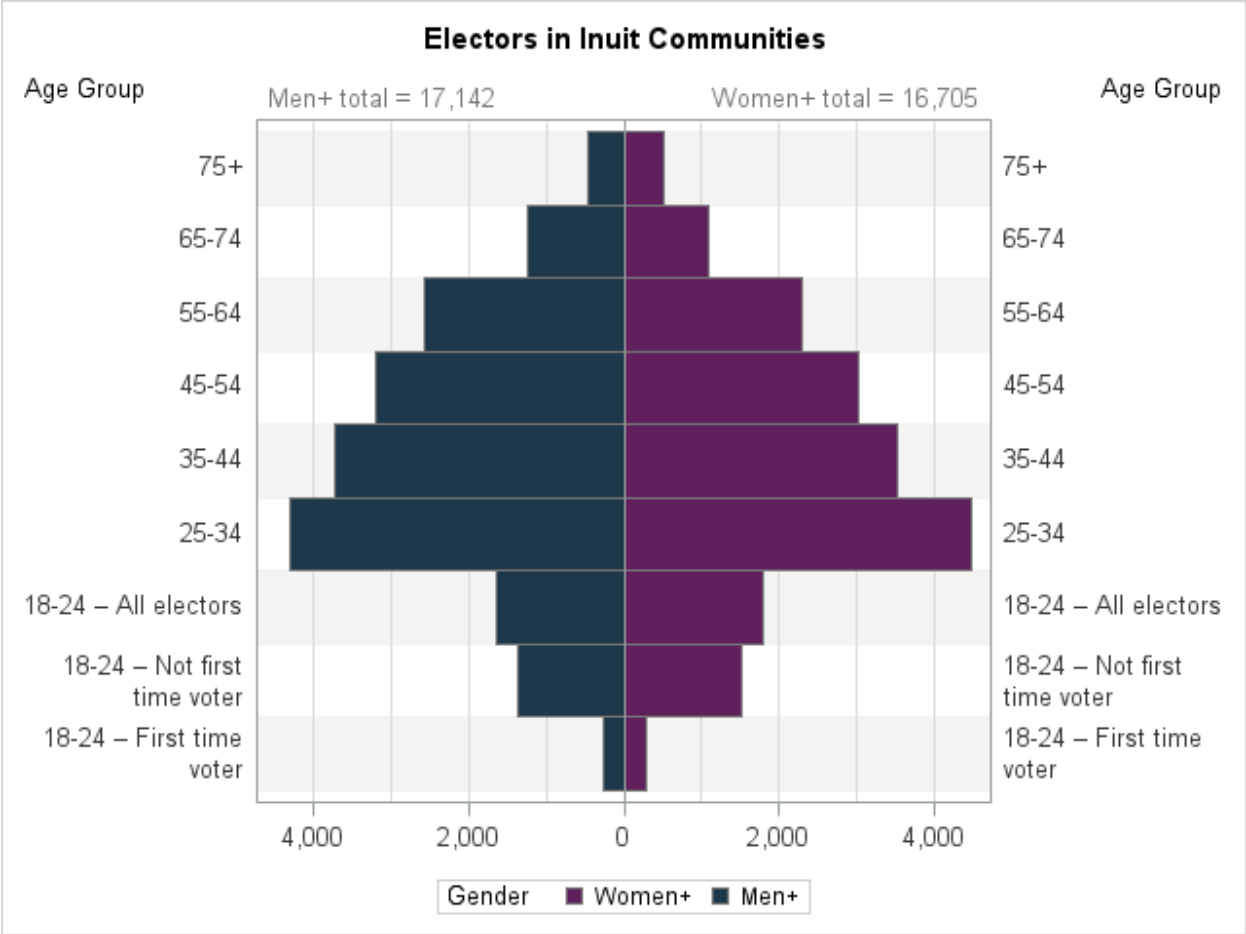


Figure 7: Number of Registered Electors in Inuit Communities, by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)

Table 11: Text Version of “Figure 7: Number of Registered Electors in Inuit Communities, by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)”

Age Group	Men+ Electors	Women+ Electors
18–24 – First-time voters ¹³	265	278
18–24 – Not first-time voters ¹⁴	1,376	1,518
18–24 – All electors	1,641	1,796
25–34	4,303	4,471
35–44	3,728	3,529
45–54	3,187	3,016
55–64	2,575	2,281
65–74	1,241	1,096
75+	466	515

¹³ During the 44th general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 years old and 19 years and 10 months old on election day.

¹⁴ During the 44th general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 19 years and 11 months old and 24 years old on election day.

Total	17,142	16,705
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Overall, except for the proportion of first-time voters, the demographics of registered electors in Inuit communities remained stable between 2019 and 2021. The gender distribution was 50.6% men+ in 2021 compared with 50.8% men+ in 2019, meaning that Inuit electors did not see the same change in gender distribution as did the on-reserve population.

In 2021, as in 2019, the Inuit population was much younger than the turnout on-reserve population. The proportion of electors aged 18–24 who were first-time voters was 17.2%, which is, again, slightly higher than the on-reserve population but still lower than the proportion of all eligible electors who were first-time voters in 2021 (26.2%) (Elections Canada 2022a). Figure 8 below shows the complete breakdown of turnout by age and gender.

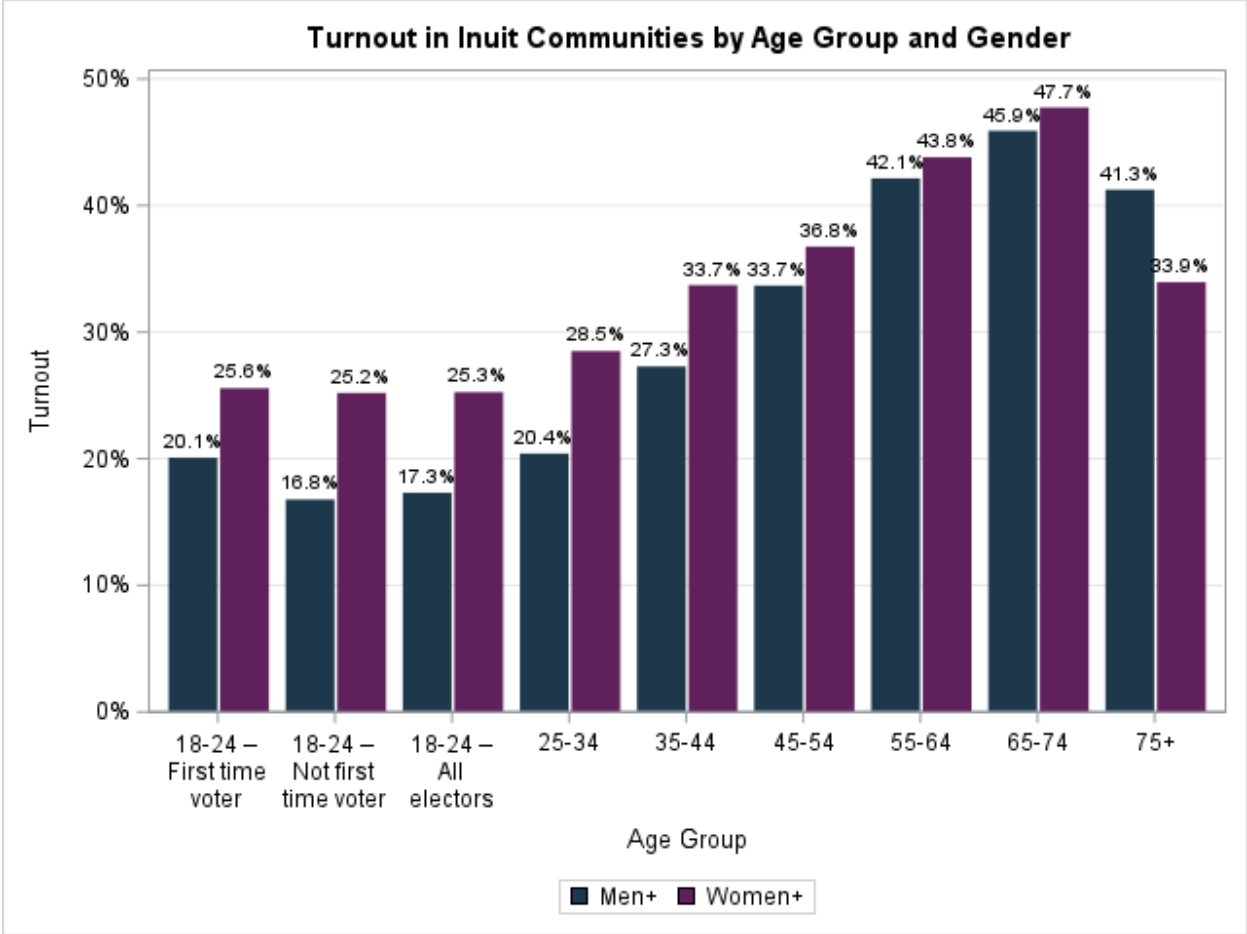


Figure 8: Breakdown of Elector Turnout in Inuit Communities by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)

Table 12: Text Version of “Figure 8: Breakdown of Elector Turnout in Inuit Communities by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)”

Age Group	Men+ Turnout	Women+ Turnout
18–24 – First-time voters ¹⁵	20.1%	25.6%
18–24 – Not first-time voters ¹⁶	16.8%	25.2%
18–24 – All electors	17.3%	25.3%
25–34	20.4%	28.5%
35–44	27.3%	33.7%
45–54	33.7%	36.8%
55–64	42.1%	43.8%
65–74	45.9%	47.7%
75+	41.3%	33.9%

Unlike in 2019, the turnout of first-time voters and not-first-time youth voters was roughly the same for women+ and only slightly higher for men+, which is more in line with the trends of the general Canadian population. The increase in turnout across the age groups is also more in line with the general population voting trends in 2021 (Elections Canada 2022a).

Compared to the turnout of voters in Inuit communities in 2019, the decrease in turnout was largest among the youngest (18–24) and oldest (65+) voters. These two demographic groups are roughly equal in size, and so they equally contribute to the overall decrease in turnout for electors in Inuit communities between 2019 and 2021.

Métis settlements

Forty-third general election

During the 43rd general election in 2019, 2,814 electors lived in polling divisions associated with Métis settlements. There were 1,440 men+ and 1,374 women+. Figure 9 shows the breakdown of registered electors in Métis settlements by age group and gender.

¹⁵ During the 44th general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 years old and 19 years and 10 months old on election day.

¹⁶ During the 44th general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 19 years and 11 months old and 24 years old on election day.

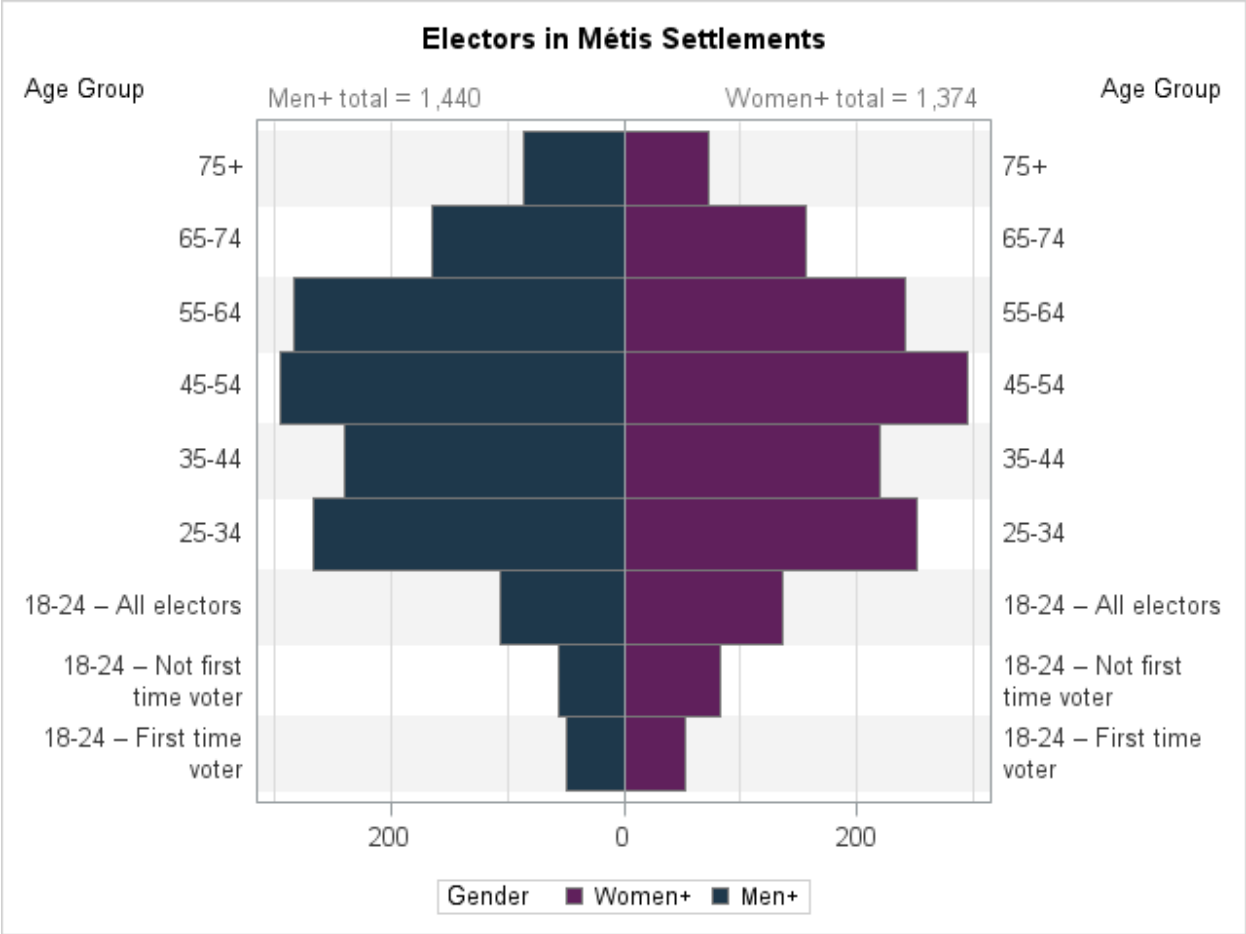


Figure 9: Number of Registered Electors in Métis Settlements, by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)

Table 13: Text Version of "Figure 9: Number of Registered Electors in Métis Settlements, by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)"

Age Group	Men+ Electors	Women+ Electors
18-24 – First-time voters ¹⁷	50	53
18-24 – Not first-time voters ¹⁸	56	83
18-24 – All electors	106	136
25-34	266	252
35-44	240	220
45-54	295	295
55-64	283	242
65-74	164	156
75+	86	73
Total	1,440	1,374

As Figure 9 shows, the population of the Métis community is younger than the on-reserve and general population but not quite as young as the Inuit population. The largest cohort in the Métis community is the 45–54-year-olds, followed by the 55–64-year-olds. Of the youth voters, 42.6% were first-time voters, compared with 45.1% of on-reserve registered voters and 54.2% of all eligible Canadian voters (Elections Canada 2021). As with the previous data, the low percentage of first-time voters, despite the younger population, points to the fact that few eligible electors in this age category are on the register (Elections Canada 2020a). Figure 10 shows the complete turnout by age and gender.

¹⁷ During the 43rd general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 and 21 years old on election day.

¹⁸ During the 43rd general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 22 and 24 years old on election day.

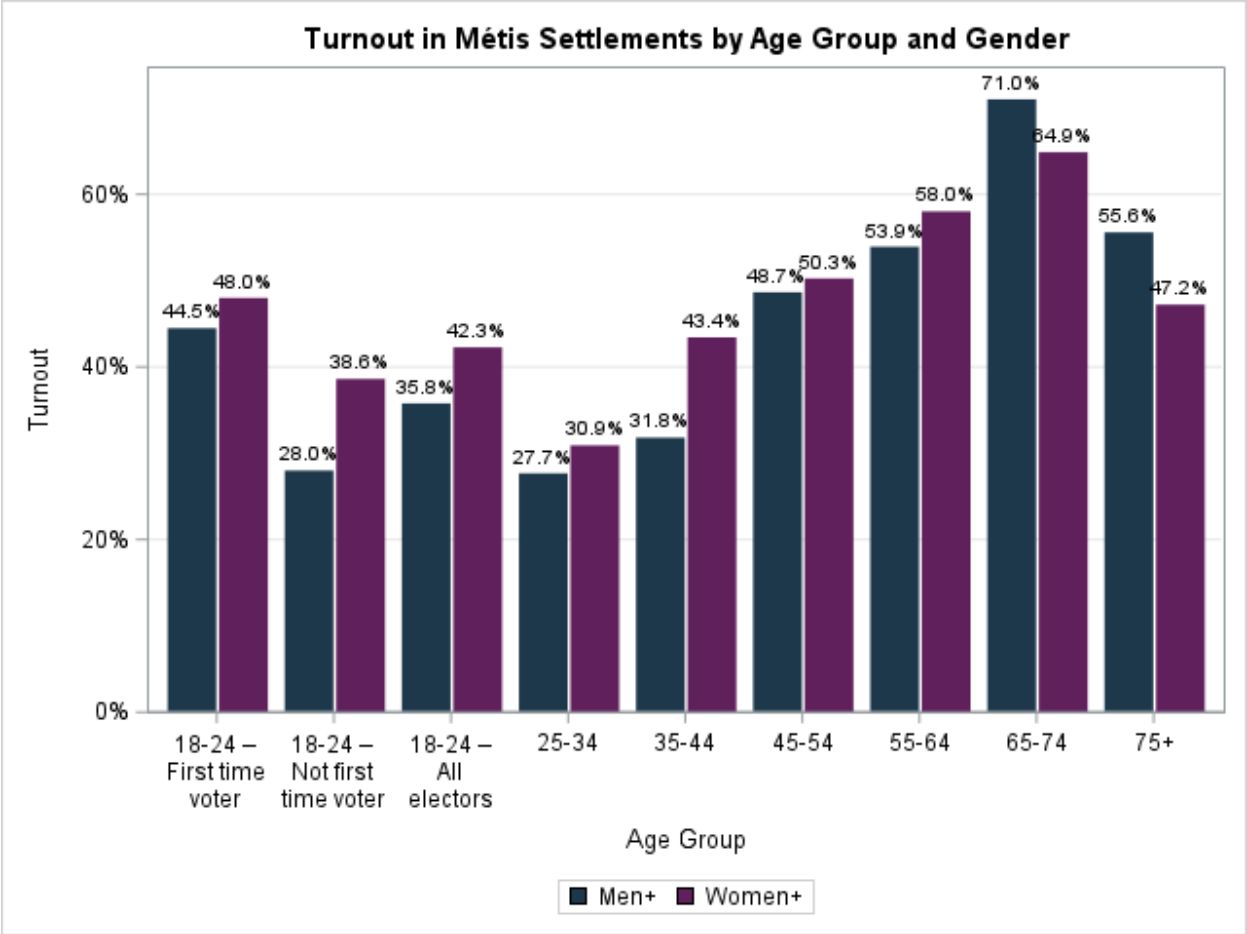


Figure 10: Breakdown of Elector Turnout in Métis Settlements by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)

Table 14: Text Version of "Figure 10: Breakdown of Elector Turnout in Métis Settlements by Age Group and Gender, 2019 (43rd General Election)"

Age Group	Men+ Turnout	Women+ Turnout
18–24 – First-time voters ¹⁹	44.5%	48.0%
18–24 – Not first-time voters ²⁰	28.0%	38.6%
18–24 – All electors	35.8%	42.3%
25–34	27.7%	30.9%
35–44	31.8%	43.4%
45–54	48.7%	50.3%
55–64	53.9%	58.0%
65–74	71.0%	64.9%
75+	55.6%	47.2%

¹⁹ During the 43rd general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 and 21 years old on election day.

²⁰ During the 43rd general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 22 and 24 years old on election day.

Given that electors in Métis settlements form a very small population, explanations for the turnout trends observed are limited and particularly susceptible to changes in the number of people who register to vote.

Forty-fourth general election

During the 44th general election, 2,865 electors lived in polling divisions associated with Métis settlements. There were 1,411 men+ and 1,355 women+. Figure 11 below shows the breakdown of registered electors in Métis settlements by age group and gender.

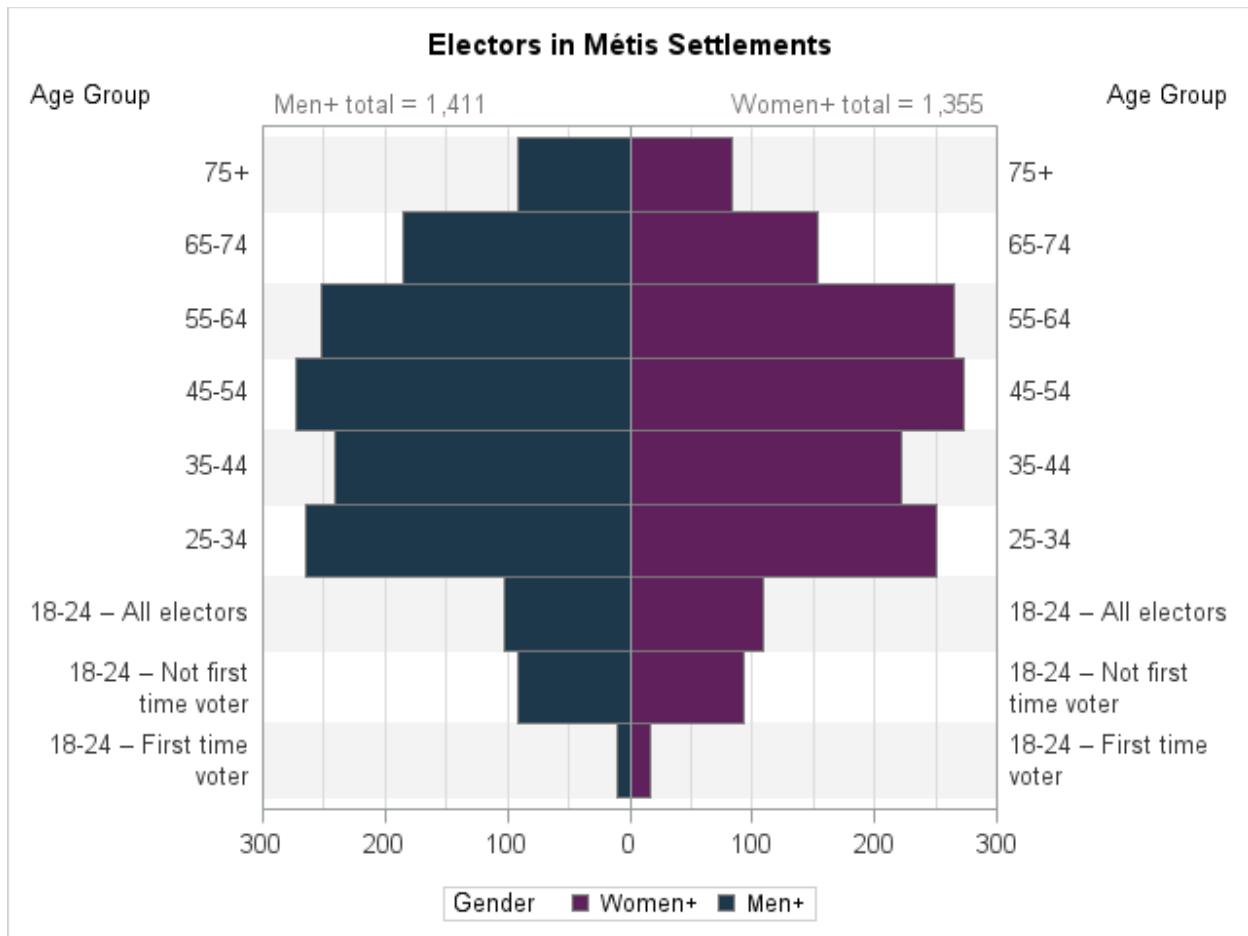


Figure 11: Number of Registered Electors in Métis Settlements, by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)

Table 15: Text Version of "Figure 11: Number of Registered Electors in Métis Settlements, by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)"

Age Group	Men+ Electors	Women+ Electors
18–24 – First-time voters ²¹	11	16
18–24 – Not first-time voters ²²	91	93
18–24 – All electors	102	109
25–34	265	250
35–44	241	221
45–54	273	272
55–64	252	265
65–74	185	154
75+	92	84
Total	1,411	1,355

The age distribution of electors in Métis settlements is closer to that of the on-reserve population than that of electors in Inuit communities.

During the 44th general election, 14.7% of electors in Métis settlements were first-time electors, which is the smallest proportion of all Indigenous groups in this study. The gender distribution in the 18–24 demographic is also more balanced in the 44th general election, lending evidence to the idea that the differences observed in the 43rd general election were merely random variations.

²¹ During the 44th general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 years old and 19 years and 10 months old on election day.

²² During the 44th general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 19 years and 11 months old and 24 years old on election day.

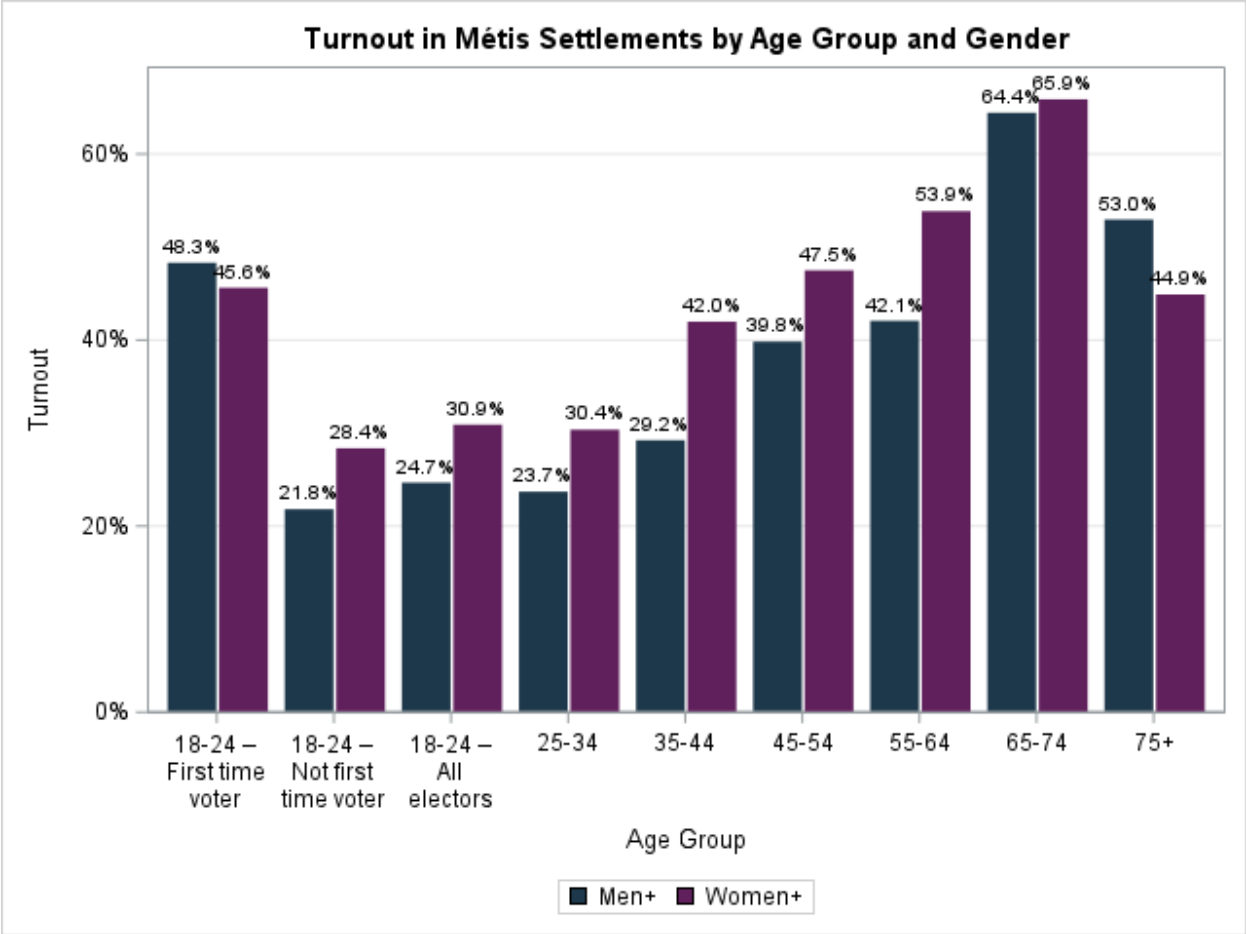


Figure 12: Breakdown of Elector Turnout in Métis Settlements by Age Group and Gender, 2021 (44th General Election)

Table 16: Text Version of "Figure 12: Breakdown of Elector Turnout in Métis Settlements by Age Group and Gender, 2021 "

Age Group	Men+ Turnout	Women+ Turnout
18–24 – First-time voters ²³	48.3%	45.6%
18–24 – Not first-time voters ²⁴	21.8%	28.4%
18–24 – All electors	24.7%	30.9%
25–34	23.7%	30.4%
35–44	29.2%	42.0%
45–54	39.8%	47.5%
55–64	42.1%	53.9%
65–74	64.4%	65.9%
75+	53.0%	44.9%

Figure 12 above shows the complete breakdown of turnout by age and gender. Overall, the turnout by age in Métis settlements is fairly close to that on reserves in the 44th general election. However, we do observe a greater decrease in turnout for ages 75+ in Métis settlements.

In 2021, Métis settlements had a higher turnout than did reserves. Demographically, the higher turnout seems to result from the relatively strong turnout of the 45–54 cohort. Not only was their turnout higher (+1.3 p.p. for men+ and +2.9 p.p.), they represented a larger proportion of registered electors (19.7% of electors on Métis settlements versus 16.5% of on-reserve electors).

Given that electors in Métis settlements are a very small population, explanations for the turnout trends observed are limited and particularly susceptible to changes in the number of people who register to vote.

Analysis – Summary

In summary, the registered electors on reserves, in Inuit communities and Métis settlements generally follow the turnout trends of the eligible Canadian population. In general, turnout increases with age until 74 and then decreases for the 75+ population. These Indigenous communities also follow the general trend where the turnout for women+ is higher than that for men+ in the younger cohorts, and the size of the difference decreases until about ages 65–74; at which point the turnout between men+ and women+ is roughly equal. After this point, electors 75+ men+ have a higher turnout rate than women+.

²³ During the 44th general election, first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were between 18 years old and 19 years and 10 months old on election day.

²⁴ During the 44th general election, not first-time voters in the 18–24 age group consisted of electors who were 19 years and 11 months old and 24 years old on election day.

Despite these general trends being followed, there were also notable differences. In particular, the age distribution of the on-reserve registered electors skewed younger than all eligible electors in the Canadian population. The registered electors on Métis settlements were slightly younger than the registered electors in the on-reserve population. The registered electors in Inuit communities were not only the youngest but also followed a completely different age distribution. In Inuit communities, the largest cohort of registered electors was the 25–34-year-olds, and beyond that age group the size of each ageing cohort decreased.

However, an important finding was that, although these populations were younger on average, the number of registered 18–24-year-olds and first-time youth voters in particular was much lower than expected. This trend was observed in the 43rd and 44th general elections and across all three Indigenous communities analyzed.

Conclusion

This report seeks to analyze participation and investigate possible challenges to participation within Indigenous communities by looking at the available data of voter turnout by province and territory, number of polling stations on reserves by province and territory, and voter turnout by age and gender.

For the first time, Elections Canada also published turnout by age and gender for polling divisions associated with Inuit communities and Métis settlements in the 2019 and 2021 general elections.

For voter turnout overall, the report found that on-reserve turnout was 44.5% in 2021, compared with 51.8% in 2019. This represents a 7.3 percentage point (p.p.) decrease. This made the gap between turnout on reserve and the national turnout increase to 18.1 p.p. in the 44th general election, compared with 15.2 p.p. in the 43rd general election. The turnout for Inuit communities was 43.6% in 2019, compared with 32.0% in 2021 (-11.6 p.p.), and the turnout for polling divisions associated with Métis settlements was 46.3% in 2019 and 41.8% in 2021 (-4.5 p.p.).

Finally, the report found that the turnout for registered electors on reserves and Métis settlements, when broken down by age and gender, generally follows the turnout trends of the eligible Canadian population.

However, registered electors in Inuit communities were not only the youngest but also followed a completely different age distribution. In Inuit communities, the largest cohort of registered electors was the 25–34-year-olds, and beyond that age group the size of each ageing cohort decreased. We also found that Inuit electors' participation did not increase with age at the same rate as did that of the Canadian population or even the on-reserve population.

Although Indigenous populations are younger on average, the report also found that the number of registered 18–24-year-olds and first-time youth voters was much lower than expected. Despite their low numbers, the youth voters had surprisingly high turnout.

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Appendix A: Methodology

Definition of reserves

After each census, Statistics Canada publishes a list of census subdivisions (CSDs) legally affiliated with First Nations or Indian bands, according to criteria established by Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada. Elections Canada follows the definition from Census of Population 2016 of the on-reserve population by using CSDs, which are one of the CSD types listed in Table 17 (Statistics Canada 2019b).

Table 17: Census Subdivision Types Associated with On-Reserve Population

CSD Code	CSD Description
IRI	Indian reserve
S-É	Indian settlement
IGD	Indian government district
TC	Terres réservées aux Cris
TK	Terres réservées aux Naskapis
NL	Nisga'a land

Given that the 2021 CSD boundaries were released after the delivery of the 2021 election, this study uses the 2016 census boundaries for both the 43rd and the 44th general elections. Using the 2016 census boundaries for the 44th election more accurately reflects the data that was available when decisions about polling station locations were made and provides a more comparable list of reserves and polling boundaries used to calculate turnout between the two elections.

Note: First Nations communities in Yukon

Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada currently recognizes 14 First Nations communities within Yukon (CIRNAC 2010). According to the 2016 census, there are four CSDs defined by Statistics Canada as “Indian Settlements.” However, these four settlements are excluded from Statistics Canada’s definition of on-reserve population (Statistics Canada 2019b). To be consistent with their definition, Elections Canada also excludes these settlements for this study.

Definition of Inuit communities

Inuit Nunangat is the Inuktitut expression for Inuit homeland, an expanse comprising more than one third of Canada’s land mass, extending from northern Labrador to the Yukon. In recent years, four Inuit land claims have been signed across Inuit Nunangat. These four regions are:

- Nunatsiavut, in northern Labrador
- Nunavik, in northern Quebec
- Nunavut
- Inuvialuit in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon

Statistics Canada maintains a list of CSDs that belong to Inuit communities. We use their list to define Inuit communities in this report (Statistics Canada 2019c). Readers should note that this list does not contain any CSDs in the Yukon.

Definition of Métis settlements

For Métis settlements, Statistics Canada indicates a list of eight communities (Statistics Canada 2019a) recognized by the Alberta-Métis settlements accord (Government of Alberta 1989). As these communities are quite small, they are listed as census designated places (DPL) rather than as the larger CSDs.

Identifying polling divisions associated with reserves, Inuit and Métis settlements

The above geographic areas identified as Indigenous communities (reserves, Inuit and Métis settlements) are first overlaid on the electoral map. Then we look at polling divisions, which overlap with the Indigenous communities. Polling divisions are the smallest administrative unit used by Elections Canada for releasing voting results. Polling divisions, where the majority of the area include reserves, are retained for further analysis.

With reserves, the relationship between polling divisions is generally straightforward: one reserve contains (or is contained in) a single polling division. However, there are cases where many reserves are grouped under the same polling division and others where a large reserve is spread over several polling divisions.

Next, we consider what happened to the polling divisions during the general election. Operational considerations involving polling station availability can result in a poll being:

- Declared void or not being held
- Split into multiple polling divisions
- Merged with another polling division (Elections Canada 2019a).

Void and not-held polls are removed from the study.

Split polling divisions are included or excluded based on the polling division's boundaries before the split.

For merged polling divisions, we consider where the poll was merged. If a polling division on a reserve was merged with an off-reserve polling division, we remove it from

the study. If the polling division was merged with another on-reserve polling division, we keep it.

After this process, some electors on reserves are excluded, and some off-reserve electors are included. However, these steps ensure that the results presented are as pure a sample as possible of the on-reserve population. A breakdown of the effect these processing steps had on the number of polling divisions and reserves considered in the study is available in Appendix D.

The final list of reserves, Inuit and Métis settlements included in the study can be found in Appendix E.

Calculating turnout

In this study, turnout was calculated by dividing the total number of votes cast by the number of electors on the final list of registered electors. The total number of votes cast includes all votes cast for these polling divisions during advance polls and on election day, as well as those cast under certain provisions of the Special Voting Rules. Note that using registered electors to calculate turnout, while aligned with how results are reported in the Official Voting Results, does have some weaknesses.

Limitations when using registered voters as the denominator when calculating turnout

The number of registered electors can be impacted by the quality of the list of electors. Because registration rates vary over time, this measure can be misleading when comparing turnout from two different elections. The list coverage can also vary across different segments of the population and can differ by region. For example, youth aged 18–24 consistently have lower coverage compared with the rest of the electorate.

Furthermore, attaining a high level of coverage and currency of the list of electors on reserves and in Inuit communities can be particularly challenging. There are several reasons for this. First, targeted revision (door-to-door registration) is generally less effective in isolated areas. Second, residents of reserves are less likely to have used Elections Canada's online voter registration service to register or update their address because it cannot process the non-standard address types often found on many reserves. As a result, voters' lists do not always reflect the true number of electors qualified to vote on reserve (Elections Canada 2016b).

More details on the impact of registration coverage on the interpretation of the results is covered in the body of the report.

Inclusion of special ballots

While all electors are entitled to apply to vote by special ballot, the *Canada Elections Act* (CEA) divides electors into five categories for the purposes of the Special Voting Rules (Part 11 of the CEA). They are:

1. Canadian Forces electors, members of the Canadian Armed Forces who vote at an established military poll
2. International electors, Canadian citizens who reside outside Canada
3. Incarcerated electors, electors who are incarcerated in a provincial or federal correctional facility
4. National electors, electors residing in Canada who are not in their electoral district and vote at an Elections Canada office or by mail outside their electoral district
5. Local electors, electors residing in Canada who vote at an Elections Canada office or by mail and whose application for registration and special ballot has been approved by the office in the electoral district where they reside

Canadian Forces electors were recorded in a separate list of electors until the 44th general election.

International and incarcerated electors are still recorded in a separate list of electors and not included in the list of registered electors used to tabulate the Official Voting Results.

In this report, we include only the categories of electors who are included in the regular list of electors. This means:

- For the 43rd general election, we include national and local electors
- For the 44th general election, we include Canadian Forces electors, national and local electors

The inclusion of Canadian Forces electors has a negligible impact on results between elections, as the estimated number of voters was about 29,000 nationally during the 2019 general election (Elections Canada 2020a).

Prevalence of Indigenous identity on polling divisions associated with reserves

As mentioned in the introduction, turnout on reserves is measured as a proxy for turnout of Indigenous electors. This is not a perfect measure. We exclude Indigenous electors who do not live on reserves and include non-Indigenous electors who live on or very near reserves (and thus are included in polling divisions associated with reserves).

In 2022, a study was done to estimate the percentage of electors included in the 43rd general election count of voters on reserves who are Indigenous.

This study used the 2016 census data at the polling division level, which was obtained through a special agreement with Statistics Canada. The study showed 1,067 polling divisions associated with reserves. Of these, there were 14 Indigenous reserves and settlements where dwelling enumeration was either not permitted or was interrupted before it could be completed. There were an additional 59 polling divisions where the data was suppressed for confidentiality or data quality reasons. This left 993 polling divisions with demographic data that could be studied.

Table 18: A sample study showing the percentage of the population that identified as Indigenous in the 2016 census in polling divisions associated with reserves in the 43rd general election

Province/Territory	Reserves in Population Sample	Polling Divisions in Population Sample	% of the Population in the Polling Divisions that Identified as Indigenous in the 2021 Census
Newfoundland and Labrador	3	4	94.5%
Prince Edward Island	3	3	68.4%
Nova Scotia	25	38	53.5%
New Brunswick	17	29	61.0%
Quebec	39	85	87.2%
Ontario	117	160	74.5%
Manitoba	68	88	94.5%
Saskatchewan	103	126	83.2%
Alberta	64	87	86.4%
British Columbia	224	371	33.2%
Northwest Territories	2	2	80.1%
Total	665	993	70.3%

Of this population, approximately 70.3% identified as Indigenous. The national numbers are highly influenced by the low percentage of Indigenous-identifying people in the polling divisions associated with reserves in British Columbia. At 33.2% of the population identifying as Indigenous, this is certainly an outlier compared to the rest of the country. As a result, the turnout numbers associated with reserves in British Columbia should be considered with caution.

Given the number of incompletely enumerated or suppressed populations, there is some amount of uncertainty to this number. Nevertheless, it does show that Elections Canada must look at more innovative ways to more accurately capture Indigenous turnout in the future.

Appendix B: On-Reserve Turnout by Electoral District, 2019, 2021

Note: Due to rounding errors when estimating the number of votes and electors by electoral district, the total estimate per province or territory may not match the sum of all electoral districts in the province.

Province/ Territory	Federal Electoral District	2019 (43rd General Election)			2021 (44th General Election)		
		Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout
Newfoundland and Labrador		753	2,154	35.0%	352	2,142	16.40%
	Coast of Bays– Central–Notre Dame	280	705	39.6%	185	689	26.9%
	Labrador	474	1,449	32.7%	166	1,453	11.5%
Prince Edward Island		488	753	64.8%	432	730	59.2%
	Cardigan	99	171	57.8%	89	162	55.0%
	Egmont	138	250	55.3%	103	255	40.5%
	Malpeque	251	332	75.6%	240	313	76.7%
Nova Scotia		8,802	14,110	62.4%	6,833	13,128	52.0%
	Cape Breton–Canso	548	1,110	49.3%	657	1,455	45.2%
	Central Nova	1,500	1,992	75.3%	748	1,196	62.6%
	Cumberland– Colchester	435	753	57.7%	313	713	43.9%
	Dartmouth–Cole Harbour	317	417	76.0%	234	394	59.4%
	Halifax West	299	434	68.8%	303	446	67.9%
	Kings–Hants	1,524	2,445	62.3%	1,340	2,469	54.3%
	Sackville–Preston– Chezzetcook	193	279	69.3%	N/A	N/A	N/A
	South Shore–St. Margarets	830	1,358	61.1%	777	1,387	56.0%
	Sydney–Victoria	2,430	4,069	59.7%	2,006	4,144	48.4%
	West Nova	727	1,253	58.0%	454	924	49.1%
New Brunswick		5,510	10,564	52.2%	6,185	13,120	47.1%
	Acadie–Bathurst	145	268	54.1%	143	263	54.4%
	Beauséjour	592	895	66.1%	757	1,247	60.7%
	Fredericton	1,302	2,469	52.7%	2,040	3,857	52.9%
	Madawaska– Restigouche	435	739	58.9%	337	735	45.8%

Province/ Territory	Federal Electoral District	2019 (43rd General Election)			2021 (44th General Election)		
		Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout
	Miramichi–Grand Lake	2,487	4,733	52.5%	2,516	5,509	45.7%
	New Brunswick Southwest	149	367	40.5%	117	385	30.4%
	Tobique–Mactaquac	401	1,093	36.7%	276	1,124	24.6%
Quebec		9,780	37,529	26.1%	8,953	38,375	23.3%
	Abitibi–Baie-James– Nunavik–Eeyou	2,362	10,830	21.8%	2,213	11,793	18.8%
	Abitibi– Témiscamingue	671	1,545	43.4%	598	1,578	37.9%
	Avignon–La Mitis– Matane–Matapédia	769	2,374	32.4%	420	1,960	21.4%
	Bécancour–Nicolet– Saurel	377	758	49.7%	603	1,131	53.3%
	Joliette	335	1,342	25.0%	321	1,396	23.0%
	La Prairie	55	2,335	2.3%	46	2,434	1.9%
	Lac-Saint-Jean	468	1,693	27.6%	508	1,730	29.3%
	Laurentides–Labelle	484	701	69.0%	480	720	66.6%
	Louis-Saint-Laurent	1,389	2,408	57.7%	1,252	2,252	55.6%
	Manicouagan	1,976	8,175	24.2%	1,764	7,999	22.0%
	Mirabel	191	623	30.6%	174	580	30.0%
	Pontiac	211	1,167	18.1%	127	1,103	11.5%
	Saint-Maurice– Champlain	273	2,057	13.3%	238	2,117	11.2%
	Salaberry–Suroît	220	1,521	14.5%	211	1,582	13.3%
Ontario		29,906	63,170	47.3%	25,651	61,247	41.9%
	Algoma–Manitoulin– Kapuskasing	4,507	8,429	53.5%	4,230	8,588	49.3%
	Brantford–Brant	1,572	6,222	25.3%	1,230	6,000	20.5%
	Bruce–Grey–Owen Sound	809	1,517	53.3%	479	1,147	41.8%
	Chatham-Kent– Leamington	100	267	37.4%	101	269	37.7%
	Durham	495	737	67.2%	461	739	62.4%
	Hastings–Lennox and Addington	1,007	2,622	38.4%	1,036	2,701	38.3%
	Kenora	6,139	12,713	48.3%	4,971	12,814	38.8%
	Lambton–Kent– Middlesex	2,346	5,818	40.3%	2,438	5,598	43.5%

Province/ Territory	Federal Electoral District	2019 (43rd General Election)			2021 (44th General Election)		
		Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout
	Nickel Belt	303	512	59.2%	249	565	44.0%
	Nipissing– Timiskaming	887	1,666	53.2%	834	1,655	50.4%
	Northumberland– Peterborough South	835	1,248	66.9%	805	1,253	64.3%
	Parry Sound– Muskoka	600	1,016	59.1%	534	986	54.1%
	Peterborough– Kawartha	539	961	56.1%	585	1,005	58.2%
	Renfrew–Nipissing– Pembroke	160	360	44.5%	184	363	50.6%
	Sarnia–Lambton	263	649	40.5%	256	633	40.4%
	Sault Ste. Marie	1,317	2,612	50.4%	1,234	2,683	46.0%
	Simcoe North	808	1,388	58.2%	800	1,470	54.5%
	Stormont–Dundas– South Glengarry	1,490	2,866	52.0%	1,192	2,488	47.9%
	Thunder Bay–Rainy River	2,143	4,173	51.3%	1,751	3,676	47.6%
	Thunder Bay– Superior North	1,304	2,537	51.4%	970	2,525	38.4%
	Timmins–James Bay	2,167	4,675	46.3%	1,210	3,901	31.0%
	York–Simcoe	115	182	63.1%	100	188	53.1%
Manitoba		16,162	39,692	40.7%	11,624	39,472	29.4%
	Brandon–Souris	56	105	53.8%	298	542	55.0%
	Churchill– Keewatinook Aski	11,519	29,001	39.7%	7,529	28,104	26.8%
	Dauphin–Swan River–Neepawa	3,099	7,117	43.5%	2,852	7,881	36.2%
	Portage–Lisgar	472	980	48.1%	396	1,047	37.8%
	Provencher	463	951	48.7%	177	586	30.3%
	Selkirk–Interlake– Eastman	309	1,062	29.1%	371	1,312	28.3%
Saskatchewan		25,695	45,174	56.9%	16,568	42,158	39.3%
	Battlefords– Lloydminster	3,060	5,952	51.4%	1,924	5,139	37.4%
	Cypress Hills– Grasslands	469	613	76.5%	631	1,134	55.6%

Province/ Territory	Federal Electoral District	2019 (43rd General Election)			2021 (44th General Election)		
		Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout
	Desnethé– Missinippi–Churchill River	10,026	20,954	47.8%	6,704	21,271	31.5%
	Carlton Trail–Eagle Creek	1,514	2,045	74.0%	1,317	2,835	46.4%
	Moose Jaw–Lake Centre–Lanigan	603	832	72.5%	173	364	47.5%
	Prince Albert	783	1,338	58.5%	746	1,608	46.4%
	Regina–Qu’Appelle	3,159	4,499	70.2%	1,630	3,792	43.0%
	Souris–Moose Mountain	2,190	3,418	64.1%	1,132	2,343	48.3%
	Yorkton–Melville	3,890	5,523	70.4%	2,312	3,672	63.0%
Alberta		17,684	42,908	41.2%	14,842	41,776	35.5%
	Banff–Airdrie	503	2,067	24.3%	1,215	3,142	38.7%
	Bow River	575	2,043	28.1%	354	2,076	17.1%
	Edmonton– Wetaskiwin	308	481	64.0%	306	540	56.8%
	Foothills	1,291	2,842	45.4%	1,375	3,457	39.8%
	Fort McMurray–Cold Lake	2,637	5,802	45.4%	2,406	6,036	39.9%
	Grande Prairie– Mackenzie	1,381	2,841	48.6%	887	2,581	34.4%
	Lakeland	1,855	5,048	36.8%	1,518	4,834	31.4%
	Medicine Hat– Cardston–Warner	879	2,795	31.4%	534	3,080	17.3%
	Peace River– Westlock	4,145	8,961	46.3%	3,346	6,867	48.7%
	Red Deer–Lacombe	1,573	4,841	32.5%	981	4,515	21.7%
	Sturgeon River– Parkland	589	1,635	36.0%	456	1,611	28.3%
	Yellowhead	1,947	3,552	54.8%	1,701	3,402	50.0%
British Columbia		97,788	154,221	63.4%	91,716	159,422	57.5%
	Abbotsford	694	1,021	68.0%	652	1,001	65.1%
	Burnaby North– Seymour	2,067	2,984	69.3%	3,312	4,866	68.1%
	Cariboo–Prince George	2,374	4,332	54.8%	3,308	6,169	53.6%

Province/ Territory	Federal Electoral District	2019 (43rd General Election)			2021 (44th General Election)		
		Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout
	Central Okanagan– Similkameen–Nicola	10,160	14,961	67.9%	12,055	19,463	61.9%
	Chilliwack–Hope	7,701	11,779	65.4%	7,626	12,558	60.7%
	Coquitlam–Port Coquitlam	357	584	61.1%	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Courtenay–Alberni	3,316	5,245	63.2%	3,035	5,441	55.8%
	Cowichan–Malahat– Langford	6,614	10,101	65.5%	5,194	8,818	58.9%
	Delta	1,385	1,929	71.8%	265	378	70.2%
	Fleetwood–Port Kells	321	492	65.3%	362	600	60.3%
	Kamloops– Thompson–Cariboo	5,343	7,764	68.8%	4,673	7,180	65.1%
	Kelowna–Lake Country	1,548	2,392	64.7%	1,377	2,453	56.1%
	Kootenay–Columbia	2,051	2,997	68.5%	1,935	2,972	65.1%
	Langley–Aldergrove	1,051	1,426	73.7%	961	1,421	67.6%
	Mission–Matsqui– Fraser Canyon	6,974	11,853	58.8%	6,726	12,688	53.0%
	Nanaimo–Ladysmith	2,054	3,318	61.9%	1,804	3,519	51.3%
	North Okanagan– Shuswap	7,284	10,980	66.3%	6,870	11,466	59.9%
	North Vancouver	854	1,432	59.7%	770	1,542	49.9%
	Pitt Meadows–Maple Ridge	1,021	1,486	68.7%	739	1,085	68.1%
	Port Moody– Coquitlam	229	413	55.4%	231	411	56.1%
	Prince George– Peace River– Northern Rockies	1,977	3,219	61.4%	1,619	3,126	51.8%
	Esquimalt–Saanich– Sooke	2,244	3,735	60.1%	2,129	3,863	55.1%
	Saanich–Gulf Islands	3,381	5,146	65.7%	2,403	4,408	54.5%
	Skeena–Bulkley Valley	9,770	17,595	55.5%	8,242	17,636	46.7%
	South Okanagan– West Kootenay	4,741	6,878	68.9%	4,800	7,439	64.5%

Province/ Territory	Federal Electoral District	2019 (43rd General Election)			2021 (44th General Election)		
		Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout	Votes	Registered Electors	Turnout
	South Surrey–White Rock	43	78	54.7%	39	79	49.3%
	North Island–Powell River	4,895	8,144	60.1%	3,393	6,244	54.3%
	Vancouver Quadra	700	1,252	55.9%	600	1,251	48.0%
	West Vancouver– Sunshine Coast–Sea to Sky Country	6,638	10,685	62.1%	6,598	11,345	58.2%
Northwest Territories		230	569	40.4%	41	179	22.8%

Appendix C: Turnout in Indigenous Communities by Voting Method and Province, 2019, 2021

[GE43 vote by method and province in Indigenous communities \(elections.ca\)](#)

[GE44 vote by method and province in Indigenous communities \(elections.ca\)](#)

Appendix D: Breakdown of Number of Reserves and Polling Divisions

Table 19: Breakdown of Number of Reserves and Polling Divisions Included After Each Processing Phase, 2019 (43rd general election)

Processing Phase	Number of Reserves	Number of Polling Divisions
All overlapping polling divisions and reserves	990	1,137
Removal of low-quality matches	974	1,085
Removal of void polls, and polling divisions merged with off-reserve polling divisions	701	1,067

Table 20: Breakdown of Number of Reserves and Polling Divisions Included After Each Processing Phase, 2021 (44th general election)

Processing Phase	Number of Reserves	Number of Polling Divisions
All overlapping polling divisions and reserves	1,024	1,181
Removal of low-quality matches	1,015	1,133
Removal of void polls, and polling divisions merged with off-reserve polling divisions	658	1,048

Table 21: Final Number of Reserves and Polling Divisions Included in the Study by Province and Territory – 43rd General Election in 2019 Compared with the 44th General Election in 2021

Province/Territory	2019 (43rd GE)		2021 (44th GE)	
	Number of Reserves	Number of Polling Divisions	Number of Reserves	Number of Polling Divisions
Newfoundland and Labrador	3	4	3	4
Prince Edward Island	3	3	3	3
Nova Scotia	25	39	22	36
New Brunswick	17	29	18	34
Quebec	42	93	40	93
Ontario	128	181	123	174
Manitoba	73	99	66	99
Saskatchewan	107	135	99	130
Alberta	65	90	60	87
British Columbia	236	392	223	387
Northwest Territories	2	2	1	1
Total	701	1,067	658	1,048

Appendix E: List of Polling Divisions and Their Associated Indigenous Communities

[GE43 list of communities in study \(elections.ca\)](#)

[GE44 list of communities in study \(elections.ca\)](#)