

Turnout by Age Group and Gender in the 45th General Election

Analytics and Performance Measurement

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Summary

In Canadian federal elections, [official voter turnout](#) is calculated as the number of votes cast divided by the number of registered electors.

[Official turnout](#) for the 45th general election (GE), held on April 28, 2025, was 69.0%. This is 6.4 percentage points higher than the previous GE in 2021 (62.6%) and is the highest turnout since the 1993 election, which had an official turnout of 69.6%.

In addition to publishing official voter turnout numbers, Elections Canada has been producing turnout reports by age of electors since 2004 and by sex/gender since 2008. Age and gender data are available through administrative data from the National Register of Electors.

However, because registration rates vary over time and between demographic groups, the official turnout measure could be misleading when comparing turnout over many elections or across different demographic groups. To account for variations in register coverage, this series of reports uses the estimated number of Canadian citizens of voting age as the denominator, i.e. eligible electors, rather than the number of registered electors.

Using eligible electors as our denominator, the national turnout figure for 2025 is 68.0%—an increase of 5.7 percentage points from the previous GE in 2021 and the highest turnout since this study began following the 2004 GE.

In 2025, turnout gradually increased with age, from 55.9% for ages 18–24 to 77.6% for ages 65–74, and then declined to 69.1% for those aged 75 and over. This pattern is very stable. It holds across all provinces and territories in 2025 and has been seen in every GE since 2004, when these studies began.

Participation of voters aged 18–24 increased by 9.2 points from 46.7% in 2021 to 55.9% in 2025. Electors eligible to vote for the first time in 2025¹ voted at a rate (55.3%) that was 10.5 percentage points higher than the first-time voter group's turnout in the 44th GE in 2021² (44.8%).

Looking at differences between women and men, for the 2025 GE, women participated at a higher rate (68.5%) than men (67.4%), and this was true across all age groups up to age 65, at which point men participated at a comparable rate or more than women. This is the same pattern seen in all GEs since 2008.

¹ First-time voters in the 45th GE were citizens born between September 21, 2003, and April 28, 2007.

² First-time voters in the 44th GE were citizens born between October 22, 2001, and September 20, 2003.

Finally, the popularity of alternatives to voting on election day has increased significantly in the last three elections, reaching its highest peak in the 2025 election. In fact, for the oldest voters, aged 65–74 and 75+, for the second time, over 50% of these age groups voted using an alternative voting method. Additionally, for the youngest voters, aged 18–24, there was an increase in the use of alternative voting methods, following a decrease in the 2021 election. This may be because, in 2025, Vote on Campus was reintroduced as an alternative voting method. The impact of the return of Vote on Campus in 2025 on youth turnout will be explored in the report entitled, Survey of Electors on Campus.

Introduction

This report presents estimates of voter turnout by various demographic groups defined by age and gender at the national, provincial and territorial levels for the 45th GE, held on April 28, 2025.

The official turnout for the 2025 election was 69.0%. Historically, electoral participation peaked in Canada at 79.4% for the 1958 GE. Throughout the 1960s, turnout remained relatively high, fluctuating between 75% and 79%. The next two decades saw it decline slightly but still ranging from 70% to 75%. In the 1990s, electoral participation began to decline to a historic low of 58.8% in the 2008 GE. Since that point, more recent elections have seen turnout ranging between 61% (2011) and 69% (2025).

Differences in electoral participation among various demographic groups have been the subject of much academic research and analysis. Most of this research has been based on estimates from surveys, which is often biased toward overestimating voter turnout.³

Following each GE, the Chief Electoral Officer has authorized the use of administrative data from the electoral process to produce turnout reports by age of the electors since 2004 and by sex/gender since 2008.

This approach avoids the biases typically found in voluntary survey-based studies.

From 2004 to 2015, Elections Canada used a sample of physical records (strike lists⁴) to produce these estimates. Then, starting with the 2019 election, the complete set of records was digitized, allowing turnout estimates to be produced using the full dataset rather than a sample. This change allows for increased accuracy compared to previous elections.

³ For an example of the discussions on the gap between actual and self-reported turnout numbers, see: Holbrook, Allyson L., and Jon A. Krosnick. "[Social Desirability Bias in Voter Turnout Reports: Tests Using the Item Count Technique.](#)" *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 74, no. 1 (2010): 37–67.

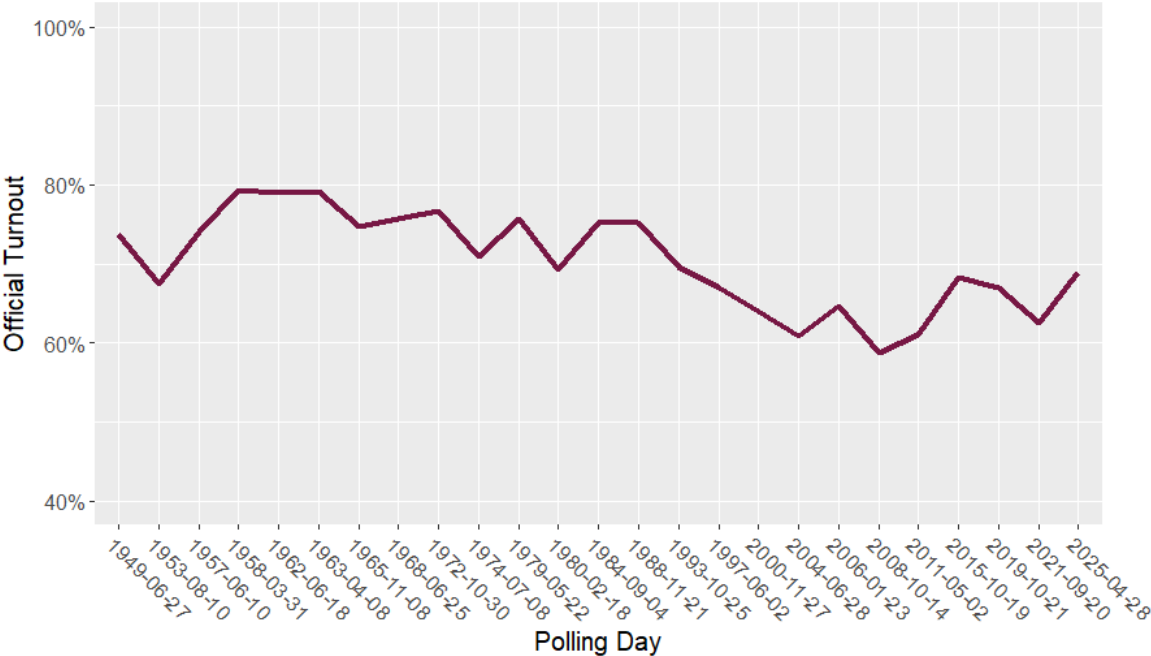
DeBell, Matthew, Jon A. Krosnick, Katie Gera, David S. Yeager, and Michael P. McDonald. "[The Turnout Gap in Surveys: Explanations and Solutions.](#)" *Sociological Methods & Research*, vol. 49, no. 4 (November 2020): 1133–62.

⁴ When electors show up at their polling station to vote, their name is physically struck off the list of electors for that polling division as a control measure. These lists, which are returned to Elections Canada with the ballots, are the only evidence that electors who were not required to register on election day actually voted that day.

Also, since 2019, electors are given the opportunity to register as a third gender, “Gender X.” This third gender option was subsequently revised to “Another gender.” Information about these electors has been published accordingly.

For Canadian federal elections, official voter turnout is calculated as the number of votes cast divided by the number of registered electors. Because registration rates vary over time, this measure can be misleading when comparing turnout from two different elections. That is, the differences observed in Figure 1 are partly due to changes in list coverage (the percentage of eligible electors on the list) over time. The list coverage can vary across different segments of the population as well and can also differ by region. For example, youth ages 18–24 consistently have lower coverage compared to the rest of the electorate.

Figure 1: Official Turnout in Canadian General Elections, 1949 to 2025



To overcome these limitations, **this study defines turnout as the number of votes cast divided by the estimated number of eligible voters**, regardless of their registration status. Because these estimates are generally larger than the number of registered electors, the resulting turnout estimates are typically lower than official turnout figures. Therefore, comparisons over time and between demographic groups reflect only changes in participation, net of any variations in registration rates.

For the purposes of this study, the estimated number of eligible voters is based on the 2021 Census. Demographic changes that have taken place since the Census are estimated using several inputs, including mobility rates, estimates of net Census

undercounts, deceased persons by age, emigrant and immigrant estimates (all provided by Statistics Canada) and new citizens (provided by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada). Moreover, gender proportions from the 2021 Census were applied to the April 2025 eligible population estimates. More details on how turnout is defined, the methodology used to determine the size of the electoral population and the estimation methodology are presented in the [Appendix](#).

Overall Turnout

Elections Canada has been producing turnout reports by age since 2004. Replacing the number of registered electors with an estimated electoral population in the denominator of the turnout measure does not change the observed trend in turnout since then, as shown in Figure 2. Using this alternative measure, participation still reached an all-time low in 2008, when 56.5% of the voting population voted. The 2025 election's participation rate among eligible electors (68.0%) was the highest in the 2004–2025 period.

Figure 2: Voter Turnout Based on Eligible Electors and Registered Electors in the Population, General Elections 2004 to 2025

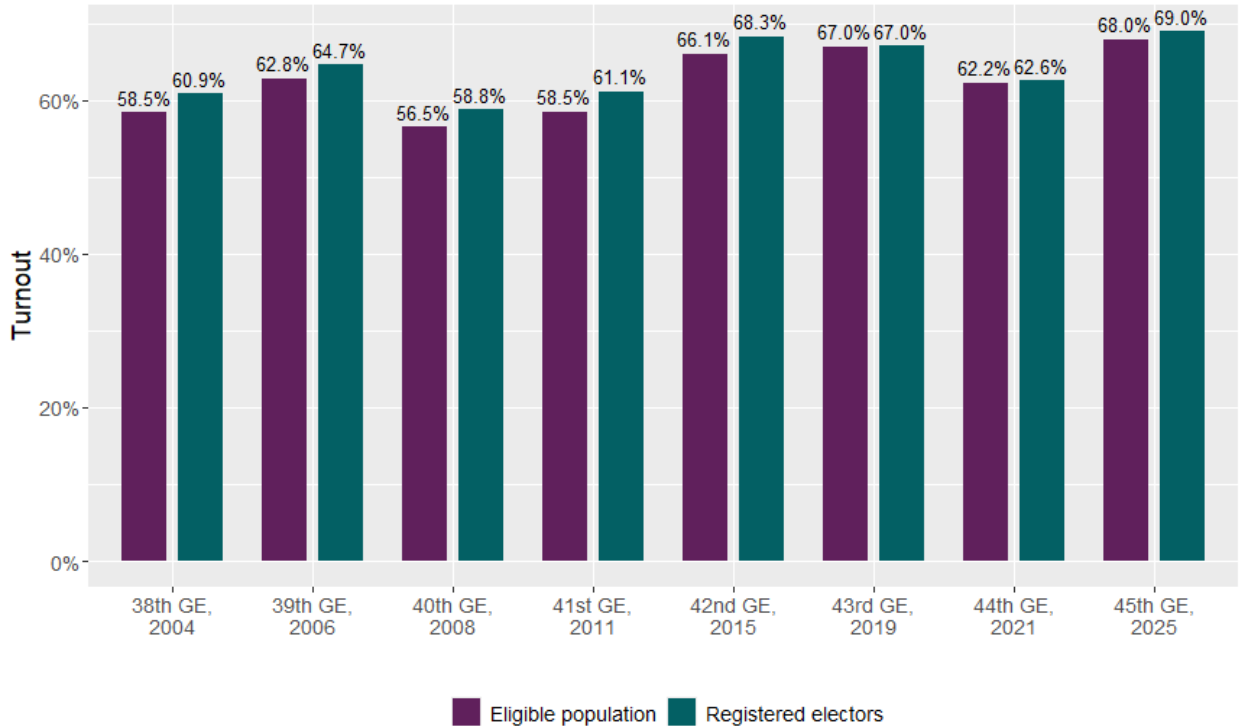
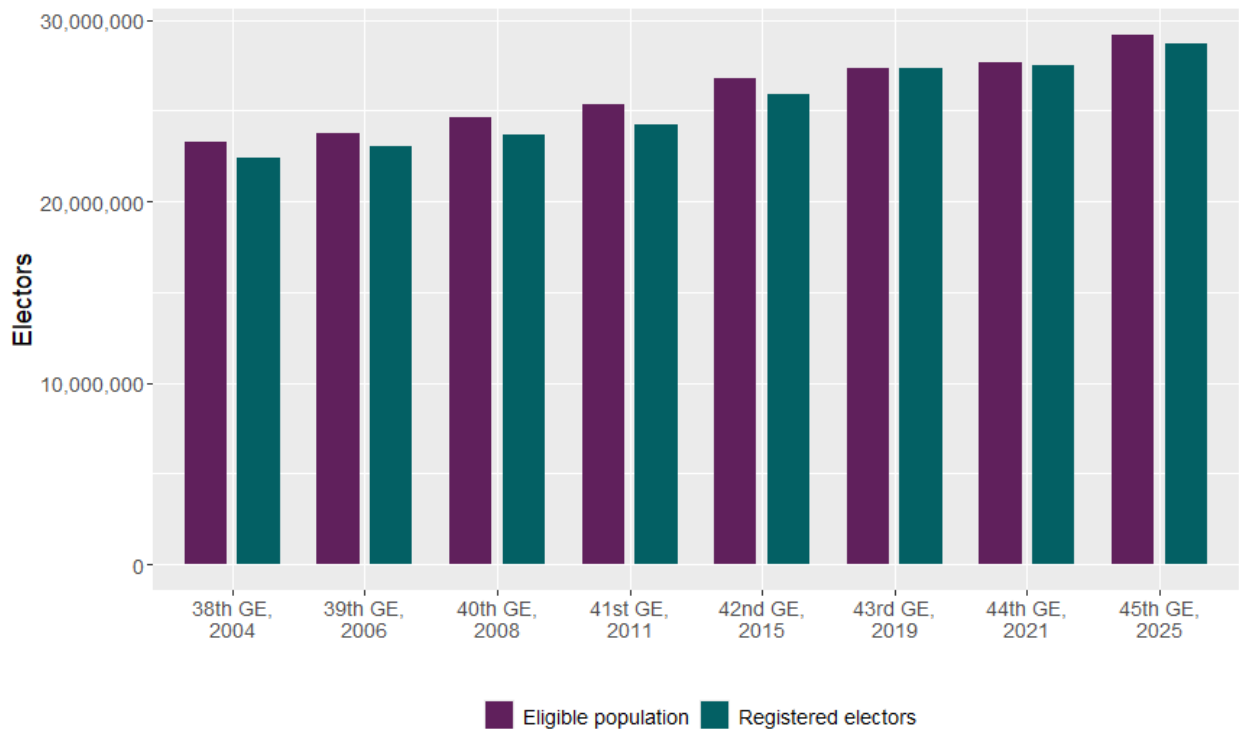


Figure 3 shows the number of registered and eligible electors for all GEs since 2004. Since 2019, both numbers are very close due to the higher coverage achieved by the National Register of Electors. In both 2019 and 2021, the list coverage⁵ was 96.9% and, in 2025, it was 96.2%.

More details on list coverage are provided in the [November 2025 Annual Lists of Electors](#).

Figure 3: Counts of Registered Electors and Eligible Electors in the Population, General Elections 2004 to 2025



⁵ List coverage is one of the key indicators used to measure the proportion of all electors (i.e. Canadian citizens aged 18 years and older) who are registered to vote. It has been adjusted to account for deceased electors, duplicates and non-Canadian citizens.

Turnout by Age

Elections Canada has been producing turnout reports by age since 2004. The report breaks down age into the following groups:

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

The report 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. For the 2025 GE, this includes those born between September 21, 2003, and April 28, 2007. The “not-first-time” category includes those youth under 25 years old who were previously eligible to vote federally. For the 2025 GE, this includes those born between April 29, 2000, and September 20, 2003.

Previous studies by Elections Canada⁶ have shown that the largest gap between registered electors and eligible electors is among youth. Elections Canada can only send voter information cards to registered electors, which means that relatively fewer eligible electors in the 18–24 age group receive a voter information card that tells them when and where to vote during the election. This could explain in part the lower turnout rates for this age group during the 2025 GE.

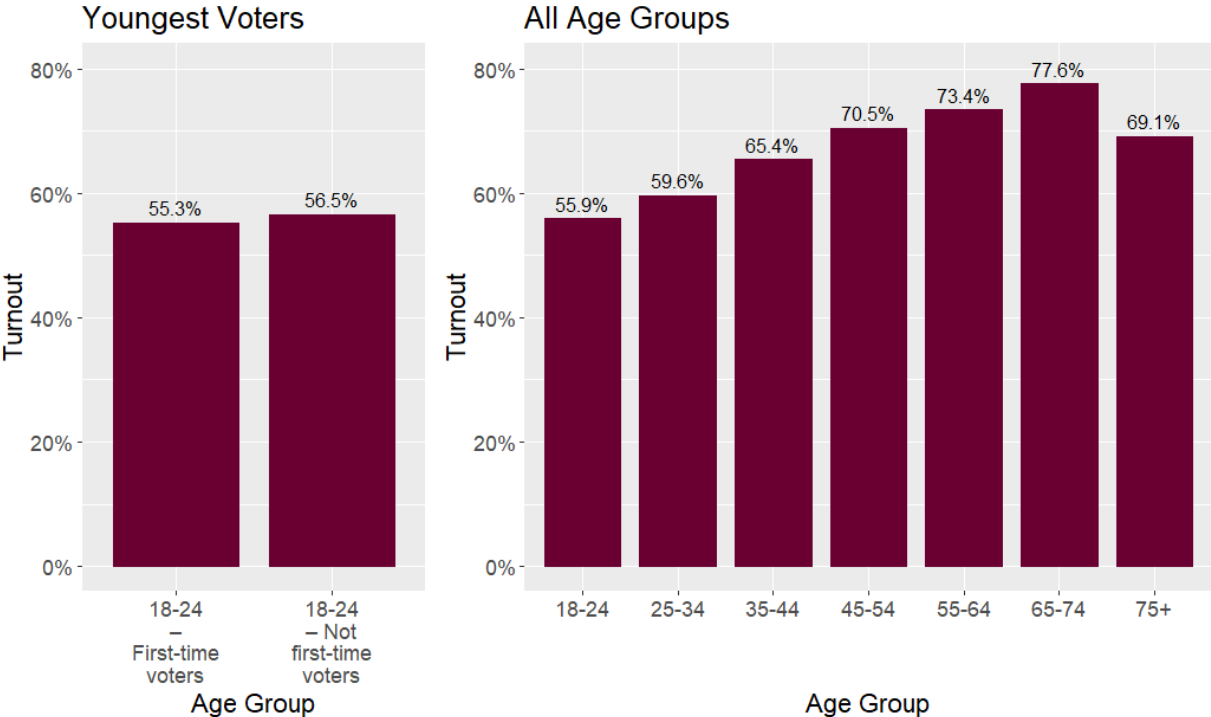
⁶ Elections Canada. [National Register of Electors – Updates: November 2025 Annual Lists of Electors](#).

Youth turnout increased after low in 2021, and women still voted at higher rates than men.

For the 2025 GE, the breakdown of participation by age group is shown in Figure 4.

Turnout gradually increased with age from 55.9% for ages 18–24 to 77.6% for ages 65–74, and then declined to 69.1% for those 75 and older. This pattern has been seen in every GE since 2004.

Figure 4: Voter Turnout by Age Group, 2025 General Election

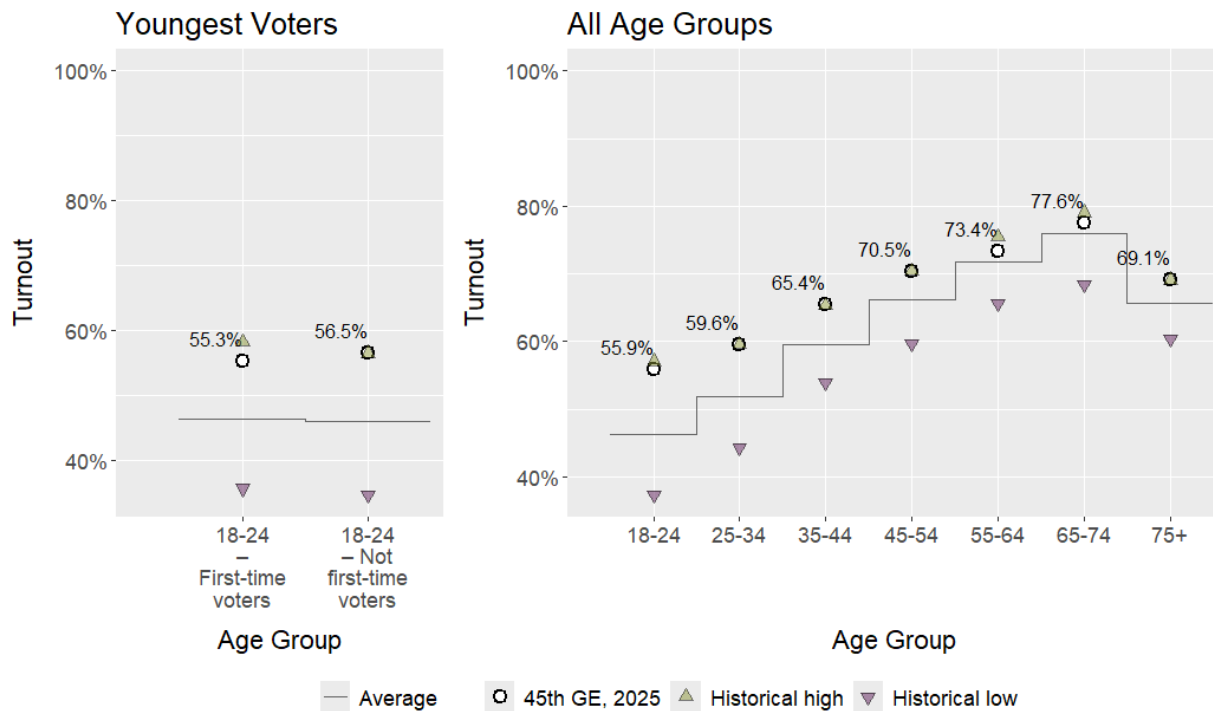


Participation of voters aged 18–24 is no longer on a steady decline, following the participation rate of 46.7% in 2021, but it did not reach the high-water mark of 57.1%, which was seen in the 2015 GE. Among the 18–24 age group, those electors eligible to vote for the first time federally, i.e. those born between September 21, 2003, and April 28, 2007, voted at a comparable rate (55.3%) as those who were previously eligible to vote (56.5%).

Figure 5 shows how turnout by age group in 2025 compares with the range of turnout rates for all elections since 2004.

- The grey line indicates the average turnout for elections from 2004 to 2025 (last 8 GEs), inclusive.
- The green upward pointing triangle indicates the highest turnout rate for a given age group in the same timeframe.
- The purple downward pointing triangle indicates the lowest turnout rate for a given age group.
- The circle and the numeric label indicate the results for the 45th GE; when the circle overlaps with a triangle, the result reached a high or low point in the 2004–2025 period.

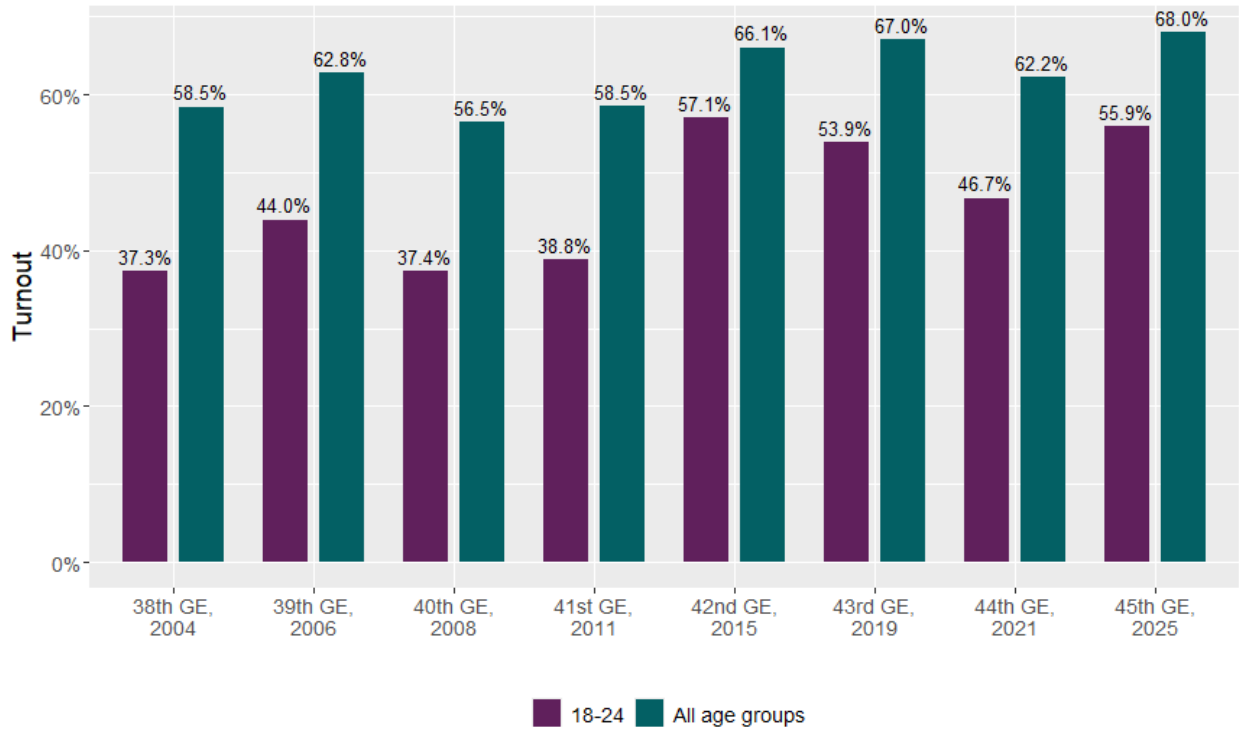
Figure 5: Voter Turnout by Age Group, General Elections 2004 to 2025



From this chart, we observe that the turnout for the 45th GE is above the historical average in this period for all age groups and represents an all-time high since 2004 for several age groups (18–24 – Not first-time voters, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 75+).

Figure 6 shows the turnout for the 18–24 age group compared with the turnout for all age groups for all GEs since 2004.

Figure 6: Voter Turnout for Youngest Voters (18–24) and All Age Groups, General Elections 2004 to 2025



In 2025, the 18–24 age group saw a large increase in turnout compared with GE44, and the gap in turnout between this group and the overall population saw a decrease.

While turnout among all voters is a complex phenomenon, it is notable that the gap in youth turnout was the smallest in the three elections where the [Vote on Campus](#) program was offered (2015, 2019 and 2025). The impact on youth turnout of Vote on Campus when it returned in 2025 will be explored in a separate report, published in Spring 2026.⁷

⁷ Vote on Campus was not offered in the 44th general election in 2021 due to challenges related to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Turnout by Gender

In 2021, the Census of Population asked Canadians about their sex at birth and, for the first time, gender. This new information has enabled Elections Canada to estimate the eligible population by gender for the 2021 and 2025 GEs.

In this report, we follow Statistics Canada’s convention for publishing data on gender at two levels. The “non-binary persons” definition from Statistics Canada corresponds to Elections Canada’s “Another gender” option given to electors when registering for an election or performing an update of their personal record. The number of those electors who identify as another gender are split randomly according to the gender ratio of similar electors across the two binary gender options. This procedure is used to protect the confidentiality of the electors.

Again, following the convention used by Statistics Canada, we use the terms “Women+” and “Men+” throughout this report to reflect the fact that our totals for women and men include some non-binary people.

Another Gender (“Gender X”)

In September 2018, the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat and the Department of Justice Canada presented a report to the Clerk of the Privy Council with recommendations on ways to modernize how the Government of Canada handles information on sex and gender. One of the recommendations was allowing Canadian citizens to identify with a third, non-binary gender (i.e. other than “male” or “female”). Beginning in 2019, Elections Canada has offered a third gender option that electors could choose when registering or updating their registration. Following the recommendations of the [Policy Direction to Modernize the Government of Canada’s Sex and Gender Information Practices](#), Elections Canada uses the designation “Another gender” when collecting gender information from individuals, while the term “Gender X” is used for reporting purposes.

In the 2025 GE, 6,580 Canadians self-identified as gender X, while, in 2021, the number was 3,910. Given the recent implementation and the limited number of individuals, gender X electors are grouped by broad geographic location; using finer groupings could create disclosure risks. Table 1 below shows the geographic breakdown of gender X electors, and Table 2 the age structure of the gender X electors. Counts of less than 40 electors are suppressed for confidentiality reasons.

Table 1: Gender X Electors and Voters by Location*

Region	Registered Electors	Voters	Turnout
Atlantic	560	440	78.6%
Quebec	220	150	68.2%
Ontario	3,465	2,610	75.3%
Prairies	1,985	1,560	78.6%
British Columbia	215	175	81.4%
Territories**	45	-	-
Canada***	6,445	4,935	76.6%
Abroad	90	90	100.0%

*Values are rounded to the nearest multiple of five.

**The number of voters and turnout for the Territories is suppressed for confidentiality purposes.

***The Territories are excluded from this row for confidentiality purposes.

Table 2: Gender X Electors and Voters by Age Group*

Age	Registered Electors	Voters	Turnout
18–24 – All electors	1,900	1,480	77.9%
18–24 – First-time voters	895	725	81.0%
18–24 – Not first-time voters	1,005	755	75.1%
25–34	2,730	2,105	77.1%
35–44	1,190	950	79.8%
45–54	375	280	74.7%
55–64	230	160	69.6%
65–74	105	60	57.1%
75+**	60	-	-

*Values are rounded to the nearest multiple of 5.

**The number of voters and turnout for the 75+ age group is suppressed for confidentiality purposes.

Given the number of electors who identify as another gender is much smaller than the estimated population of non-binary persons in Canada (approximately 41,000 people 15+⁸), these results do not imply that non-binary people have a higher turnout than binary women or men. Rather, this reflects the data collection practices of our partner institutions and/or the possibility that all electors who use Elections Canada’s E-Registration platform are more likely to vote, and thus we are more likely to accurately capture the gender identity of electors through that process.

⁸ [“Canada is the first country to provide census data on transgender and non-binary people.”](#) Statistics Canada.

Women+ and Men+

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 women or men category. To reflect the addition of some non-binary electors to the categories, we call these categories “women+” and “men+.” Please see the Appendix for more information.

Figure 7 shows the age and gender structure of the eligible electoral population in 2025. The most populous age cohorts for both genders are in the age range of 55–64. Almost two thirds of the eligible population is between the ages of 25 and 64; the corresponding age cohorts have the largest impact on the overall national turnout.

Figure 7: Age and Gender Structure of the Eligible Electoral Population in 2025

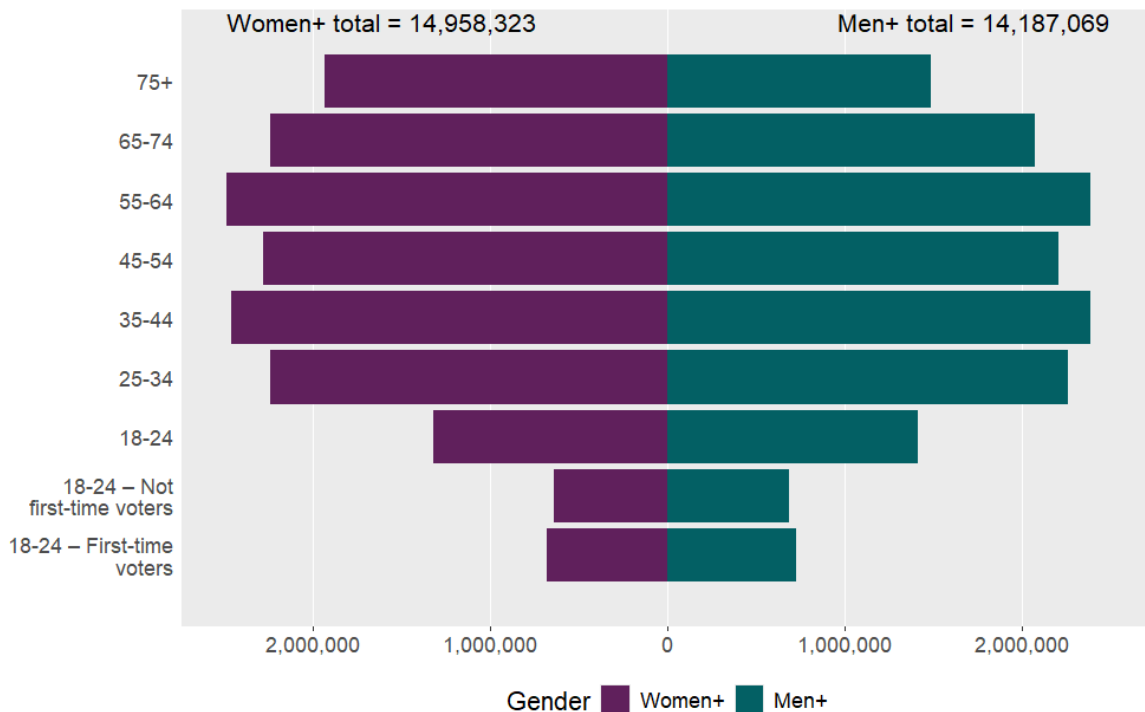


Figure 8 shows turnout for the 2025 GE broken down by both age group and gender. The participation rate across all age groups was 68.5% for women+ and 67.4% for men+ (see Table 3). Women+ voted at higher rates than men+ in all age groups up to age group 65–74, after which the trend reversed. The gap in turnout between genders for each age group is very similar to previous elections.

Figure 8: Voter Turnout by Age Group and Gender, 2025 General Election

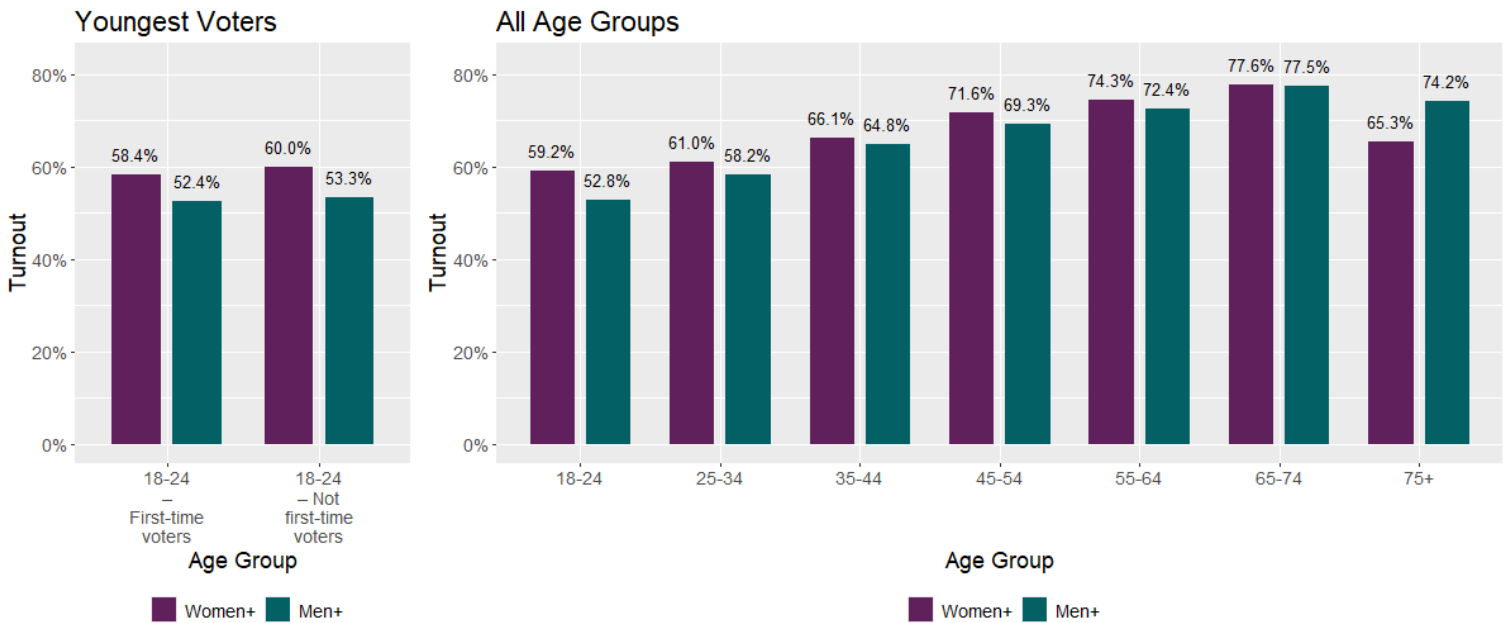


Table 3: Voter Turnout by Age and Gender in the 2025 General Election

Age/ Gender	18-24 First- time voters	18-24 Not first-time voters	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+	Total
Women+	58.4%	60.0%	59.2%	61.0%	66.1%	71.6%	74.3%	77.6%	65.3%	68.5%
Men+	52.4%	53.3%	52.8%	58.2%	64.8%	69.3%	72.4%	77.5%	74.2%	67.4%

Elections Canada has been producing turnout reports by age and by sex/gender since 2008. Figures 9 and 10 show how turnout by age group and gender compares with the range of turnout rates for all elections since 2008.

- The grey line indicates the average turnout for elections from 2008 to 2025 (last 6 GEs), inclusive.
- The green upward-pointing triangle indicates the highest turnout rate for a given age group in the same timeframe.
- The purple downward-pointing triangle indicates the lowest turnout rate for a given age group.
- The circle and the numeric label indicate the results for the 45th GE; when the circle overlaps with a triangle, the result reached a high or low point in the 2008–2025 period.

Figure 9: Women+ Voter Turnout by Age Group, General Elections 2008 to 2025

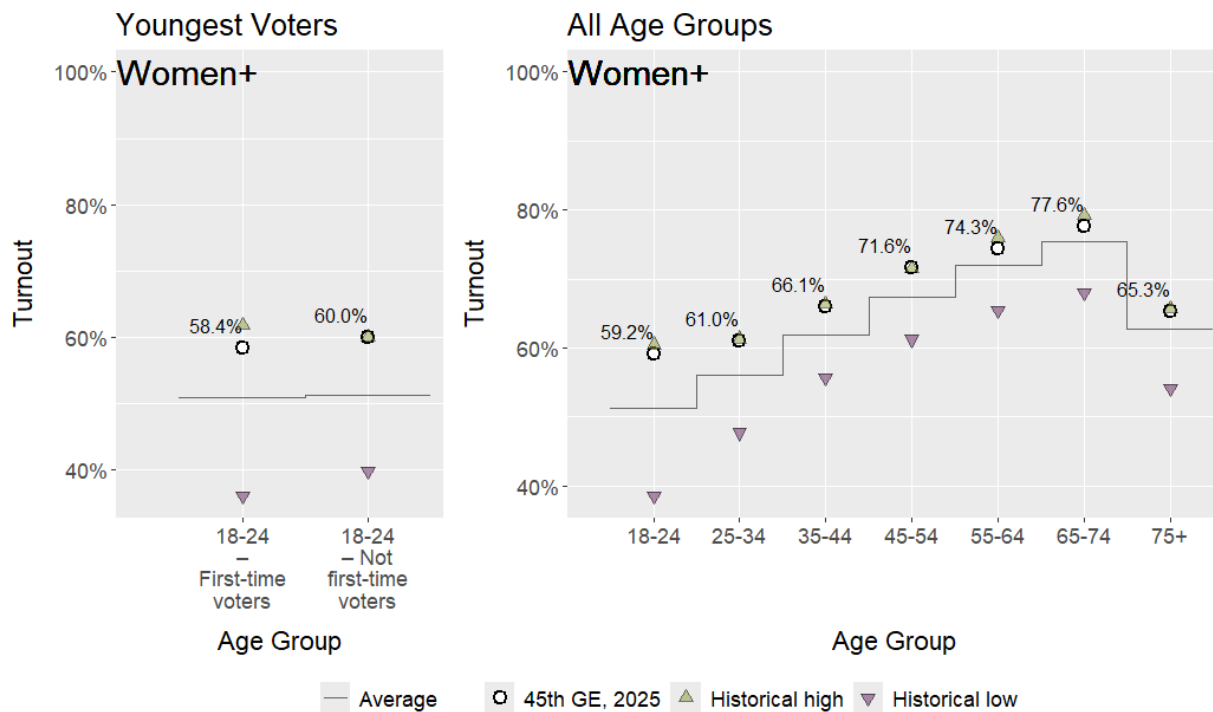
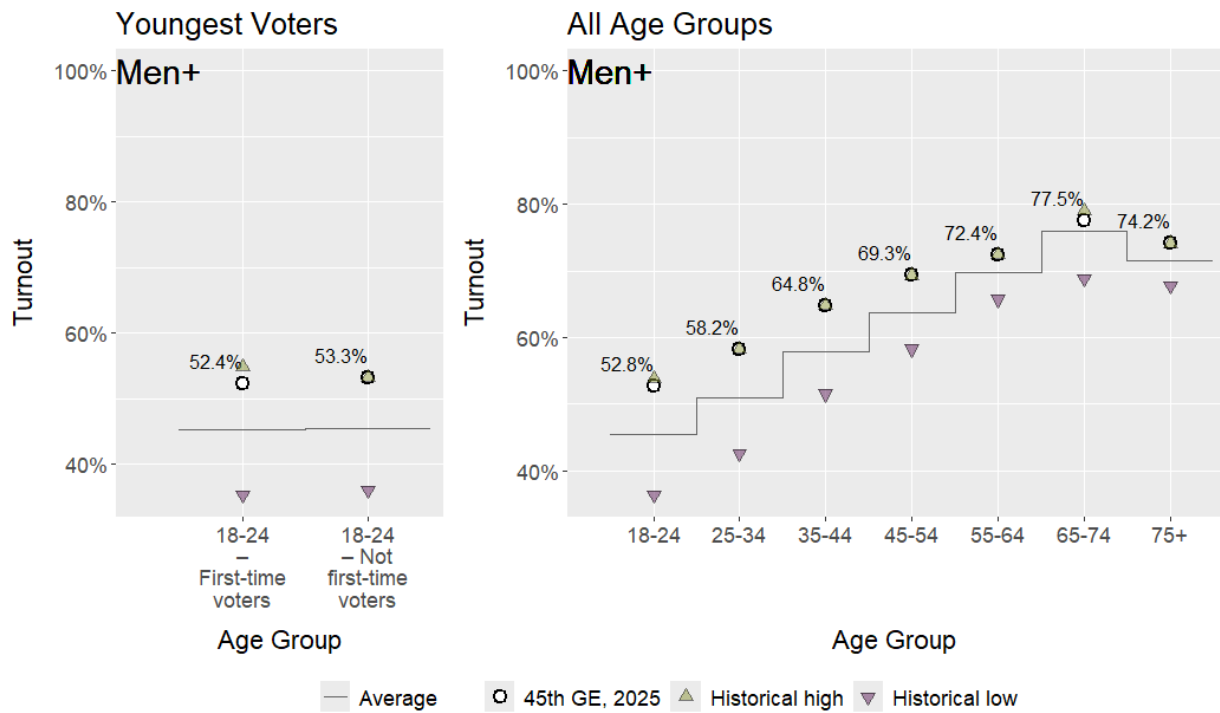


Figure 10: Men+ Voter Turnout by Age Group, General Elections 2008 to 2025



We can observe that the turnout for the 45th GE is above average for all age groups and both genders.

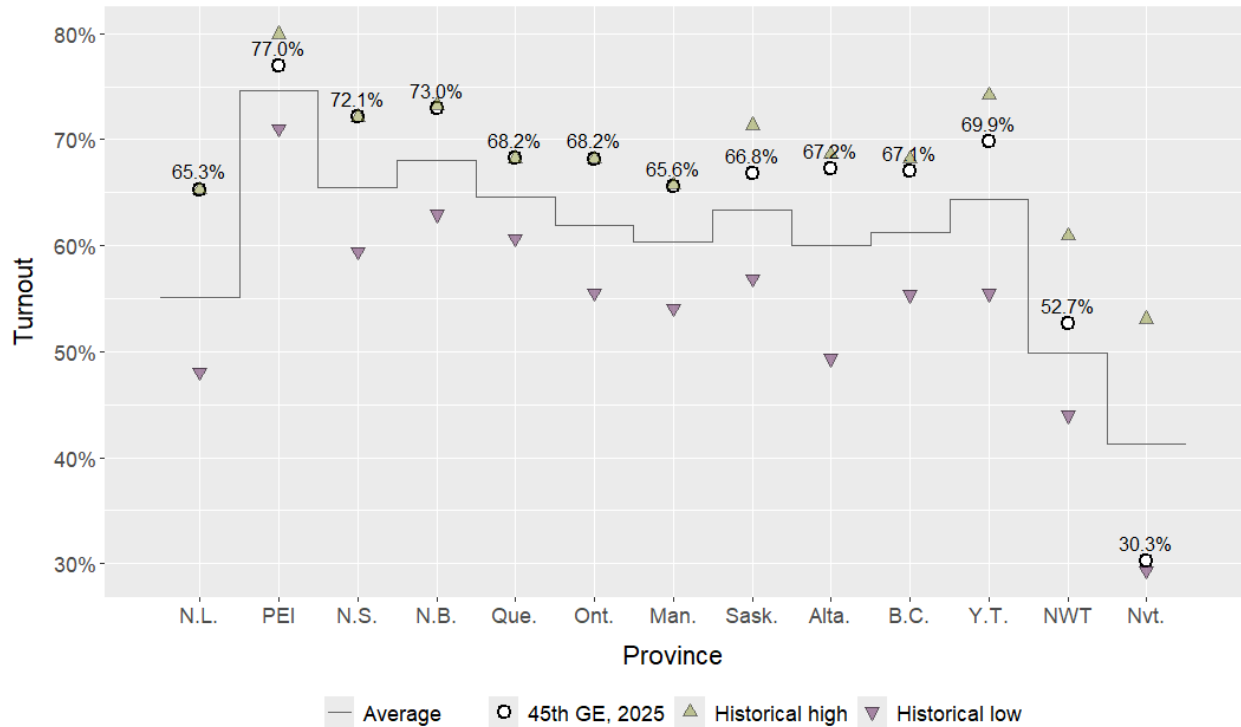
Turnout by Province and Territory

Prince Edward Island had the highest turnout and Nunavut the lowest among all provinces and territories.

Figure 11 shows how voter turnout by province and territory compares with the range of turnout rates for all elections since 2004.

- The grey line indicates the average turnout for elections from 2004 to 2025 (last 8), inclusive.
- The green upward-pointing triangle indicates the highest turnout rate for a given province or territory in the same timeframe.
- The purple downward-pointing triangle indicates the lowest turnout rate.
- The circle and the numeric label indicate the results for the 45th GE; when the circle overlaps with a triangle, the result reached a high or low point in the 2004–2025 period.

Figure 11: Voter Turnout by Province or Territory, General Elections 2004 to 2025



In the 2025 GE, Prince Edward Island saw the highest turnout at 77.0%, and Nunavut the lowest at 30.3%. Turnout in each province was the highest, or close to the highest, since 2004, with the exception of the Northwest Territories (which was closer to, though still above, the historical average) and Nunavut (which was only slightly higher than the historical low turnout in 2021 at 29.4%).

The complete dataset of voter turnout by province or territory by age and gender for the 2025 GE is presented in [GE45 Turnout by Age, Gender and Province](#).

Use of Alternative Voting Methods

Alternative voting methods include:

- advance polls,
- voting at an Elections Canada office,
- voting by mail, and
- other special ballot methods.

More and more Canadians are choosing alternatives to voting on election day. The popularity of advance voting has grown significantly since 2015, and the use of voting by mail exploded following the 2021 GE, which took place during the COVID-19 pandemic. Both alternative voting method trends have continued in 2025, resulting in another record use of these methods in an election.

Advance polls continue to be the favourite alternative voting method, which now represents over 37.9% of all ballots cast.

Table 4 shows the number and percentage of ballots cast by each voting method for the 2021 and 2025 GEs.

Table 4: Ballots Cast by Voting Method

Voting Method	2021 GE Ballots Cast	% of Ballots Cast (2021)	2025 GE Ballots Cast	% of Ballots Cast (2025)
Electors voting by mail or at a local office from inside their electoral district	882,815	5.1%	923,023	4.7%
Electors absent from their electoral district voting by mail, at a local office, Canadian Forces base or correctional facility	146,773	0.9%	250,302	1.3%
Electors living outside Canada voting by mail	38,955	0.2%	77,864	0.4%
Electors voting at their assigned advance polling station	5,895,072	34.3%	7,504,283	37.9%
Total alternative voting methods	6,963,615	40.5%	8,755,472	44.2%
Electors voting at their assigned election day polling station	10,246,196	59.5%	11,056,048	55.8%
Total	17,209,811	100.0%	19,811,520	100.0%

Elections Canada has been producing turnout reports by age of electors since 2004. Figure 12 and Table 5 show the trends in the use of these methods, broken down by age group, for all GEs since the 38th GE in 2004.

Figure 12: Use of Advance Polls or Special Ballot by Age Group, 38th to 45th General Elections

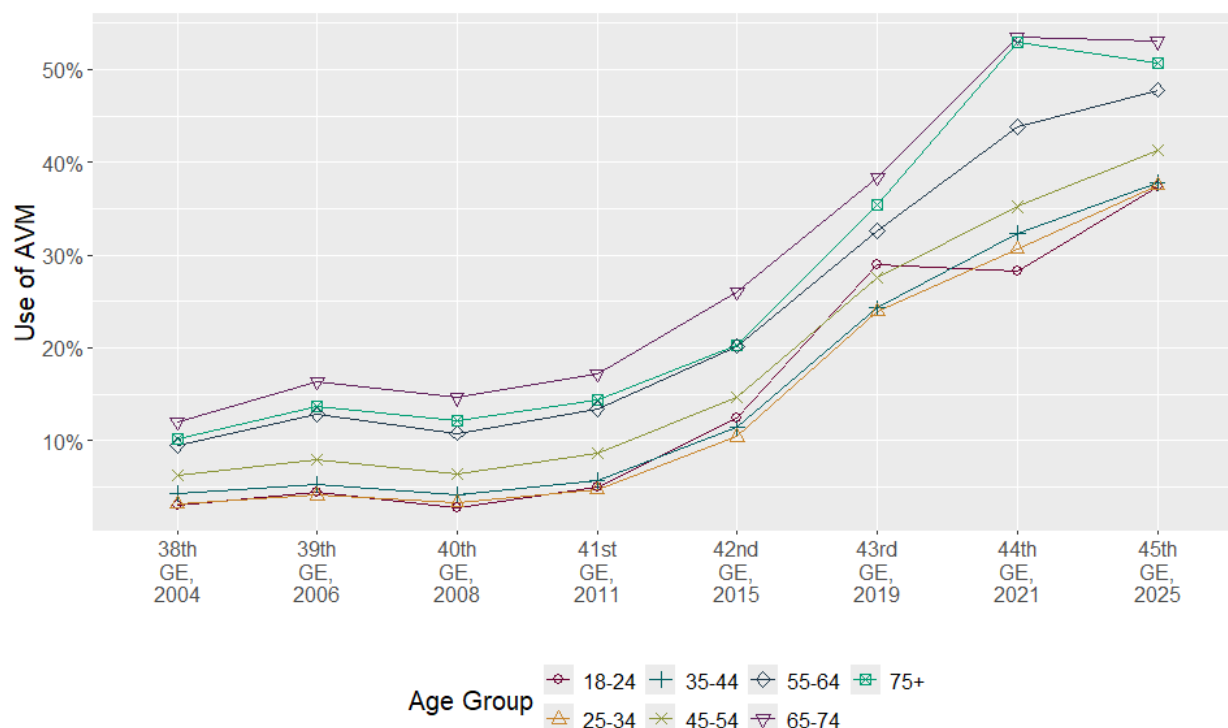


Table 5: Use of Advance Polls or Special Ballot by Age Group, 38th to 45th General Elections

Age Group	GE38	GE39	GE40	GE41	GE42	GE43	GE44	GE45	Difference 2021/2025
18-24	3.0%	4.5%	2.8%	5.0%	12.4%	28.9%	28.3%	37.4%	9.1%
25-34	3.2%	4.1%	3.3%	4.7%	10.4%	23.9%	30.6%	37.5%	6.9%
35-44	4.3%	5.3%	4.2%	5.7%	11.4%	24.3%	32.3%	37.8%	5.5%
45-54	6.3%	8.0%	6.4%	8.7%	14.7%	27.5%	35.2%	41.3%	6.2%
55-64	9.5%	12.8%	10.8%	13.4%	20.2%	32.6%	43.8%	47.8%	3.9%
65-74	12.0%	16.4%	14.6%	17.2%	26.0%	38.4%	53.5%	53.0%	-0.6%
75+	10.2%	13.7%	12.2%	14.4%	20.3%	35.4%	52.9%	50.7%	-2.2%

The proportion of electors using these alternative methods soared to a new all-time high in 2025. In this election, 44.2% of voters used such methods, compared with 40.5% in 2021.

For the oldest voters, aged 65–74 and 75+, the use of alternative voting methods has stabilized after sustained growth in past elections. Voters aged 65–74 had the highest proportion (52.9%), followed by those aged 75 and over (50.7%). This is the second GE where election day voting was not the preferred method of voting for all age groups.

Also, in the 2025 election, as in the 2021 election, the three age groups with the youngest electors used alternative voting methods at a similar rate. In all three age groups, the use of alternative voting methods increased in 2025; but the largest increase was among the group with the youngest electors (18–24). This may be because, in 2025, Vote on Campus was reintroduced as an alternative voting method. A similar trend was observed in the overall turnout, where the youth vote decreased in 2021 but rebounded in 2025.

Conclusion

In 2025, the overall federal voter turnout based on eligible electors increased by 5.8 percentage points to 68.0% from 62.2% in 2021.

After two consecutive decreases in turnout, participation of voters aged 18–24 saw an increase to 55.9%.

For the 2025 GE, women+ participated at a higher rate (68.5%) than men+ (67.4%), and this was true across all age groups up to age 65, at which point men+ started participating equally or more than women+. This is the same pattern seen in all GEs since 2008.

When looking at turnout by province, almost all provinces and territories saw turnout above the historical average, with Nunavut being the sole exception. Prince Edward Island saw the highest turnout at 77.0%, and Nunavut the lowest at 30.3%.

Finally, the rising trend of alternative voting methods continued in 2025, with 44.2% of electors choosing to cast a ballot during advance polling days or by special ballot. As in the previous election, for the oldest voters, aged 65–74 and 75+, ordinary voting is not the preferred voting method. Over 50% of these age groups voted using an alternative voting method.

Appendix: Methodology

The purpose of this study is to estimate voter turnout rates for several different demographic groups of interest defined by age and gender at the national, provincial and territorial levels.

Definition of “turnout”

The official turnout results published by Canada’s Chief Electoral Officer are calculated using the number of registered electors in the denominator instead of the size of the electoral population. However, the coverage of the electors list (that is, the percentage of eligible electors listed) changes over time, depending, among other things, on many factors related to list maintenance activities. If turnout is calculated relative to the number of electors on the list, then measures of change in turnout over time will be confounded by these other factors.

This problem is exacerbated when turnout is broken down by age, since the changes in coverage over time may be quite different for different age groups. For example, an apparent decrease in youth turnout may be partly due to Elections Canada’s efforts to increase coverage of youth on the list.

For this study, turnout is defined as the number of ballots cast divided by the number of eligible electors. This number is an estimate based on several sources (Census 2021 data augmented by other administrative data) to include only citizens 18 years of age or over as of election day (April 28, 2025).

To get the numerator, we need to know how many people cast a ballot and what group they fall into. Ultimately, the numerator is obtained by adding the known numbers of ballots cast by members of the different groups, whether at advance polls, by special ballot or by persons registering when they voted on election day.

Until 2015, a random sample of electors was used to estimate the numerator for each demographic group of interest. Since the 43rd GE, lists of voters are recorded on digital support at the end of election day, resulting in a faster, more accurate estimate of voter turnout for the entire country.

Use of the term “gender”

Historically, the turnout estimates by age and gender reports have used the terms “sex” and “gender” interchangeably. Elections Canada would like to be transparent and as accurate as possible in this report going forward. To simplify our language and to better reflect the data, we refer to this characteristic as “gender” throughout this report.

However, more information about our data collection for each post-election turnout report is detailed below.

General elections 2008 to 2015

The estimate for the total number of eligible electors is based on Census of Population, which between 2001 and 2021 asked Canadians to provide their sex. In 2016, the census asked transgender and intersex Canadians to indicate the sex (male or female) with which they most associated themselves.

Elections Canada also received data on sex of electors through their registration directly with Elections Canada or through administrative sources (e.g. drivers' licence registration).

General election 2019

Starting in 2019 Elections Canada began asking electors for their gender, and electors could choose to identify themselves as “gender X” instead of male or female. Previously, electors could only identify themselves as “male” or “female” according to their legal documentation.

Additionally, the administrative sources received by Elections Canada began having more diverse gender options. This includes sources that allow the identifier “X” on legal documentation. Some electors self-reported gender.

In the post-election report for turnout on age and sex in 2019, Elections Canada published data on [electors who identified as “gender X” for the first time](#), though estimates for the eligible population remained available for sex only.

General elections from 2021 to 2025

Following the recommendations of the [Policy Direction to Modernize the Government of Canada's Sex and Gender Information Practices](#), Elections Canada now uses the designation “Another gender” when collecting gender information from individuals, while the term “Gender X” is used for reporting purposes.

In 2021, the Census of Population asked Canadians about their sex at birth and, for the first time, gender. This new information enabled Elections Canada to estimate the eligible population by gender.

In this report, we follow Statistics Canada's convention for publishing data on gender at two levels. Those who identify as non-binary or as “Another gender” are randomly split across the two binary gender options. To reflect the fact that our totals for women and men include some non-binary people, we use the terms “Women+” and “Men+.”

Electoral population

The size of the electoral population within a demographic group of interest is required for the denominator of the turnout estimates. This was based on Statistics Canada's 2021 Census, with adjustments made to remove non-citizens and those under 18 years of age who are not eligible to vote and to consider population growth during the time elapsed between census day and election day. The adjustments were made using demographic information provided by Statistics Canada and Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. The electoral population estimates were also adjusted to account for the net number of citizens missed in the 2021 Census.

For the purposes of this study, age as of election day was divided into eight groups, consistent with previous studies. These groups were defined as follows:

Age Group	From	To
18-24	April 29, 2000	April 28, 2007
18-24 – First-time voters	September 21, 2003	April 28, 2007
18-24 – Not first-time voters	April 29, 2000	September 20, 2003
25-34	April 29, 1990	April 28, 2000
35-44	April 29, 1980	April 28, 1990
45-54	April 29, 1970	April 28, 1980
55-64	April 29, 1960	April 28, 1970
65-74	April 29, 1950	April 28, 1960
75+	January 01, 1900	April 28, 1950

Data collection, processing and quality

Elections Canada maintains the National Register of Electors, a database of Canadians who are 18 years old or older. The Register is regularly updated between and during elections, using data received directly from electors, administrative data received through agreements with federal, provincial and territorial agencies and data received from other sources, in accordance with the *Canada Elections Act*. This administrative data contains the address, date of birth and gender for everyone on the final voters list. They do not indicate which electors cast ballots, except in special circumstances. The administrative data from the elections, however, can be used to identify all those who voted at advance polls, by special ballot or who registered to vote on election day. For those who voted on election day but were registered earlier, the information required is only available on the strike lists and sequence number (“bingo”) sheets used to administer the election.

Prior to the 2019 GE, a sample of polling divisions was used to retrieve strike lists and count the number of voters, since it would have been very difficult to collect all data in paper form. Changes to the *Canada Elections Act* required Elections Canada to prepare a compilation of all data of electors who voted and make them available to political

parties and candidates in electronic format. As a consequence, during the 43rd GE, for the first time, voters' information was collected electronically and allowed Elections Canada to use a complete and consistent set of data to produce these estimates without having to resort to sampling, thus greatly improving the accuracy of the estimates.

In previous elections, because estimates were produced by means of a random sample, turnout rates were subject to sampling errors, and confidence intervals were calculated to show the accuracy of estimates and to measure sampling errors. Other errors can still exist that cannot be attributed to sampling variations. These are errors that can occur at the stage of data collection and processing since collection of elector information at Elections Canada relies for the most part on human input. Even though Elections Canada has put in place procedures to minimize them, errors can still be found. Users should be aware of the types of errors that can occur, so they can assess the adequacy of the data for their own purposes.

Typical errors impacting the turnout analysis include:

- Missing or erroneous voter information (gender, date of birth)
- Missing or erroneous strike list information (misplaced sheets, data capture errors)
- Errors introduced during imputation to replace missing or invalid data
- Errors in estimating the electoral population

Estimation

In each polling division, the number of voters for each gender and age group is obtained by adding up the individual voters. The sum of the initial estimates gives the estimate at the electoral district level. The estimate at the provincial or territorial level is obtained by adding the estimates of the districts belonging to a given province or territory. Finally, the sum of the provincial and territorial estimates is used to determine the national estimate.

Voter counts are tallied from the Final List of Electors and the National Register of Electors; these contain the date of birth and gender of individual electors and are used when estimating voter turnout by age and gender. The Final List of Electors and the National Register of Electors use data from different sources as follows:

- Data on advance voters are collected by poll workers at the polling site. These data are then digitized, and early voters are struck from electoral lists come election day to avoid double voting.
- Data on special voters (incarcerated voters, international voters, voters in the Canadian Armed Forces and voters using mail-in ballots) are collected at the offices of returning officers or other Elections Canada service points. These voters are struck from the list to avoid double voting.

- Election day registrations and sequence numbers of electors who voted on election day are manually recorded on forms by poll workers in each polling station. These forms are sent to the returning office for data capture in all 343 returning offices, and the data is transferred onto the Final List of Electors.

There is no fully automated and digitized procedure to collect data; all data sources require one or more manual data entry processes. Data entry and data capture errors misplaced or missing documents, however rare, do exist. Therefore, estimates of the number of voters computed from the Final List of Electors and the National Register of Electors are not entirely consistent in general with the totals derived from the official voting results. Voter estimates are thus adjusted to the official voting results, broken down by age and gender group, and the results are divided by the corresponding group of the electoral population to determine voter turnout by age and gender.

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