



ASSEMBLY OF FIRST NATIONS ASSEMBLÉE DES PREMIÈRES NATIONS

First Nations Voters Can Decide the 2025 Federal Election Outcome

The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) has analyzed Census 2021 population data and Election Canada's voting results from the 2021 Canadian federal election and has highlighted 36 electoral districts across Canada ("ridings") where:

- The representation of First Nations electors in a riding (%) was higher than the margin of victory [MOV] (%) for the winning candidate in 2021¹; or
- First Nations electors represent at least 5% of electors in a riding and the difference between the margin of victory [MOV] for the winning candidate in 2021 and the representation of First Nations electors was less than 5%; or
- The representation of First Nations electors in a riding is 10% or greater.

Below are the 36 ridings that could determine the outcome of the election if First Nations participate in an active and coordinated manner. All parties should consider the role that First Nations priorities and electors will play in shaping the outcome of the upcoming April 2025 election. In this list, 14 seats are currently held by Liberals, 13 by Conservatives, 7 by New Democrats, and 2 by the Bloc Québécois.

Province	Federal Electoral District	2021 Winning Candidate	2021 MOV (%)	% of First Nations (FN) Electors	Difference (% of FN Electors – MOV)
1 MB	Churchill—Keewatinook Aski	Niki Ashton (NDP)	17.4	64.1	46.7
2 SK	Desnethé—Missinippi—Churchill River	Gary Vidal (CPC)	21.9	67.6	45.7
3	Northwest Territories	Michael McLeod (LPC)	5.9	28.9	23.0
4 BC	Skeena-Bulkley Valley	Taylor Bachrach (NDP)	6.5	27.2	20.7
5 ON	Kenora—Kiiwetinoong	Eric Melillo (CPC)	12.7	32.4	19.7
6 NL	Long Range Mountains	Gudie Hutchings (LPC)	5.0	20.0	15.0
7 YT	Yukon	Brendan Hanley (LPC)	7.0	15.9	8.9
8 QC	Abitibi—Baie-James—Nunavik—Eeyou	Sylvie Bérubé (BQ)	11.9	20.0	8.1
9 ON	Sault Ste. Marie	Terry Sheehan (LPC)	0.6	7.6	7.0

¹ The chart also includes a few instances where the First Nations representation and MOV were nearly identical.



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10	ON	Thunder Bay—Rainy River	Marcus Powlowski (LPC)	5.0	11.2	6.2
11	ON	Sudbury East—Manitoulin—Nickel Belt*	Marc Serré (LPC)*	5.0	9.1	4.1
12	NL	Central Newfoundland	Clifford Small (CPC)	0.9	4.3	3.4
13	NB	Miramichi—Grand Lake	Jake Stewart (CPC)	4.4	7.5	3.1
14	BC	North Island—Powell River	Rachel Blaney (NDP)	3.5	6.5	3.0
15	ON	Kapuskasing—Timmins—Mushkegowuk	Charlie Angue (NDP)	7.9	10.5	2.6
16	BC	Nanaimo—Ladysmith	Lisa Marie Barron (NDP)	1.7	4.3	2.6
17	AB	Edmonton Centre	Randy Boissonnault (LPC)	1.3	3.9	2.6
18	SK	Saskatoon West	Brad Redekopp (CPC)	6.1	8.3	2.2
19	NB	Fredericton—Oromocto	Jenica Atwin (LPC)	1.1	3.0	1.9
20	MB	Winnipeg West	Marty Morantz (CPC)	1.0	2.9	1.9
21	QC	Trois-Rivières	René Villemure (BQ)	0.2	1.2	1.0
22	QC	Brome—Missisquoi	Pascale St-Onge (LPC)	0.4	1.1	0.7
23	AB	Edmonton Griesbach	Blake Desjarlais (NDP)	3.4	4.0	0.6
24	ON	Kitchener—Conestoga	Tim Louis (LPC)	1.1	1.3	0.2
25	ON	Windsor—Tecumseh	Irek Kusmierczyk (LPC)	1.1	1.2	0.1
26	QC	Argenteuil—La Petite-Nation	Stéphane Lauzon (LPC)	3.0	2.4	-0.6
27	NS	Sydney—Glace Bay*	Jaime Battiste (LPC)	2.9	2.2	-0.7
28	ON	Thunder Bay—Superior North	Patty Hajdu (LPC)	13.6	12.3	-1.3
29	BC	Kamloops—Thompson—Nicola	Frank Caputo (CPC)	14.0	10.0	-4.0
30	MB	Winnipeg Centre	Leah Gazan (NDP)	21.9	10.5	-11.4



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31	SK Regina—Qu'Appelle	Andrew Scheer (CPC)	41.0	11.8	-29.2
32	MB Riding Mountain	Dan Mazier (CPC)	44.3	14.1	-30.2
33	SK Prince Albert	Randy Hoback (CPC)	49.8	17.9	-31.9
34	AB Peace River—Westlock	Arnold Viersen (CPC)	50.1	13.3	-36.8
35	SK Battlefords—Lloydminster—Meadow Lake	Rosemarie Falk (CPC)	56.7	18.7	-38.0
36	AB Fort McMurray—Cold Lake	Laila Goodridge (CPC)	55.1	10.3	-44.8

Notes:

- This analysis is based on voting age populations and the 2021 federal election margins of victory. It does not account for voter turnout (%) which in many places is less than 50%, including for some in this list. This is another factor that, if influenced, could be decisive.
- The Sudbury East—Manitoulin—Nickel Belt is new and was created out of parts of “Algoma—Manitoulin—Kapuskasung”, “Nickel Belt”, and “Sudbury”. The First Nations electorate representation (9.4%) is higher than the 2021 margin of victory in both Sudbury and Nickel Belt, though not Algoma—Manitoulin—Kapuskasung.
- The Battlefords—Lloydminster—Meadow Lake district, formerly “Battlefords—Lloydminster”, is newly significant with 18.7% First Nations electorate representation, as the riding now includes Beaver Lake, Spiritwood, Meadow Lake, Loon Lake and the remainder of the Medstead Rural Municipalities, including enclosed Indian Reserves, Villages and the City of Meadow Lake from Desnethé—Missinippi—Churchill River.
- The Kapuskasing—Timmins—Mushkegowuk, encompassing the former “Timmins—James Bay” riding, has had its boundaries changed significantly. It was identified as a key riding in the 2021 election, and the contest is now even more subject to the First Nations vote.
- The Riding Mountain district, formerly “Dauphin—Swan River—Neepawa”, was not closely contested in 2021 where the CPC won by a 44.3% margin. However, the redistributed riding now includes the areas around Long Plain 6 (population 4,658), and the First Nations representation has grown to 14.1% of the electorate.
- The Sydney—Glace Bay district has been significantly redistributed. In the 2021 election, Jaime Batiste won “Sydney—Victoria” where the First Nations representation was 6.6%. For the new district, the First Nations representation is only 2.2%.
- The Elections Canada website includes a table and downloadable dataset showing the estimated 2021 election first-place party finishes under the 2023 representation orders for all districts.
 - o Using this, you can analyze individual ridings where outcomes in 2021 would have been most sensitive to the new boundaries and are therefore likely to be highly contested in 2025.