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Who Votes in Toronto Municipal Elections?

October 2014

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CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Who votes in Toronto municipal elections? This landmark study identifies significant variations in voter turnout among eligible voters across the city's 44 wards and 140 official neighbourhoods over the past three civic elections of 2003, 2006 and 2010. We are especially interested in identifying how an area's proportion of immigrants, visible minorities, tenants and its median household income impacts voter turnout. We conclude that Toronto has a distinctly uneven geography and demography of municipal voting.

Key findings based on our analysis of the past three municipal elections are:

- Voter turnout in Toronto municipal elections is low across all areas and communities.

    o Voter turnout over the last three Toronto municipal elections averaged 42.7%, compared to a 61.6% turnout average in the last three federal elections.

    o In 42 of Toronto's 44 wards, less than half of all eligible municipal voters cast a ballot.

- Voter turnout varies significantly across the city's wards and neighbourhoods.

    o Wards range from average turnout of 35% to 51%, neighbourhoods from 32% to 58%.

- Toronto's wards and neighbourhoods vary widely in their demographic make-up.

    o Wards range in proportion of immigrants from 25% to 71%, in visible minorities from 13% to 89%, in tenants from 15% to 71%, and in median household income from 38K to $85K.

- Our study provides new insights, and challenges some long-held assumptions regarding voter participation in municipal elections in Toronto.

- An area's proportion of immigrants has a strong inverse correlation to voter turnout.

- An area's proportion of visible minorities has a medium inverse correlation to turnout.

- An area's median income has weak positive correlation to voter turnout.

- There is no correlation between an area's voter turnout and its proportion of tenants or homeowners.

- Competitive election races for positions of mayor or councilor increase voter turnout.

- Areas with lowest voter turnout are generally located in the pre-amalgamation borders of Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough and York.

- There are outlier examples to the patterns identified above – eg. Areas with high immigrant and visible minority populations which have high voter turnout.

- Voter participation in Toronto municipal elections could be increased through a variety of initiatives including electoral reform, enhanced civic education and voter outreach.

- A city committed to democratic participation and inclusion would do more to promote voter engagement.

Readers interested in a quick scan of key visuals provided in this paper could consult Tables 1, 2 and 3 along with maps 7 and 8.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study examines voter turnout in Toronto municipal elections. We are especially interested in establishing how a series of socio-economic, identity and geographic characteristics correlate with exercising the right to vote among eligible voters.

Toronto's demographics make it a particularly rich and interesting terrain for such study. By any number of measures, Toronto is among the world's most diverse, cosmopolitan cities. The 2011 census revealed a total population of 2.6 million people, with visible minorities and immigrants each comprising 49% of the total population. This positions Toronto at the tipping point of becoming a majority foreign-born, non-white city. Additionally, the city was home to over 200 different ethnic origins, with 45% of the population speaking a mother tongue other than English or French (City of Toronto 2013, City of Toronto 2012).

Toronto is also, in several respects, a divided city. Political fault lines often appear to pit the downtown, central city against the "inner suburbs" of Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough. Income and housing inequalities have increasingly become cause for concern, with evidence of deepening poverty, precarious housing and widening polarization across the city (Monsebraaten 2014, Monsebraaten 2013, Hulchansky 2010, Stapleton et al 2012). Additional concerns have been raised regarding inequitable outcomes for racialized minorities in the labour market, and a variety of local services including schooling and policing.

This study explores the connection between municipal voting behaviour and some of Toronto's prime demographic characteristics: immigrant status, visible minority identity, income and home ownership. Specifically, we examine whether a ward or neighbourhood's voter turnout is affected by its proportion of immigrants, visible minorities, and tenants or by its average income. Underlying our research is the view that municipal government is important to Torontonians' quality of life, and voting in municipal elections matters.

Voting is the cornerstone of public participation in our democratic system. It's the mechanism by which the public selects both its political leaders and its government's policy direction. If all eligible voters are not equally drawn to the ballot box, there could be consequences for which communities and issues come to be regarded as priorities by elected officials. Additionally, low voter participation can reflect broader dynamics of social exclusion and alienation felt by some voters. Finally, the legitimacy of government itself can be compromised, if voter turnout is especially low in some areas or communities.

Further underlying our research is the belief in the importance of municipal government. Cities are where the vast majority of Canadians live, and municipalities provide a host of services that directly shape the quality of everyday life. In focusing

on Toronto, we are examining the fourth largest municipality in North America, with a population larger than six of Canada's provinces. As an urban nation, our cities require more resources – including research attention and study.

To date, studies of voting have focussed on national, not local elections. And relatively little attention has been devoted to the voting patterns among immigrants and visible minorities. Thus a leading team of researchers on Canadian federal elections has argued: "Although nearly one fifth of Canada's population is foreign-born, relatively little is known about the electoral participation of immigrants" (White et al 2006: 10). Even more sparse, as Canadian scholars Fred Cutler and J. Scott Matthews declare, is research on city elections. "Municipal elections," they declare, "are the poor cousins in the study of elections and voting behaviour" (Cutler and Matthews 2005: 359).

Research into voter behaviour in *national* elections in Canada and other western countries has resulted in a number of widely accepted conclusions. These are well and succinctly expressed by S. Karthick Ramakrishnan who has observed: "The likelihood of voting increases among those who are older, wealthier, and more educated. These findings have constituted the bedrock of studies of voting participation since the 1960s" (Ramakrishnan 2005: 41).

Meanwhile, despite the absence of hard research into Canadian municipal elections, one bit of conventional wisdom has endured. Municipal politicians and scholars generally take as given that among eligible voters in local elections, homeowners are considerably more likely to vote than tenants. This flows from the assumption that since homeowners directly pay property taxes to city hall, and recognize the impact of local government on the value of their property, they have a greater stake in the outcome of local elections (Tindal and Tindal, 2000: 299).

Our study provides new insights, and challenges some long-held assumptions regarding voter participation. Our focus on Toronto is a ground-breaking examination of voter participation at the municipal scale in Canada. Our interest in immigrants and visible minorities provides new data on the correlation of these characteristics with voter participation at the municipal scale. And our tracking in Toronto of factors such as income and homeownership challenges long-held assumptions of their influence on voter participation.

Key findings of this study reveal that:

- Toronto municipal elections have low voter turnout, reflected in all geographic and demographic parts of the city.

- That said, Toronto's wards and neighbourhoods vary considerably in voter turnout and demographic composition. This produces a distinct "geography of voting" in Toronto.

- Lower areas of voter turnout typically have high concentrations of immigrant and visible minority population.

- Areas with the lowest voter turnouts generally are located in the pre-amalgamation municipalities of Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough and York.

- There was no correlation found between voter turnout and an area's proportion of tenants or homeowners. Wards and neighbourhoods with high percentage of renters have similar voting rates as areas with high concentrations of homeowners.

- Higher household income has a weak correlation with higher voter turnout. Income is not a significant predictor of who votes in Toronto elections.

- There are some notable exceptions to the general patterns identified above. For example, one of Toronto's highest voting neighbourhoods (Thorncliffe Park) has among the highest concentrations of immigrants, visible minorities, tenants and low income residents in the city. There is nothing inevitable or pre-determined about who votes in municipal elections.

- Voter turnout can be increased in any area or community by such factors as: a high profile mayoralty race, a competitive ward election for councilor, or robust grass-roots campaigning by candidates or organizations.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a spatial analysis approach to establish voting patterns in Toronto municipal elections. We examined voter turnout in the past three civic elections of 2003, 2006 and 2010. Findings are drawn from matching voter turnout results to socio-economic demographics at both the ward and neighbourhood scales of the city.

From the census, we are able to establish key demographic characteristics for each of Toronto's 44 municipal wards and 140 official neighbourhoods. From the City of Toronto, we were able to obtain the following data for each election: poll by poll voting turnout data for every ward, demographic data on every neighbourhood, and geo-coded locations for all (over 1,500) polling stations in the City. This data allows us to establish voter turnout by ward or neighbourhood, and then to correlate these with the area's demographic characteristics. In particular, we were interested in correlating voter turnout with a handful of demographics: immigrant status, visible minority identity, income, and home ownership.

Any research strategy or instrument can pose its distinct challenges. Survey research for instance – asking randomly sampled respondents whether they voted in a previous election – is both expensive and prone to inaccuracy. Invariably, such

surveys report inflated voter participation, as respondents invariably overstate their own voting history. Our spatial approach has the advantage of working with official voter turnout data for all eligible voters. But this geo-political approach to studying voting patterns in Toronto is not without its own ambiguities and limitations. Our unit of analysis here is not individuals or groups, but geographic areas (wards and neighbourhoods). Our findings do not allow us to identify what proportion of any particular group (eg. Immigrants) vote, but rather how *an area's* proportion of immigrants correlates with voter turnout. Thus we are able to establish whether an area's proportion of immigrants correlates with distinctive patterns of voter turnout. The statistical technique of regression analysis then further allows us to assess the extent to which a single variable – such as immigrant concentration – influences voter turnout.

A second challenge posed by our methodology was which census year to draw demographic data from. As noted, this study examines voting patterns in the 2003, 2006 and 2010 Toronto municipal elections. In addition to providing findings for each election year, we present findings averages across all three elections. This required us to also have a single baseline of city demographics. Canada conducts its census every five years, and we have used the 2006 census as our demographic baseline. We did so for two reasons. First, the year 2006 is mid-point, to our three election timespan. Perhaps more important, its data is more comprehensive and reliable than the 2011 census conducted on the basis of the new, non-compulsory National Household Survey.

Before presenting our findings, a brief overview of our three elections is in order. Two of these elections (2003 and 2010) featured fiercely contested mayoralty campaigns, with no incumbent in the running. David Miller was elected in 2003 and Rob Ford in 2010. The 2006 election returned mayor Miller to office, as had been widely expected. The competitive nature of an election campaign significantly impacts voter turnout, with the mayoralty race (elected at large across the entire municipality) most important of all. A hotly contested race features robust campaigning, considerable media attention and a perception that every vote counts; meanwhile an election regarded as a coronation commands considerably less public interest and commitment. Turnout in our three elections under study confirm this pattern, but with a twist.

Voter turnout in Toronto's 2010 election was 50.4%, up strongly from 39.3% in 2006. But in the heated contest of 2003, the official turnout was only 38.3%, lower than would be expected for that year's competitive mayoralty contest. The explanation lies in that election's problematic voters list. The 2003 election was conducted with a hugely inflated voters list of 1.8 million voters, compared with just 1.5 million in 2006 – the first year that Toronto began cross-referencing its municipal list with the more accurate federal election voters list. Previously, the voters list con-

tained names of many persons ineligible to vote because they were not yet Canadian citizens, were deceased or were no longer living in the city. The vast majority of these "extra voters" did not cast a ballot in 2003, but their inclusion in the voters list had the effect of reducing the voter turnout calculation. The "real" turnout in 2003, were we to measure votes cast against an accurate voters list would be in the mid to upper 40 percent range. For the purpose of this study however, we use the official 2003 voter turnout percentage of votes cast as a proportion of all names on that year's voters list.

Accordingly, the city-wide voter turnout average across all three municipal elections of 2003, 2006 and 2010 was 42.7%. Only 2 of Toronto's 44 wards posted an average turnout of more than 50% over these 3 elections. And just 12 of the city's 140 neighbourhoods had over half its eligible voters cast a ballot. Toronto's municipal voting deficit affects all parts and communities of the city. That said, we now proceed with our interest in establishing geographic and demographic municipal voting patterns in the city.
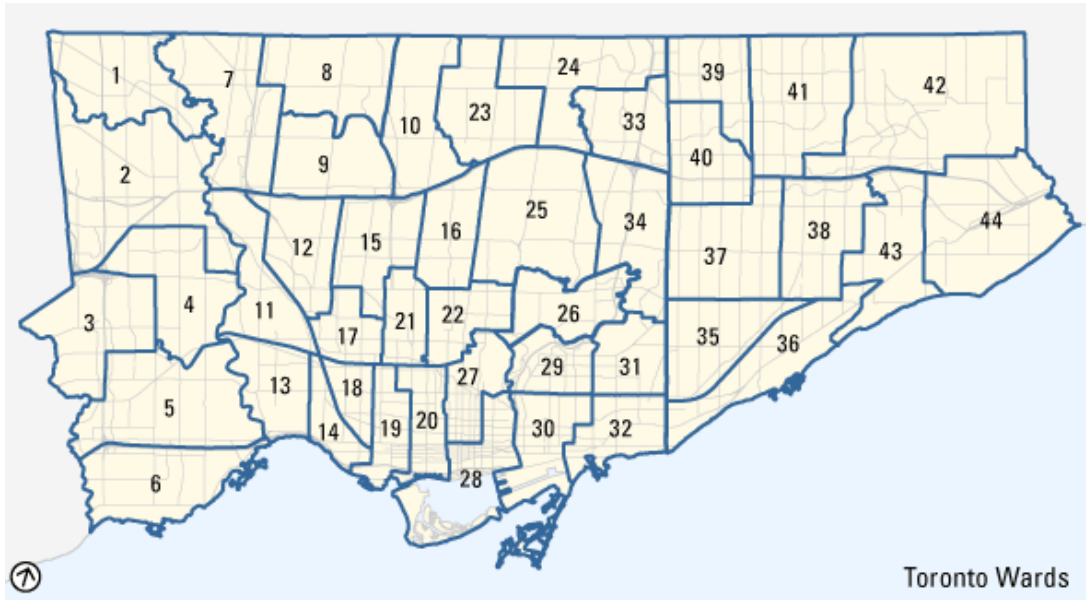
3. ONE CITY – DIFFERENT SPACES

Toronto is a city of 44 electoral wards, and 140 official neighbourhoods. The demographic composition of these geographic spaces varies significantly. This allows us to correlate different voting patterns with statistically significant differences in population composition. Maps 1 and 2 below show the location and boundaries of Toronto's wards and neighbourhoods. Table 1 further below shows the wide range of population characteristics across these wards and neighbourhoods.

Several notable observations flow from the data in Table 1 below. First, the number of eligible voters in both wards and neighbourhoods varies greatly across the city. The ward with the largest electorate has twice as many voters as the smallest ward. Further, it is evident that variations in voter turnout by ward and neighbourhood can affect election outcomes, since they amount to a difference of thousands of votes cast in every neighbourhood and ward depending on whether their turnout is at the high or low end of the participation range. At the neighbourhood scale, lowest average turnout for all three elections was 32%, while the top neighbourhood reached a 58% turnout. In selecting the city's mayor, who is elected at large across all 140 neighbourhoods, some neighbourhoods clearly affect the outcome more than others – depending on their respective voter turnout.

As Table 1 also demonstrates, the variances in population demographics at both the ward and neighbourhood scales are very large. Wards and neighbourhoods across Toronto can differ considerably in the proportion of immigrants, visible minorities, tenants and household income. The range is especially pronounced at the neighbourhood scale because their smaller size and population can concentrate residents closer to the extreme ends of a measurement continuum (eg. Percentage of visible minorities or tenants).

MAP 1. TORONTO'S 44 MUNICIPAL WARDS

Toronto Wards

MAP 2. TORONTO'S 140 NEIGHBOURHOODS

CITY OF TORONTO
Neighbourhoods

Prepared by Social Policy Analysis & Research with assistance from Toronto Public Health
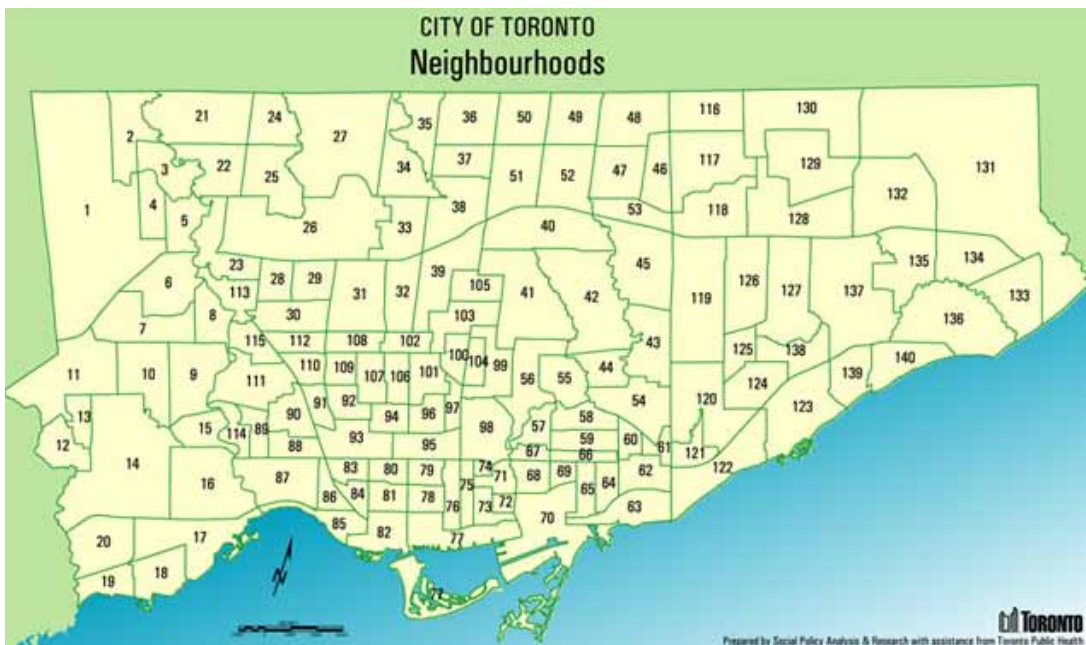
TABLE 1. POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF TORONTO WARDS AND NEIGHBOURHOODS

Variance Range	Wards n = 44	Neighbourhoods n = 140
Eligible Voters*	26K – 51K	2K – 29K
Voter Turnout**	35% - 51%	32% - 58%
% Immigrants***	25% - 71%	18% - 75%
% Visible Minority***	13% - 89%	9% - 93%
% Tenants***	15% - 71%	6% - 96%
Median HH Income***	$38K – 85K	$30K - $208K

* 2010 Election   ** Average for 2003, 2006, 2010 Elections   *** 2006 Census

Based on data from the 2006 census, Maps 3-6 below show the distribution by ward of immigrants, visible minorities, tenants and income across Toronto

MAP 3. IMMIGRANTS BY WARD, 2006
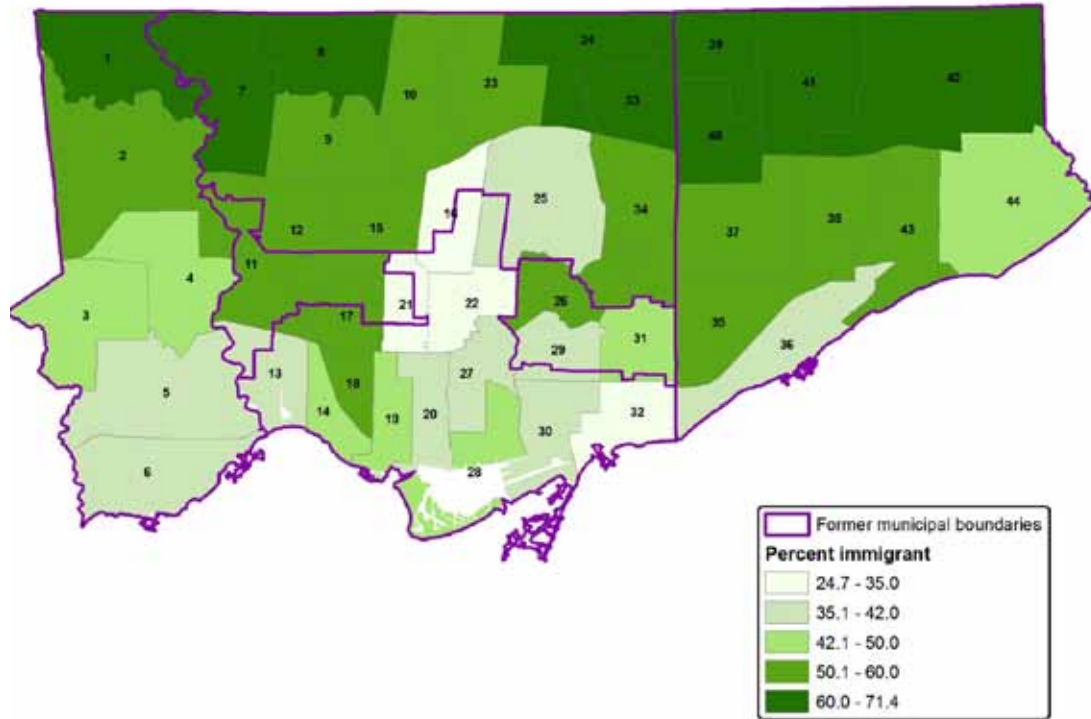
MAP 4. VISIBLE MINORITIES BY WARD, 2006
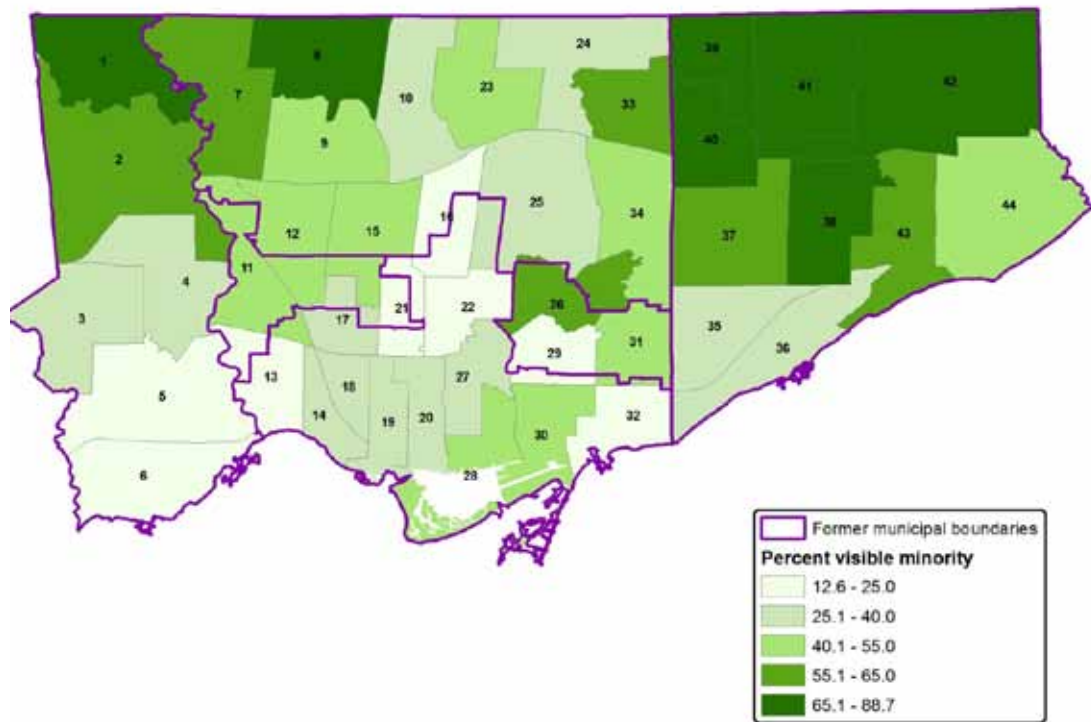
MAP 5. TENANTS BY WARD, 2006
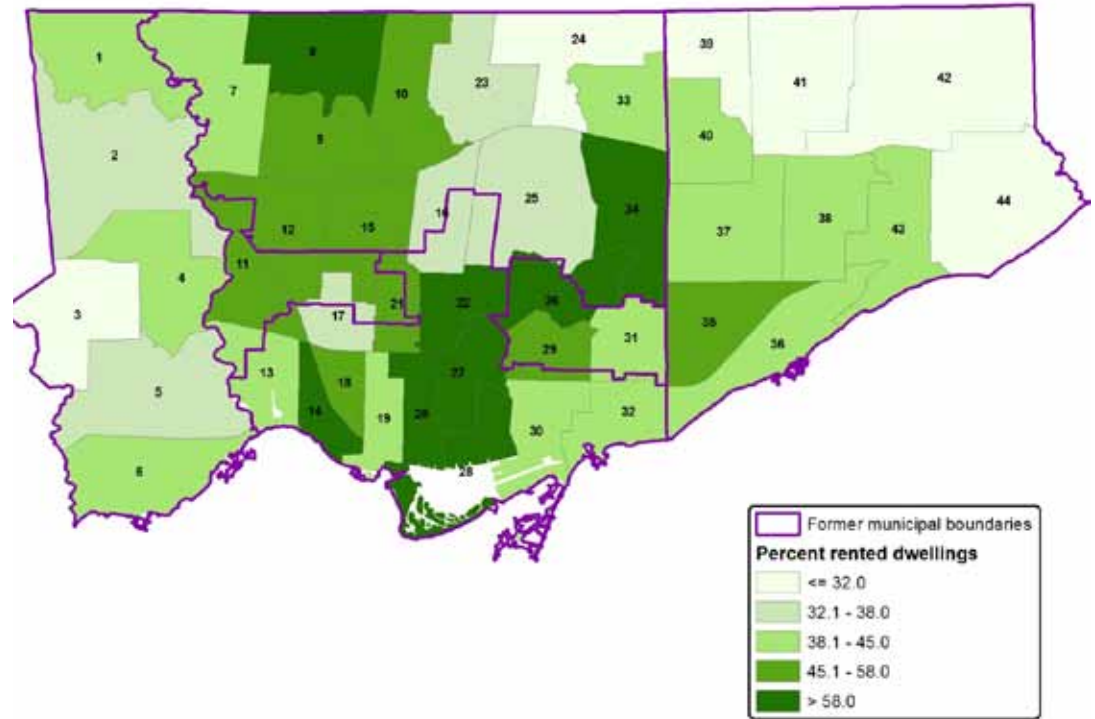
MAP 6. MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY WARD, 2006
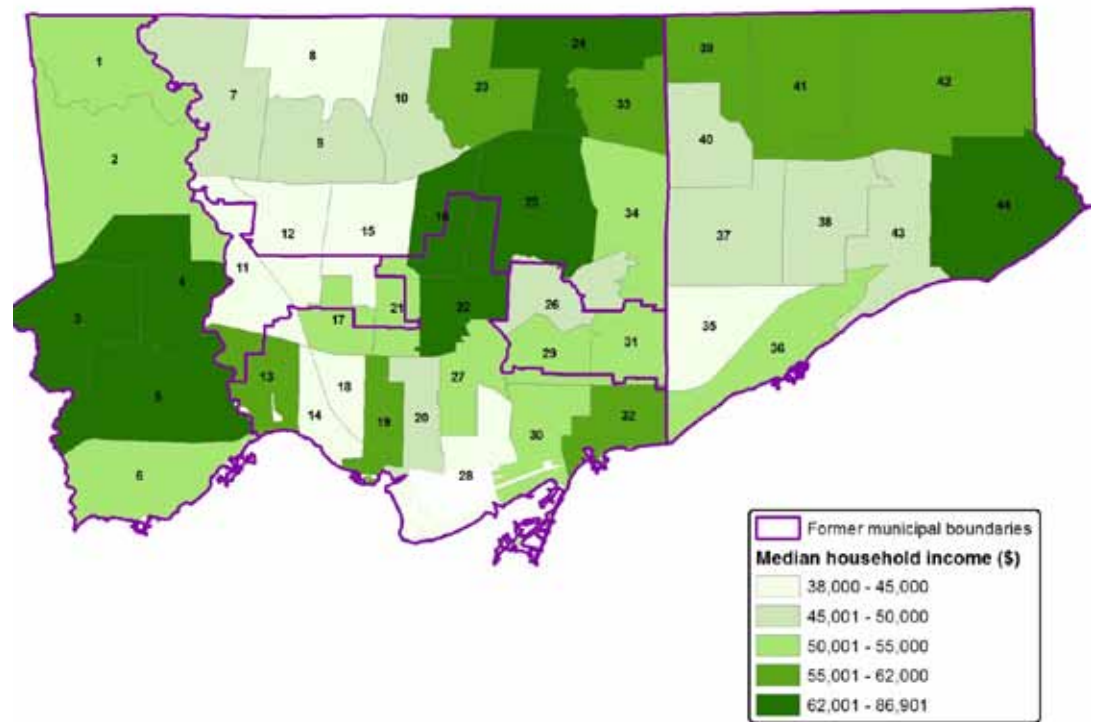
As Maps 3 and 4 show, immigrants and visible minorities are particularly concentrated across the top of Toronto, north of Highway 401, reaching down to pockets of the former municipalities of York, East York and Scarborough. Areas of lower immigrant and visible minority concentration span across the lower and central part of the city.

Maps 5 and 6 each reveal distinct patterns of tenant and household income distribution across Toronto. Tenants are most concentrated in the central and downtown core of Toronto, with strong pockets also in the former municipalities of York, North York and East York. Income distribution also appears randomly clustered in Toronto. The highest concentration of top income wards is in Etobicoke, followed by North York and Scarborough. Low income wards are most prevalent in York, North York and the central city of Toronto.

The variances of population characteristics depicted in Maps 3-6 allow us to identify correlations between area demographics and their voter turnout. We now present these findings.

4. TORONTO VOTING PATTERNS BY WARD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

4.a. Mapping 'Toronto's Distinct Geography of Voting'

Maps 7 and 8 below show average voter turnout by ward and neighbourhood, for the three most recent municipal elections of 2003, 2006 and 2010. (In the Appendix, we show maps and tables of voter turnout for each election at both ward and neighbourhood scales.)

MAP 7. VOTER TURNOUT BY WARD, AVERAGE OF 2003, 2006, 2010 ELECTIONS

MAP 8. VOTER TURNOUT BY NEIGHBOURHOOD, AVERAGE OF 2003, 2006, 2010 ELECTIONS
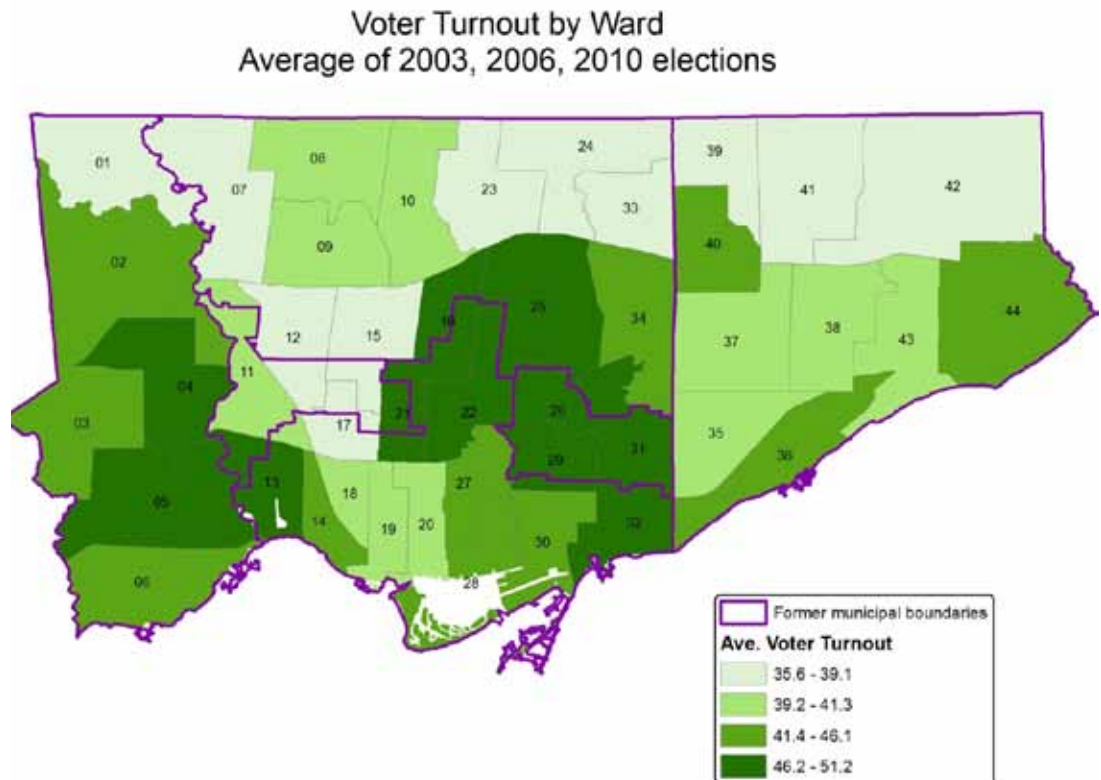
Voter Turnout by Neighbourhood
Average of 2003, 2006, 2010 elections
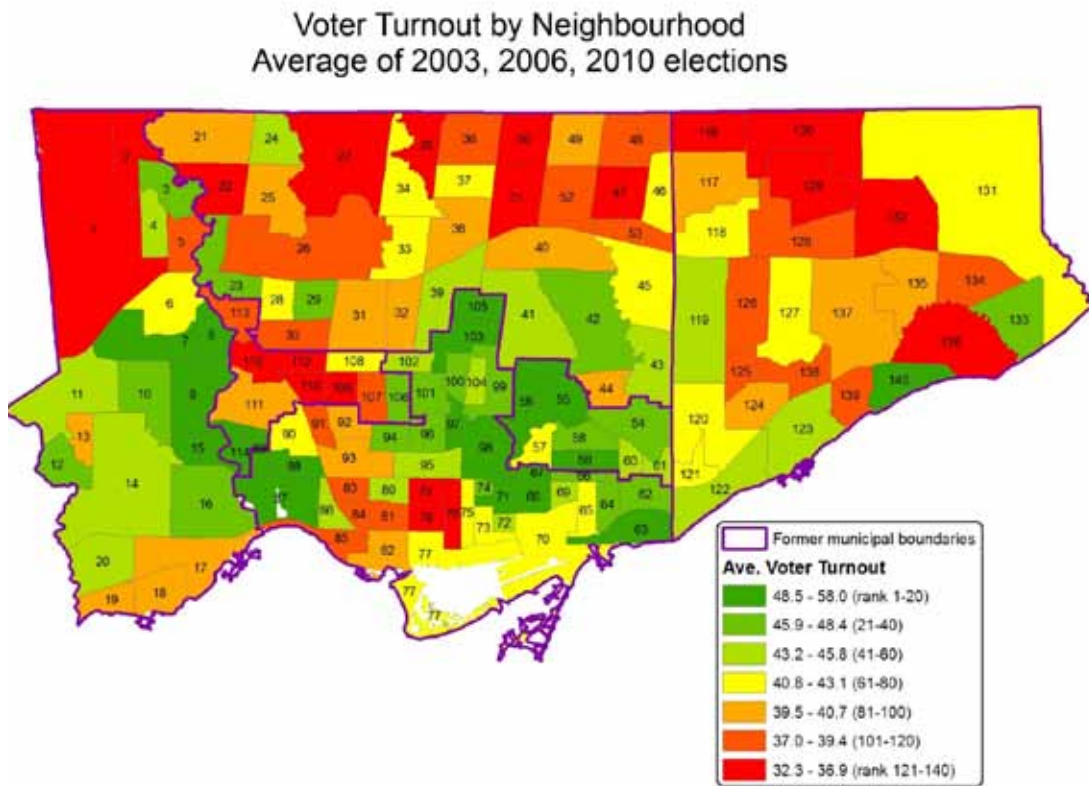
Maps 7 and 8 reveal the wide discrepancies in voter turnout across Toronto wards and neighbourhoods over the past three civic elections. With a city-wide average turnout of 42.7%, the variance across all 44 wards ran from a low of 35.6% to a high of 51.2%. Across Toronto's 140 neighbourhoods a wider variance from 32.3% to 58% prevailed.

At both ward and neighbourhood scales, Maps 7 and 8 reveal what we call "Toronto's distinct geography of voting." A lower rate of voter turnout generally prevails across the top of Toronto north of Highway 401, through Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough. Higher turnout rates cluster in the central core of the city, and its west end. A further contrast (particularly at neighbourhood scale) distinguishes the two smallest former municipalities of pre-amalgamation Toronto: East York characterized by high turnout, and York by low.

The location of Toronto's highest and lowest voting areas reflects "Toronto's distinct geography of voting." Ward 1 in northwest Etobicoke recorded the lowest average turnout of any ward, and it also contains the neighbourhood (number 2 on our map of city neighbourhoods) with the city's lowest turnout – Mount Olive-Silverstone-Jamestown. Meanwhile, Ward 13 in southwest Toronto recorded the highest average ward turnout, while Leaside Bennington (neighbourhood number 56) in the central city (and former East York) had the highest neighbourhood voter turnout.

Again, we note, the difference in turnout here is large: in the most recent 2010 municipal election, of every 100 eligible voters, an average of 28 more voted in Leaside Bennington than in Mount Olive-Silverstone-Jamestown.

There are several ways to identify the relationship between voter turnout and our demographic variables of interest. First, an eyeball comparison of Map 7 with Maps 3-6 is instructive. This compares voting by ward with the distribution of immigrants, visible minorities, tenants and income by ward. Maps 7 (voting distribution) and 3 (immigrant distribution) are a stark study in contrasts. Darker shaded wards in Map 3 (those with highest immigrant concentrations) generally correspond with lighter coloured wards (those with lowest turnout) in Map 7. And the converse also holds: lighter shaded Wards in Map 3 (lowest immigration concentration) tend to become darker shaded (highest turnout) wards in Map 7. A similar, though somewhat less striking, inverse pattern re-appears in comparing Map 4's distribution of visible minorities across Toronto with Map 7. Much weaker is the correspondence of Map 7 on voter turnout to Map 6 on income distribution in the city, reflecting a minimal correspondence of income and voter participation across the city. And finally, verging on random, is the correspondence of Map 7 on voter turnout to Map 5 on tenant distribution across the city. As we will see, this reflects no correlation between an area's voter turnout and its proportion of tenants or homeowners.

4.b. Regression Analysis of Voting Patterns

The statistical technique of regression analysis provides a second and more precise measure of the correlation of potential influences on voter turnout. Table 2 presents our regression findings for the past three Toronto elections, expressed in R-squared parameter. This represents an estimate of the contribution made by our four independent variables of interest (a ward's percentage immigrant, visible minority and tenant population, and its median household income) in explaining the total variability in the dependent variable (voter turnout) across all wards in the city. The higher the R-squared number is, the stronger the correlation, which may be either a positive or inverse (negative) relationship.

TABLE 2: REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF VOTER TURNOUT AND SELECT VARIABLES AT WARD SCALE, TORONTO AVERAGE OF 2003, 2006, 2010 ELECTIONS

Ward variable	R-squared	Relationship to Voter Turnout
Percent population, immigrant	0.6117	Inverse
Percent population, visible minority	0.4384	Inverse
Median household income	0.1423	Positive
Percent tenants (dwellings, rental)	0.0443	Positive

As Table 2 shows, a ward's proportion of immigrant population recorded the strongest correlation to voter turnout across Toronto's 44 wards. It generated an *inverse* R-squared of 0.6117, regarded as a statistically strong correlation. Table 2 also shows a medium-impact *inverse* correlation for visible minority status of 0.4384, a modest *positive* correlation of 0.1423 for median household income, and a minimal, virtually insignificant but *positive* correlation for renters compared with homeowners. These last two correlations come as surprises given our earlier references to: a) previous national election research findings which highlight the strong correlation of higher income with higher voter participation, and b) the longstanding assumption that homeowners greatly outvote tenants in municipal elections.

The significance of these regressions is visually captured in Charts 1 and 2, showing the contrasting impacts of ward concentrations of immigrants and tenants on voting. Chart 1 shows where all 44 wards locate on the joint continuums of immigrant population and voter turnout. Note that with very few exceptions, the robust negative or inverse correlation is illustrated by the downward slope of the immigration R-squared line. With few exceptions, the higher a ward's proportion of immigrants, the lower its voter turnout. Conversely, in Chart 2 there is no evident correspondence between a ward's percentage renters and its voter turnout. Note the large number of wards vertically positioned in a turnout range of 36% to 41%. Their proportion of renters ranges from under 20% to over 60%, hence a regression finding of virtually no impact of renter threshold on voting in Toronto elections.

CHART 1. REGRESSION CORRELATION OF IMMIGRANT POPULATION AND VOTER TURNOUT, WARD SCALE, 2003, 2006, 2010 TORONTO ELECTIONS

Immigrant population vs voter turnout, all 3 elections
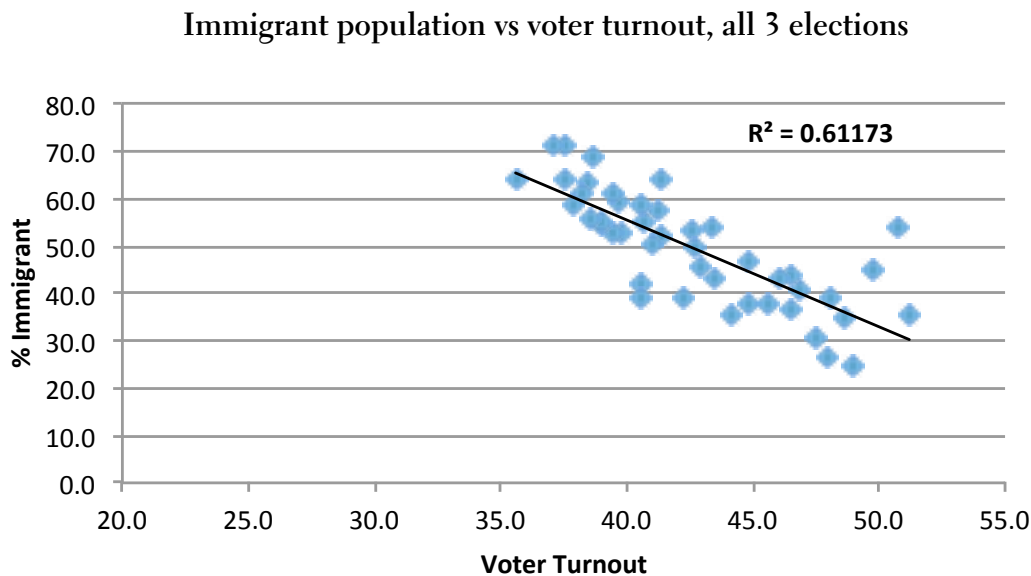
CHART 2. REGRESSION CORRELATION OF TENANT POPULATION AND VOTER TURNOUT, WARD SCALE, 2003, 2006, 2010 TORONTO ELECTIONS

% Renters vs Turnout, last 3 elections

$R^2 = 0.04426$
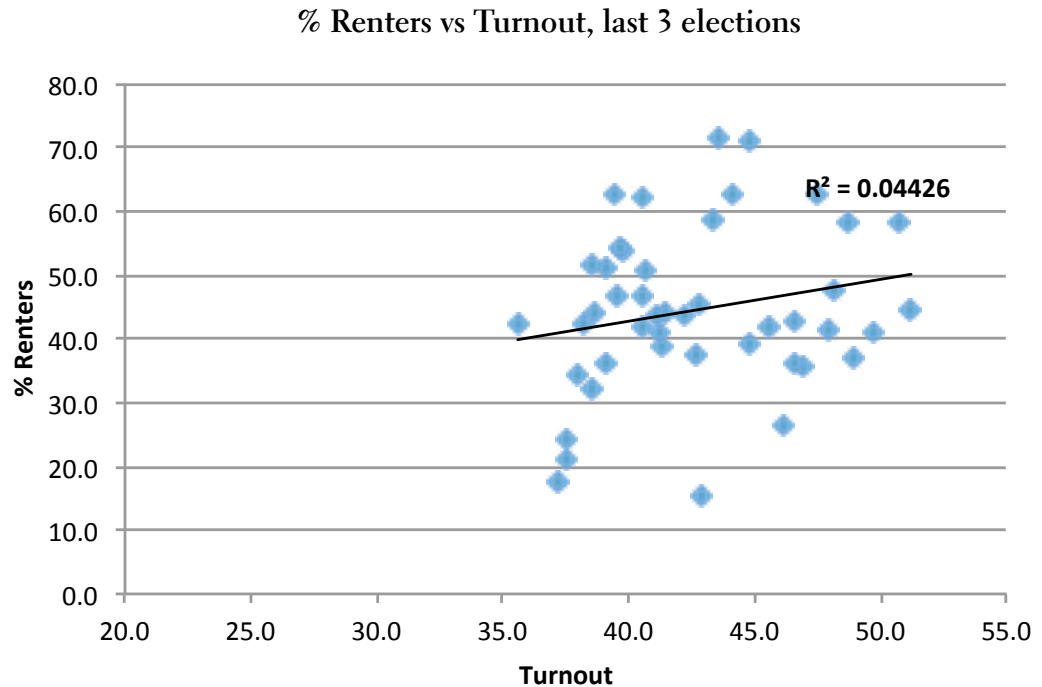
4.c. The View from the Ground

Another way of expressing the correlation of voter turnout and voter demographics is comparing the population characteristics of specific voting areas. We do this at both ward and neighbourhood scales for the most recent 2010 election. Table 3 below shows average turnout and demographic characteristics for the 10 top and bottom voting wards in 2010. Their respective profiles are striking in several respects. They differ dramatically in their concentration of immigrants and visible minorities, with higher proportions of each corresponding with lower voter turnout. This reinforces the negative or inverse relationship revealed by our regression analysis between a ward's voting turnout, and its concentration of immigrants and visible minorities. Conversely, the highest voting wards have significantly lower proportions of both immigrants and visible minorities than the city average.

TABLE 3: TOP/BOTTOM 10 WARDS VOTER TURNOUT AND DEMOGRAPHICS, 2010 ELECTION

Wards	Average % Voter Turnout	% Immigrant	% Visible Minority	Median Household Income ($)	% Rented Dwellings
Top 10	56.8	37.3	27.3	59,964	46.8
Bottom 10	44.6	63.0	62.7	53,104	38.4
City Total	**50.4**	**50.0**	**46.9**	**52,833**	**45.6**

Most surprising, in view of conventional wisdom, is our finding in Table 3 that the 10 highest voting wards in Toronto have a higher concentration of tenants than the 10 lowest voting wards. Of interest as well, is that highest voting wards have only modestly higher household income than our lowest voting polls. This suggests that income is not as strong a tie to voting municipally in Toronto, as it has been shown in national election studies of many western countries.

As Table 4 below reveals, the voting patterns established in our regression analysis play out in even more extreme form at the smaller neighbourhood scale. A wider gap separates top and bottom 10 neighbourhoods than wards in average voter turnout, and spatial correlation of immigrants, visible minorities and income. Interestingly, the random impact of tenant concentrations previously established through regression analysis is reflected here in its slightly inverse association with neighbourhood voting in Table 4, compared with its significantly positive association at the ward scale in Table 3.

TABLE 4: TOP/BOTTOM 10 NEIGHBOURHOODS VOTER TURNOUT AND DEMOGRAPHICS, 2010 ELECTION

Neighbourhoods	Average % Voter Turnout	% Immigrant	% Visible Minority	Median Household Income ($)	% Rented Dwellings
Top 10	60.6	28.9	14.9	81,366	37.6
Bottom 10	40.8	58.3	58	50,897	39.7
City Total	**50.4**	**50.0**	**46.9**	**52,833**	**45.6**

5. LESSONS FROM THE EXCEPTIONS

Our findings show that in Toronto, an area's proportion of immigrants and visible minorities represents the strongest correlation to its voter turnout at municipal elections. Income we have seen has a weak correlation to voting, and tenancy across the entire city has no consistent association with voting. These findings are reflected in the various maps, tables and charts presented to this point.

However there are wards and neighbourhoods which defy these general patterns. These outliers also convey important lessons about voting in Toronto municipal elections. Two distinct outlier categories can be identified. First are wards and neighbourhoods that consistently –across all three elections analyzed – defied the voting pattern we have identified for the city. Second are wards and neighbourhoods which only inconsistently reflected these voting patterns – conforming in some of the three elections we studied, but not others.

There are very few outliers in our first category – those that consistently defy the general voting portrait we depict. It is telling for instance, that nine of the top ten voting wards in Toronto over the three elections studied have below city average proportion of immigrants. And all ten of the lowest voting wards have above city average proportion of immigrants. At the neighbourhood scale nine of the top ten voting neighbourhoods had below city average percentage of immigrants, and eight of the ten lowest voting neighbourhoods had above city average immigrant concentration.

In a city where voting outlier areas are few and far between, Ward 26 and one of its neighbourhoods – Thorncliffe Park – stand out. Ward 26 is located in east-central Toronto in the former municipality of East York. As the chart in our Appendix on ward turnout and demographics shows, Ward 26 is Toronto's second highest voting city ward over all three elections of 2003, 2006 and 2010. It is also the only ward among the ten top voting wards with *higher* than city average concentrations of immigrants and visible minorities. Thorncliffe Park, as our Appendix neighbourhood table shows, is a neighbourhood hugely higher than city average in immigrants, visible minorities and tenants, and well below city average in income. Yet it ranks 10th among 140 city neighbourhoods in voter turnout over the past three elections. Indeed, it ranked first among all city neighbourhoods in the 2006 election.

What is the secret of Ward 26 and Thorncliffe Park getting out the vote? Several factors contribute. To be sure, Ward 26 benefits from having within its boundary parts of other neighbourhoods that do fit our demographic "recipe" for high voter turnout. This includes Leaside-Bennington, the highest voting neighbourhood in the city. Yet Thorncliffe Park is the only neighbourhood that is entirely in Ward 26, and not part of any other ward. As our Appendix data show, Thorncliffe Park is certainly pulling its weight (and the vote!) in making Ward 26 second highest voting

ward in Toronto. Underlying this is an important story about voting in Toronto.

In the 2003 Toronto election which elected David Miller mayor for the first time, Thorncliffe Park's turnout ranked 56th of 140, and Ward 26 ranked 13th out of 44 wards. The local councillor contest that year in Ward 26 was a coronation, with incumbent Jane Pitfield winning 87% of the vote, the highest victory margin for any city councillor across the whole city. In the 2006 civic election Pitfield challenged David Miller in the mayoralty race, losing by a wide margin. As noted earlier, David Miller's re-election was widely predicted and expected. This had a discouraging effect on voter turnout across the city – with 101,729 *fewer* votes cast in the 2006 municipal election than in 2003.

However, Ward 26 in 2006 was the site of an exceptionally spirited and competitive race for the council seat vacated by Jane Pitfield. Fourteen candidates contested the seat, including several of South Asian origin from Thorncliffe Park, who mounted strong grassroots campaigns in the predominantly South Asian neighbourhood. In an exceptionally tight ward election, the three top candidates came within 2% of each other when ballots were counted. A competitive council race with strong local visible minority candidates propelled Thorncliffe Park from 56th to 1st in neighbourhood turnout. Also at play was the exceptional community engagement led by Thorncliffe Neighbourhood House, then headed by its dynamic Executive Director Jehad Aliweiwi. By 2006, Thorncliffe Park had become a lower income neighbourhood of 68% immigrants, 75% visible minorities, 91% renters with strong social capital rooted in shared space, institutions and programs. Impressively, we repeat, it led all 140 city neighbourhoods in voter turnout that year. The subsequent 2010 election featured both a competitive mayoralty and councillor race in Thorncliffe Park. And while voter turnout in the neighbourhood climbed from 54% in 2006 to 58% in 2010, Thorncliffe Park dropped from previously top turnout neighbourhood in the city to still notable 15th ranked, as the competitive mayoralty race boosted voter turnout in other neighbourhoods as well.

Ward 26 and Thorncliffe Park in particular remind us there is nothing pre-determined or inevitable about voter turnout. Strong community empowerment, combined with credible dedicated local candidates and competitive election races can mobilize any voters – especially immigrants, visible minorities, low income and tenants.

Other Toronto wards and neighbourhoods have also "gone against script" in voter turnout. Some have experienced great volatility in their voting over three elections. Inevitably, this is a reflection of campaign races: whether competitive or coronation. Ward 8 in north-western North York for instance, ranked 43rd (second last) in turnout in 2003, and 40th in 2010. But in 2006 it shot up to 5th overall. This in a ward that is also home to far larger proportions of immigrants, visible minorities and

low income residents than city average. How did this fluctuation happen?

Most significant was the fiercely contested councillor race in 2006 pitting incumbent Peter LiPreti against rival and ultimate victor Anthony Perruzza. Tenant advocacy group ACORN extensively canvassed apartment buildings in support of Perruzza. The result was more ballots cast; this combined with the fall-off in voting across the city in the non-competitive mayoralty race of 2006, propelled Ward 8 to 5th highest voting rank among all city wards.

Ward 16 further exemplifies the volatile impact the local council race can have on voter turnout. Located in North Toronto (now central amalgamated Toronto), the ward had among the lowest proportion of immigrants and visible minorities. In 2003 Ward 16 recorded the highest turnout in the city, as newcomer Karen Stintz defeated longtime incumbent Anne Johnston in a hotly contested campaign. Three years later, with no competitive mayoralty or councillor race, voter turnout fell from 51% in 2003 to 40% in 2006, and its ward rank to 13th overall.

Voting, like all human behaviour, is subject to influence and choices. Any identified correlations are subject to change, when context and circumstances change.

6. EXPLAINING TORONTO'S VOTING PATTERNS

Our findings show that in Toronto, an area's proportion of immigrants and visible minorities represents the strongest correlation to its voter turnout at municipal elections. Income we have seen has a weak correlation to voting, while tenancy and homeownership have no consistent association with voting.

Fully explaining these patterns would require further research. However, some starting hypotheses can be identified. Voting in municipal elections can be challenging, as reflected in the considerably lower turnout rate over the years for local elections compared with federal and provincial elections. This should remind us that all categories of eligible voters are less likely to vote municipally than at any other election.

Low municipal voter turnout is a problem for all demographics of Toronto society. This stems in part from the inherent difficulty voters face making an informed choice in municipal elections. The absence of political parties, leaves a laundry list of names on the long municipal ballot running for three positions: city mayor, ward councillor and school board trustee. It is virtually impossible for voters to know who all the candidates are, what they stand for, or their past record. More generally, civics education is no longer a priority in our schools, and many urban residents know little about the role or structure of local government. We need to do better at making municipal voting more user-friendly. This could involve initiatives of both public education and electoral reform.

Eligible immigrants and visible minorities may encounter particular barriers in voting. It can take time for immigrants to become familiar with our political system, or to feel their voice and vote are wanted. Visible minority engagement may be impeded by the very low number of elected visible minority members of Toronto city council. Visible minorities now hold only 11% of council seats, while accounting for 49% of the city population in 2011. A more diverse political leadership in the city could prompt deeper engagement from Toronto's diverse communities. Indeed, as we have seen, this dynamic has played out in some ward election races.

Geographically, Toronto's lowest areas of voting are found in the northern parts of Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough, plus pockets of the former municipality of York. These areas are home to especially large concentrations of immigrants and visible minorities. As Maps 3, 4 and 6 show a number of these areas, especially in North York and Scarborough, are higher than average income areas of the city. Worth further research is whether our finding of minimal association between income and voting across Toronto as a whole is impacted by the lower voting in these particular areas. Conversely, the non-association of tenancy and voting may be partially explained by the distribution of tenants across Toronto. As Map 5 demonstrates, the concentration of tenants in central parts of the city core, with its strong tradition of civic engagement may well contribute significantly to boosting the correlation between voting and renters.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RAISING MUNICIPAL VOTER TURN-OUT IN TORONTO

Toronto, like other municipalities, has a poor record of voter participation in civic elections. There are many reasons to take this democratic deficit seriously. It threatens the legitimacy and confidence of local government and risks local officials being out of touch with public needs and concerns. It can lead to areas or communities within the city being marginalized from public decision-making.

Many liberal democracies are now confronted with declining voter participation. It will take effort and creativity to create the civic culture that promotes greater engagement. There is room for experimentation, with non-partisan initiatives large and small. These include steps that can be taken by municipal institutions, by elections candidates, by community organizations and by individuals. These could include:

Initiatives by Municipalities

- Greater public education campaigns related to municipal government especially in the months prior to civic elections, delivered across the city in a host of municipal institutions including libraries, schools and transit hubs.

- City-wide voting information and promotion advertising prior to elections.

- Promoting immigrant voting through such measures as community-based civics education, multi-lingual voting advertising encouraging newcomers to vote, and extending municipal voting rights (as endorsed by Toronto city council) to all permanent resident immigrants in the city.

- Using the carrot approach (as some municipalities do) to provide those who vote with tangible reward (eg. small tax rebate).

Initiatives by Election Candidates

- Engage in more community-based campaigning.

- Produce multilingual campaign messaging and material.

- Reach out to community and "ethnic" media.

Initiatives by Community Organizations

- Promote civic awareness and voting among community members.

- Identify and organize around issues of particular interest/concern to the community.

- Use all available media (community and social) to message the importance of voting as elections approach.

Initiatives by Individuals

- Don't underestimate the influence individuals have over family and friends.

- Talk it up, text it up, tweet it up: voting matters.

- Participate in innovative civic engagement initiatives such as the 1,000 Dinners TO idea of having 1,000 dinners at which Torontonians discuss making the city a better place. Further information and registration is available at http://1000dinnersto.com/

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9. APPENDICES

List of Maps and Tables

Voter Turnout by Ward, 2010

2010 Voter Turnout
- 43.4 - 46.1
- 46.2 - 48.7
- 48.8 - 50.9
- 51.0 - 55.5
- 55.6 - 58.7
- Former municipal boundaries

Voter Turnout by Ward, 2006

2006 Voter Turnout
- 33.0 - 35.2
- 35.3 - 38.4
- 38.5 - 40.9
- 41.0 - 43.7
- 43.8 - 52.4
- Former municipal boundaries

Voter Turnout by Ward, 2003

2003 Voter Turnout
- 29.5 - 33.0
- 33.1 - 36.1
- 36.2 - 39.7
- 39.8 - 45.9
- 46.0 - 51.0
- Former municipal boundaries

Voter Turnout by Ward
Average of 2003, 2006, 2010 elections

- Former municipal boundaries

Ave. Voter Turnout
- 35.6 - 39.1
- 39.2 - 41.3
- 41.4 - 46.1
- 46.2 - 51.2

VOTER TURNOUT AND KEY DEMOGRAPHICS BY TORONTO WARD

Ward	% Voted 2010	Rank 2010	Elected 2010	% Voted 2006	Rank 2006	Elected 2006	% Voted 2003	Rank 2003	Elected 2003	Vari-ability in rank	Ave. Turnout 03-10	Rank Ave. Turnout	2006 % Immig.	2006 % Visible Minority	2006 Median HH Inc $	2006 % Rented
1	43.4	44	**Crisanti**	33.0	44	Hall	30.4	42	Hall	2	35.6	44	64.2	79.5	53,426	42.1
2	50.8	18	**D. Ford**	40.5	14	R. Ford	36.6	23	R. Ford	13	42.6	20	53.0	55.5	69,690	37.6
3	53.6	14	Lindsay Luby	39.9	19	Lindsay Luby	44.8	8	Lindsay-Luby	16	46.1	12	43.3	26.0	66,621	26.5
4	58.7	1	Holyday*	42.2	9	Holyday	48.2	3	Holyday	14	49.7	3	44.7	25.1	62,338	41.0
5	55.5	6	Milczyn	40.3	15	Milczyn	44.8	7	Milczyn	17	46.9	9	40.9	20.3	64,775	35.6
6	49.9	21	Grimes	39.7	22	Grimes	37.1	21	**Grimes**	2	42.2	21	39.0	21.4	52,986	43.8
7	45.2	37	Mammolitti	37.5	32	Mammolitti	31.9	40	Mammoliti	13	38.2	39	61.2	63.8	48,336	42.4
8	44.8	40	Perruzza	43.5	5	**Perruzza**	29.9	43	Li Preti	73	39.4	33	61.3	74.0	48,059	62.4
9	47.5	30	Augimeri	38.1	29	Augimeri	36.1	24	Augimeri	6	40.6	28	58.7	51.1	46,224	46.8
10	47.3	31	**Pasternak**	36.9	33	Feldman	34.8	34	Feldman	3	39.6	31	59.4	27.3	47,807	54.3
11	45.6	34	Nunziata	40.2	17	Nunziata	32.6	39	Nunziata	39	39.5	32	52.8	52.0	43,204	46.6
12	45.2	38	Di Giorgio	36.4	34	Di Giorgio	34.0	35	Di Giorgio	5	38.5	37	55.6	50.3	42,495	51.6
13	58.6	2	**Doucette**	46.5	3	Sandercook	48.5	2	Saunder-cook	2	51.2	1	35.4	16.3	61,987	44.6
14	50.5	19	Perks	42.9	7	**Perks**	37.2	20	**Watson**	25	43.5	17	43.1	36.8	38,352	71.3
15	46.1	33	**Colle**	36.2	36	Moscoe	34.9	33	Moscoe	6	39.1	35	55.3	40.4	44,427	51.2
16	55.4	8	Stintz	40.6	13	Stintz	51.0	1	**Stintz**	17	49.0	4	24.7	12.6	85,492	37.0
17	45.0	39	Palacio	38.4	28	Palacio	33.8	36	**Palacio**	19	39.1	34	54.4	31.1	50,913	36.0
18	48.7	24	**Bailao**	34.7	40	Giambrone	35.9	27	**Giambrone**	29	39.8	30	52.5	36.0	44,096	53.7
19	49.8	22	**Layton**	35.2	38	Pantalone	36.8	22	Pantalone	32	40.6	27	42.2	29.3	55,704	41.7
20	47.5	29	Vaughan	38.8	26	**Vaughan**	35.4	30	Chow	7	40.6	29	39.2	39.2	49,732	62.1
21	55.5	7	Mihevc	46.6	2	Mihevc	43.9	9	Mihevc	12	48.7	5	34.8	23.3	54,406	58.0
22	55.0	11	**Matlow**	41.5	10	Walker	45.9	5	Walker	6	47.5	8	30.4	17.9	62,494	62.8
23	43.7	42	Filion	34.3	42	Filion	35.8	28	Filion	14	37.9	40	58.4	54.7	55,912	34.4
24	45.5	35	Shiner	34.2	43	Shiner	35.7	29	Shiner	22	38.5	38	63.4	36.8	62,040	32.0
25	53.8	13	**Robinson**	38.7	27	Jenkins	47.1	4	Jenkins	37	46.5	11	36.7	28.2	86,901	36.3
26	58.1	3	Parker	52.4	1	**Parker**	41.7	13	Pitfield	14	50.7	2	54.1	56.7	49,581	58.4
27	55.3	9	**Wong-Tam**	38.1	30	Rae	39.1	16	Rae	35	44.2	16	35.6	32.0	50,763	62.6
28	52.7	16	McConnell	43.7	4	McConnell	38.0	17	McConnell	25	44.8	14	46.9	53.0	38,479	71.1

29	57.7	5	**Fragedakis**	42.8	8	Ootes	43.7	10	Ootes	5	48.1	6	39.0	23.6	52,101	47.8
30	55.3	10	Fletcher	40.3	16	Fletcher	41.2	14	**Fletcher**	8	45.6	13	37.9	41.8	53,100	41.7
31	54.0	12	Davis	42.9	6	Davis	42.7	11	**Davis**	11	46.6	10	43.7	40.9	50,023	42.9
32	57.9	4	**McMahon**	40.9	12	Bussin	44.9	6	Bussin	14	47.9	7	26.2	21.2	61,098	41.3
33	45.4	36	Carroll	34.6	41	Carroll	36.0	25	**Carroll**	21	38.7	36	68.9	65.0	55,853	44.1
34	50.9	17	Minnan-Wong	41.3	11	Minnan-Wong	37.8	18	**Minnan-Wong**	13	43.3	18	53.7	50.3	51,269	58.8
35	49.4	23	**Berardinetti**	39.9	21	**Heaps**	32.8	38	Altobello	19	40.7	26	54.9	37.4	42,102	50.9
36	53.2	15	**Crawford**	39.5	24	Ashton	41.7	12	Ashton	21	44.8	15	37.5	36.2	52,877	39.1
37	48.5	26	Thompson	38.1	31	Thompson	37.3	19	**Thompson**	17	41.3	23	52.2	56.8	48,736	38.8
38	48.4	27	De Baer-emaeker	40.0	18	De Baer-emaeker	35.1	31	**De Baer-emaeker**	22	41.2	24	57.7	66.1	49,261	40.9
39	44.6	41	Del Grande	34.9	39	Del Grande	33.0	37	**Del Grande**	4	37.5	42	71.1	83.7	55,186	21.1
40	48.6	25	Kelly	39.6	23	Kelly	36.0	26	Kelly	5	41.4	22	64.0	69.3	46,427	44.0
41	43.6	43	Lee	36.2	35	**Lee**	31.6	41	Balkissoon*	14	37.1	43	71.4	87.8	58,822	17.6
42	47.1	32	Cho	36.1	37	Cho	29.5	44	Cho	12	37.6	41	63.8	88.7	61,333	24.3
43	48.2	28	Ainslie	39.9	20	**Ainslie****	35.1	32	Sokancki	20	41.1	25	50.6	59.2	48,549	43.8
44	50.1	20	Moeser	38.9	25	**Moeser**	39.7	15	**Cowbourne**	15	42.9	19	45.3	51.9	76,173	15.3
City	50.6		**R. Ford**	39.3		Miller	38.3		**Miller**		42.7		50.0	46.9	52,833	45.6

Voter Turnout by Neighbourhood, 2010
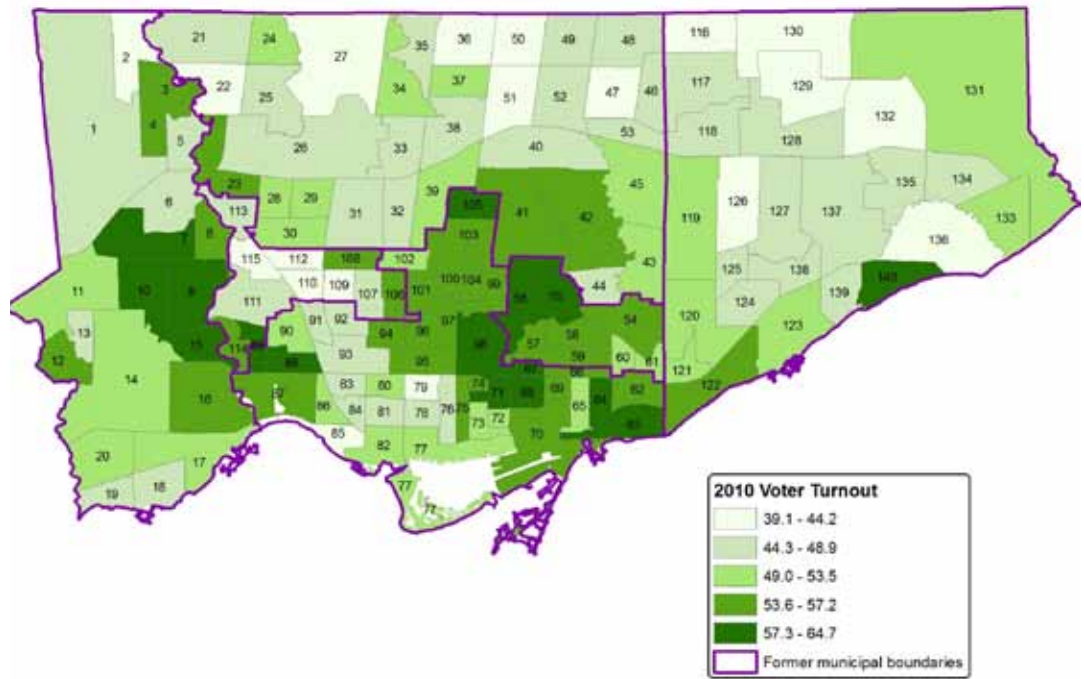
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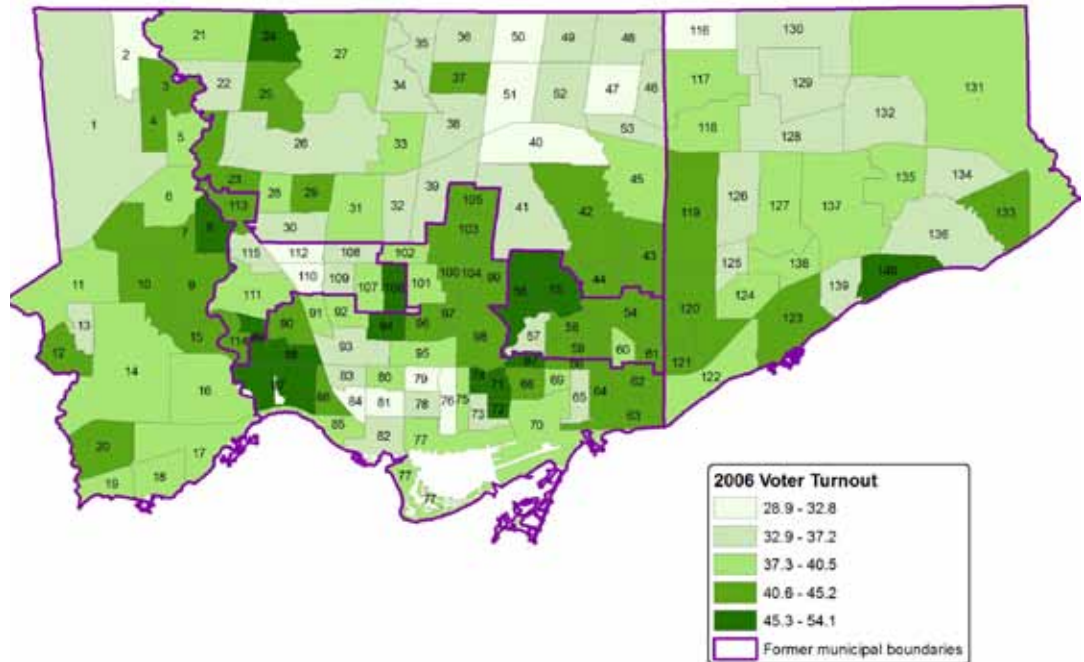
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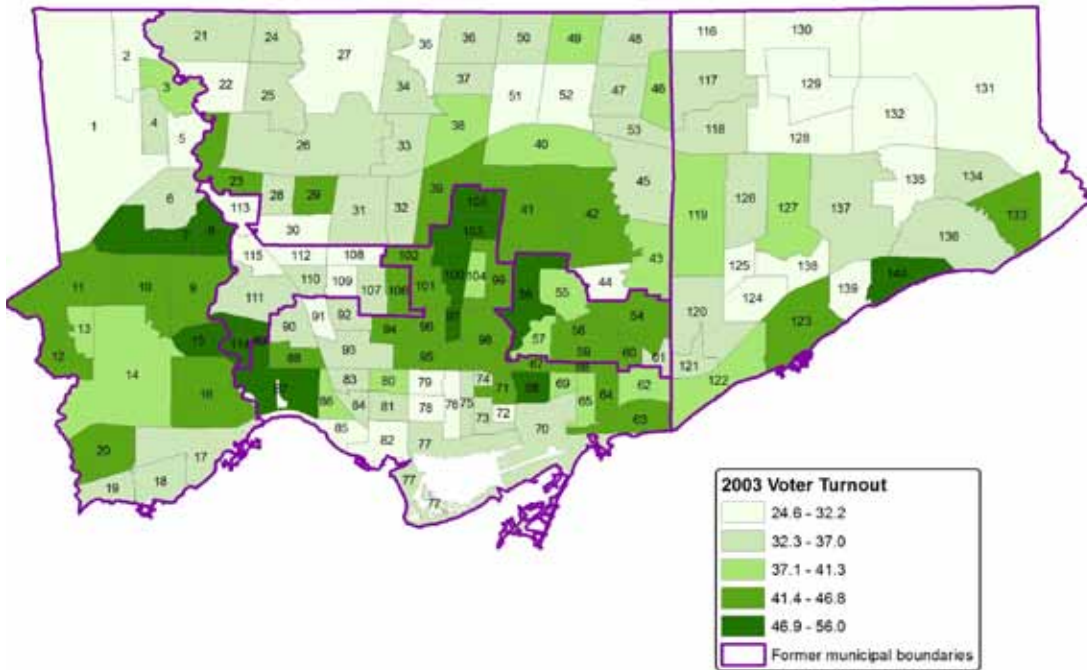
2003 Voter Turnout
- 24.6 - 32.2
- 32.3 - 37.0
- 37.1 - 41.3
- 41.4 - 46.8
- 46.9 - 56.0
- Former municipal boundaries

Voter Turnout by Neighbourhood
Average of 2003, 2006, 2010 elections

Former municipal boundaries

Ave. Voter Turnout
- 48.5 - 58.0 (rank 1-20)
- 45.9 - 48.4 (21-40)
- 43.2 - 45.8 (41-60)
- 40.8 - 43.1 (61-80)
- 39.5 - 40.7 (81-100)
- 37.0 - 39.4 (101-120)
- 32.3 - 36.9 (rank 121-140)
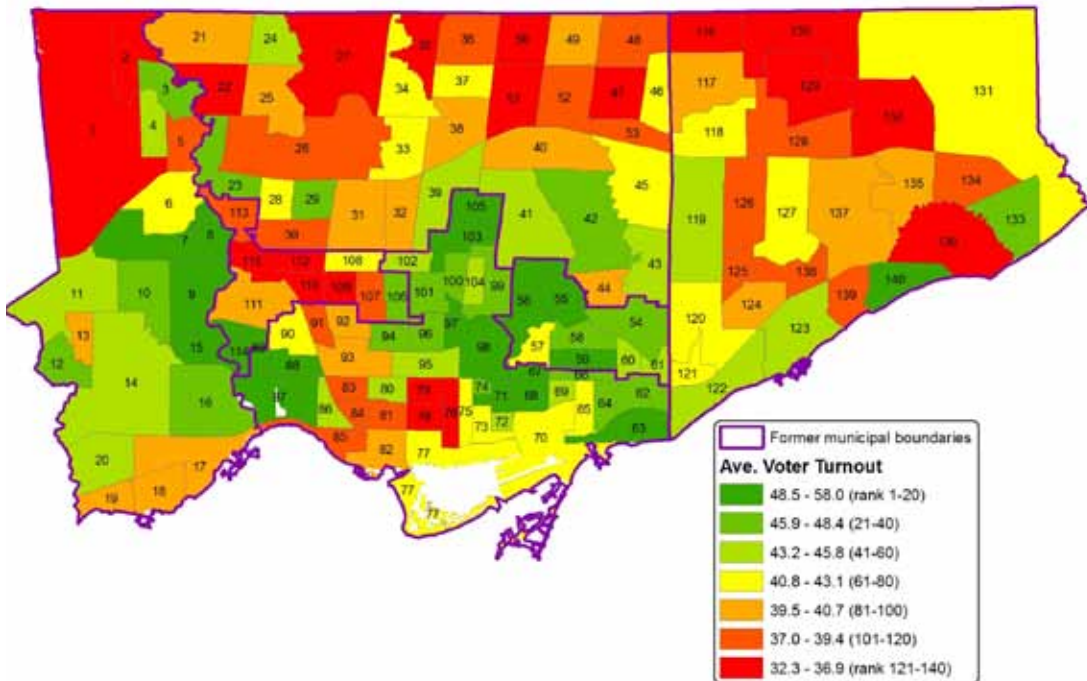
VOTER TURNOUT AND KEY DEMOGRAPHICS BY TORONTO NEIGHBOURHOOD

Neighbourhood	Wards	Eligible Electors, 2010	% Voted 2010	Rank, 2010	% Voted 2006	Rank, 2006	% Voted 2003	Rank, 2003	Avg. Turnout 03-10	Rank Avg. Turnout	Variab. in rank	% Im-mig.	% Vis Min	% Rent-ed	Median HH In-come $
Leaside-Bennington	26, 29	11114	64.7	1	53.4	2	56.0	1	58.0	1	2	18.4	9.3	26.7	94,837
Guildwood	36, 43	7690	61.3	2	48.9	6	49.9	6	53.4	3	4	30.2	22.5	21.1	75,023
Lawrence Park North	16, 25	10697	61.3	3	45.1	16	55.0	3	53.8	2	26	19.9	11.9	25.6	100,098
Cabbagetown-South St.James Town	27, 28	8886	60.5	4	46.8	9	42.3	38	49.9	15	34	32.3	23	54.4	54,684
Playter Estates-Danforth	29	7046	60.3	5	46.7	10	45.8	18	50.9	6	13	26.7	14.9	54.9	61,249
Kingsway South	4, 5	8152	60.2	6	42.1	37	55.9	2	52.7	4	66	21.4	8.5	16.3	121,671
Edenbridge-Humber Valley	4	7896	60.0	7	41.3	48	46.8	14	49.3	16	75	42.4	13.0	45.0	72,567
Runnymede-Bloor West Village	13	9333	59.6	8	46.6	12	50.1	5	52.1	5	11	29.4	11.8	19.7	80,618
High Park North	13, 14	11534	59.6	9	49.4	5	43.1	33	50.7	7	32	41.0	20.0	68.0	53,168
Rosedale-Moore Park	22, 27	15870	59.1	10	40.9	55	46.1	17	48.7	19	83	27.2	13.6	44.3	99,740
The Beaches	32	15142	59.0	11	41.5	45	46.4	15	49.0	17	64	19.2	9.4	36.3	79,666
Willowridge-Martingrove-Rich-view	4	13019	58.8	12	43.4	24	47.8	12	50.0	13	24	47.8	34.9	42.9	60,280
Princess-Rosethorn	3, 4	11667	58.7	13	42.5	33	44.2	26	48.4	21	27	30.0	14.1	14.7	118,478
North Riverdale	30	9635	58.6	14	44.3	21	47.9	11	50.3	12	17	33.0	30.2	39.6	69,084
Thorncliffe Park	26	7423	58.5	15	54.1	1	39.1	56	50.5	10	69	68.1	74.9	91.0	39,580
Woodbine Corridor	32	9123	58.0	16	41.8	42	44.4	23	48.1	24	45	28.8	25.0	41.6	58,882
High Park-Swansea	13, 14	18450	57.2	17	46.6	13	48.2	8	50.6	8	9	32.4	13.4	38.5	63,763
Lawrence Park South	16, 25	11289	57.1	18	41.8	43	52.9	4	50.6	9	64	19.0	9.0	27.3	129,322
Humber Heights-Westmount	2, 4	8001	57.1	19	46.1	14	48.4	7	50.5	11	12	50.0	20.3	44.1	50,230
Casa Loma	21, 22	10740	57.0	20	42.9	29	43.9	28	48.0	27	10	27.4	14.5	61.4	71,705
Birchcliffe-Cliffside	36	15949	56.7	21	39.5	67	40.3	48	45.5	44	65	27.6	20.7	32.4	58,717
Danforth Village - East York	29, 31	9136	56.7	22	44.4	20	44.5	22	48.5	20	4	39.5	27.6	28.2	57,810
Markland Woods	3	8471	56.7	23	43.3	26	44.7	20	48.2	23	9	37.3	15.4	23.5	75,699
Yonge-St.Clair	22	6589	56.6	24	45.1	17	48.1	9	49.9	14	15	28.9	12.8	62.4	70,725
East End-Danforth	31, 32	15559	56.5	25	41.1	50	40.2	49	45.9	40	26	29.1	26.9	46.2	55,102
Thistletown-Beaumond Heights	1	5068	56.5	26	42.4	34	39.4	54	46.1	39	28	55.9	53.8	34.4	55,032
Lambton Baby Point	13	4436	56.4	27	42.1	39	48.0	10	48.8	18	41	34.2	20.9	42.1	66,138
Forest Hill South	21, 22	4628	56.3	28	39.5	68	44	27	46.6	34	81	23.6	11.2	45.4	90,832
Mount Pleasant East	22, 25	8325	56.0	29	44	22	42.8	36	47.6	31	21	25.8	12.2	40.7	78,035
Banbury-Don Mills	25, 26	18057	55.9	30	45	18	42.9	34	47.9	28	28	47.6	38.6	38.9	74,228
City Total		1,643,427	50.6		39.3		38.3		42.7			50.0	46.9	45.6	52,833

NEIGHBOURHOODS 31-60

Neighbourhood	Wards	Eligible Electors, 2010	% Voted 2010	Rank, 2010	% Voted 2006	Rank, 2006	% Voted 2003	Rank, 2003	Avg. Turnout 03-10	Rank Avg. Turnout	Variab. in rank	% Im-mig.	% Vis Min	% Rented	Median HH In-come $
Yonge-Eglinton	16, 22	9401	55.7	31	42.2	36	47.3	13	48.4	22	28	23.2	15.0	59.2	68,503
Old East York	29, 31	9706	55.6	32	42.6	31	44.7	21	47.6	30	11	34.5	23.2	29.0	63,185
Stonegate-Queensway	5	17285	55.5	33	40.1	59	42.9	35	46.2	37	50	38.8	11.6	35.5	66,154
Wychwood	21	7071	55.5	34	46.6	11	41.7	43	47.9	29	55	40.3	28.6	53.1	47,619
O'Connor-Parkview	36, 31	11735	55.3	35	45.2	15	43.3	30	48.0	26	35	41.4	37.6	48.2	50,163
Blake-Jones	30	4600	55.2	36	40.1	60	40.1	50	45.1	47	34	37.9	41.0	44.7	49,352
Annex	20, 27	19737	55.1	37	40.0	63	42.0	39	45.7	42	50	31.4	20.6	63.7	53,873
Humewood-Cedarvale	21	9370	54.9	38	47.1	8	42.0	40	48.0	25	62	35.2	28.5	63.0	52,591
Danforth Village - Toronto	29	7539	54.8	39	42.7	30	41.9	42	46.5	35	21	36.3	26.7	35.5	56,622
Briar Hill-Belgravia	15	3182	54.4	40	36.6	98	31.7	114	40.9	76	74	62.0	40.9	50.7	47,393
Pelmo Park-Humberlea	7, 11	6271	54.4	41	43.4	25	42.5	37	46.8	32	28	47.4	36.4	17.1	64,532
Broadview North	29	5467	54.2	42	35.0	119	37.4	63	42.2	69	133	48.5	24.3	70.6	40,774
Church-Yonge Corridor	27, 28	21571	54.1	43	39.8	64	35.4	77	43.1	61	34	35.6	34.6	71.4	43,651
Rexdale-Kipling	2	7339	54.1	44	40.9	54	36.1	70	43.7	58	26	47.3	41.8	45.1	52,428
Bridle Path-Sunnybrook-York Mills	25, 26	6901	53.8	45	35.5	109	44.4	24	44.5	51	149	27.0	20.2	5.5	208,312
Mount Pleasant West	22, 25	19608	53.7	46	41.9	40	41.3	45	45.6	43	11	39.9	28.2	80.7	49,651
South Riverdale	30	16342	53.7	47	37.9	89	36.0	73	42.5	65	58	41.0	47.8	40.1	48,515
North St.James Town	27, 28	8241	53.6	48	49.5	4	36.9	65	46.7	33	105	60.0	68.2	96.4	30,237
Niagara	19, 20	9938	53.5	49	35.0	117	31.9	112	40.1	91	73	35.0	32.9	36.6	62,374
Regent Park	28	2225	53.4	50	52.4	3	30.7	122	45.5	45	166	53.9	78.8	89.1	35,656
Crescent Town	31	7319	53.2	51	43.0	28	35.8	74	44.0	56	69	61.2	62.8	63.7	39,625
Eringate-Centennial-West Deane	3	12139	53.0	52	38.0	85	44.3	25	45.1	48	93	44.0	27.7	14.1	71,005
Junction Area	11, 13, 14	9939	52.8	53	41.6	44	33.7	100	42.7	64	65	40.3	28.7	44.9	53,543
Alderwood	6	9200	52.7	54	41.9	41	41.6	44	45.4	46	16	37.0	10.2	21.9	62,842
Maple Leaf	12	5245	52.6	55	43.9	23	42.0	41	46.2	38	50	54.8	36.2	46.0	48,937
Cliffcrest	36	11376	52.5	56	41.0	52	43.7	29	45.8	41	27	33.5	27.0	32.5	62,770
Oakridge	35	6693	52.5	57	42.1	38	32.9	105	42.5	66	86	58.4	72.7	70.2	31,367
Woodbine-Lumsden	31	4902	52.3	58	39.7	66	43.1	31	45.1	49	43	34.7	30.8	30.0	53,499
Greenwood-Coxwell	30, 32	9443	52.2	59	37.0	94	39.4	53	42.8	63	76	38.7	44.1	39.5	48,198
Centennial Scarborough	44	9100	52.0	60	42.3	35	44.9	19	46.4	36	41	35.4	34.8	6.2	99,376
City Total		1,643,427	50.6		39.3		38.3		42.7			50.0	46.9	45.6	52,833

NEIGHBOURHOODS 61-90

Neighbourhood	Wards	Eligible Electors, 2010	% Voted 2010	Rank, 2010	% Voted 2006	Rank, 2006	% Voted 2003	Rank, 2003	Avg. Turnout 03-10	Rank Avg. Turnout	Variab. in rank	% Im-mig.	% Vis Min	% Rented	Median HH In-come $
Islington-City Centre West	3, 5	23950	51.9	61	39.4	69	40.9	46	44.1	55	31	47.6	31.2	40.4	61,514
Bedford Park-Nortown	16	13538	51.9	62	36.6	99	46.2	16	44.9	50	120	26.9	12.6	31.4	90,635
Moss Park	27, 28	9075	51.8	63	36.6	97	36.4	69	41.6	73	62	36.9	39.7	58.6	41,375
Brookhaven-Amesbury	11, 12	20051	51.7	64	35.4	111	30.1	124	39.1	103	60	57.9	62.9	56.1	43,385
Palmerston-Little Italy	18, 19	16665	51.6	65	38.0	86	40.0	51	43.2	60	56	39.8	24.3	52.9	50,990
Wexford/Maryvale	37, 40	17401	51.5	66	41.2	49	40.0	52	44.2	53	20	47.7	45.5	37.5	51,071
Rouge	42, 44	28877	51.2	67	39.3	71	32.1	110	40.9	77	43	55.7	75.7	13.3	76,945
Waterfront Communities-The Island	20, 28	28791	51.0	68	40.1	58	35.7	76	42.3	68	28	38.3	36.8	51.8	60,871
Forest Hill North	16, 21	7862	50.7	69	37.9	90	43.1	32	43.9	57	79	37.0	18.4	66.9	56,972
Willowdale West	23	8670	50.7	70	41.4	47	36.6	67	42.9	62	43	51.6	37.3	30.0	57,733
Parkwoods-Donalda	34	19224	50.7	71	40.0	62	35.4	78	42.1	70	25	53.9	49.7	60.4	56,941
Victoria Village	34	9843	50.4	72	42.6	32	37.8	60	43.6	59	68	55.1	54.7	56.3	42,317
Roncesvalles	14	8908	50.4	73	43.0	27	39.2	55	44.2	54	74	40.7	31.7	55.1	47,685
Rustic	12	4972	50.3	74	40.1	61	37.0	64	42.4	67	16	54.8	55.3	60.1	36,944
Mimico	6	17270	50.1	75	37.4	92	33.8	99	40.4	85	24	41.6	23.8	44.8	55,773
Clairlea-Birchmount	35	14406	50.1	76	40.9	53	34.4	94	41.8	72	64	49.6	49.3	36.4	52,060
Black Creek	8	10089	50.0	77	48.5	7	34.8	88	44.4	52	151	61.8	78.1	66.1	39,775
Bathurst Manor	10	7959	49.8	78	36.8	95	36.6	68	41.1	75	44	55.9	24.4	47.6	54,314
Dovercourt-Wallace Emerson-Junction	17, 18, 19	23089	48.9	79	35.4	110	34.9	86	39.7	98	55	52.9	37.1	47.3	46,897
Clanton Park	10	8442	48.5	80	38.7	79	36.0	72	41.1	74	8	48.2	30.0	46.3	51,962
Bendale	37, 38	16526	48.5	81	39.1	73	38.4	59	42.0	71	22	53.4	58.3	31.9	62,604
Woburn	38, 43	28223	48.4	82	40.5	56	33.1	103	40.7	82	73	58.5	68.5	45.4	49,306
Kennedy Park	35	10684	48.3	83	38.7	80	31.9	111	39.7	100	34	55.8	64.8	44.8	41,132
Morningside	43	11535	48.3	84	39.0	76	32.1	109	39.8	97	41	57.0	69.3	35.8	54,588
Trinity-Bellwoods	19	12001	48.3	85	32.3	133	34.4	92	38.3	109	89	48.0	31.0	43.3	52,218
Tam O'Shanter-Sullivan	40	15152	48.2	86	39.0	75	35.3	79	40.8	80	15	64.9	69.6	44.0	49,212
Bayview Woods-Steeles	24	7939	48.1	87	34.6	125	37.5	62	40.0	93	101	59.8	58.1	40.1	64,948
Kingsview Village-The Westway	2, 4	13821	48.0	88	38.9	77	35.7	75	40.9	78	13	56.0	54.3	42.7	50,933
Humber Summit	7	7672	48.0	89	39.0	74	34.0	97	40.3	87	38	62.6	54.2	25.3	57,809
Bay Street Corridor	27, 28	9871	47.9	90	28.9	140	28.7	135	35.2	132	55	43.7	52.5	68.2	50,593
City Total		1,643,427	50.6		39.3		38.3		42.7			50.0	46.9	45.6	52,833

NEIGHBOURHOODS 91-120

Neighbourhood	Wards	Eligible Electors, 2010	% Voted 2010	Rank, 2010	% Voted 2006	Rank, 2006	% Voted 2003	Rank, 2003	Avg. Turnout 03-10	Rank Avg. Turnout	Variab. in rank	% Im-mig.	% Vis Min	% Rented	Median HH In-come $
L'Amoreaux	39, 40	28528	47.9	91	38.6	82	34.5	91	40.4	86	18	66.2	76.2	34.6	51,037
Bayview Village	24, 33	9531	47.8	92	34.8	120	32.2	108	38.3	110	40	59.1	59.0	35.0	70,854
Little Portugal	18	8244	47.5	93	32.8	130	32.7	106	37.7	117	61	50.3	26.9	51.0	46,194
New Toronto	6	10505	47.4	94	39.1	72	35.0	84	40.5	83	34	38.1	29.6	55.7	43,440
Lansing-Westgate	10, 23	11478	47.4	95	36.5	102	37.6	61	40.5	84	48	40.8	30.2	40.5	63,355
Pleasant View	33	10780	47.3	96	36.5	103	38.7	57	40.8	79	53	67.0	60.8	24.8	61,457
Englemount-Lawrence	15	13992	47.3	97	36.5	100	35.2	82	39.7	99	21	47.2	35.8	57.8	45,060
Long Branch	6	5143	46.9	98	38.4	83	34.7	89	40.0	94	21	35.4	19.3	50.7	51,054
Flemingdon Park	26	10949	46.9	99	45.0	19	30.1	125	40.7	81	186	67.3	77.2	55.4	41,278
St.Andrew-Windfields	25	12193	46.6	100	32.7	131	40.4	47	39.9	95	115	44.0	39.7	32.8	92,367
Highland Creek	44	10722	46.5	101	34.5	126	35.2	80	38.7	106	71	53.5	66.2	6.3	86,852
Weston	11	8382	46.4	102	41.1	51	29.4	129	39.0	104	129	47.2	51.1	62.2	39,298
Downsview-Roding-CFB	7, 9	18999	46.4	103	36.5	101	33.0	104	38.6	107	5	55.7	48.4	53.8	45,772
Etobicoke West Mall	3	7173	46.3	104	35.6	108	38.5	58	40.1	90	54	51.9	35.9	43.4	52,437
Eglinton East	35, 37, 38	13119	46.1	105	37.5	91	30.6	123	38.1	112	46	55.7	68.7	54.5	43,934
Henry Farm	33	4964	46.1	106	37.2	93	35.0	83	39.4	101	23	70.8	70.3	62.7	56,664
Elms-Old Rexdale	2	5827	46.0	107	38.6	81	31.7	115	38.8	105	60	53.9	60.5	41.2	53,779
Corsa Italia-Davenport	17	10718	46.0	108	39.4	70	34.8	87	40.1	92	55	53.5	24.0	32.2	54,222
Agincourt South-Malvern West	39 - 42	12215	45.8	109	36.3	104	31.2	117	37.8	116	18	66.7	78.2	26.4	55,041
Ionview	35, 37	6332	45.6	110	34.6	124	31.6	116	37.3	120	22	57.5	66.0	59.3	44,090
Oakwood-Vaughan	15, 17, 21	21067	45.6	111	38.1	84	34.1	96	39.2	102	39	53.7	40.7	45.6	44,924
Weston-Pellam Park	17	6705	45.5	112	38.8	78	30.0	126	38.1	111	82	56.0	37.2	38.2	46,995
Glenfield-Jane Heights	7, 8, 9	16262	45.1	113	41.4	46	34.4	93	40.3	88	114	63.6	72.5	46.8	44,208
Westminster-Branson	10	13375	45.1	114	36.2	105	29.2	132	36.9	122	36	71.3	30.0	61.8	42,518
Dufferin Grove	18	6112	45.1	115	33.9	128	36.0	71	38.4	108	70	50.0	37.2	60.0	42,427
Rockcliffe-Smythe	11	14085	45.1	116	40.4	57	35.2	81	40.2	89	83	54.6	47.2	42.1	45,514
Hillcrest Village	24	14447	45.0	117	34.8	121	34.4	95	38.0	113	30	69.2	72.2	22.7	59,609
Yorkdale-Glen Park	15	9186	44.8	118	38.0	87	36.8	66	39.9	96	52	57.4	40.4	41.7	49,457
Scarborough Village	36	7057	44.6	119	36.0	106	31.7	113	37.5	119	20	55.1	65.6	55.6	42,417
Kensington-Chinatown	19, 20	11736	44.5	120	36.0	107	29.0	134	36.5	123	40	54.2	65.8	70.2	34,260
City Total		1,643,427	50.6		39.3		38.3		42.7			50.0	46.9	45.6	52,833

NEIGHBOURHOODS 121-140

Neighbourhood	Wards	Eligible Electors, 2010	% Voted 2010	Rank, 2010	% Voted 2006	Rank, 2006	% Voted 2003	Rank, 2003	Avg. Turnout 03-10	Rank Avg. Turnout	Variab. in rank	% Im- mig.	% Vis Min	% Rented	Median HH In- come $
West Humber-Clairville	1, 2	20711	44.5	121	35.0	116	29.4	130	36.3	124	19	60.0	77.9	27.4	63,413
South Parkdale	13, 14	11454	44.2	122	39.8	65	29.5	127	37.8	115	119	52.4	55.5	91.3	28,560
Malvern	42	25925	44.0	123	34.7	123	28.5	137	35.7	129	14	64.4	86.5	29.7	56,611
Beechborough-Greenbrook	12	5331	43.8	124	32.8	129	27.9	138	34.8	134	14	52.7	52.9	64.6	38,620
Dorset Park	37, 40	13023	43.7	125	36.7	96	33.2	101	37.9	114	34	61.5	71.9	37.5	46,485
Milliken	39, 41	16985	43.7	126	35.3	113	29.3	131	36.1	126	31	70.9	93.3	15.9	60,350
Humbermede	7	8573	43.2	127	34.4	127	29.4	128	35.7	130	1	63.7	70.1	46.8	46,463
Don Valley Village	33	15424	43.0	128	32.0	134	33.1	102	36.0	127	38	70.5	65.6	50.2	56,118
Newtonbrook West	10, 23	13405	42.2	129	35.3	114	35.0	85	37.5	118	44	64.0	42.1	44.6	51,629
Agincourt North	41	19170	42.2	130	35.2	115	28.7	136	35.4	131	36	72.6	88.3	14.7	58,095
West Hill	43, 44	17093	42.1	131	34.8	122	33.8	98	36.9	121	33	48.3	55.2	40.3	46,789
Mount Olive-Silverstone-James-town	1	15352	41.8	132	30.6	137	24.6	140	32.3	140	8	67.1	85.3	52.0	48,146
University	20	7625	41.6	133	30.7	136	30.9	119	34.4	136	20	33.7	24.7	55.7	58,781
Newtonbrook East	24	9941	41.4	134	32.5	132	34.7	90	36.2	125	44	63.0	61.2	30.7	60,459
Keelesdale-Eglinton West	12	5985	40.9	135	30.5	138	32.6	107	34.7	135	34	54.7	34.3	32.2	45,651
Mount Dennis	11	6801	40.6	136	35.0	118	26.1	139	33.9	138	39	57.7	65.2	48.3	41,062
Steeles	39	16262	40.6	137	31.7	135	30.7	121	34.3	137	16	75.2	86.9	16.7	57,365
York University Heights	8, 9, 10	17749	40.6	138	37.9	88	29.0	133	35.8	128	95	60.4	63.3	56.0	43,051
Willowdale East	23	23023	39.5	139	29.3	139	30.9	118	33.3	139	21	62.2	67.5	33.6	55,986
Caledonia-Fairbanks	17	6201	39.1	140	35.4	112	30.8	120	35.1	133	36	60.2	35.2	31.5	51,684
City Total		1,643,427	50.6		39.3		38.3		42.7			50.0	46.9	45.6	52,833

MAYTREE

For Leaders. For Change.