

SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX

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“Gender Is Not a Proxy: Race and Intersectionality in Legislative Recruitment”

Politics & Gender

1. Are Incumbents Blocking the Path?

When examining the lack of diversity in elected bodies, a common explanation is the advantage wielded by incumbents. It is rare for sitting MPs to face a serious nomination challenge, so most are re-nominated, often without any competition.¹ The nomination hurdle is thus lowered considerably for sitting representatives. Incumbency is also an advantage on election day: non-incumbent aspirants typically have less electoral experience than incumbents, they often lack a track record with voters, and they may have less name recognition (Kendall and Rekkas 2012).

Incumbents make up 13 percent of aspirants in this study (n=104). Twice as many men are incumbents as women, but this reflects men’s disproportionate presence in the aspirant pool, rather than the rate of incumbency itself: among both women and men, 13 percent of all aspirants are incumbents. In contrast, there was a nine-point gap between racialized and white aspirants, with white aspirants more likely than their racialized counterparts to enjoy an incumbency advantage (17 percent of white aspirants are incumbents, compared to 8 percent of racialized aspirants).

If the gendered and racialized patterns in legislative recruitment are mostly a function of the advantages wielded by incumbents rather than systemic racism, sexism, or other factors, then when we look only at non-incumbents, there should be more balanced legislative recruitment and fewer differences based on race or gender. To test this, I remove all the incumbents from the analysis, leaving 678 aspirants, whom I look at through each stage of legislative recruitment (see Figure S1). This analysis reproduces Figure 2 from the main text, but for non-incumbents only.

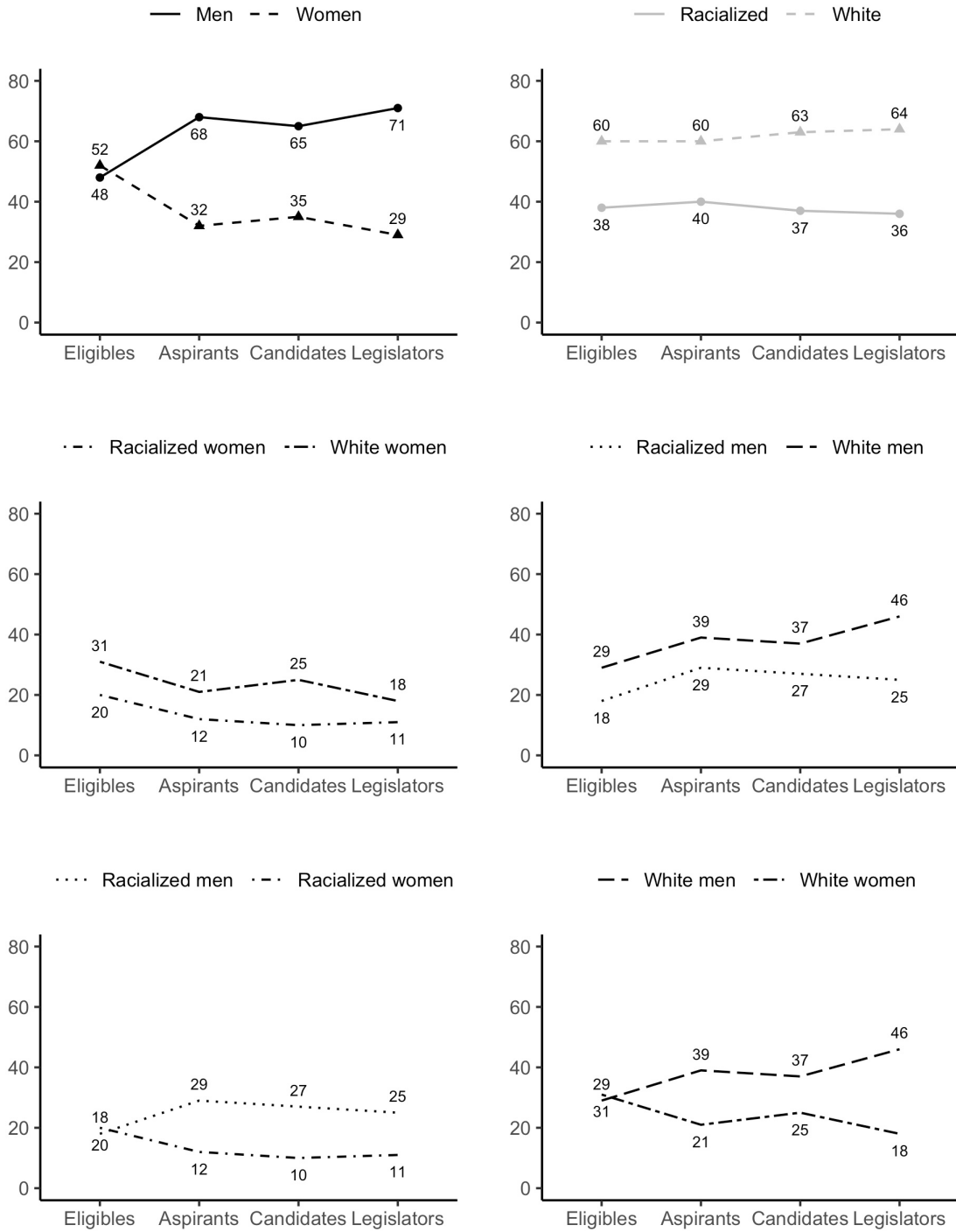
Among non-incumbent aspirants, white men make up the largest proportion (39 percent), followed by racialized men (29 percent), white women (21 percent) and racialized women (12 percent). The proportion of racialized non-incumbents is relatively stable throughout each stage of legislative recruitment, whereas there is a drop-off for women non-incumbents, particularly at the legislator stage. Looking only at the upper right quadrant of Figure S1 might lead us to conclude that when the advantage of incumbency is removed, racialized minorities have a positive political trajectory. Racialized minorities retain a roughly equivalent presence at each stage of legislative recruitment. However, the third and fourth panels show something rather different. There, when men and women are considered separately, white men achieve a meteoric rise that mirrors the pattern observed in Figure 2 in the main text. The gap between white and racialized men narrows when only non-incumbents are considered, but the pattern is similar.

In other words, the incumbency advantage is not just an artifact of white men retaining positions they already had. Even as *non-incumbent* candidates, the advantage still accrues to white men. The advantage that

¹ Among the 104 incumbents in the districts in this study, 91 percent won their nominations. In cases where they did not, there was nearly always a disagreement between the candidate and the party, or a history of controversy. The bulk of renominated incumbents — 87 percent — won their nomination through acclamation. As a result, just 14 of these incumbents faced nominations with other competitors. Although the remainder had to go through the formal nomination process, there were either no interested competitors or parties discouraged opponents from running against a sitting Member of Parliament. It is also likely that some aspirants, aware of the advantages that incumbents wield, simply found another district or opted to wait for more opportune conditions.

white men carry with them into the electoral arena is not just a function of their propensity to enter as incumbents.

Figure S1. Legislative Recruitment of Non-incumbents, by race and gender



Panels depict a group's share of the total at each stage.

Additional analysis, shown in Table S1a, reveals that non-incumbent aspirants who are white and male are also more likely to be acclaimed, and white candidates benefit more frequently from open seats—those where no incumbent is running—with a larger proportion being selected to run in those districts than is the case for racialized candidates. Even the length of nomination contests, which is determined by parties, shows variation between white and racialized non-incumbents (see Table S1b). White non-incumbents enjoy nomination contests that are, on average, two weeks longer, than those of racialized non-incumbents, an advantage that allows them to sign-up more party members and organize more effectively. Racialized men have the shortest nomination contests by far. Gender operates somewhat differently. Women non-incumbents enjoy longer nomination contests than their male counterparts, and when compared to racialized non-incumbents, they are also proportionately more likely to benefit from open seats. Women non-incumbents have nominations that fall closer to election day, a feature that some have argued is a result of parties using that extra time to encourage more diverse candidates to run (Cross and Pruyers 2019). However, this does not seem to extend to racialized non-incumbents whose nominations are held earlier than those of white non-incumbents.

3. Nomination Contest Size and Racial Composition

Figures S2 and S3 report the number of aspirants in nomination contests by the racial and gender composition of the slate. More than half of all nomination contests (54%) have just one aspirant contestant. Contests with three or more aspirants are more common in mixed-race than same-race contests. There is little variation in contest size among same-race contests. Single-aspirant contests are most common in all-women contexts. The pattern for mixed-gender contests is roughly the same as that for mixed-race contests, although there is far more variability in contest size when all-women contests are compared to all-men contests than when all-white contests are compared to all-racialized contests.

Table S1a. Electoral Advantages Among Non-Incumbent Aspirants, by race and gender

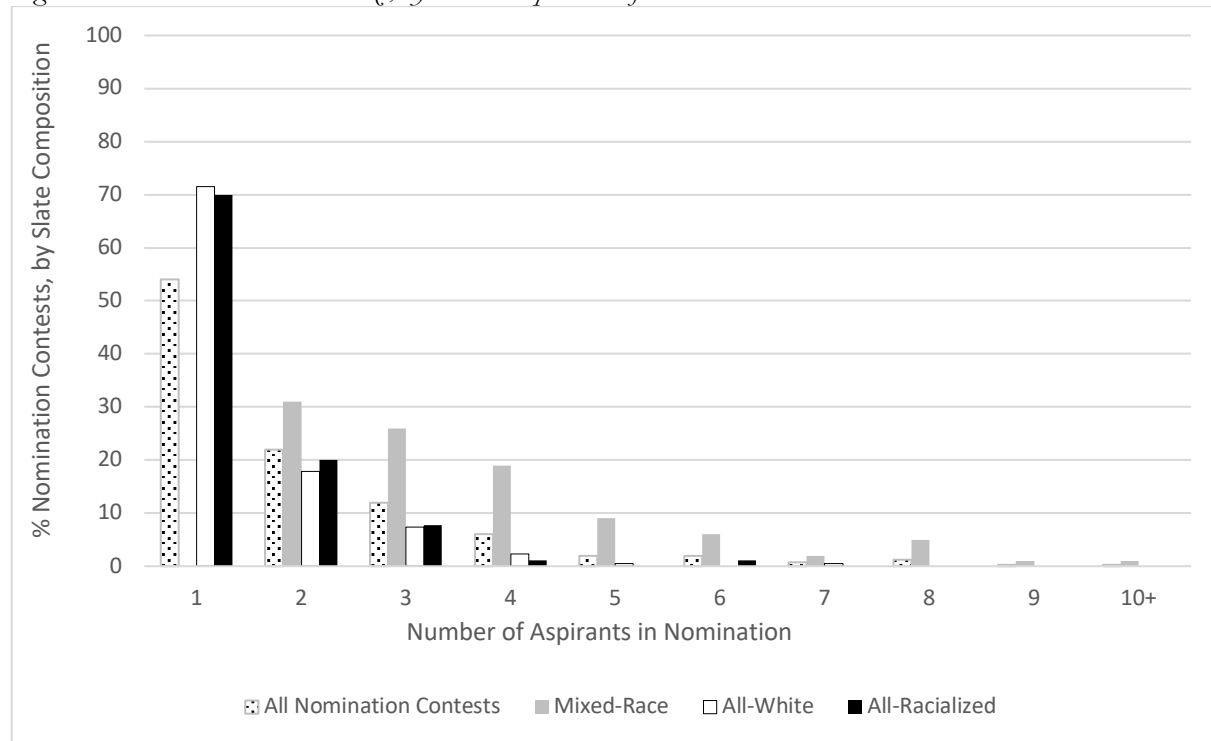
	Acclaimed in Nomination, excluding incumbents		Emerged in Open Seat		Acclaimed in Nomination in an Open Seat		Selected as Candidate in Open Seat	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
<i>By race</i>								
Racialized	16	(44)	35	(95)	15	(15)	41	(40)
White	22	(90)	47	(191)	14	(28)	41	(81)
<i>By gender</i>								
Women	21	(48)	43	(96)	18	(17)	46	(45)
Men	18	(86)	42	(200)	12	(25)	37	(76)
<i>By intersectionality</i>								
Racialized women	11	(9)	37	(29)	14	(4)	38	(11)
Racialized men	18	(35)	34	(66)	16	(11)	43	(29)
White women	27	(39)	47	(67)	19	(13)	50	(34)
White men	20	(51)	48	(124)	11	(14)	37	(47)
<i>All non-incumbent aspirants (n=678)</i>	20	(134)	42	(296)	14	(42)	41	(121)

Note: Acclaimed aspirants are those who ran uncontested in the party's nomination. Aspirants for open seats are, by definition, non-incumbents. Cell percentages are calculated as a proportion of non-incumbent aspirants within each race/gender group.

Table S1b. Electoral Advantages Among Aspirants, by race and gender

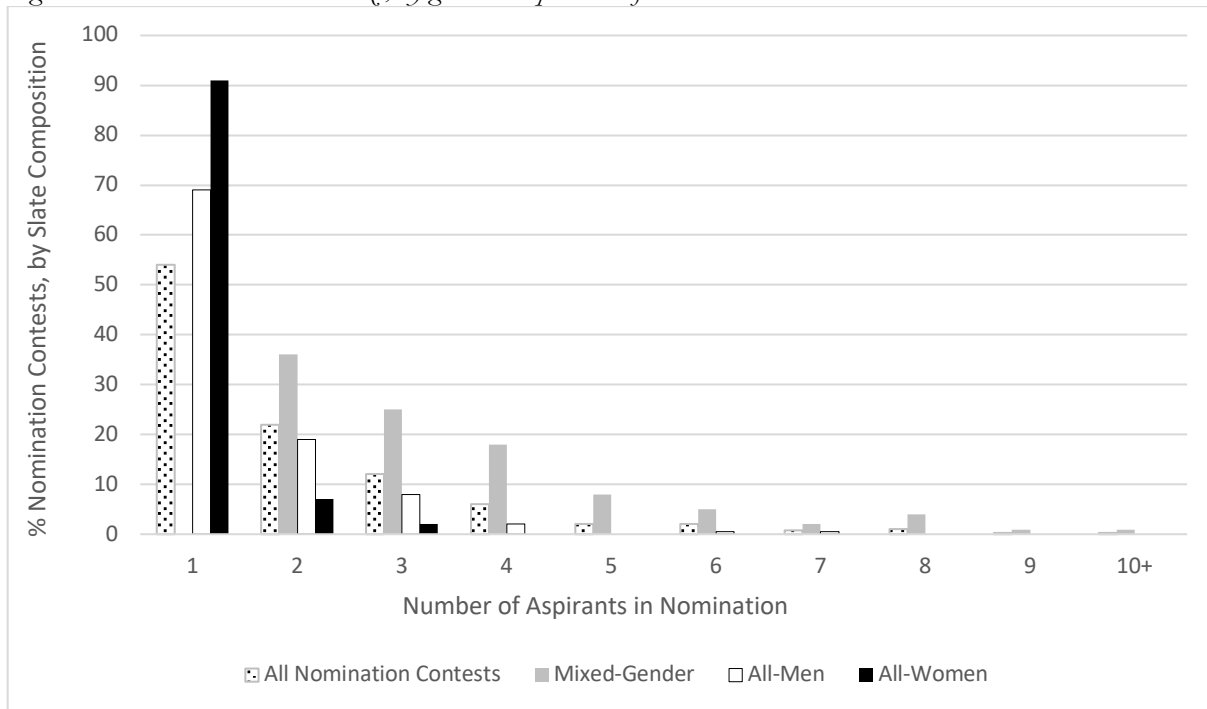
	Length of Nomination Contest, in days	Timing of Nomination Contest, days prior to election
<i>By race</i>		
Racialized	82.8	229.6
White	96.3	223.3
<i>By gender</i>		
Women	122.3	213.0
Men	74.1	233.8
<i>By intersectionality</i>		
Racialized women	122.3	202.9
Racialized men	66.8	240.4
White women	122.3	214.5
White men	82.0	228.2
<i>All non-incumbent aspirants</i>	89.4	227.1

Figure S2. Nomination Contest Size, by racial composition of the slate



Nomination contests(n=408)

Figure S3. Nomination Contest Size, by gender composition of the slate



Nomination contests (n=408)

Additional sources:

Cross, William P. and Scott Pruyers. 2019. "The Local Determinants of Representation: Party Constituency Associations, Candidate Nomination and Gender." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52(3): 557-574.
 Kendall, Chad and Marie Rekkas. 2012. "Incumbency advantages in the Canadian parliament." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 45(4): 1560-1585.

Original data available at:

<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/DK5G7U>.