Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties

ISSN: 1745-7289 (Print) 1745-7297 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fbep20

Explaining the nomination of ethnic minority candidates: how party-level factors and district-level factors interact

Benjamin David Farrer & Joshua N. Zingher

To cite this article: Benjamin David Farrer & Joshua N. Zingher (2018): Explaining the nomination of ethnic minority candidates: how party-level factors and district-level factors interact, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, DOI: 10.1080/17457289.2018.1425694

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2018.1425694

JOURNAL OF ELECTIONS, PUBLIC OPINION AND PARTIES, 2018
https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2018.1425694

Explaining the nomination of ethnic minority candidates: how party-level factors and district-level factors interact

Benjamin David Farrer [a] and Joshua N. Zingher [b]

[a]Environmental Studies, Knox College, Galesburg, IL, USA; [b]Political Science and Geography, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA, USA

ABSTRACT

In this paper, we explain the nomination of ethnic minority candidates for lower house elections. We argue that these nominations are explained by the incentives that different parties face in different districts. Center-left parties reap greater electoral rewards when they offer descriptive representation, and that they also experience fewer difficulties in recruiting ethnic minority candidates. Therefore we argue that center-left parties have a greater incentive and ability to make their nominations more responsive to district demographics. More specifically, our hypothesis is that district-level ethnic diversity will increase the probability that any party will nominate an ethnic minority candidate, but this increase will be greatest for center-left parties. We look at multiple elections in Australia, the UK, and the US, and find consistent evidence in favor of this hypothesis. Even when center-left and center-right parties are nominating similar overall numbers of ethnic minority candidates, center-left parties' descriptive representation patterns are more closely connected to district demographics. We argue that this helps explain how descriptive representation effects political competition more broadly.

Introduction

When an ethnic minority candidate wins a seat in the national legislature, the victory is often framed as an important political moment for the whole ethnic minority community. The contested meanings and the myriad consequences of these moments are the subject of a considerable academic literature on descriptive representation (Pitkin 1972; Mansbridge 1999; Griffin 2014; Dancygier 2017). But before these moments can occur, there is the small matter of the campaign. We focus on the first step of these campaigns: how ethnic minority candidates are nominated. Although nominations are a crucial first step towards descriptive representation, there is little comprehensive analysis of such nominations. Previous research has homed in on two factors that drive

CONTACT Benjamin David Farrer benjaminfarrer@gmail.com Environmental Studies, Knox College, 2 East South Street, Galesburg, IL 61401, USA

Supplemental data for this article can be accessed at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2018.1425694.

nominations. First, researchers have identified party-level factors, which explain why ethnic minority nominations are more common in some political parties than in others (Norris and Levenduski 1993; Bloemraad 2013). Second, there are the district-level factors, which explain why ethnic minority nominations are more common in some legislative districts than in others (Saggar and Geddes 2000; Casellas 2009; Smith, Reingold, and Owens 2012). Although both sets of factors are clearly important, their interactions have only been studied in the context of understanding the *consequences* of descriptive representation (Griffin and Keane 2006; Curtice, Fisher, and Ford 2010; Sobolewska 2013; Fisher et al. 2015; Zingher and Farrer 2016). We address the interactive *causes*.

However, this prior research has given us two established findings: first, center-left parties[1] offer more descriptive representation than center-right parties[2] (Dawson 1994; Bloemraad 2013; Sobolewska 2013), and second, ethnic minority population percentage in a district is a crucial predictor of descriptive representation (Saggar and Geddes 2000). We build on these findings by arguing that they interact in important ways. Ethnic minority nominees usually attract more electoral support from ethnic minority voters (Frymer 1999; Gay 2002; Barreto 2007; Dancygier 2010, 2013, 2017; Sobolewska 2013; Fisher et al. 2015; Kaufmann and Harris 2015; Fraga 2016). Recent work suggests that this effect is stronger if those voters also already identify with the party of the ethnic minority nominee (Zingher and Farrer 2016). Since most ethnic minority voters are on the political left, ethnic minority nominees enjoy the greatest electoral[3] bump when nominated by center-left parties in heavily ethnic minority districts. As well as this electoral effect, there is an additional argument we consider: center-left parties have a comparative advantage when recruiting ethnic minority candidates (Norris and Levenduski 1993, 1997; Tossutti and Najem 2002). Together, these arguments imply that district-level factors and party-level factors actually interact to determine ethnic minority nominations.

The paper proceeds as follows. In the first section, we briefly outline prior work on ethnic minority nominations. Then we describe our two causal mechanisms: electoral payoffs, and candidate recruitment. Our second section describes our data, collected from Australia, the UK, and the US. In a third section, we test our hypothesis, and discuss the results. We also discuss the

[1]The Australian Labor Party, the British Labour Party, and the Democratic Party in the US all fall into this social-democratic party family (per the Comparative Manifestos Project coding), as does the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the New Democratic Party in Canada.

[2]The Australian Conservative Party, the British Conservative Party, and the Republicans in the US all fall into the conservative or center-right party family, as does the Conservative Party in Canada and the New Zealand National Party.

[3]We are assuming the existence of vote-seeking actors who decide nominations, who may be activists, party leaders, or party officials, depending on the nomination rules of the party (Norris and Lovenduski 1997; Kernell 2015).

results of a variety of robustness checks, including breaking the data down into different ethnic groups, and also looking at the role of electoral institutions. In a fourth and final section, we conclude by discussing the implications of these findings.

Ethnic minority candidates

Across industrialized democracies, ethnic minority candidates are becoming more prominent, more powerful, and more present (Pitkin 1972; Bratton and Haynie 1999; Bloemraad 2006, 2013; Preuhs 2007; Bird, Saalfeld, and Wust 2010; Broockman 2014). The impact of their growing profile has been felt in election results (Saggar 2000; Heath et al. 2013; Fisher et al. 2015), and in less visible phenomena like trust in political institutions, levels of political alienation, and voter turnout (Mansbridge 1999; Pantoja and Segura 2003; Barreto 2007; Whitbey 2007; though see Fraga 2016). Policy outcomes themselves have also changed as a result (Butler and Broockman 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013; Broockman 2014; Griffin 2014). But nominations are a scarce resource (Kernell 2015), and not every group that wants descriptive representation will receive it.

Two literatures have therefore emerged to understand the causes of descriptive representation. A first literature focuses on party-level explanations (Norris and Levenduski 1993; Bloemraad 2013), and a second examines district-level factors (Canon 1999; Saggar and Geddes 2000; Togeby 2008; Casellas 2009; Smith, Reingold, and Owens 2012). We review the important contributions of both of these literatures below. Then, we argue that these literatures need to be more closely connected.

We begin with the literature on party-level factors. Political parties prioritize some issues over others when they are in government, and this prioritization creates a set of expectations and a brand name for that party (Cox and McCubbins 2007; Egan 2013; Greene and O'Brien 2016). Voters who share those issue priorities will develop an identification with that brand, which leads them to vote for that party consistently (Green, Palmquist, and Schickler 2003). Across the industrialized democracies, center-left parties have tended to be more pro-immigrant and more multicultural in their issue priorities, and this has built an electoral connection between these parties and ethnic minority groups. For example, as Sobolewska's (2013, 628–629) analysis demonstrates, the majority of ethnic minority voters in Britain identify with the Labour Party. In the US, Black and Hispanic/Latino[4] voters strongly identify with the Democratic Party (Dawson 1994; Zingher 2014). In Australia, ethnic minority and

[4]Following disciplinary conventions, we use the terms "Black" and (in the US context) "African-American" interchangeably in this paper. We also use "Hispanic/Latino" to refer to individuals of Spanish-speaking heritage. Although "Hispanic/Latino" does not separate Spanish-speakers from individuals with Latin-American heritage, our key independent variable measuring this ethnicity comes from the US census,

immigrant voters have an established history of voting for the center-left Labor Party (Zingher and Thomas 2012). Similar findings have been reported in Canada (Black and Hicks 2006) and Germany (Dancygier and Saunders 2006).

Descriptive representation might be assumed to follow naturally from this connection. But sometimes center-right parties nominate the same overall number – or even a greater number – of ethnic minority candidates (Tossutti and Najem 2002; Fisher et al. 2015). For example, in the UK in the 2000s the Conservative party accelerated the diversification of its nominees and hoped to overtake Labour in descriptive representation of ethnic minorities (Katwala and Ballinger 2015). They also aimed to nominate ethnic minority candidates in safe seats, so that the Conservatives might have more ethnic minority Members of Parliament (MPs) than Labour, even if they had fewer ethnic minority nominees (for a similar example from Canada, see Black and Hicks [2006]). We cannot simply assume that the frequency of ethnic minority nominees can be explained by party-level factors.

A second strand of research has looked at district-level factors, such as competitiveness (Black and Hicks 2006), institutional rules (Bird 2014; Lublin 2014), and particularly the ethnic makeup of the district. For example, Saggar and Geddes (2000) describe how, in the UK, ethnic minority nominees could generally only be found in districts at the peaks of the distribution of ethnic minority population percentage. Sobolewska (2013) updates this analysis and finds a similar pattern, albeit with the category of "peak districts" having grown over time. Black and Hicks (2006; Bird, Saalfeld, and Wust 2010) corroborate this same pattern in Canada, and similar patterns emerge in Australia and the US (Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Cameron, Epstein, and O'Halloran 1995; Barreto 2007; Fraga 2016). However, just as with the party-level explanations, these theories are incomplete by themselves. It is important to combine these two literatures.

We identify two causal mechanisms that lead to an interaction between district minority percentage and party affiliation. First, there is an electoral mechanism. If ethnic minority voters identify with a certain party, and that party also nominates an ethnic minority candidate, then those voters will break heavily towards the party in question (Saggar 2000; Black and Hicks 2006; Fisher et al. 2015; Zingher and Farrer 2016). Center-right parties are less likely to enjoy this interaction, because they offer a different ideological platform, with generally lower ethnic minority support (Saggar 2000; Heath et al. 2013; Fisher et al. 2015). Center-right parties, therefore, have less incentive to consider district demographics when deciding nominations.[5] Second,

so we follow their coding and use the census terminology of "Hispanic/Latino". Another potential label would be Latinx, to more explicitly incorporate individuals with a non-binary gender identity.

[5]They may even have the opposite incentive. The districts with the greatest proportions of ethnic minority voters are often some of the safest seats for center-left parties. This implies that when center-right parties nominate candidates in heavily minority districts, these candidates are likely to lose (Sobolewska 2013). Thus, center-right parties likely have to nominate minority candidates in less diverse, more safely conservative districts if they wish to have minority candidates actually win. This is a plausible goal

there is a recruitment mechanism. Shah (2014) demonstrates that in the US, the supply of ethnic minority candidates is greatest in districts with large minority populations. We argue that this "supply" is not politically neutral. Center-left parties may find it easier to recruit ethnic minority candidates from districts with large ethnic minority populations, but center-right parties will likely find their recruitment problem is unchanged, because the ethnic minority population is a population of largely center-left partisans.[6]

We expect that ethnic minority population percentage will always be positively correlated with the probability of ethnic minority candidates, as will center-left party affiliation. But these two variables combine to become more than the sum of their parts. As district ethnic minority percentage increases, the probability of center-left descriptive representation will increase more quickly than the probability of center-right descriptive representation. We can restate this hypothesis empirically:

> *H1*: We expect center-left parties to be increasingly more likely than center-right parties to nominate minority candidates, as a district's visible minority percentage increases.

Our theory should apply across a broad set of mainstream parties in industrialized democracies. However, different cultural histories, different political institutions, and different electoral circumstances are likely to affect how our argument plays out in practice. So, we focus on three countries with relatively similar electoral institutions (Norris and Lovenduski 1997; Lublin 2014): Australia, the UK, and the US. However, even within this subset of countries, there are many important differences. For example, some political parties are free to nominate candidates to any districts as they see fit, but other parties are more constrained.[7] This is only one of the many forms of cross-national variation in the countries we examine. In the next section we describe our data, and our strategy for dealing with these confounding variables.

Data collection and country-specific factors

We examine Australia, the UK, and the US, collecting electoral data beginning in the early 2000s.[8] This means the 2004, 2007, and 2010 elections in Australia,

because it can improve national coverage (Black and Hicks 2006; Tavits and Cheng 2011), and can be part of an effort to "politically mainstream" race (Saggar and Geddes 2000; Sobolewska 2013).

[6]As we discuss later, the issue of supply in specific districts is likely the most acute in the US case, due to the fact that candidates must live in the district where they run.

[7]When nominations are centralized, parties could then take full advantage of the electoral payoffs from descriptive representation, by assigning candidates to districts where the ethnic demographics will be an asset. Recruitment difficulties in particular districts are likely to pose less of a problem under such systems.

[8]Our case selection here limits the analysis to Anglophone industrial democracies with majoritarian electoral systems, following a most-similar cases principle. We also investigated Canada, but were only able to obtain data from one election. This makes the results non-comparable because we are less able to

the 2001, 2005, and 2010 elections in the UK, and the 2006, 2008, and 2010 elections in the US. Along with electoral data from each district, we also collected demographic data on the districts. This means confronting issues of the comparability of different ethnic groups. Both between countries and within countries, different ethnic minority communities face different obstacles, and use different tools to overcome these obstacles (Farrer 2017). The size, origin, and level of political engagement among minority groups therefore varies across the countries in the sample in ways that are difficult to measure (Stoll 2013; Lublin 2014). These differences have contributed to a tendency for research on descriptive representation to take the form of single-country studies (Saggar and Geddes 2000; Curtice, Fisher, and Ford 2010; Butler and Broockman 2011; Durose et al. 2013; Griffin 2014; Fisher et al. 2015). However, we believe that cross-national analyses can serve as a valuable complement to these single-country studies – indeed, cross-national analyses can be vital for testing the sorts of generalizable theories that are often required for policy-relevant questions (Norris and Levenduski 1993; Dancygier and Saunders 2006; Stoll 2013; Lublin 2014; Zingher and Farrer 2016). We argue that our hypothesis will hold in each case, but each case is different in important ways. Different demographics are a crucial part of this. The US has two very large ethnic minority groups – Black and Hispanic/Latino groups, representing 12% and 17% of the total population, respectively – and numerous other smaller minority groups. The UK has, according to the most recent census, a smaller minority population (14%), of which the three largest groups are those of African, Afro-Caribbean, or South Asian descent. In Australia, 28% of the population is foreign-born. Most importantly for our purpose of analyzing visible minorities, individuals of non-European backgrounds make up roughly 10% of Australia's 17 million residents, with those of Chinese, Indian, and indigenous backgrounds being the largest subgroups.

In an effort to make the analysis as comparable as possible across countries, we begin our analysis by using each country's national census definition of the relevant minority population in a district as an independent variable. See the online appendix for more details. Essentially, this amounts to combining the various minority groups described above into a measure of "total minority population per district".[9] We combine this with data on election results and party nominees from the Psephos archive. Data on candidate ethnicity was assembled from a combination of existing databases, along with

control for district-specific and election-specific fixed effects. In the interests of transparency, we nevertheless provide these results in the online appendix. Although we find that parties are responsive to district demographics, the lack of multi-year data makes it difficult for us to detect differences between the parties – although, if anything, the results run counter to our hypotheses. Further research could examine Canada in more detail to see if it is truly an outlier case.

[9] In the empirical section, we also refine the analysis to focus only on one specific ethnic minority group at a time.

candidate websites, biographies, and news stories. Full details can again be found in the online appendix. Below, we provide some background on our data in each country, beginning with Australia.

Australia

Australia is a federal country, with a single-member alternative vote electoral system for the lower house, with compulsory voting, but no institutions – like quotas, or the separate indigenous rolls used in New Zealand – that might affect the nomination of ethnic minority candidates (Lublin 2014). As far as party nomination procedures are concerned, a combination of state and national party activists select the candidates that will stand for election. Labor Party candidate selection is particularly centralized.[10] The largest visible minority groups in Australia are those of Chinese, Indian, Filipino, and Vietnamese descent. Our measure of these groups comes from the census and includes all immigrants from non-English-speaking countries. This is an imprecise demographic variable but it does help get at the main argument. It ranges from a low of around 1% in the Tasmanian division of Lyons in 2004, to a high of 65% in the suburban division of Fowler in New South Wales. The mean is around 14%. Just like the other countries in our sample, visible ethnic minority voters have disproportionately supported the Labor Party in recent elections (Zingher and Thomas 2012).

United Kingdom

The UK also has a single-member first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system, without any ethnic quotas or similar institutions (Lublin 2014). The two largest parties are the Conservative Party on the center-right and the Labour Party on the center-left. The Liberal Democrats are also arguably on the center-left but they are excluded in this analysis due to lack of data. Candidate recruitment procedures are relatively centralized in both parties (Norris and Lovenduski 1997; Durose et al. 2013). The most politically significant ethnic minority groups in the UK are those of African, Caribbean, or South Asian descent. In our dataset, we use "percent non-white" in a district. This ranges from a low of 0.25% in the Scottish island district of Na h-Eileanan an Iar in 2010, to a high of 70% in the London district of East Ham in 2010. The mean is around 8%. In the UK, the Labour party has a strong link to ethnic minority communities (Heath et al. 2013).[11]

[10]See: http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Senate/Research_and_Education/platparl/c03.

[11]Interestingly, Sobolewska (2013) notes that the Conservative Party was well of aware of its struggles with Britain's ethnic and religious minorities during the first decade of the twenty-first century. However, even when the Conservatives attempted to reach out, they did not offer descriptive representation in heavily ethnic minority districts:

United States

The US is another FPTP system, and is also a federal country. It is a presidential democracy, where Australia and the UK are parliamentary, and it also has a more salient and more politicized history of race relations (Fairclough 2007; Garciá Bedolla and Michelson 2011). This has important implications for our hypothesis. We expect minority percentage to play a particularly important role in the US, for both parties. This is partially because of the redistricting rules that create contentious majority–minority districts, designed to boost ethnic minority representation (Lublin 2014).[12] But it is also because the nomination system increases the role of ethnic demographics. In the US, the most politically significant ethnic minority groups are made up of those who self-identify as African-Americans, Hispanic/Latino, or Asian-Americans.[13] We use census data on non-white percentage, which ranges from a low of 1.72% in Wisconsin's 7th district to a high of 99% in New York's 16th district. The mean is 27%. The major political parties are the Republicans on the center-right and the Democrats on the center-left. The nomination system here is highly decentralized. If parties in the other two countries can "parachute" their candidates to safe seats, then candidacy in the US means operating without a parachute. Candidates must live in the districts where they run for office, and must win a primary election, meaning that national parties have less ability to exogenously promote ethnic minority candidates in a given district. Thus, there is reason to believe that for both parties ethnic minority candidate nominations are strongly driven by ethnic demographics. However, we still expect that ethnic demographics will have a greater effect on center-left parties. Ethnic minority voters have leaned decisively towards Democrats in recent decades. Thus although party strategies are more constrained, Democrats still have electoral incentives to facilitate minority candidates in heavily non-white districts, and Republicans are still likely to suffer from recruitment difficulties.

Variables, coding, and analyses

Our dependent variable is whether a party's candidate is a member of an ethnic minority group. Our independent variables of interest are a dummy

> By 2010, the Conservatives realized that a more inclusive image was necessary to attract a broader base of supporters. Tory leadership actively sought to attract and nominate minority candidates in an effort to improve their image. However, since the majority of heavily minority constituencies are safe Labour seats the Conservatives are forced to nominate minority candidates in districts with small minority populations if they want to have a respectable chance of becoming an MP. (Sobolewska 2013, 623)

[12]While the creation of majority–minority districts is ostensibly aimed at boosting minority representation in Congress, some have made the argument that it packs Democratic voters into a single district making the surrounding districts safer Republican seats (Hill 1995).

[13]In the US case, we check our candidate ethnicity coding against that of Fraga (2016). With the exception of two cases, our coding is identical.

Table 1. Ethnic minority candidates, both nominated and winning by party.

	EM nominees		EM winners (of EM nominees)		
	Center-left	Center-right	Center-left	Center-right	Total seats
Aus	**Labor**	**Liberal/Nat**	**Labor**	**Liberal/Nat**	
2004	6 (4%)	4 (2.7%)	2 (33.3%)	0 (0.0%)	150
2007	2 (1.3%)	7 (4.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	150
2010	5 (3.3%)	11 (7.3%)	3 (60.0%)	1 (9.1%)	150
UK	**Labour**	**Conservatives**	**Labour**	**Conservatives**	
2001	19 (2.9%)	15 (2.3%)	10 (52.6%)	0 (0.0%)	650
2005	33 (5.1%)	40 (6.2%)	13 (39.4%)	2 (5.0%)	650
2010	46 (7.1%)	45 (6.9%)	15 (32.61%)	11 (24.4%)	650
US	**Democrats**	**Republicans**	**Democrats**	**Republicans**	
2006	72 (17.5%)	25 (6.8%)	60 (83.3%)	3 (12.0%)	435
2008	73 (16.7%)	22 (5.1%)	65 (89.0%)	4 (18.2%)	435
2010	75 (17.2%)	38 (8.7%)	64 (85.3%)	11 (28.9%)	435

variable to indicate center-left versus center-right party affiliation for each candidate, and a measure, from each country's respective census, of the visible minority percentage in each district. Our central hypothesis is that these two independent variables have a positive interaction. A center-left party affiliation, and a heavily non-white district, should together increase the likelihood that a given candidate will be a member of a visible minority group. Table 1 introduces our dependent variable. The first two columns display, for each party and each election, the number of ethnic minority candidates nominated – and the percentage of their total nominees that this number represents. Table 1 also shows the success rates of ethnic minority nominees, both in numerical terms and as a percentage of the party's ethnic minority nominees. Overall, parties tend to nominate similar number of ethnic minority candidates in Australia and the UK,[14] but in the US more ethnic minority candidates ran as Democrats than Republicans. This is likely caused by the US having majority–minority districts, a decentralized nomination procedure, and a uniquely salient and politicized racial discourse. In all countries, center-left nominees also tend to be more successful than center-right nominees, but in some years this pattern does not hold.

We test our hypothesis using three multilevel logit regression models, one for each country.[15] We use multilevel models because our data are clustered within legislative districts. Each district in a country may have a different unobserved "baseline" probability of experiencing descriptive representation. Even though we can control for many district characteristics, it is important to allow the intercept to vary by district (Gelman and Hill 2007). We also include dummy variables for each individual election year in each country. This goes further than simply including a year trend, and instead helps account for any

[14]Another general trend is that even in the most representative parties, the percentage of minority candidates lags behind the percentage of ethnic minorities in the population.

[15]Since the politically significant minorities are very different in each country, we eschew a potential "pooled" model of all countries.

national-level temporal fluctuation in descriptive representation.[16] We also include several other control variables. First, we include a battery of controls for political context. We include a variable for the center-left party's previous vote percentage in the district, and interact that with party affiliation of a candidate. This allows center-left lagged vote percentage to have two different effects: one for center-left candidates, and one for center-right candidates. We also include a variable measuring whether or not the center-left party is the defending incumbent, and again interact this with party affiliation, to allow center-left incumbency to have a different effect on center-left and center-right nominees. These four variables together will help us understand whether center-left and center-right parties are more or less likely to nominate ethnic minority candidates in "safe" seats. If they do, then we would expect lagged center-left vote share and center-left incumbency to have positive effects for center-left parties and negative effects for center-right parties.[17] In addition, where possible we include controls for unemployment, median income, percentage of the population below the poverty line, and education. All of those variables come from the census.

Regression analyses

Each multilevel logit model represents a different country. Each model predicts the ethnic minority status of a candidate on the basis of their party affiliation, the demographics of their district, and the interaction of those variables, alongside the battery of controls described above. We present these regressions in Table 2(a–c). Though for a full interpretation we must move beyond simply reading the coefficients, we draw several initial impressions from these results. The main coefficient for total visible minority percent in a district is positive in all of the models, suggesting that even center-right parties are responsive to district minority percentage when nominating candidates. Moreover, the interaction between district minority percentage and party affiliation is also positive in all the models, suggesting that district minority percentage has a stronger effect for center-left parties than center-right parties.

However, given that this is a multilevel and non-linear regression model, simply examining the coefficients does not tell the whole story (Gelman and Stern 2005; Brambor, Clark, and Golder 2006; Berry, DeMeritt, and

[16]We also present additional models in the appendix which include a lagged dependent variable. This helps us pick up autocorrelation due to both incumbency and relatively static district demographics. These models return substantively similar results that again support our hypothesis. An alternative approach would be to run separate regressions for each election year. We opted for pooling the data and then controlling for temporal effects, because separate regressions for each year would be akin to saying that what happened at election t is uninformative with respect to what happened at election $t + 1$, which we do not believe is a realistic assumption. Table 1, for example, demonstrates that there is a considerable degree of consistency over time. Therefore we pool the years together and use control variables to account for differences between election-years.

[17]We do not have enough observations to investigate only open seats.

Table 2. The determinants of minority candidacy in (a) Australia 2004–2010, (b) the UK 2001–2010, and (c) the US 2006–2010.

Variables	
(a) Australia 2004–2010	
District: Total Visible Minority %	0.042
	(0.027)
Party: Labor Party	1.869
	(2.035)
Party-In-District: Total Visible Minority % * Labor Party	0.021
	(0.034)
District: Unemployment%	−0.014
	(0.212)
District: Labor Incumbent	1.580*
	(0.824)
Party-In-District: Labor Party * Labor Incumbent	−2.422**
	(1.090)
District: Labor Vote Share $t-1$	0.071*
	(0.037)
Party-In-District: Labor Party * Labor Vote Share $t-1$	−0.035
	(0.047)
2007	−0.141
	(0.579)
2010	0.162
	(0.579)
Constant	−8.982***
	(1.923)
Variance (*District ID*, $N = 147$)	3.535
	(1.669)
Observations	836
(b) The UK 2001–2010	
District: Total Visible Minority %	0.074***
	(0.011)
Party: Labour Party	1.678***
	(0.612)
Party-In-District: Total Visible Minority % * Labour Party	0.018
	(0.012)
District: Low SES%	−0.023
	(0.075)
District: Low Education%	0.049**
	(0.020)
Party-In-District: Incumbent	−0.865*
	(0.466)
Party-In-District: Incumbent * Labour Party	−1.058
	(0.659)
Party-In-District: Vote Share $t-1$	1.307
	(1.115)
Party-In-District: Vote Share $t-1$ * Labour Party	−2.691*
	(1.572)
2005	1.006***
	(0.267)
2010	1.510***
	(0.439)
Constant	−7.204***
	(0.871)
Variance (*District ID*, $N = 653$)	2.239
	(0.559)
Observations	3371

(*Continued*)

Table 2. Continued.

Variables	
(c) The US 2006–2010	
District: Total Visible Minority %	0.044***
	(0.012)
Party: Democratic Party	−0.614
	(0.568)
Party-In-District: Democratic Party * Total Visible Minority %	0.078***
	(0.013)
District: Median Income	−0.000001
	(0.00002)
District: H.S. Grad%	0.066
	(0.042)
District: Poverty%	0.134**
	(0.058)
District: Non-English Speaking%	0.092***
	(0.025)
Party-In-District: Incumbent	−1.061**
	(0.502)
Party-In-District: Democratic Party * Incumbent	−0.149
	(0.660)
Party-In-District: Vote Share $t-1$	0.004
	(0.010)
Party-In-District: Democratic Party * Vote Share $t-1$	−0.001
	(0.009)
2008	0.030
	(0.393)
2010	0.337
	(0.388)
Constant	−12.958***
	(4.047)
Variance (*District ID*, $N = 435$)	3.396
	(0.764)
Observations	2379

Note: Standard errors in parentheses, ***$p < .01$, **$p < .05$, *$p < .1$.

Esarey 2010). We need to examine the size and significance of the interaction effect, over the range of the data, in order to test *H1*. Figure 1 provides just such an examination. We calculate the marginal effect of being a center-left candidate instead of a center-right candidate on the predicted probability that a given candidate will be a member of an ethnic minority group. This is the "first difference" between the predicted probability for center-right candidates and the predicted probability for center-left candidates. We calculate this for hypothetical districts ranging from 0% ethnic minority to 60% ethnic minority. We also include 90% confidence intervals around our predictions. The Labor Party in Australia, the Labour Party in the UK, and the Democratic Party in the US, are all more responsive to district minority percentage than their center-right counterparts. Although only the UK and the US are statistically significant, in all cases the evidence suggests the same types of relationships. The likelihood of an ethnic minority nominee increases with the ethnic minority percent in a district, but it increases faster for center-left parties.

The previous set of analyses demonstrated evidence that center-left parties are more responsive to district minority percentage than their center-right

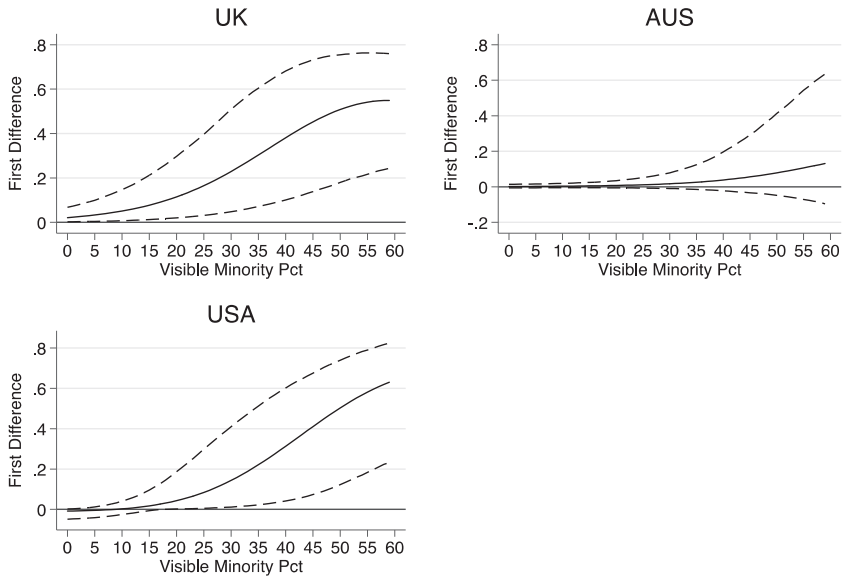

Figure 1. Difference in the probability of nominating an ethnic minority candidate between center-left and center-right parties.

counterparts. These same basic patterns emerge if we conduct the models in a different way. As a robustness check, we can specify bivariate probit models rather than multilevel logit models. These alternative models estimate two separate sets of coefficients, one for each party, and also estimate a correlation between the error terms of these two separate regression equations. These models not only return the same basic results as the models presented above (see online appendix for more details), but they also indicate a nontrivial correlation between the equations. Although we cannot theorize with any precision as to the source of this correlation, it does at least raise the possibility that parties pay attention to each other's nomination strategies in each district. Further research could investigate this in more detail with data on the relative timing of different parties' nomination decisions. The online appendix also shows results from the UK where we include a lagged dependent variable. The UK provides our longest temporal coverage and so we use this case to assess whether our results are influenced by a small number of districts repeatedly receiving descriptive representation. We find largely unchanged results when we include a lagged dependent variable.

One further robustness check is important to discuss in more detail. Table 2 (a–c) takes all ethnic minority populations in a country and pool them together, but in actuality, these minority populations are made up of a diverse set of groups. It may be that the size of particular minority group, not the total minority population in a district, is what drives the nomination of candidates from that particular minority group. In the US, we can investigate this possibility by

breaking down the analyses to focus on the size of specific ethnic minority groups opposed to the total minority population. The question here is whether the likelihood that the nomination of a candidate from a specific ethnic minority group (e.g. African-Americans) is driven by the size of the co-ethnic group's population within the district (African-Americans) or by the total minority population (African-Americans + other groups)?

An analysis of minority candidate nominations broken down by group

To test this possibility, we replicate the US analysis from Table 2(c), but now we break the dependent and independent variables down into specific ethnic groups. In Table 3, we present two regressions, first predicting the

Table 3. The determinants of minority candidacy in the US 2008–2010 broken down by group.

Variables	Black candidates	Hispanic/Latino candidates
District: Black%	0.098***	0.041**
	(0.021)	(0.020)
Party: Democratic Party Candidate	−1.002	−0.869
	(0.878)	(0.848)
Party-In-District: Black% * Democratic Party Candidate	0.143***	−0.092**
	(0.023)	(0.037)
District: Hispanic/Latino%	0.010	0.090***
	(0.040)	(0.024)
Party-In-District: Hispanic/Latino% * Democratic Party Candidate	0.025	0.095***
	(0.021)	(0.017)
District: Median Income	−0.00002	−0.00002
	(0.00004)	(0.00003)
District: H.S. Grad%	0.186	0.163***
	(0.080)	(0.060)
District: Poverty%	0.054	0.023
	(0.095)	(0.075)
District: Non-English Speaking%	0.116*	0.061
	(0.062)	(0.043)
Party-In-District: Incumbent	−1.641***	−0.940
	(0.510)	(0.464)
Party-In-District: Democratic Party * Incumbent	.	.
Party-In-District: Vote Share $t-1$	−0.007	0.012
	(0.016)	(0.014)
Party-In-District: Democratic Party * Vote Share $t-1$	0.009	−0.013
	(0.015)	(0.013)
2008	0.174	−0.269
	(0.545)	(0.604)
2010	0.433	0.551
	(0.559)	(0.581)
Constant	−24.126***	−21.354***
	(7.714)	(5.906)
Variance (*District ID*, $N = 435$)	4.935	3.031
	(1.448)	(1.157)
Observations	2495	2496

Note: Standard errors in parentheses, ***$p < .01$, **$p < .05$, *$p < .1$.

Table 4. Predicted probabilities of different ethnic minority candidates in the US.

	Different ethnic minorities Percentage in district			
Party: candidate ethnicity	0% Black	60% Black	0% Hispanic/Latino	60% Hispanic/Latino
Dem: Black	0.001 (−0.000–0.002)	0.994 (0.984–1.003)	0.080 (0.061–0.098)	0.124 (0.022–0.227)
Rep: Black	0.000 (−0.000–0.001)	0.152 (−0.034–0.339)	0.009 (−0.001–0.020)	0.016 (−0.031–0.062)
Dem: Hispanic/Latino	0.063 (0.046–0.080)	0.020 (−0.017–0.056)	0.000 (−0.000–0.000)	0.768 (0.527–1.010)
Rep: Hispanic/Latino	0.011 (0.003–0.019)	0.067 (−0.019–0.154)	0.001 (−0.000–0.003)	0.205 (−0.080–0.489)

nomination of African-American candidates and second predicting the nomination of Hispanic/Latino candidates. Likewise, we break the demographic variable down into the African-American percentage of the district's population and the Hispanic/Latino percentage of the district's population. Dividing the samples in such a fashion allows us to assess whether it is the size of the total minority population or the size of a specific minority group that drives minority candidate nominations.[18]

We find that the size of the Black population is a positive and significant predictor of the nomination of Black candidates, but has a much smaller coefficient in the model predicting Hispanic/Latino candidates. Likewise, the Hispanic/Latino percentage of a district's population is a positive and significant predictor of the emergence of a Hispanic/Latino candidate but has no effect on the likelihood that the parties will nominate a Black candidate. Also important is that the interaction terms between Hispanic/Latino% or Black% and the Democratic Party are both significant in their respective models, suggesting more support for our hypothesis that ethnic demographics have different effects for different parties. Table 4 shows the substantive importance of these interactions. In the first two columns we hold "Hispanic/Latino%" at its mean, and explore how varying "Black%" from 0 to 60 affects first the probabilities of Black candidates for Democrats and Republicans (in the first two rows), and then of Hispanic/Latino candidates for Democrats and Republicans (in the second two rows). Then, in columns three and four, we hold "Black%" at its mean, and explore how varying "Hispanic/Latino%" from 0 to 60 affects first the probabilities of Black candidates for Democrats and Republicans (in the first two rows), and then of Hispanic/Latino candidates for Democrats and Republicans (in the second two rows).

Table 4 adds to the overall body of evidence that we established with the previous set of analyses. It shows that moving from 0% Black to 60% Black in a

[18]Unfortunately, we are unable to conduct this analysis on the British or Australian samples due to the fact that the respective censuses do not break the visible minority population down on the constituency level.

district flips the likelihood of a Black Democratic nominee from a near-impossibility to a near-certainty. The effect is much smaller for Republicans, and not significant. Meanwhile, Hispanic/Latino% has no statistically significant on the probability that either Democrats or Republicans will nominate a Black candidate. The same story emerges when we look at the dependent variable of Hispanic/Latino candidates rather than Black candidates. Ethnic demographics have a huge effect for Democrats and almost no effect for Republicans. This robustness check helps confirm the argument behind *H1*. One of the dangers of a comparative analysis is that we are forced to use relatively "zoomed out" measures of candidate and district ethnicity. This robustness has demonstrated that the same interaction occurs even if we use more "zoomed in" measures. In the next section, we discuss the implications of these findings and discuss some reasons for the between-country variations.

Discussion and conclusions

We have found support for our hypothesis that the nomination of ethnic minority candidates is best explained by an interaction between district-level factors and party-level factors. Our argument was that the effect of district minority percentage is different for different political parties. We found empirical evidence of this relationship in Australia, the UK, and especially in the US. We also find that this relationship holds when we examine different ethnic minority groups separately rather than amalgamating all non-white groups.

But although the evidence was consistent, it was not uniform. For instance, both the major Australian parties are less likely to nominate minority candidates than their counterparts in the US and the UK. Our interactive hypothesis seems to perform well in the UK and the US, but is less effective at predicting nomination patterns in Australia. The ethnic minority population in the US and UK is made up of two or three larger groups, opposed to numerous smaller ones, as is the case in Australia.[19] This is likely to play a role in our uncertain findings in Australia – especially given that our later robustness checks in the US re-iterated the importance of measuring specific groups, rather than the ethnic minority population writ large.[20] Other factors may also be at play. Our cross-national analysis has revealed a widespread pattern, but it has also revealed some outliers. We believe that further cross-national theorizing and cross-national data collection will help to refine this picture still further.

[19]Another possible explanation is that the size of the legislature (150 seats) is much smaller in Australia than in the other three countries, making nominations an especially scarce resource.

[20]A similar but less pronounced process might also be occurring in the exploratory analysis we conducted for Canada. There, the visible minority population is also quite diverse and the results were also imprecise, suggesting patterns in the opposite direction of our hypothesis. But again, this was with only one year of data for Canada, so results could be an artefact of election-specific factors, such as retiring incumbents leaving behind a unique crop of open seats.

It is likely that ethnic minority population percentage varies across districts much more than does female population percentage. But female descriptive representation may be affected by other district-level factors that interact with partisanship in the same way that ethnic minority population percentage interacts with partisanship. For example, if gendered stereotypes (Alexander and Anderson 1993; Rosenthal 1995; Reingold and Harrell 2010; Dolan 2014) are more entrenched in some districts than others, then all political parties may be more likely to dominate female candidates in the less-entrenched districts. But center-left parties may be particularly likely to do so, if voters who hold less-entrenched gender stereotypes are also more receptive to descriptive representation overtures from center-left parties.

Future theorizing should also delve even deeper into the strategic context that different parties face in different districts. Our analysis demonstrates that party brand names have a substantial influence on descriptive representation. The platforms of center-left parties increase their opportunity, and their willingness, to offer descriptive representation: these platforms reduce their recruitment difficulties, and heighten their electoral incentives. Descriptive representation is therefore another dimension of party competition. It may be connected to other goals of party actors, or to intra-party nomination dynamics, or to the other dimensions of party competition, in different ways than the ones we measure here (Preuhs 2007; Durose et al. 2013). For example, it is reasonable to suspect that nominations are an important signal as to the national "position" of the party on issues of importance to ethnic minority voters and thus to the overall reputation of the party. The evidence presented in this paper takes an important step towards allowing us to answer these questions.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes on contributors

Benjamin David Farrer is an assistant professor in the Environmental Studies Department at Knox College. His main research and teaching interests are in the field of parties and interest groups.

Joshua N. Zingher is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Old Dominion University. His research focuses on mass political behavior, elections, and representation. His work has appeared in a number of journals including the *British Journal of Politics Science*, *Electoral Studies*, *Party Politics*, and the *Journal of Politics*.

ORCID

Benjamin David Farrer http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5889-5498
Joshua N. Zingher http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3928-4269

References

Alexander, Deborah, and Kristi Anderson. 1993. "Gender as a Factor in the Attribution of Leadership Traits." *Political Research Quarterly* 46 (3): 527–545.

Barreto, Matt A. 2007. "¡Sí Se Puede! Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters." *American Political Science Review* 101 (3): 425–441.

Berry, William D., Jacqueline H. R. DeMeritt, and Justin Esarey. 2010. "Testing for Interaction in Binary Logit and Probit Models: Is a Product Term Essential?" *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (1): 248–266.

Bird, Karen. 2014. "Ethnic Quotas and Ethnic Representation Worldwide." *International Political Science Review* 35 (1): 12–26.

Bird, Karen, Thomas Saalfeld, and Andreas K. Wust, eds. 2010. *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies*. London: Routledge.

Black, Jerome H., and Bruce M. Hicks. 2006. "Visible Minority Candidates in the 2004 Federal Election." *Parliamentary Affairs* 29 (2): 26–31.

Bloemraad, Irene. 2006. "Becoming a Citizen in the United States and Canada: Structured Mobilization and Immigrant Political Incorporation." *Social Forces* 85 (2): 667–695.

Bloemraad, Irene. 2013. "Accessing the Corridors of Power: Puzzles and Pathways to Understanding Minority Representation." *West European Politics* 36 (3): 652–670.

Bobo, Lawrence, and Franklin D. Gilliam, Jr. 1990. "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." *The American Political Science Review* 84 (2): 377–393.

Brambor, Thomas, William Clark, and Matt Golder. 2006. "Understanding Interaction Models: Improving Empirical Analyses." *Political Analysis* 14 (1): 63–82.

Bratton, Kathleen A., and Kerry L. Haynie. 1999. "Agenda Setting and Legislative Success in State Legislatures: The Effects of Gender and Race." *The Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 658–679.

Broockman, David E. 2014. "Distorted Communication, Unequal Representation: Constituents Communicate Less to Representatives Not of Their Race." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (2): 307–321.

Butler, Daniel M., and David E. Broockman. 2011. "Do Politicians Racially Discriminate Against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (3): 463–477.

Cameron, Charles, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1995. "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" *American Political Science Review* 90 (4): 794–812.

Canon, David T. 1999. *Race, Redistricting, and Representation: The Unintended Consequences of Black Majority Districts*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Casellas, Jason P. 2009. "The Institutional and Demographic Determinants of Latino Representation." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34 (3): 399–426.

Cox, Gary W., and Matthew D. McCubbins. 2007. *Legislative Leviathan*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Curtice, Sir John, Stephen Fisher, and Robert Ford. 2010. "Appendix 1." In *The British General Election of 2010*, edited by Philip Cowley and Dennis Kavanagh, 385–426. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dancygier, Rafalea. 2010. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Dancygier, Rafalea. 2013. "The Left and Minority Representation: The Labour Party, Muslim Candidates, and Inclusion Tradeoffs." *Comparative Politics* 46 (1): 1–21.

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2017. *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Dancygier, Rafaela, and Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2006. "A New Electorate? Comparing Preferences and Partisanship Between Immigrants and Natives." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (4): 962–981.
Dawson, Michael. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics*. New York: Princeton University Press.
Dolan, Kathleen. 2014. "Gender Stereotypes, Candidate Evaluations, and Voting for Women Candidates: What Really Matters?" *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (1): 96–107.
Durose, Catherine, Liz Richardson, Ryan Combs, Christina Eason, and Francesca Gains. 2013. "'Acceptable Difference': Diversity, Representation and Pathways to UK Politics." *Parliamentary Affairs* 66 (2): 246–267.
Egan, Patrick J. 2013. *Partisan Priorities: How Issue Ownership Drives and Distorts American Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Fairclough, Adam. 2007. *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890–2000*. London: Penguin Books.
Farrer, Benjamin. 2017. *Organizing For Policy Influence: Comparing Parties, Interest Groups, and Direct Action*. London: Routledge.
Fisher, Stephen D., Anthony F. Heath, David Sanders, and Maria Sobolewska. 2015. "Candidate Ethnicity and Vote Choice in Britain." *British Journal of Political Science* 45 (4): 883–905.
Fraga, Bernard. 2016. "Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role in Race in Voter Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (1): 97–122.
Frymer, Paul. 1999. *Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Garciá Bedolla, Lisa, and Melissa R. Michelson. 2011. *Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate Through Get Out the Vote Campaigns*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Gay, Claudine. 2002. "Spirals of Trust? The Effect of Descriptive Representation on the Relationship Between Citizens and their Government." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (4): 717–732.
Gelman, Andrew, and Jennifer Hill. 2007. *Data Analysis Using Regression and Multilevel/ Hierarchical Models*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Gelman, Andrew, and Hal Stern. 2005. "The Difference Between 'Significant' and 'Not Significant' Is Not Itself Statistically Significant." *The American Statistician* 60 (4): 328–331.
Green, Donald P., B. Palmquist, and E. Schickler. 2003. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identity of Voters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Greene, Zachary, and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2016. "Diverse Parties, Diverse Agendas? Female Politicians and the Parliamentary Party's Role in Platform Formation." *European Journal of Political Research* 55 (3): 435–453.
Griffin, John D., and Michael Keane. 2006. "Descriptive Representation and the Composition of African American Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (4): 998–1012.
Griffin, John D. 2014. "When and Why Minority Legislators Matter." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17 (1): 327–336.
Heath, Anthony F., Stephen D. Fisher, Gemma Rosenblatt, David Sanders, and Maria Sobolewska. 2013. *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hill, Kevin A. 1995. "Does the Creation of Majority Black Districts Aid Republicans? An Analysis of the 1992 Congressional Elections in Eight Southern States." *The Journal of Politics* 57 (2): 384–401.
Katwala, Sunder, and Steve Ballinger. 2015. *The Race for Representation: How Ethnic Diversity Became The "New Normal" in British Politics*. London: British Future.
Kaufmann, Eric, and Gareth Harris. 2015. ""White Flight" or Positive Contact? Local Diversity and Attitudes to Immigration in Britain." *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (12): 1563–1590.
Kernell, Georgia. 2015. "Party Nomination Rules and Campaign Participation." *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (13): 1814–1843.
Lublin, David. 2014. *Minority Rules: Electoral Systems, Decentralization, and Ethnoregional Party Success*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *The Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628–657.
Norris, Pippa, and Joni Levenduski. 1993. "'If Only More Candidates Came Forward': Supply-Side Explanations of Candidate Selection in Britain." *British Journal of Political Science* 23 (3): 373–408.
Norris, Pippa, and Joni Lovenduski. 1997. *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race, and Class in the British Parliament*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Pantoja, Adrian, and Gary Segura. 2003. "Does Ethnicity Matter? Descriptive Representation in Legislatures and Political Alienation Among Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 84 (2): 441–460.
Pitkin, Hanna. 1972. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Preuhs, Robert. 2007. "Descriptive Representation as a Mechanism to Mitigate Policy Backlash: Latino Incorporation and Welfare Policy in the American States." *Political Research Quarterly* 60 (2): 277–292.
Reingold, Beth, and Jessica Harrell. 2010. "The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement: Does Party Matter?" *Political Research Quarterly* 63 (2): 280–294.
Rosenthal, Cindy Simon. 1995. "The Role of Gender in Descriptive Representation." *Political Research Quarterly* 48 (4): 599–611.
Saalfeld, Thomas, and Daniel Bischof. 2013. "Minority-Ethnic MPs and the Substantive Representation of Minority Interests in the House of Commons, 2005–2011." *Parliamentary Affairs* 66 (2): 305–328.
Saggar, Shamit. 2000. *Race and Representation: Electoral Politics and Ethnic Pluralism in Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Saggar, Shamit, and Andrew Geddes. 2000. "Negative and Positive Racialisation: Re-Examining Ethnic Minority Representation in the UK." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 26 (1): 25–44.
Shah, Paru. 2014. "It Takes a Black Candidate: A Supply-Side Theory of Minority Representation." *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (2): 266–279.
Smith, Adrienne R., Beth Reingold, and Michael Leo Owens. 2012. "The Political Determinants of Women's Descriptive Representation in Cities." *Political Research Quarterly* 65 (2): 315–329.
Sobolewska, Maria. 2013. "Party Strategies and the Descriptive Representation of Ethnic Minorities: The 2010 British General Election." *West European Politics* 36 (3): 615–633.
Stoll, Heather. 2013. *Changing Societies, Changing Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tavits, Margit, and Christine Cheng. 2011. "Informal Influences in Selecting Female Political Candidates." *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (2): 460–471.
Togeby, Lise. 2008. "The Political Representation of Ethnic Minorities: Denmark as a Deviant Case." *Party Politics* 14 (3): 325–343.
Tossutti, Livianna S., and Tom Pierre Najem. 2002. "Minorities and Elections in Canada's Fourth Party System: Marco and Micro Constraints and Opportunities." *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* 34 (1): 85–111.
Whitbey, K. J. 2007. "The Effect of Black Descriptive Representation on Black Electoral Turnout in the 2004 Elections." *Social Science Quarterly* 88 (4): 1010–1023.
Zingher, Joshua N. 2014. "An Analysis of the Changing Social Bases of America's Political Parties: 1952–2008." *Electoral Studies* 35 (1): 272–282.
Zingher, Joshua N., and Benjamin Farrer. 2016. "The Electoral Effects of the Descriptive Representation of Ethnic Minority Groups in Australia and the United Kingdom." *Party Politics* 22 (6): 691–704.
Zingher, Joshua N., and M. Steen Thomas. 2012. "Patterns of Immigrant Political Behaviour in Australia: An Analysis of Immigrant Voting in Ethnic Context." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 47 (3): 377–397.