

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31

# Sex (And Ethnicity) in the City: Affinity Voting in the 2014 Toronto Mayoral Election

KAREN BIRD *McMaster University*  
SAMANTHA D. JACKSON *McMaster University*  
R. MICHAEL MCGREGOR *Ryerson University*  
AARON A. MOORE *University of Winnipeg*  
LAURA B. STEPHENSON *University of Western Ontario*

32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44

While the literature on vote choice in Canada is large and well-developed, there is still little understanding of whether the sex and ethnicity of local candidates impact individual voting decisions. At the level of federal elections, research strongly suggests that candidates are less important to the overall voting calculus of the Canadian electorate than are parties and leaders (Blais et al., 2003; Cunningham, 1971). While factors such as incumbency and strength of the local candidate have some influence, particularly for non-partisans (Roy and Alcantara, 2015), it is unclear whether candidate sex and ethnicity matter in this way. One expectation is that there may be gender or co-ethnic “affinity” voting, in which women give greater support than men to female candidates and ethnic minorities give more support than whites to minority candidates. There is evidence that voters’ sociodemographic proximity to federal party leaders plays a role

---

**Acknowledgments:** This research was supported by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Karen Bird, Department of Political Science, McMaster University, 1280 Main Street West, Hamilton ON, L8S 4M4, Email: [kbird@mcmaster.ca](mailto:kbird@mcmaster.ca)

Samantha D. Jackson, Department of Political Science, McMaster University, 1280 Main Street West, Hamilton ON, L8S 4M4, Email: [sjackson@mcmaster.ca](mailto:sjackson@mcmaster.ca)

R. Michael McGregor, Department of Politics and Public Administration, Ryerson University, 350 Victoria Street, Toronto ON, M5B 2K3, Email: [mmcgregor@ryerson.ca](mailto:mmcgregor@ryerson.ca)

Aaron A. Moore, Department of Political Science, University of Winnipeg, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg MB, R3B 2E9, Email: [aa.moore@uwinnipeg.ca](mailto:aa.moore@uwinnipeg.ca)

Laura B. Stephenson, Department of Political Science, University of Western Ontario, 1151 Richmond St, London ON, N6A 3K7, Email: [lstephe8@uwo.ca](mailto:lstephe8@uwo.ca)

45 in individual vote choice (Cutler, 2002), but the findings for the  
46 characteristics of local candidates are mixed. Research into real elections at  
47 the federal level shows little effect of voters' affinities on candidate choice  
48 (Cutler and Matthews, 2005; Goodyear-Grant, 2010; Goodyear-Grant and  
49 Croskill, 2011; Landa et al., 1995; Murakami, 2014) though experiments in-  
50 volving manipulations of the characteristics of fictional candidates suggest  
51 that ethnic and, to a lesser extent, gender affinities do matter (Besco,  
52 2015a, 2015b; Bird, 2016; Tolley and Goodyear-Grant, 2014). One possibil-  
53 ity is that party ties in real elections overwhelm the potential impact of affinity  
54 effects; if so, we would be more likely to find gender or ethnic affinity voting  
55 in Canada in local elections, where partisanship is less salient.<sup>1</sup>

56 Our study tests for the presence of gender and ethnic affinity voting in  
57 the non-partisan 2014 Toronto mayoral election, where Olivia Chow was  
58 the only woman and only visible minority among the three major candi-  
59 dates.<sup>2</sup> This case provides an important analytical advantage in the search  
60 for affinity effects. First, the non-partisan nature of the contest allows us  
61 to parse out the confounding factors of party leaders and partisan cues  
62 that tend to supersede candidate characteristics in elections at other  
63 levels. Experimental studies can isolate the impact of candidate sex and  
64 race on vote choice, but their external validity is questionable; by presenting  
65 bare bones scenarios that leave respondents with little other information on  
66 which to form an opinion, we cannot assess whether candidate sociodemo-  
67 graphics matter in the context of other information that voters might  
68 possess. They may also be subject to social desirability effects. Second,  
69 the enormous social diversity of Toronto makes it an especially useful  
70 site to examine the propensity of particular ethnic minorities to vote for  
71 other minorities. Third, understanding affinity voting at the municipal  
72 level is important in its own right. Women and visible minorities are sur-  
73 prisingly few in number in elected municipal office in Canada's largest  
74 cities, and it is vital to learn whether candidate sociodemographics and  
75 voter bias play some role in this underrepresentation.<sup>3</sup> Equitable represen-  
76 tation at this level also matters, as we know that municipal careers are often  
77 used as a springboard to higher office (Deckman, 2007; Sanbonmatsu et al.,  
78 2009)

79 Our analysis contributes to a nascent body of research looking at the  
80 interactive effects of voter and candidate sex and ethnicity on voter  
81 choice in Canada and is the first to examine this in the context of a non-par-  
82 tisan municipal election in a non-experimental manner. Our findings  
83 suggest that in a meaningful and high-profile election, where information  
84 is abundant but party cues are less salient,<sup>4</sup> ethnic affinity plays an impor-  
85 tant role in voter choice. We also show that gender was related to vote  
86 choice but only when it interacted with race. Specifically, we find that  
87 minority and non-minority women have very different preferences when  
88 presented with a female minority candidate.

89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  

---

**Abstract.** Do women vote for women and men for men? Do visible minorities vote for minority candidates, and white voters for white candidates? And what happens when a minority woman appears on the ballot? This study tests for the presence of gender and ethnic affinity voting in the Toronto mayoral election of 2014, where Olivia Chow was the only woman and only visible minority candidate among the three major contenders. Our analysis, which draws on a survey of eligible Toronto voters, is the first to examine the interactive effects of sex and ethnicity on vote choice in Canada in the context of a non-partisan election and in a non-experimental manner. We find strong evidence of ethnic affinity voting and show that Chow received stronger support from ethnic Chinese voters than from other minority groups. Our results also reveal that gender was related to vote choice but only when connected with race.

99  
100  
101  
102  
103  
104  
105  
106  
107  
108  
109  
110  
111  

---

**Résumé.** Les femmes votent-elles pour les femmes et les hommes pour les hommes? Est-ce que les minorités visibles votent pour des minorités visibles, et les électeurs blancs pour des candidats blancs? Quelle est la dynamique quand une candidate se présente qui est à la fois femme et minorité visible? La présente étude cherche à vérifier la présence du vote sur la base d'affinité de genre ou d'ethnicité lors de l'élection à la mairie de Toronto en 2014. Parmi les trois candidats compétitifs pour ce poste, Olivia Chow était la seule candidate femme et la seule candidate issue d'une minorité visible. Notre analyse, basé sur un sondage des électeurs torontois en règle, est le premier à examiner les effets interactifs du sexe et de l'ethnicité sur le choix du vote au Canada dans le contexte d'une élection non partisane et suivant une méthode non expérimentale. Nous trouvons des fortes indications de la présence d'un vote d'affinité ethnique et nous démontrons que Mme Chow a reçu plus d'appui des électeurs d'ethnicité chinoise que des autres groupes minoritaires. Nos résultats montrent également que le genre a affecté les choix électoraux, mais seulement en connexion avec la race.

## 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132

### Gender and Ethnic Affinities

Do women vote for women and men for men? Do visible minorities vote for minority candidates and white voters for white candidates? The “affinity voting” thesis postulates that voters invoke baseline preferences for candidates on the grounds of shared gender, racial or other highly visible socio-demographic characteristics (Brians, 2005; Matson and Fine, 2006; McDermott, 1997, 1998; Plutzer and Zipp, 1996; Sanbonmatsu, 2002; Tolley and Goodyear-Grant, 2014). Affinity voting is thought to be rooted in social psychological processes that may be either cognitive, identity-based, or some combination of the two.<sup>5</sup>

Cognitive explanations emphasize the role of social stereotypes and schemata that allow us to impute quickly and with little cognitive effort a broader set of traits and characteristics to a given stimulus (Dolan, 2008, 2014; Fiske and Kinder, 1981; Markus and Zajonc, 1985; Huddy and Terkildson, 1993; Koch, 2000, 2002; McDermott, 1998; Schneider and Bos, 2014). Sociodemographic cues can be especially useful in low-information elections, where detailed candidate information may be difficult for most voters to obtain (Conover and Feldman, 1989). Cognitive-based

133 affinity voting is thus a positive bias based on a voter's assumptions con-  
134 cerning some shared sociodemographic trait.

135 Social identity explanations, on the other hand, emphasize the role of  
136 social membership and feelings of group identification and solidarity  
137 (McClain et al., 2009; Plutzer and Zipp, 1996; Tajfel, 1981). Shared group  
138 identification may become politicized into group consciousness, at which  
139 point it assumes heightened salience as a basis for candidate choice. Under  
140 this account, affinity voting occurs when a candidate is readily and widely  
141 identified by her membership in the salient group, is presented or perceived  
142 as "acting for" that group's interests (however defined), and where group  
143 members are motivated by a set of beliefs about the group's social standing  
144 and determination to improve its status and realize its collective interests.

145 We are agnostic as to whether affinity is a heuristic shortcut or social  
146 identity process, and set aside this research question for another study.  
147 Furthermore, we recognize that if female voters have policy preferences  
148 that align more closely with positions taken by female candidates—that  
149 is, where female voters and candidates are more likely than male voters/can-  
150 didates to prioritize affordable child care or favour gender parity in munic-  
151 ipal governance—it will be difficult to distinguish whether same-sex vote  
152 choice is based on gender affinity itself (whether a heuristic shortcut or a  
153 social identity process) or on more dispassionately "reasoned" ideologi-  
154 cal/policy congruence. Below, we review the research findings on the  
155 subject of voter affinities, first for women, then for visible minorities,  
156 before turning to discuss the intersection of sex and race and the question  
157 of inter-ethnic affinity. Following that, we introduce the context of the  
158 Toronto mayoral election and then present our research methodology, in-  
159 cluding our empirical strategy for isolating affinity effects from ideologi-  
160 cal/policy congruence. Finally, we present and discuss our findings.

### 162 *Gender affinity*

163  
164 While affinity is an individual-level phenomenon, aggregate evidence can  
165 be suggestive of general trends. Such aggregate-level evidence provides  
166 little indication that female candidates in Canada face generalized discrim-  
167 ination from voters.<sup>6</sup> Black and Erickson's study (2003) of the 1993 federal  
168 election found that female candidates actually receive more votes than sim-  
169 ilarly situated men when constituency characteristics are controlled. Young,  
170 analyzing the 1997 and 2000 federal elections and controlling for incum-  
171 bency and party competitiveness, found modest evidence of reduced vote  
172 share in ridings with female incumbents but concludes that "if there is  
173 [voter] discrimination, its magnitude is so limited that it is unlikely to  
174 decide the outcome of local contests" (2006: 51). While few have looked  
175 closely at whether female candidates face bias in municipal elections in  
176 Canada (Seigel et al., 2001; Tardy et al., 1997), studies in the US have

177 found substantive differences in voter evaluations of male and female  
178 council candidates at that level (Brown et al., 1993; Crowder-Meyer  
179 et al., 2015; Huddy and Terkildson, 1993; Saltzstein, 1986). Crowder-  
180 Meyer and colleagues (2015) find that women fare better in wards and  
181 city clerkships compared to at-large and mayoral elections but that  
182 female mayoral candidates must be of higher quality than male candidates  
183 to achieve equal levels of electoral success. They argue that institutional  
184 rules of local politics interact with stereotypes about women's competency  
185 at specific tasks, and that this affects the type of office women choose to  
186 contest as well as their success rate across different types of elections.

187 Individual-level evidence of gender affinity voting is similarly mixed and  
188 appears to be weaker in Canada than in the United States. Cutler (2002) found  
189 that voters were more likely to support a federal party headed by a leader of the  
190 same sex. In contrast, a study of voter choice between a male and female candi-  
191 date for Vancouver mayor found no gender affinity effect, either before or  
192 after controlling for ideological- and party-gender overlap (Cutler and  
193 Matthews, 2005).<sup>7</sup> In a study drawing on data from the Canadian Election  
194 Study, Goodyear-Grant and Croskill looked closely at the behaviour of "flexi-  
195 ble" voters (those without a strong party attachment). They conclude that  
196 "women voters in Canada do not seem to cast a greater proportion of their  
197 ballots for women candidates than men voters do, even when conditions  
198 seem fertile for such an occurrence" (2011: 245). Finally, using a vote  
199 choice experiment with Canadian subjects, Tolley and Goodyear-Grant  
200 (2014) report an 8-point difference in support for a female candidate among  
201 women compared to men, though this effect was not sustained after control-  
202 ling for respondents' education, political knowledge, right-left ideology, and  
203 egalitarian gender attitudes. There is no consensus, therefore, on the presence or  
204 strength of gender affinity voting in Canada.

205 In contrast, in the American context gender affinity effects have been  
206 observed using experimental methods (McDermott, 1998; Sanbonmatsu,  
207 2002) and in actual elections among non-partisans and weak identifiers  
208 (Plutzer and Zipp, 1996). In partisan contests, several studies have found  
209 that male and female voters interact differently with Democratic and  
210 Republican women candidates (Brians, 2005; Dolan, 2008; King and  
211 Matland, 2003; Koch, 2002; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009; Winter,  
212 2010). While affinity voting occurs, female Democratic candidates appear  
213 to garner more support than female Republican candidates from female  
214 crossover voters, possibly due to the more consistent direction that stereo-  
215 types of women and Democrats take.

### 217 *Ethnic affinity*

218  
219 In the US, there is abundant evidence that white voters prefer white candi-  
220 dates, while minorities prefer minority candidates (Barreto, 2007; Bobo and

Gilliam, 1990; Collet, 2005; Philpot and Walton, 2007). There is also modest evidence of co-ethnic voting in Britain (Fisher et al., 2014) and France (Brouard and Tiberj, 2011). Such patterns are especially strong in vote choice experiments presenting fictionalized white or minority candidates (McConaughy et al., 2010; McDermott, 1998; Moskowitz and Stroh, 1994; Sigelman et al., 1995; Terkildson, 1993). They are less consistent in actual elections, presumably because the salience of issues, candidate characteristics, campaign styles and other local contextual factors can trump baseline ethnic and racial preferences (Citrin et al., 1990; Highton, 2004; Kaufmann, 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Pettigrew, 1976; Stein et al., 2005). At the municipal level, Kaufmann (2004) shows that white and black voters' perceptions of interracial conflict in the community are a key factor shaping their evaluation and support of black mayoral candidates.

The context of racial politics in the US is very different than that in Canada and so we expected to find different results with respect to co-ethnic voting across the two countries. What is perhaps more remarkable is the paucity of research on the effects of candidate ethnicity on voter choice in Canada. We have identified just eight studies that address this issue.<sup>8</sup> Four of these draw on aggregate voter returns (Berdahl et al., 2011; Black and Erickson, 2006; Landa et al., 1995; Tossutti and Najem, 2002); three are based on experimental designs (Besco 2015a, 2015b; Bird, 2016; Tolley and Goodyear-Grant, 2014); and one uses both experimental and voter survey data (Murakami, 2014). Only one of these (Bird, 2016) focuses on the municipal context, though in a fictionalized scenario.

The results of the studies that rely on ecological data are mixed. While Toussutti and Najem (2002) and Black and Erickson (2006) found no relationship between visible minority candidacy and electoral success, Landa and colleagues (1995) and Berdahl and colleagues (2011) found that voter support for the party of an ethnic minority or Aboriginal candidate increased with the density of the ethnic or Aboriginal population in the riding. However, the small sample size and lack of controls (especially for incumbency) necessitate caution in interpreting these positive findings. Experimental designs have produced more consistent findings of ethnic affinity voting in Canada (Besco, 2015a, 2015b; Bird, 2016; Tolley and Goodyear-Grant, 2014).<sup>9</sup> As in the US, these analyses all find fairly strong evidence that visible minority voters prefer minority candidates, while white voters prefer white candidates. However, it is difficult to know whether the results would persist in a more robust political context. Recent work (Murakami, 2014) finds negative effects of candidates' ethnic minority background in a vote choice experiment but also finds that partisanship washes away the effect when real election data (from the 2008 Canadian Election Study) are used. The only exception is a very small set of voters who demonstrated an *a priori* strong negative affect towards ethnic minorities and opposed policies benefiting ethnic

265 minorities. Murakami concludes that the influence of candidates' ethnicity  
266 on vote choice in Canadian federal elections is "negligibly small or ex-  
267 tremely limited to only a small set of voters" (2014: 127).

### 269 *Inter-minority ethnic affinity*

271 An important question concerning ethnic affinity voting is whether we  
272 should expect visible minorities of *all* ethnic backgrounds to support  
273 Olivia Chow, who is from Hong Kong. Research in the US has found  
274 that racialized minorities are not necessarily willing to support minority  
275 candidates from other ethnic groups over white candidates (Casellas,  
276 2009; Kaufman, 2003b; Ramakrishnan et al., 2008; but see Collet, 2005).  
277 Drawing on an experiment with Canadian subjects, Besco (2015b) assesses  
278 the support for a Chinese (versus white) candidate among South Asian re-  
279 spondents, and for a South Asian (versus white) candidate among Chinese  
280 respondents. He finds some evidence of "rainbow coalition" affinity effects,  
281 and no evidence of inter-minority discrimination.

282 Assessing inter-ethnic affinity voting in Canada is crucial. There may  
283 be less inter-minority conflict in Canada's relatively peaceful multicultural  
284 mosaic than in other settings, but there are almost no ridings where a single  
285 ethnic group constitutes the majority of the electorate. Furthermore,  
286 Siemiatycki and colleagues (2001) suggest that differences in class, lan-  
287 guage, national background, migration experiences, religion, income and  
288 residential location, even among seemingly cohesive and geographically  
289 clustered groups such as the Chinese, present enormous challenges of mo-  
290 bilization in Toronto. Thus, electoral success for minority candidates in  
291 Canada depends critically on support across a multitude of different  
292 ethnic communities. Toronto provides an excellent case in which to deter-  
293 mine whether support for a visible minority candidate differs depending on  
294 whether the candidate is a member of one's own or a different ethnic group.

### 296 *The intersection of gender and race*

298 Finally, what happens when a visible minority woman appears on the  
299 ballot? There are two potential outcomes of note. The first is that such can-  
300 didates may be subject to both gender and racial stereotypes, which could  
301 produce a double disadvantage in their quest for elected office (Moncrief  
302 et al., 1991). On the other hand, growing evidence suggests that the  
303 gender gap in office holding is smaller among visible minorities than  
304 among non-minorities (Bejarano, 2013; Bird, 2011; Celis et al., 2014;  
305 Scola, 2007, 2013). Thus, the other potential outcome is that, as Wendy  
306 Smooth has argued, minority women candidates can benefit from the cross-  
307 over appeal gained from their "multiple community identifications" (2006:  
308 411). Philpot and Walton (2007) find some support for this hypothesis. In a

309 fictionalized candidate choice experiment, they show that black women  
310 candidates were preferred over white male candidates by black female,  
311 black male and white female voters and were preferred over black male candi-  
312 dates by black and white female voters. However, in their analysis of national  
313 exit poll data from US House of Representatives elections, they found  
314 that controlling for partisanship washed away the affinity effects; the over-  
315 whelmingly Democratic affiliation of black female candidates explained  
316 their support among those voter groups.

317 In Canada, only experimental research has examined the combined  
318 effects of voter sex and race on support for a female minority. Tolley and  
319 Goodyear-Grant (2014) replicated Philpot and Walton's experiment with  
320 a (fictional) Chinese candidate for the visible minority condition. Closest  
321 to the conditions of the present study is their "affinity congruence" treat-  
322 ment, in which they compared preferences of Chinese women voters (rela-  
323 tive to other subjects) when presented with a Chinese female and a white  
324 male candidate. Surprisingly, they found that Chinese women were *not*  
325 more likely than other participants to favour a Chinese woman candidate  
326 in this condition. Rather, white women (at 70%) were her strongest support-  
327 ers, followed by Chinese women (63%), white men (59%) and finally  
328 Chinese men (55%). The results in this particular fictional contest suggest  
329 a straightforward gender affinity effect, rather than any interaction of  
330 gender and ethnic affinities; however their findings across multiple paired  
331 contests suggest that "among Chinese Canadians, race is a more salient  
332 vehicle for political identification than gender" (Tolley and Goodyear-  
333 Grant, 2014: 21). Thus, while we acknowledge the potential for diminished  
334 or accentuated affinity effects when ethnicity and gender intersect, the sole  
335 Canadian finding leads us to question whether any interaction will be found  
336 at all. We see our study as taking a step toward adjudicating between the  
337 conflicting evidence.

338 Taken as a whole, the literature on gender and ethnic affinity voting  
339 leads us to identify three key research questions for our study:

- 341 1. Did female voters disproportionately support Olivia Chow?
- 342 2. Did Chinese voters support Chow more than other ethnic groups?
- 343 3. Did the intersection of gender and ethnicity accentuate, diminish or  
344 have no effect on affinity biases?

345  
346 The accumulation of research on affinity voting suggests that race is more  
347 salient than gender as a basis for candidate choice. Further, evidence on the  
348 interaction of ethnic and affinity voting is inconclusive, and we have had no  
349 previous opportunity in Canada to examine individual-level voters' re-  
350 sponses (net of party influences) when a visible minority woman seeks  
351 elected office. Turning to the Toronto case, and a more in-depth and con-  
352 textually specified analysis of voting patterns for a high profile Chinese



woman candidate, can thus be a useful step in the development of better theoretical models for explaining the intersection of gender and ethnic affinity voting.

### **The 2014 Toronto Mayoral Election**

Our review of the research in Canada suggests little evidence of gender affinity effects. There is somewhat stronger evidence of ethnic affinity effects, though the findings are contingent upon the methodology used. Observational studies of aggregate and individual voter choice in partisan elections show that the ethnic background of candidates matters little, once partisanship and incumbency are taken into account. Experimental studies consistently find affinity effects; however, these findings leave us with questions about external validity.<sup>10</sup>

To address the persistent uncertainties concerning the role and impact of affinity voting in Canada, we draw upon individual-level data from the 2014 Toronto mayoral contest. This election was exceptionally high-profile in nature and saw a record high turnout of 54.7 per cent. John Tory was elected mayor with 40.3 per cent of the vote, while Doug Ford and Olivia Chow came in second and third, with vote shares of 33.7 per cent and 23.2 per cent respectively. Since the city was created in its present form by merging several previously existing municipalities in 1997, Toronto has never had a female or minority mayor. On two occasions women have come in second place (Barbara Hall in 1997 and Jane Pitfield in 2006), but Olivia Chow's third-place showing in 2014 is the best result ever achieved by a visible minority candidate.

The matter we consider here is whether support for Chow differs among male and female, and minority and non-minority, voters. There are a number of reasons to suspect that visible minorities, as well as women, might demonstrate stronger support for Chow when compared to other voters. First, Chow was the only woman and only minority among the three main contenders for the mayoralty, so voting for one of her main competitors meant voting for a white man. Second, while no candidate in this election ran a campaign that specifically targeted voters on the basis of their sex or ethnicity (see Collet, 2008), there were nonetheless several gendered and racial cues that made Chow's characteristics on these dimensions especially salient. Chow received a public endorsement from local Chinese leaders who urged members of the community to support her, citing her record on issues including immigration and multilingual emergency services (Alcoba, 2014). She received a similar endorsement from a group of notable Toronto women who praised her campaign's focus on affordable childcare and equality for women (Haupt and Church, 2014). Chow's campaign also faced several incidents of overt racism that were

397 well publicized. For example, at one debate in September a Ford supporter  
398 heckled her from the audience, saying that she should “go back to China.”  
399 And a day before the election, one of the city’s major dailies, the *Toronto*  
400 *Sun*, published an editorial cartoon that depicted Chow in slanted glasses  
401 and a Mao Zedong-style tunic, standing on the coattails of Jack Layton,  
402 her late husband. In an interview with CP24, Chow called the cartoon  
403 “racist and sexist.”<sup>11</sup> These cues may have served to make both gendered  
404 and racialized group identities more salient to voters, and thus to catalyze  
405 group membership as a basis for vote choice (Plutzer and Zipp, 1996: 34).

406 On the other hand, it is not self-evident that affinity voting should have  
407 played a strong role. First, while race has been shown to be a salient basis  
408 for candidate choice in some US cities, it is less clear whether we should  
409 expect similar results in a city like Toronto, which is widely seen as a  
410 model of multicultural urban governance, immigrant integration and  
411 racial harmony (Bloemraad, 2006; Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Good,  
412 2009; Graham and Phillips, 2007; Lo, 2008; Siemiatycki and Isin, 2007).  
413 Second, the abundant information about the candidates and issues, as  
414 well as the high voter interest in the Toronto mayoral election, may  
415 reduce voters’ need to rely on “easy” cues such as candidate sex or race.  
416 Each of the three mayoral candidates had an exceptionally high public  
417 profile and well-known issue positions, partisan backgrounds and ideolo-  
418 gies. Chow, a former Toronto city councillor, had a national profile as an  
419 NDP member of Parliament alongside her husband and leader of the official  
420 opposition, the late Jack Layton. John Tory was former leader of the  
421 Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario. Doug Ford, the third main con-  
422 tender, entered the race after his brother Rob Ford, the incumbent, dropped  
423 out after being diagnosed with cancer. Rob Ford, of course, was well known  
424 in Toronto and became something of an international celebrity after he ad-  
425 mitted to substance abuse, including smoking crack cocaine while in office,  
426 an issue that was widely reported by media in Canada and abroad. Both  
427 Ford brothers were known to be well connected to key members of the  
428 federal Conservative party, and Doug had publicly considered running  
429 for the leadership of the provincial Progressive Conservatives.

430 Over the summer and fall leading up to the October election, the candi-  
431 dates faced off in dozens of debates,<sup>12</sup> including two that were televised.  
432 An indication that voters were attentive and interested in the election is the  
433 turnout rate, which, at nearly 55 per cent, exceeds the average across  
434 Ontario (43%) and rivals the 2014 provincial and 2011 federal elections  
435 (51% and 61% respectively). Thus, while we would be unsurprised to  
436 see affinity effects operating in very “low information” elections, where  
437 there is little else to go on when making a vote choice (Matson and  
438 Fine, 2006), to see such effects in the present study would suggest that  
439 they are powerful and robust amidst a wealth of readily available  
440 information.

## Data and Methodology

We evaluate the influence of sex and visible minority status upon vote choice in the 2014 Toronto mayoral race using data from the Toronto Election Study. The TES is a two-wave internet survey of Torontonians that was conducted around the time of the Oct. 27 election. Respondents were interviewed in the weeks before election day (after the candidate nomination deadline of September 12) and then again in the week after the election.<sup>13</sup> The TES includes a variety of questions about sociodemographic characteristics, attitudes and behaviour, similar to those contained in many national and provincial election studies, and it is the first dataset of its kind that allows for a thorough consideration of voting behaviour in a non-partisan Canadian municipality.<sup>14</sup>

Our analysis consists of two stages.<sup>15</sup> We begin by describing the voting patterns of TES respondents according to sex and ethnicity and establish that female and visible minority voters were indeed more likely to support Olivia Chow than male or white voters. We then conduct a multivariate analysis to explore the nature of gendered and ethnic differences in vote choice. Our key variables of interest are sex (male/female) and ethnicity (white/Chinese/other visible minority)<sup>16</sup>.<sup>17</sup>

Assessing the impact of affinities on vote choice is complicated by the fact that sex and ethnicity correlates can overlap with ideological, policy and interest-based sources of candidate support.<sup>18</sup> The empirical strategy that we adopt here is to see whether female (ethnic minority) voters are more willing than men (non-minorities) to vote for same-group candidates *after* controlling for ideological and policy preferences. We do this by including in the model measures of egalitarian attitudes towards women (“Do you think that there should be more women on council?” and a 100-point feeling thermometer on attitudes towards feminists) and visible minorities (“Do you think that there should be more visible minorities on council?” and an identical feeling thermometer on feelings towards visible minorities). We also control for more general ideological and partisanship factors. Chow was widely perceived to be to the ideological left of the other two major mayoral candidates and was linked in the minds of most voters to the NDP.<sup>19</sup> It is therefore important to control for any overlap between voter sex/ethnicity and these ideological and partisan correlates of her support.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the inclusion of such variables is necessary to isolate the relationships between gender, ethnicity and vote choice. If the controls co-vary with gender or ethnicity, failing to account for them may inhibit our ability to identify the effects of gender and ethnicity. If the sex and ethnicity variables have statistically significant relationships to vote choice after the addition of controls, we can be confident that any observed differences in the voting behaviour of our sociodemographic groups of interest (men versus women, visible minorities versus white) are driven by these characteristics, rather than by ideological or

485 policy congruence. If, however, the addition of controls causes sex or ethnic-  
 486 ity to no longer display a statistically significant relationship to vote choice, it  
 487 would suggest that ideological and policy preferences, rather than sociode-  
 488 mographic status itself, are behind the observed gender and ethnic voting  
 489 patterns.<sup>21</sup>

491 **Results**

492 *Describing vote choice*

493  
 494 Prior to conducting a multivariate analysis to disentangle the sources of  
 495 gender and ethnic affinity voting, it is useful to present simple descriptive  
 496 data. Such an analysis reveals the extent of the difference in voting patterns  
 497 of men and women, and our three ethnic groups. Figure 1 displays the share  
 498 of voters in each category that supported each of the three major mayoral  
 499 candidates.<sup>22</sup>

500  
 501 Figure 1 suggests that Chow performed best among women and visible  
 502 minorities. Women were 6.4 percentage points more likely to support Chow  
 503 than were men ( $p < 0.01$ ). In terms of ethnicity, 19.1 per cent of white voters  
 504 supported Chow, which is less than either of the minority groups ( $p < 0.05$ ),  
 505 though there is no statistically significant difference between Chinese  
 506 (29.7%) and non-Chinese visible minorities (26.7%). Such a finding sug-  
 507 gests some support for the “rainbow coalition” hypothesis.

509 *Explaining vote choice*

510  
 511 What accounts then for the patterns observed in Figure 1? Did affinity voting  
 512 determine ballot choice, or did ideological/policy congruence and attitudinal

513  
 514  
 515 FIGURE 1  
 516 Vote Choice by Gender and Ethnicity

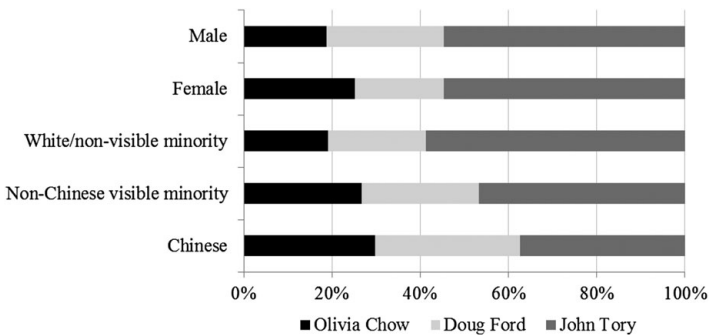


Fig. 1 - B/W online, B/W in print

485  
486  
487  
488  
489  
490  
491  
492  
493  
494  
495  
496  
497  
498  
499  
500  
501  
502  
503  
504  
505  
506  
507  
508  
509  
510  
511  
512  
513  
514  
515  
516  
517  
518  
519  
520  
521  
522  
523  
524  
525  
526  
527  
528

529 dispositions associated with group membership drive voting decisions?  
530 In order to address this question, a multivariate analysis is necessary.  
531 Accordingly, Table 1 contains the results of several logistic regression  
532 models, where the dependent variable is vote choice (Chow = 1, other = 0).<sup>23</sup>  
533 We consider a series of different model specifications to disentangle the  
534 effects of gender, ethnicity (including the interaction of the two) and attitudinal  
535 and ideological factors on vote choice. From models I to III we introduce two  
536 sets of controls (egalitarian and ideological). This approach is replicated in  
537 models IV to VI, which also consider the interaction of the gender and ethnic-  
538 ity variables.

539 Table 1 reveals several findings of note. First, Model I indicates that,  
540 without accounting for controls or interactions, both gender and ethnicity  
541 are positively associated with a Chow vote. Such a finding is not surprising  
542 given the results in Figure 1. A difference between the effects of gender and  
543 ethnicity becomes apparent in Model II, however, when attitudinal vari-  
544 ables are added and the effect of gender disappears. In this model, attitudes  
545 towards women on council and feminists are both significant predictors of a  
546 Chow vote, and accounting for these variables nullifies the effect of the  
547 gender variable. This pattern holds when ideological measures are added  
548 (Model III). For female voters, therefore, it appears to be feminist and egal-  
549 itarian attitudes and left-wing ideological dispositions, rather than shared  
550 membership in the female group, that drives the relationship between  
551 gender and Chow support.

552 In contrast, the effect of ethnicity is robust to the addition of controls in  
553 both models II and III; both ethnicity variables (“Chinese” and “non-  
554 Chinese visible minority”) retain their statistical significance. In fact, opin-  
555 ions of whether there should be more minorities on council and attitudes  
556 towards minorities are insignificant in Model III, suggesting that the rela-  
557 tionship between ethnicity and vote choice is based on shared group mem-  
558 bership, rather than egalitarian attitudes concerning visible minorities. The  
559 relationship between ethnicity and vote choice is therefore very different  
560 than the one between gender and vote choice.

561 Table 1 also suggests that ethnic affinity effects are stronger among  
562 Chinese voters than other ethnic minorities. Indeed, the magnitude of the  
563 “Chinese” variable actually increases after controls are added (from  
564 models I to III), while the effect of the non-Chinese visible minority vari-  
565 able changes only slightly. These results suggest that, after accounting for  
566 important attitudinal variables, Chinese voters were more likely to  
567 support Chow than were other ethnic minorities, who in turn, supported  
568 Chow at greater rates than did white voters.

569 Finally, the results of models IV to VI suggest that gender and ethnicity  
570 have an interactive effect upon vote choice, and this relationship becomes  
571 most evident once attitudinal controls are added. Though Model I shows  
572 a relationship between vote choice and both gender and ethnicity, the

TABLE 1  
Gender, Ethnicity and Vote Choice (Multivariate Analysis)

	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V	Model VI
Female	0.33 (0.14)**	-0.17 (0.15)	-0.19 (0.17)	0.18 (0.16)	-0.40 (0.19)**	-0.47 (0.20)**
Non-Chinese visible minority	0.53 (0.18)***	0.41 (0.20)**	0.56 (0.22)**	0.26 (0.25)	0.04 (0.27)	0.15 (0.29)
Non-Chinese visible minority $\times$ female				0.64 (0.37)*	0.89 (0.41)**	1.03 (0.44)**
Chinese	0.51 (0.20)***	0.70 (0.22)***	1.14 (0.24)***	0.39 (0.25)	0.46 (0.27)*	0.86 (0.29)**
Chinese $\times$ female				0.30 (0.40)	0.63 (0.44)	0.78 (0.47)*
More women on council		2.11 (0.44)***	1.75 (0.48)***		2.13 (0.44)***	1.78 (0.48)***
Attitudes towards feminists		1.61 (0.32)***	1.04 (0.35)***		1.64 (0.33)***	1.08 (0.35)***
More minorities on council		1.21 (0.43)***	0.74 (0.46)		1.20 (0.43)***	0.73 (0.46)
Attitudes towards minorities		-0.37 (0.37)	-0.30 (0.41)		-0.34 (0.37)	-0.25 (0.41)
Ideology			-3.27 (0.41)***			-3.14 (0.40)***
NDP partisan			1.16 (0.24)***			1.15 (0.24)***
Liberal partisan			-0.47 (0.18)***			-0.51 (0.18)***
Conservative partisan			-0.87 (0.32)***			-0.89 (0.32)***
Green Partisan			0.57 (0.48)			0.54 (0.48)
Constant	-1.55 (0.10)***	-4.42 (0.32)***	-1.89 (0.43)***	-1.49 (0.10)***	-4.38 (0.32)***	-1.83 (0.43)
N	1350	1350	1350	1350	1350	1350
Pseudo R-squared	0.0127	0.1348	0.2558	0.0149	0.1390	0.2608

Entries report log-odds and standard errors (in parentheses).

\*\*\*:  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*:  $p < 0.05$ , \*:  $p < 0.10$

616

615

614

613

612

611

610

609

608

607

606

605

604

603

602

601

600

599

598

597

596

595

594

593

592

591

590

589

588

587

586

585

584

583

582

581

580

579

578

577

576

575

574

573

617 interactions of gender with both ethnicity variables in Model IV (which  
 618 lacks controls) provides only weak evidence of an interactive effect—the  
 619 coefficient for the non-Chinese interaction term is significant at  $p < 0.10$   
 620 and the Chinese interaction term is insignificant (though positive).  
 621 However, in Model VI, both interactions are positive and significant, indi-  
 622 cating that the interactive effects of gender and ethnicity are found most  
 623 strongly after the addition of egalitarian and ideological controls. Such a  
 624 finding suggests the effects of gender upon vote choice are different for mi-  
 625 norities than they are for whites, and that these effects are driven by socio-  
 626 demographic characteristics—thus affinity effects—rather than attitudes.

627 Interestingly, the female constituent term is negative and significant in  
 628 models V and VI, which suggests that, after controlling for attitudinal con-  
 629 siderations, white female voters were *less* likely to support Chow than their  
 630 male counterparts. Females were thus more likely to support Chow than  
 631 men but only if they were visible minorities. Such a finding reveals that  
 632 gender does indeed matter for vote choice; its effects are simply conditional  
 633 upon ethnicity.

634 To present the results of Table 1 in a more intuitive manner, we present  
 635 Figure 2, which shows the predicted probability of voting for Chow for each  
 636 gender and ethnicity group. Values were estimated using postestimation fol-  
 637 lowing Model VI, where the values for gender and ethnicity were manipu-  
 638 lated and all other values remained unchanged. The figure provides  
 639 information on the magnitude of the differences between the various socio-  
 640 demographic categories.

641  
 642  
 643  
 644 FIGURE 2  
 645 Predicted Probability of Supporting Chow, by Gender and Ethnicity

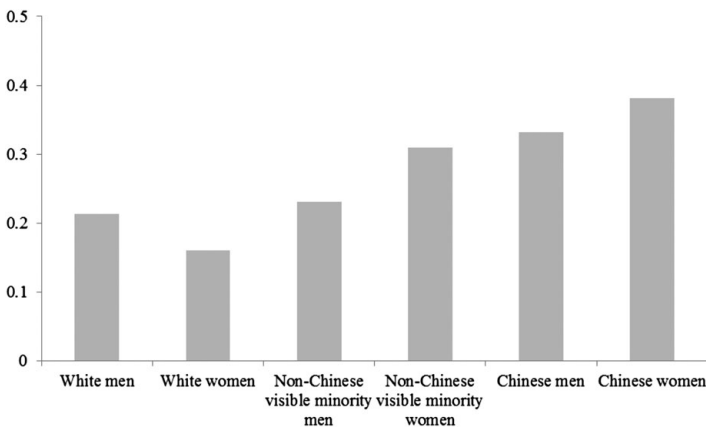


Fig. 1 - B/W online, B/W in print

617  
618  
619  
620  
621  
622  
623  
624  
625  
626  
627  
628  
629  
630  
631  
632  
633  
634  
635  
636  
637  
638  
639  
640  
641  
642  
643  
644  
645  
646  
647  
648  
649  
650  
651  
652  
653  
654  
655  
656  
657  
658  
659  
660

661 **Figure 2** illustrates in detail the interactive relationship between  
662 gender, ethnicity and vote choice. These findings line up quite closely  
663 with Philpot and Walton's expectations (2007) regarding the intersectional  
664 structure of voter preferences in the US except that, in our case, white  
665 women demonstrate the least affinity toward Chow after accounting for  
666 ideological and attitudinal dispositions. Among both visible minority  
667 groups, however, women were *more* supportive than men. So while  
668 gender has an impact within ethnic groups, the effects are not in a consistent  
669 direction.

670 Overall, the combined effect of gender and ethnicity are significant.  
671 White men have a predicted probability of supporting Chow of only 21.3  
672 per cent, while the comparable value for Chinese women is 38.1 per cent.  
673 There is little doubt, then, that gender and ethnicity played important  
674 roles in the outcome of the 2014 Toronto mayoral election.

## 677 Discussion

678  
679 The 2014 Toronto mayoral election offers a unique setting in which to study  
680 affinity voting patterns. The presence of a candidate who is both female and  
681 a visible minority, and whose opposition consisted of two white men, pro-  
682 vides an ideal opportunity to assess the impact of gender and race, both in-  
683 dividually and combined, upon voter behaviour. The availability of survey  
684 data from the Toronto Election Study affords us the chance to consider  
685 these matters in the context of a genuine election, using individual-level  
686 data.

687 Our analysis reveals several findings of note. First, we find strong ev-  
688 idence of ethnic affinity voting: both Chinese and non-Chinese visible mi-  
689 nority voters were more likely than white voters to support Chow, even after  
690 controlling for a range of attitudinal, partisan and ideological consider-  
691 ations. This result helps to resolve previous conflicting findings between  
692 experimental studies (showing significant effects) and observational  
693 studies of federal elections (showing no effects). It suggests that candidate  
694 sociodemographics can be relevant to voters beyond strictly low-informa-  
695 tion contexts. It may thus be the particular importance of parties and the  
696 lesser importance of the "personal vote" that trumps affinity voting for  
697 local candidates in federal elections, rather than the wealth of information  
698 per se.

699 We also find that Chinese voters are different than non-Chinese visible  
700 minority voters in their patterns of support. While there is evidence of inter-  
701 minority ethnic affinity, support for Chow among voters from her own  
702 ethnic group is almost twice as strong as that from minorities of other  
703 ethnic backgrounds. We interpret this as evidence of an inter-ethnic affinity  
704 effect among visible minorities.



Our results also point to a fascinating result with respect to the relationship between gender and vote choice. By itself, Model III in Table 1 would seem to suggest that, after controlling for egalitarian attitudes and ideological preferences, gender loses any relationship with vote choice. Such an interpretation is congruent with many other observational studies, from Canada and elsewhere, that argue that women are no more or less likely than men to support female candidates, and that it is rather partisanship and ideology that account for the correlation of voter sex with preferred candidate sex (Dolan, 2008; Ekstrand and Eckert, 1981; Goodyear-Grant and Croskill, 2011; Paolino, 1995). By interacting the race and gender variables, however, we reveal that gender is indeed related to support for Chow. After differentiating between voters on the basis of race, TES data suggest the relationship between gender and vote choice depends upon the race of voters. We observe null results for the gender variable when it is not interacted with race because the impact of voter gender on candidate choice runs in opposite directions for white and visible minority voters. Controlling for egalitarian attitudes, ideology and partisanship, white women were less likely to support Chow than were white men, while visible minority women (Chinese or otherwise) offer more support to Chow than did their male counterparts. The reason that white women were less supportive of Chow than were white men is not immediately clear, and future research should consider the mechanisms underlying this result.<sup>24</sup>

In conclusion, we wish to briefly speculate as to what our findings say about the prospects for other visible minority female candidates. The 2014 Toronto mayoral contest, like all municipal elections, was unique. Factors related to the urban political context vary from city to city and are consequential for understanding the presence of women and minorities as mayors (Kaufman, 2003b, 2004; Smith et al., 2012). If our results with respect to gender and ethnicity are applicable elsewhere, however, then the success of visible minority female candidates appears to depend heavily upon the turnout patterns across gender and ethnicity categories. TES data reveal that, though Chow had an advantage among visible minorities, this group voted at a significantly lower rate than white voters (this gap is estimated at seven percentage points). Turnout among visible minority women was also significantly lower (16.5 points) than among visible minority men (both differences are significant at  $p < 0.01$ ). Thus, those individuals who were most likely to support Chow (minority females) were the least likely to vote of any gender/ethnicity combination. Even in a city such as Toronto, which has a political context that should stimulate ethnic minority representation (that is, a liberal electorate, a sizable visible minority population and a deep candidate pool where minorities enjoy considerable personal and professional resources and access to effective advocacy organizations), such a pattern presents a significant obstacle for a visible minority candidate to overcome. Should our findings with

749 respect to gender and ethnic affinity hold in cities with fewer visible minor-  
 750 ities, it is clear that minority female candidates face an uphill battle when  
 751 attempting to win office at the local level.  
 752

## 753 Notes

- 754
- 755 1 It is also conceivable that the local context in specific electoral races could produce gen-  
 756 dered or racial cues that make the characteristics of a candidate on those dimensions  
 757 more salient but that these go undetected in broad cross-sectional studies. Certainly  
 758 federal parties seem to think that nominating minority candidates in particular ridings  
 759 helps them to attract more minority voters.
  - 760 2 In Ontario, the *Municipal Elections Act* prohibits fundraising via a party structure. This  
 761 discourages the formation of formal parties at the local level, and candidates typically  
 762 run as individuals without an explicit political party affiliation.
  - 763 3 In Canada's 50 largest cities (populations over 100,000), 29 per cent of elected council-  
 764 lors and just 8 per cent of mayors are women. And while immigration has changed the  
 765 face of Canadian cities, visible minorities are dramatically underrepresented at city hall  
 766 relative to their population share. As of 2015, fewer than 7 per cent of council seats  
 767 across Canada's largest cities were held by visible minorities, and only one (Calgary)  
 768 has ever elected a mayor with a visible minority background. Both women and minor-  
 769 ities are numerically underrepresented relative to their population share, but while  
 770 women's numerical presence in municipal politics is about on par with their provincial  
 771 and federal levels (Tolley, 2011; Tremblay and Mévellac, 2013), visible minorities  
 772 appear to be far more dramatically underrepresented at the local level (Andrew et al.,  
 773 2008; Bird, 2016; Siemiatycki, 2011).
  - 774 4 We include the qualifier "less," as two candidates in the election (Chow and Tory) had  
 775 previously run as candidates in partisan elections.
  - 776 5 For example, Michael C. Dawson (1994) proposes the "linked fate" or "black utility  
 777 heuristic" as a device for explaining African-American political behaviour but argues  
 778 that this heuristic device is based on social identity theory and group consciousness.  
 779 He argues that because African Americans have been historically treated as members  
 780 of a group, rather than as individuals, they see their own fate as inextricably linked to  
 781 the fate of their racial group. It is thus an effective shortcut for a black voter to use  
 782 the social standing of the group as a proxy for assessing their own individual wellbeing.
  - 783 6 Rather, there is strong evidence that party nomination committees discriminate against  
 784 women in the candidate selection process (Thomas and Bodet, 2013).
  - 785 7 Unlike Toronto, municipal elections in the City of Vancouver are contested by parties,  
 786 which may moderate the effect of candidate sociodemographics on vote choice.
  - 787 8 Only three of these studies have been published to date.
  - 788 9 The work by Besco and by Tolley and Goodyear-Grant are, in fact, based on different  
 789 elements of the same dataset.
  - 790 10 In addition to uncertainty about whether affinity effects are robust in the face of other  
 791 contextual information, we also question whether the various experimental treatments  
 792 are equally realistic to all subjects. Asking white respondents to assess a Chinese candi-  
 793 date may seem quite unrealistic to them if they are not accustomed to seeing ethnically  
 794 diverse candidates run for election in their town or riding. A more general problem is  
 795 that participants in experiments may alter their behaviour to be more socially acceptable  
 796 if they suspect the intention of the investigator is to assess responses to female or ethnic  
 797 minority candidates.
  - 798 11 [http://www.cp24.com/news/2014-municipal-elections/chow-calls-toronto-sun-cartoon-  
 799 racist-and-sexist-1.2072290#ixzz3HJJztGe](http://www.cp24.com/news/2014-municipal-elections/chow-calls-toronto-sun-cartoon-racist-and-sexist-1.2072290#ixzz3HJJztGe)

- 793 12 There were at least 42 scheduled mayoral debates. See [http://www.thestar.com/news/city\\_hall/toronto2014election/2014/07/27/dates\\_and\\_times\\_of\\_toronto\\_mayoral\\_election\\_debates.html](http://www.thestar.com/news/city_hall/toronto2014election/2014/07/27/dates_and_times_of_toronto_mayoral_election_debates.html)
- 794
- 795
- 796 13 The first wave was administered from September 19 to October 26, and the second was
- 797 administered from October 28 to November 3. Survey respondents were recruited
- 798 through a third-party survey firm and were eligible voters. 43.2 per cent of TES respon-
- 799 dents were female and 28.1 per cent were visible minorities. While these numbers differ
- 800 slightly from actual population values, this does not affect our ability to identify relation-
- 801 ships between these sociodemographic characteristics and vote choice. Provided that the
- 802 female and visible minority groups are large enough (as they are), we are able to do so.
- 803 14 As a quality control measure, the TES included a question to ensure that respondents
- 804 were answering questions seriously (respondents were reimbursed for their participation
- 805 in the TES). The 3.1 per cent of respondents who “failed” this question are excluded
- 806 from our analysis.
- 807 15 Appendix I contains the wording of all survey questions used in our analysis. Appendix
- 808 II contains relevant descriptive statistics.
- 809 16 In keeping with the idea of a potential “rainbow coalition” of inter-ethnic affinity, we
- 810 have chosen to group all non-Chinese visible minorities together.
- 811 17 While we recognize that the terminology is a social and political construct, we neverthe-
- 812 less measure and use the term “visible minority” in a manner consistent with the
- 813 standard applied by Statistics Canada. Officially, the term refers to non-white, non-
- 814 Aboriginal persons and consists mainly of individuals of Chinese, South Asian,
- 815 Black, Arab, West Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Latin American, Japanese and
- 816 Korean identity. For stylistic reasons, we also sometimes use “race” or “racial” to
- 817 refer to the difference between white and visible minority groups. Where we use the
- 818 term “ethnic” or “inter-ethnic” we are referring more broadly to minority groups of dif-
- 819 ferent ethno-cultural backgrounds, specifically Chinese, non-Chinese visible minority,
- 820 and white. Finally, we use the terms sex and gender interchangeably.
- 821 18 Overlap can also occur in the context of a gendered party system, in which one party is
- 822 preferred by women, and that same party also tends to nominate more female candidates.
- 823 Much research in the US has shown that female voters’ higher probability (compared to
- 824 men) of voting for female candidates is strongly related to their support for the
- 825 Democratic party.
- 826 19 TES respondents were asked to position each of the three mayoral candidates on a left-
- 827 right (0–10) scale. The average placement for Chow was 2.96, as compared to 6.53 for
- 828 Tory and 7.38 for Ford. Differences between these estimates are all significant ( $p <$
- 829  $0.01$ ). Respondents were also asked which party, if any, they associated with each can-
- 830 didate. 68.5 per cent associated Chow with the NDP, while the modal response for both
- 831 other candidates was the Conservative party (55.8% for Tory and 46.2% for Ford).
- 832 20 As noted previously, we are agnostic as to whether affinity effects are driven by cogni-
- 833 tive or social identity effects, and we cannot, using TES data, contribute to this debate.
- 834 However, given that the preponderance of the research in this area takes affinity voting
- 835 to be principally a cognitive shortcut (for example, McDermott, 1997), or a combination
- 836 of cognitive and social identity effects (for example, Dawson, 1994), it makes sense to
- control for cognitively related factors such as partisanship and ideology.
- 21 We expect that our use of an internet survey might cause a downward bias in the esti-
- ated magnitude of ethnic affinity effects. Assuming that minorities with poor
- English skills are less likely than other minorities to complete an online survey, this
- would suggest that our minority sample is not-representative in this respect. Besco
- (2015) has found affinity effects to increase as group identification does. If it is the
- case that minorities with weaker English skills are relatively new to the country, and

- 837 if such individuals have a high identification with their ethnic group, the exclusion of  
 838 such respondents would mean we are underestimating the size of affinity effects.
- 22 For the sake of parsimony, we exclude those individuals who voted for minor candidates  
 839 (3.2% of TES respondents).
- 23 Note that all explanatory variables in the table are coded from 0 to 1. The sociodemo-  
 840 graphic variables are dummies, the egalitarian attitudinal measures and the ideology  
 841 measure are ordinal, and the partisan variables are also dummies.
- 24 It is possible that white female voters may rebuff a candidate like Chow if they see her as  
 842 misrepresenting their identity and interests as “women.” The sharp contrast in support for  
 843 Chow between white and Chinese women, compared to the unequivocally strong  
 844 support demonstrated by Chinese men and women, suggests the limitations of a shared  
 845 gender identity of women as a group and the relative strength of a politicized ethnic con-  
 846 sciousness. Regardless of the explanation for this pattern, such a finding raises the question  
 847 of which mayoral candidate(s) white female voters were more likely to support than their  
 848 male counterparts. To investigate this matter, we conducted an additional analysis,  
 849 similar to that of Model VI in Table 1 (results not shown but available from the authors).  
 850 Instead of a binary dependent variable, we employed a multinomial specification, where  
 851 the dependent variable had three values: support for Chow, Ford or Tory. This alternative  
 852 specification confirms our finding that there is a gender gap among white voters’ support for  
 853 Chow, but we find no such gap in support for Tory or Ford. In other words, while Chow was  
 854 the clear loser among white female voters, neither of the other two candidates received a  
 855 clear advantage from this group, relative to one another.

## 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880

- Alcoba, Nathalie. 2014. “Chinese leaders urge community to support Toronto’s first high-  
 860 profile mayoral candidate of a visible minority.” *Toronto Star*, April 14. <http://news.nationalpost.com/toronto/toronto-mayoral-candidate-olivia-chow> (last accessed?)
- Andrew, Caroline, John Biles, Myer Siemiatycki and Erin Tolley, eds. 2008. *Electing a Diverse Canada: The Electoral Representation of Immigrants, Minorities and Women*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Barreto, Matt A. 2007. “¡Sí Se Puede! Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters.” *American Political Science Review* 101 (3): 425–41.
- Bejarano, Christina E. 2013. *The Latina Advantage: Gender, Race, and Political Success*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Berdahl, Loleen, Christopher Adams and Greg Poelzer. 2011 “First Nations Candidacy and On-Reserve Voting in Manitoba: A Research Note.” [https://umanitoba.ca/centres/mipr/media/First\\_Nations\\_Candidacy\\_and\\_On-Reserve\\_Voting\\_in\\_Manitoba.pdf](https://umanitoba.ca/centres/mipr/media/First_Nations_Candidacy_and_On-Reserve_Voting_in_Manitoba.pdf).
- Besco, Randy. 2015a. “The Causes of Co-Ethnic Affinity Voting: Ideology, Interests, and Identity.” Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Conference. (place?)
- Besco, Randy. 2015b. “Rainbow Coalition or Inter-Minority Conflict? Racial Affinity and Diverse Minority Voters.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 48 (2): 305–28.
- Bird, Karen. 2011. “Patterns of Substantive Representation among Visible Minority MPs: Evidence from Canada’s House of Commons.” In *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities*, ed. Karen Bird, Thomas Saalfeld and Andreas M. Wüst, New York: Routledge.
- Bird, Karen. 2016. “Understanding the Local Diversity Gap: Supply and Demand of Visible Minority Candidates in Ontario Municipal Politics.” In *Just Ordinary Citizens? Towards a Comparative Portrait of the Political Immigrant*, ed. Antoine Bilodeau. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Blais, André, Richard Nadeau, Elisabeth Gidengil and Neil Nevitte. 2002. *Anatomy of a Liberal Victory: Making Sense of the Vote in the 2000 Canadian Election*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- Blais, André, Elisabeth Gidengil, Agnieszka Dobrzynska, Neil Nevitte and Richard Nadeau. 2003. "Does the Local Candidate Matter? Candidate Effects in the Canadian Election of 2000." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 36 (3): 657–64.
- Black, Jerome H. and Lynda Erickson. 2006. "Ethno-Racial Origins of Candidates and Electoral Performance: Evidence from Canada." *Party Politics* 12 (4): 541–61.
- Bloemraad, Irene. 2006. *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bobo, Lawrence and Franklin D. Gilliam, Jr. 1990. "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." *American Political Science Review* 84 (2): 377–93.
- Brians, Craig Leonard. 2005. "Women for Women? Gender and party bias in voting for female candidates." *American Politics Research* 33 (3): 357–75.
- Brouard, Sylvain and Vincent Tiberj. 2011. "Yes They Can: An Experimental Approach to the Eligibility of Ethnic Minority Candidates in France." In *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities*, ed. Karen Bird, Thomas Saalfeld and Andreas M. Wüst, New York: Routledge.
- Brown, Clyde, Neil R. Heighberger and Peter A. Shocket. 1993. "Gender-Based Differences in Perceptions of Male and Female City Council Candidates." *Women and Politics* 13 (1): 1–17.
- Casellas, Jason P. 2009. "Coalitions in the House? The Election of Minorities to State Legislatures and Congress." *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 120–31.
- Celis, Karen, Siliva Erzeel, Liza Mügge and Alyt Damstra. 2014. "Quotas and Intersectionality: Ethnicity and Gender in Candidate Selection." *International Political Science Review* 35 (1): 41–54.
- Citrin, Jack, Donald Philip Green and David O. Sears. 1990. "White Reactions to Black Candidates: When Does Race Matter?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 54 (1): 74–96.
- Collet, Christian. 2005. "Bloc Voting, Polarization, and the Panethnic Hypothesis: The Case of Little Saigon." *The Journal of Politics* 67 (3): 907–33.
- Collet, Christian. 2008. "Minority Candidates, Alternative Media, and Multiethnic America: Deracialization or Toggling?" *Perspectives on Politics* 6 (4): 707–28.
- Conover, Pamela and Stanley Feldman. 1989. "Candidate Perception in an Ambiguous World: Campaigns, Cues, and Inference Processes." *American Journal of Political Science* 33 (4): 912–40.
- Crowder-Meyer, Melody, Shana Kushner Gadarian and Jessica Trounstine. 2015. "Electoral Institutions, Gender stereotypes, and Women's Local Representation." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 3 (2): 318–34.
- Cunningham, Robert. 1971. "The Impact of the Local Candidate in Canadian Federal Elections." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 4 (2): 287–90.
- Cutler, Fred. 2002. "The Simplest Shortcut of All: Sociodemographic Characteristics and Electoral Choice." *Journal of Politics* 64 (2): 466–90.
- Cutler, Fred and J. Scott Matthews. 2005. "The Challenge of Municipal Voting: Vancouver 2002." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38 (2): 359–82.
- Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Deckman, Melissa. 2007. "Gender Differences in the Decision to Run for School Board." *American Politics Research* 35 (4): 541–63.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2008. "Is There a "Gender Affinity Effect" in American Politics? Information, Affect, and Candidate Sex in U.S. House Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (1): 79–89.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2014. *When Does Gender Matter? Women Candidates and Gender Stereotypes in American Elections*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Ekstrand, Laurie E. and William A. Eckert. 1981. "The Impact of Candidate's Sex on Voter Choice." *The Western Political Quarterly* 34 (1): 78–87.
- Fisher, Stephen D., Anthony F. Heath, David Sanders and Maria Sobolewska. 2014. "Candidate Ethnicity and Vote Choice in Britain." *British Journal of Political Science*: 45 (4): 883–905.
- Fiske, Susan T. and Donald R. Kinder. 1981. "Involvement, Expertise, and Schema Use: Evidence from Political Cognition." In *Personality, Cognition, and Social Interaction*, ed. N. Cantor and J. Kihlstrom. Hillsdale NJ: Erlbaum.
- Friskin Frances and Marcia Wallace. 2000 (rev. 2002). "The Response of the Municipal Public Service Sector to the Challenge of Immigrant Settlement." Report prepared for Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Ottawa. [http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/Municipal\\_Sector.pdf](http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/Municipal_Sector.pdf).
- Good, Kristen R. 2009. *Municipalities and Multiculturalism: The Politics of Immigration in Toronto and Vancouver*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth. 2010. "Who Votes for Women Candidates and Why?" In *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, ed. Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth, and Julie Croskill. 2011. "Gender affinity effects in vote choice in Westminster systems: Assessing 'flexible' voters in Canada." *Politics & Gender* 7 (2): 223–50.
- Graham, Katherine A. H. and Susan D. Phillips. 2007. "Another Fine Balance: Managing Diversity in Canadian Cities." In *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, ed. Keith Banting, Thomas J. Courchene and F. Leslie Seidle. Montreal: IRPP.
- Highton, Benjamin. 2004. "White Voters and African American Candidates for Congress." *Political Behavior* 26 (1): 1–25.
- Haupt, Simon and Elizabeth Church. 2014. "Olivia Chow gains endorsements for mayor from influential women." *Globe & Mail* (Toronto), October 9. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/olivia-chow-gains-endorsements-for-mayor-from-influential-women/article21042610/>
- Huddy, Leonie, and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993. "The consequences of gender stereotypes for women candidates at different levels and types of office." *Political Research Quarterly* 46 (3): 503–25.
- Kaufmann, Karen M. 2003a. "Cracks in the Rainbow: Group Commonality as a Basis for Latino and African-American Political Coalitions." *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (2): 199–210.
- Kaufmann, Karen M. 2003b. "Minority Empowerment in Denver, Colorado: How Black and Latino Voters Respond to Each Other's Political Leadership." *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (1): 107–25.
- Kaufmann, Karen M. 2004. *The Urban Voter: Group Conflict and Mayoral Voting Behavior in American Cities*. Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press.
- King, David, and Richard Matland. 2003. "Sex and the Grand Old Party: An Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Candidate Sex on Support for a Republican Candidate." *American Politics Research* 31 (6): 595–612.
- Koch, Jeffrey W. 2000. "Do Citizens Apply Gender Stereotypes to Infer Candidates' Ideological Orientations?" *The Journal of Politics* 62: 414–29.
- Koch, Jeffrey W. 2002. "Gender Stereotypes and Citizens' Impressions of House Candidates' Ideological Orientations." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2): 453–62.
- Landa, Janet, Michael Copeland and Bernard Grofman. 1995. "Ethnic Voting Patterns: A Case Study of Metropolitan Toronto." *Political Geography* 14 (5): 435–49.
- Lo, Lucia. 2008. "DiverCity Toronto: Canada's Premier Gateway City." In *Migrants to the Metropolis: The Rise of Immigrant Gateway Cities*, ed. M. Price and L. Benton-Short. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

- 969 Markus, Hazel and Robert B. Zajonc. 1985. "The Cognitive Perspective in Social  
970 Psychology." *Handbook of Social Psychology* 1: 137–230.
- 971 Matson, Marsha and Terri Susan Fine. 2006. "Gender, Ethnicity, and Ballot Information: Ballot  
972 Cues in Low-Information Elections." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 6 (1): 49–72.
- 973 McClain, Paula D., Jessica D. Johnson Carew, Eugene Walton, Jr. and Candis S. Watts. 2009.  
974 "Group Membership, Group Identity, and Group Consciousness: Measures of Racial  
975 Identity in American Politics?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 471–85.
- 976 McConaughy, Corrine M., Ismail K. White, David L. Leal and Jason P. Casellas. 2010. "A  
977 Latino on the Ballot: Explaining Coethnic Voting among Latinos and the Response of  
978 White Americans." *The Journal of Politics* 72 (4): 1199–1211.
- 979 McDermott, Monika L. 1997. "Voting Cues in Low-Information Elections: Candidate  
980 Gender as a Social Information Variable in Contemporary United States Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (1): 270–83.
- 981 McDermott, Monika L. 1998. "Race and Gender Cues in Low-Information Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 51 (4): 895–918.
- 982 Moncrief, Gary, Joel Thompson and Robert Schuhmann. 1991. "Gender, Race, and the State  
983 Legislature: A Research Note on the Double Disadvantage Hypothesis." *Social Science  
984 Journal* 28: 481–87.
- 985 Moskowitz, David and Patrick Stroh. 1994. "Psychological Sources of Electoral Racism." *Political Psychology* 15 (2): 307–29.
- 986 Murakami, Go. 2014. *Candidates' Ethnic Backgrounds and Voter Choice in Elections*.  
987 Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia, Vancouver BC.
- 988 Paolino, Phillip. 1995. "Group-Salient Issues and Group Representation: Support for Women  
989 Candidates in the 1992 Senate Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (2):  
990 294–313.
- 991 Pettigrew, Thomas F. 1976. "Black mayoral campaigns." *Urban Governance and Minorities*  
992 (1976): 14–29.
- 993 Philpot, Tasha S. and Hanes Walton, Jr. 2007. "One of Our Own: Black Female Candidates  
994 and the Voters Who Support Them." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 49–62.
- 995 Plutzer, Eric and John F. Zipp. 1996. "Identity Politics, Partisanship, and Voting for Women  
996 Candidates." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 60 (1): 30–57.
- 997 Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick, Janelle Wong, Taeku Lee and Jane Junn. 2009. "Race-based  
998 Considerations and the Obama Vote: Evidence from the 2008 National Asian  
999 American Survey." *Du Bois Review* 6 (9): 219–38.
- 1000 Roy, Jason and Christopher Alcantara. 2015. "The Candidate Effect: Does the Local  
1001 Candidate Matter?" *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 25 (2): 195–214.
- 1002 Saltzstein, Grace Hall. 1986. "Female Mayors and Women in Municipal Jobs." *American  
1003 Journal of Political Science* 30 (1): 140–64.
- 1004 Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice." *American Journal of  
1005 Political Science* 46 (1): 20–34.
- 1006 Sanbonmatsu, Kira and Kathleen Dolan. 2009. "Do Gender Stereotypes Transcend Party?" *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (3): 485–94.
- 1007 Sanbonmatsu, Kira, Susan Carrol and Debbie Walsh. 2009. "Poised to Run: Women's  
1008 Pathways to the State Legislatures. Center for American Women and Politics,  
1009 Eagleton Institute of Politics. Rutgers: State University of New Jersey.
- 1010 Schneider, Monica C. and Angela L. Bos. 2014. "Measuring Stereotypes of Female  
1011 Politicians." *Political Psychology* 35 (2): 245–66.
- 1012 Scola, Becki. 2007. "Women of Color in State Legislatures: Gender, Race, Ethnicity and  
Legislative Office Holding." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 28 (3–4): 43–70.
- Scola, Becki. 2013. *Gender, Race, and Office Holding in the United States: Representation at  
the Intersections*. New York: Routledge.

- Siemiatycki, Myer. 2011. "The Diversity Gap: The Electoral Under-Representation of Visible Minorities." <http://diversecitytoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/Final-Report.pdf>.
- Siemiatycki, Myer, and Engin Isin. 2007. "Immigration, Diversity and Urban Citizenship in Toronto." *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 20 (2): 73–102.
- Siemiatycki, Myer, Tim Rees, Roxana Ng, and Khan Rahi. 2001. "Integrating Community Diversity in Toronto: On Whose Terms?" CERIS Working Paper, No. 14.
- Sigelman, Lee, Carol K. Sigelman, Barbara J. Walkosz, and Michael Nitz. 1995. "Black Candidates, White Voters: Understanding Racial Bias in Political Perceptions." *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (1): 243–65.
- 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): 315–29.
- Smooth, Wendy G. 2006. "Intersectionality in Electoral Politics: A Mess Worth Making." *Politics & Gender* 2 (3): 400–14.
- Stein, Robert M., Stacy G. Ulbig and Stephanie Shirley Post. 2005. "Voting for Minority Candidates in Multiracial/Multiethnic Communities." *Urban Affairs* 41: 157–81.
- Tajfel, Henri. 1981. *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tardy, Évelyne, Manon Tremblay and Ginette Legault. 1997. *Maires et mairesses: Les femmes et la politique municipale*. Montréal: Liber.
- Terkildsen, Nayda. 1993. "When White Voters Evaluate Black Candidates: The Processing Implications of Candidate Skin Color, Prejudice, and Self-Monitoring." *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (4): 1032–53.
- Thomas, Melanee and Marc André Bodet. 2013. "Sacrificial Lambs, Women Candidates, and District Competitiveness in Canada." *Electoral Studies* 32 (1): 153–66.
- Tolley, Erin. 2011. "Do Women "Do Better" in Municipal Politics? Electoral Representation Across Three Levels of Government." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44 (3): 573–594.
- Tolley, Erin and Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant. 2014. "Experimental Evidence on Race and Gender Affinity Effects in Candidate Choice." Paper presented at the Canadian Political Science Association annual conference (Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario).
- Tossutti, Livianna S. and Tom-Pierre Najem. 2002. "Minorities and Elections in Canada's Fourth Party System: Macro and Micro Constraints and Opportunities." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 34: 85–112.
- Tremblay, Manon, and Anne Mévellac. 2013. "Truly More Accessible to Women than the Legislature? Women in Municipal Politics." In *Stalled: The Representation of Women in Canadian Governments*, ed, Linda Trimble, Jane Arscott and Manon Tremblay. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Winter, Nicholas. 2010. "Masculine Republicans and Feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' Explicit and Implicit Images of the Political Parties." *Political Behavior* 32 (4): 587–618.
- Young, Lisa. 2006. "Women's Representation in the House of Commons." In *Representing Women in Parliament: A Comparative Study*, ed, Marian Sawer, Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble. New York: Routledge.

## Appendix I: Toronto Election Study Questions

*Note that all variables have a range from 0 to 1*

Sociodemographic characteristics (dummy variables): Gender (male/female), ethnicity (coded as white/Chinese/other visible minority)



1057 Vote choice (nominal variable): Which mayoral candidate did you vote for?

1058 Attitudes towards women (interval-level variable): Do you agree/disagree  
1059 that there should be more women on city council? Attitudes towards fem-  
1060 inists (0–100)  
1061

1062 Attitudes towards visible minorities (interval-level variable): Do you agree/  
1063 disagree that there should be more visible minorities on city council?  
1064 Attitudes towards visible minorities (0–100)

1065 Ideological placement of candidates (interval-level variables): On a scale  
1066 from 0 to 10, where 0 means left and 10 means right, where would you  
1067 place (Doug Ford, Olivia Chow, John Tory)?  
1068

1069 Partisanship (dummy variables): In Federal politics, do you usually think of  
1070 yourself as a: *Liberal, Conservative, NDP, Green, Other, None of the*  
1071 *above, Don't know*. How strongly do you associate with [answer to question  
1072 above] party? *Very strongly, Fairly strongly, Not very strongly, Don't*  
1073 *know*. Following Blais et al. (2002), only those respondents who report a  
1074 “very” or “fairly” strong attachment to a party are coded as partisans.  
1075

1076 Quality control question (dummy variable): To ensure that your browser is  
1077 downloading the content of this survey correctly, please select option “four”  
1078 below.  
1079

## 1080 **Appendix II: Descriptive Statistics**

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum	N	
1085						
1086						
1087	Vote for Chow	0.22	0.41	0	1	1350
1088	Vote for Tory	0.56	0.50	0	1	1350
1089	Vote for Ford	0.22	0.41	0	1	1350
1090	Female	0.37	0.48	0	1	1350
1091	Chinese	0.11	0.32	0	1	1350
1092	Non-Chinese minority	0.13	0.34	0	1	1350
1093	More women on council	0.64	0.25	0	1	1350
1094	Attitudes towards feminists	0.60	0.32	0	1	1350
1095	More minorities on council	0.61	0.26	0	1	1350
1096	Attitudes towards minorities	0.71	0.26	0	1	1350
1097	Ideology	0.54	0.23	0	1	1350
1098	NDP partisan	0.10	0.30	0	1	1350
1099	Liberal partisan	0.38	0.48	0	1	1350
1100	Conservative partisan	0.21	0.41	0	1	1350
	Green partisan	0.02	0.14	0	1	1350