# A RISING TIDE?

The changing demographics on our ballots
OCTOBER 2018

Against the backdrop of unprecedented political turmoil, we calculated the real state of the union. For **more than half a decade**, we have tracked the **grave imbalance** between who Americans are (51% women and 40% people of color), and who represents us.[1] **From 2012 to 2016, little changed**: across local, state and federal office, white men – only 1/3 of the population – were 2/3 of all candidates and 2/3 of all elected officeholders.

This year, **we ran the numbers behind the headlines** and analyzed the **race and gender of candidates** who won primary elections and will appear on the November 2018 general election ballot. We examined five key areas:
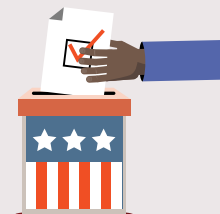
5 KEY AREAS

1 CONGRESS: Intersectional Race & Gender Analysis
We analyzed the race and gender makeup of House and Senate races in the 43 states with available data.[2]

2 STATE LEGISLATURE: Gender Analysis
We identified the gender of state legislature candidates for the 43 states with available data.[3]

3 STATE LEGISLATURE: Intersectional Race & Gender Analysis
We focused our analysis on a sample of 15 states[4]: eight states whose officeholders best reflect America's demographics[5] according to our National Representation Index (NRI)[6]; and seven states at the bottom of the NRI[7] where white men most dominate the political system.

4 STATE LEGISLATURE: 3 Largest States by Population
In addition to an analysis of states with the most and least reflective[8] representation, we also did an in-depth, intersectional analysis of the largest states by population (California, Texas and Florida) and compared the 2016 and 2018 election cycles.

5 GOVERNORS: 34 Races in 2018
We looked at the 34 states[9] holding gubernatorial elections in 2018 and with available 2014 and 2018 candidate data.
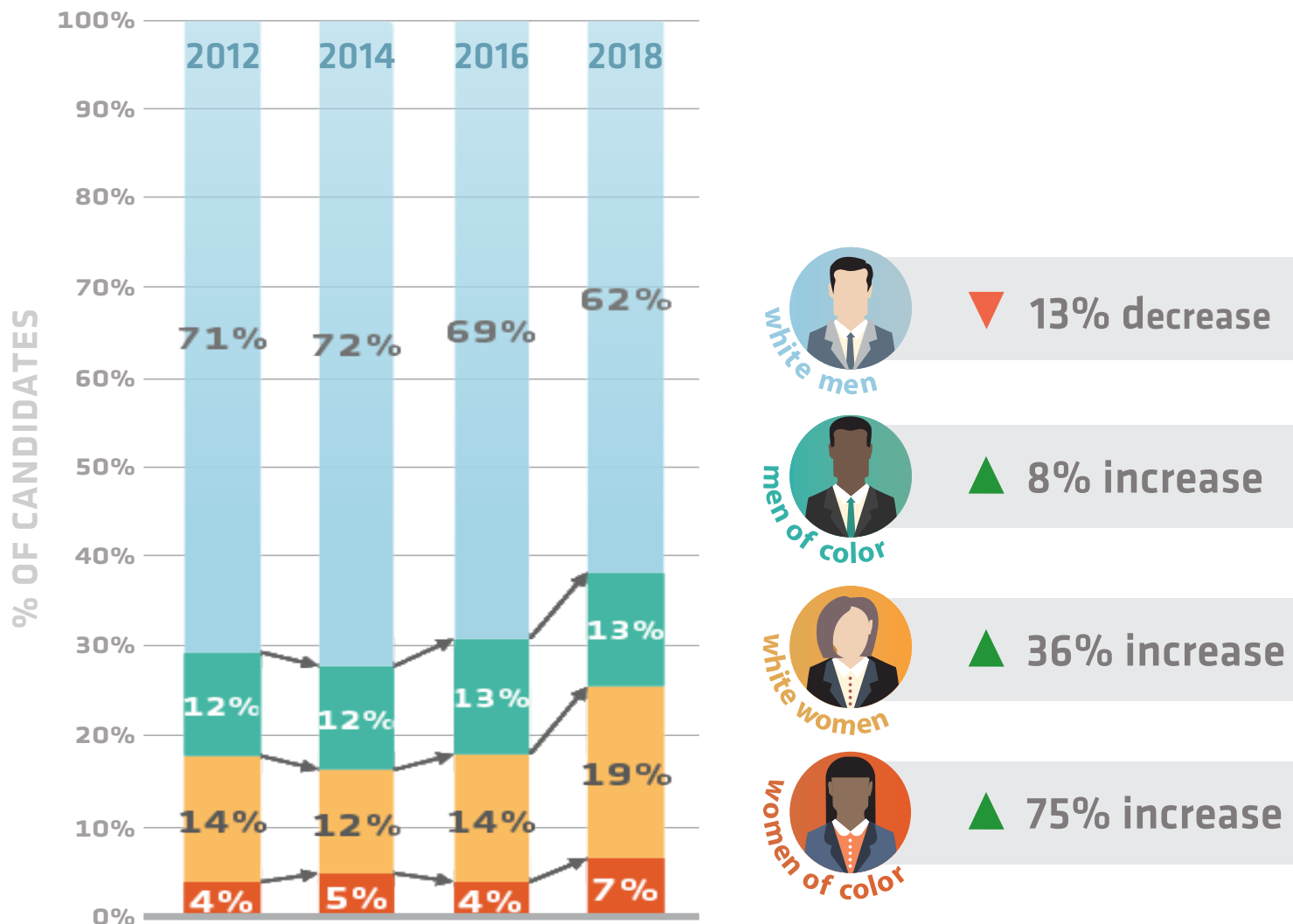
REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN

A PROJECT OF THE WOMEN DONORS NETWORK

Is there a potential tide of reflective change in the demographics of political power in 2018? Read on to see what we learned.

RACE & GENDER SNAPSHOT

With both white women and women of color making dramatic gains, the dominance of white men in congressional general elections[2] has decreased by 13% since 2012.

CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES SNAPSHOT 2012-2018

% OF CANDIDATES

	2012	2014	2016	2018
white (light blue)	71%	72%	69%	62%
green	12%	12%	13%	13%
orange	14%	12%	14%	19%
red	4%	5%	4%	7%

white men ▼ 13% decrease

men of color ▲ 8% increase

white women ▲ 36% increase

women of color ▲ 75% increase

TREND — **Women are rising.** Overall, women candidates for Congress have increased by 44% since 2012.
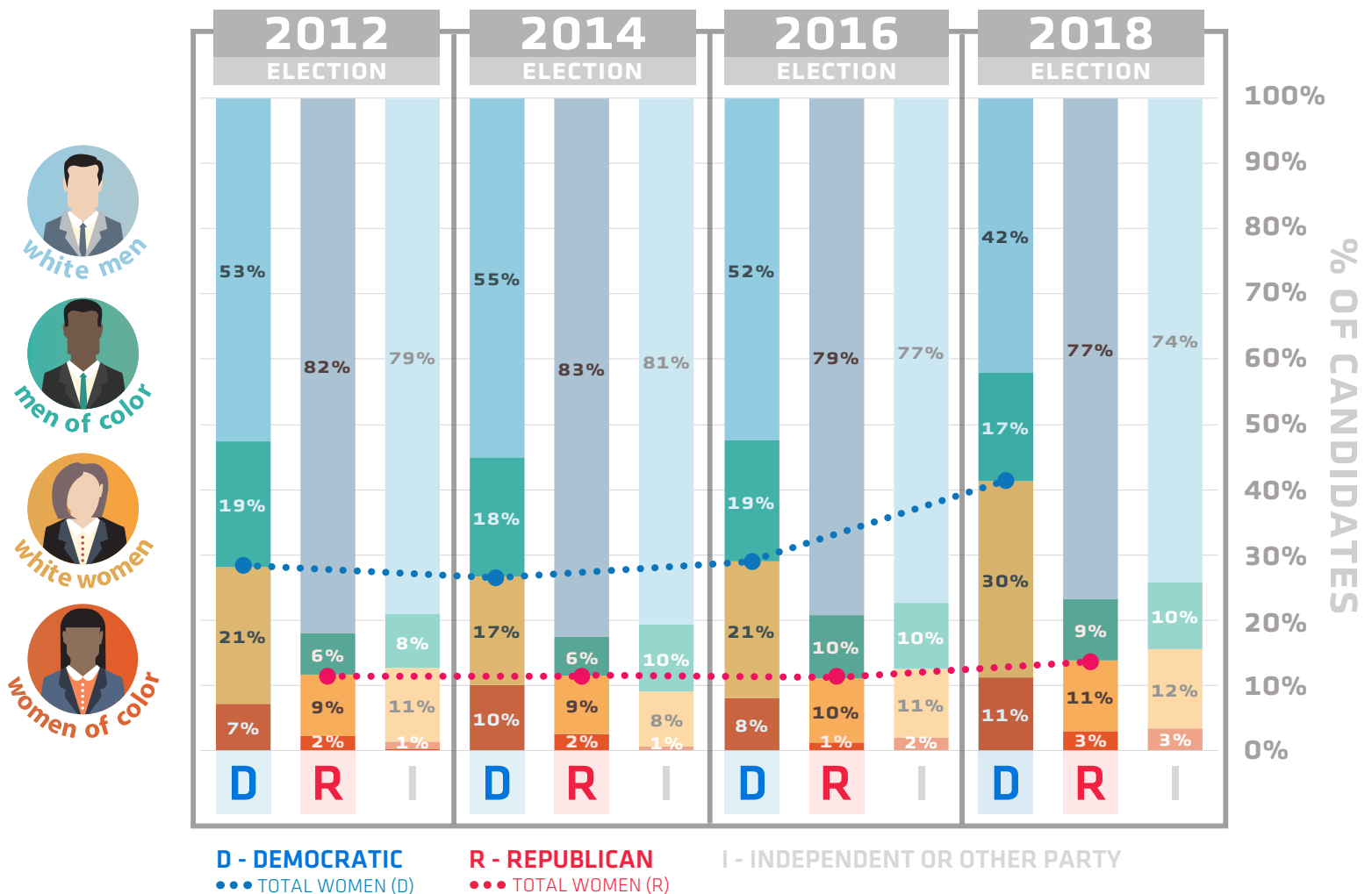
TREND — **Women of color are breaking through.** Since 2012, women of color candidates for Congress have increased by 75%.

REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN

RACE & GENDER BY PARTY

For the first time since 2012, **white men represent less than half of Democratic congressional candidates,**[2] driven by a 44% increase in Democratic women winning primaries. Republican and Independent[10] women are also winning at higher rates.

CANDIDATE RACE & GENDER BY PARTY 2012-2018

white men

men of color

white women

women of color

D - DEMOCRATIC
••• TOTAL WOMEN (D)

R - REPUBLICAN
••• TOTAL WOMEN (R)

I - INDEPENDENT OR OTHER PARTY

TREND In an historic shift, **Democratic candidates for Congress are moving closer to reflecting the demographics of the country**: 42% are white men (31% of population), 30% are white women (essentially their percentage of national population), 17% are men of color (19% of population) and 11% are women of color (19% of population).

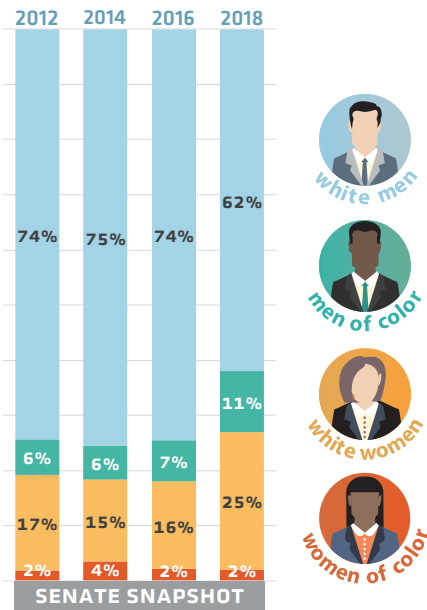**TREND** Across party lines, women are rising. **Democratic women** congressional candidates have had the **greatest gain at 46%. Republican women** have increased by **22%** and **Independent women** have increased by **25%.**
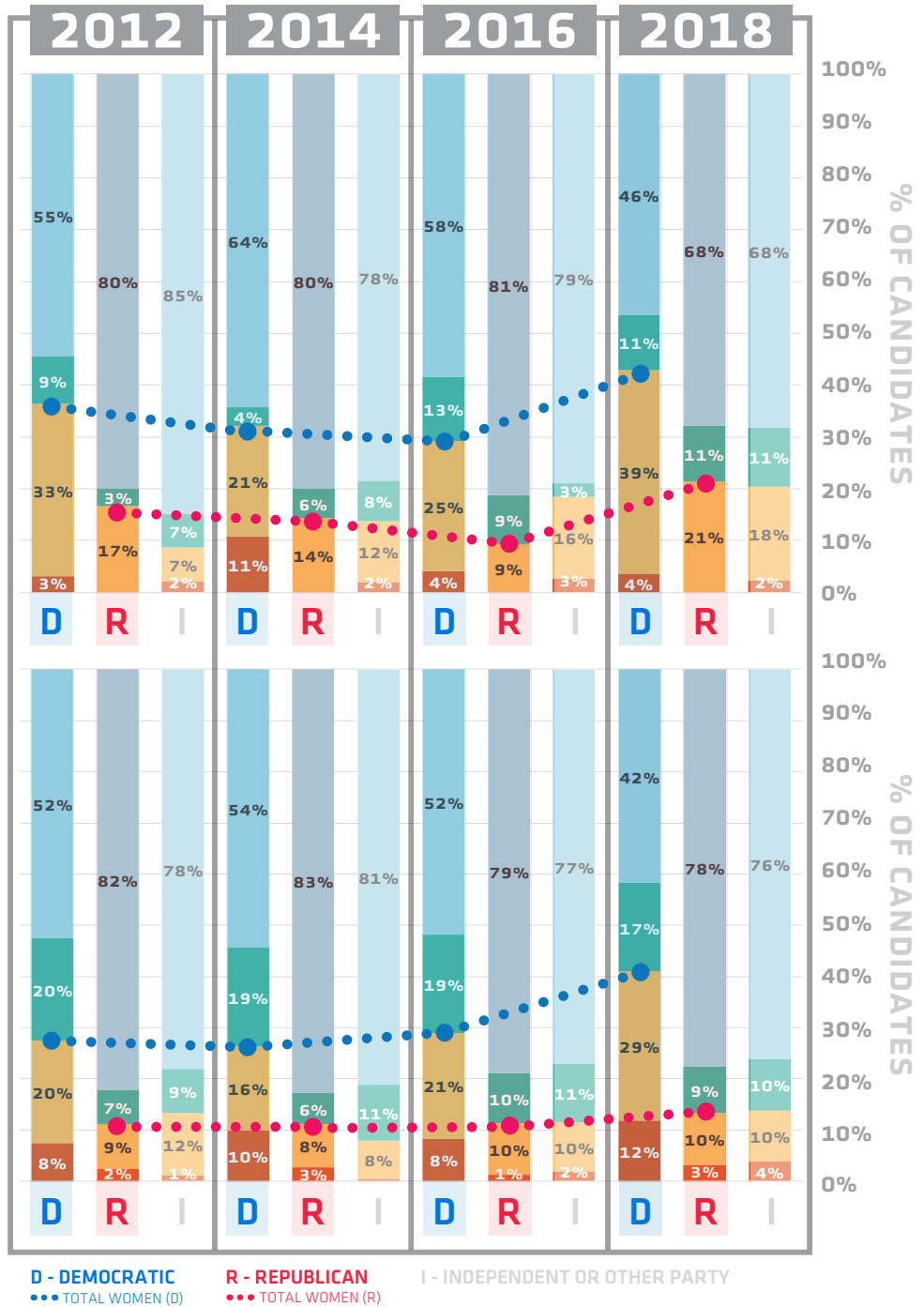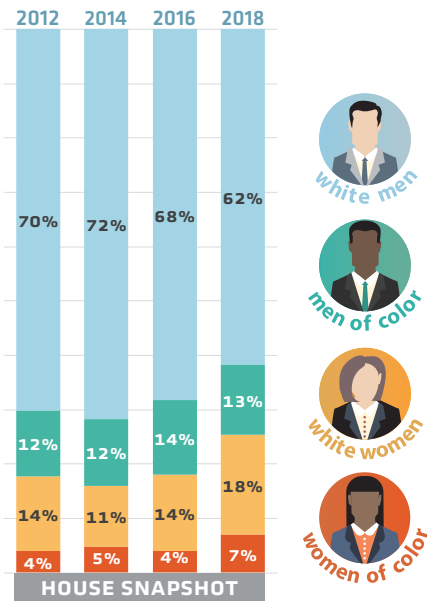
REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN

HOUSE VS. SENATE

The changing demographics are present in races for both houses of Congress.[2] Women candidates increased by 42% in Senate races and 39% in House races.

SENATE

Legend icons: white men · men of color · white women · women of color

SENATE SNAPSHOT

	2012	2014	2016	2018
white men	74%	75%	74%	62%
men of color	6%	6%	7%	11%
white women	17%	15%	16%	25%
women of color	2%	4%	2%	2%

SENATE — % OF CANDIDATES

2012
- D: 55%, 9%, 33%, 3%
- R: 80%, 3%, 17%, —
- I: 85%, 7%, 7%, 2%
- (R additional: 3%)

2014
- D: 64%, 4%, 21%, 11%
- R: 80%, 6%, 14%, —
- I: 78%, 8%, 12%, 2%

2016
- D: 58%, 13%, 25%, 4%
- R: 81%, 9%, 9%, —
- I: 79%, 3%, 16%, 3%

2018
- D: 46%, 11%, 39%, 4%
- R: 68%, — , 21%, —
- I: 68%, 11%, 18%, 2%

HOUSE

Legend icons: white men · men of color · white women · women of color

HOUSE SNAPSHOT

	2012	2014	2016	2018
white men	70%	72%	68%	62%
men of color	12%	12%	14%	13%
white women	14%	11%	14%	18%
women of color	4%	5%	4%	7%

HOUSE — % OF CANDIDATES

2012
- D: 52%, 20%, 20%, 8%
- R: 82%, 7%, 9%, 2%
- I: 78%, 9%, 12%, 1%

2014
- D: 54%, 19%, 16%, 10%
- R: 83%, 6%, 8%, 3%
- I: 81%, 11%, 8%, —

2016
- D: 52%, 19%, 21%, 8%
- R: 79%, 10%, 10%, 1%
- I: 77%, 11%, 10%, 2%

2018
- D: 42%, 17%, 29%, 12%
- R: 78%, 9%, 10%, 3%
- I: 76%, 10%, 10%, 4%

D - DEMOCRATIC · **R** - REPUBLICAN · I - INDEPENDENT OR OTHER PARTY
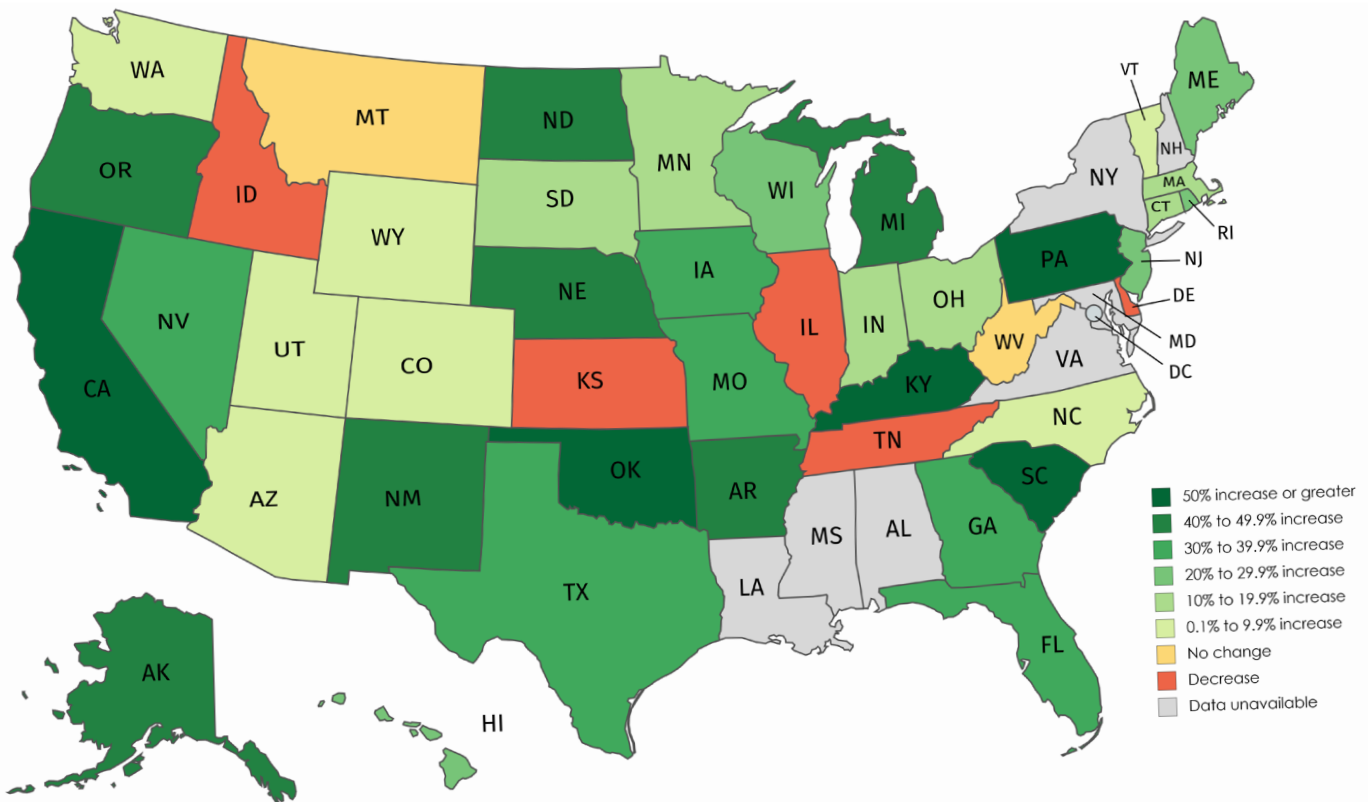··· TOTAL WOMEN (D) · ··· TOTAL WOMEN (R)

TREND

Democratic women have made significant gains in **House** races, **increasing 46% since 2012**. Over the same period, **Republican women increased by 18%**. In **Senate** races, **Republican women** have made progress, **increasing by 24%**. **Democratic women** Senate candidates have **increased by 18%**.

REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN

GENDER ANALYSIS

The **2018 rise of women candidates** for state legislature is a **significant national trend**. Of the 43 states[3] with available data, **36 saw an increase in women candidates**. In **five states** – from every corner of the country, including South Carolina, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, California and Oklahoma – **women candidates increased by more than 50%**. Overall, the average rate of change is 24%, with increases of 20% or more in 28 states. The decreases in women candidates in five states were largely insignificant – 6% or less

WOMEN CANDIDATES INCREASE ACROSS U.S. FROM 2016 TO 2018

Legend:
- 50% increase or greater
- 40% to 49.9% increase
- 30% to 39.9% increase
- 20% to 29.9% increase
- 10% to 19.9% increase
- 0.1% to 9.9% increase
- No change
- Decrease
- Data unavailable

Greatest Increases & Decreases in 2018

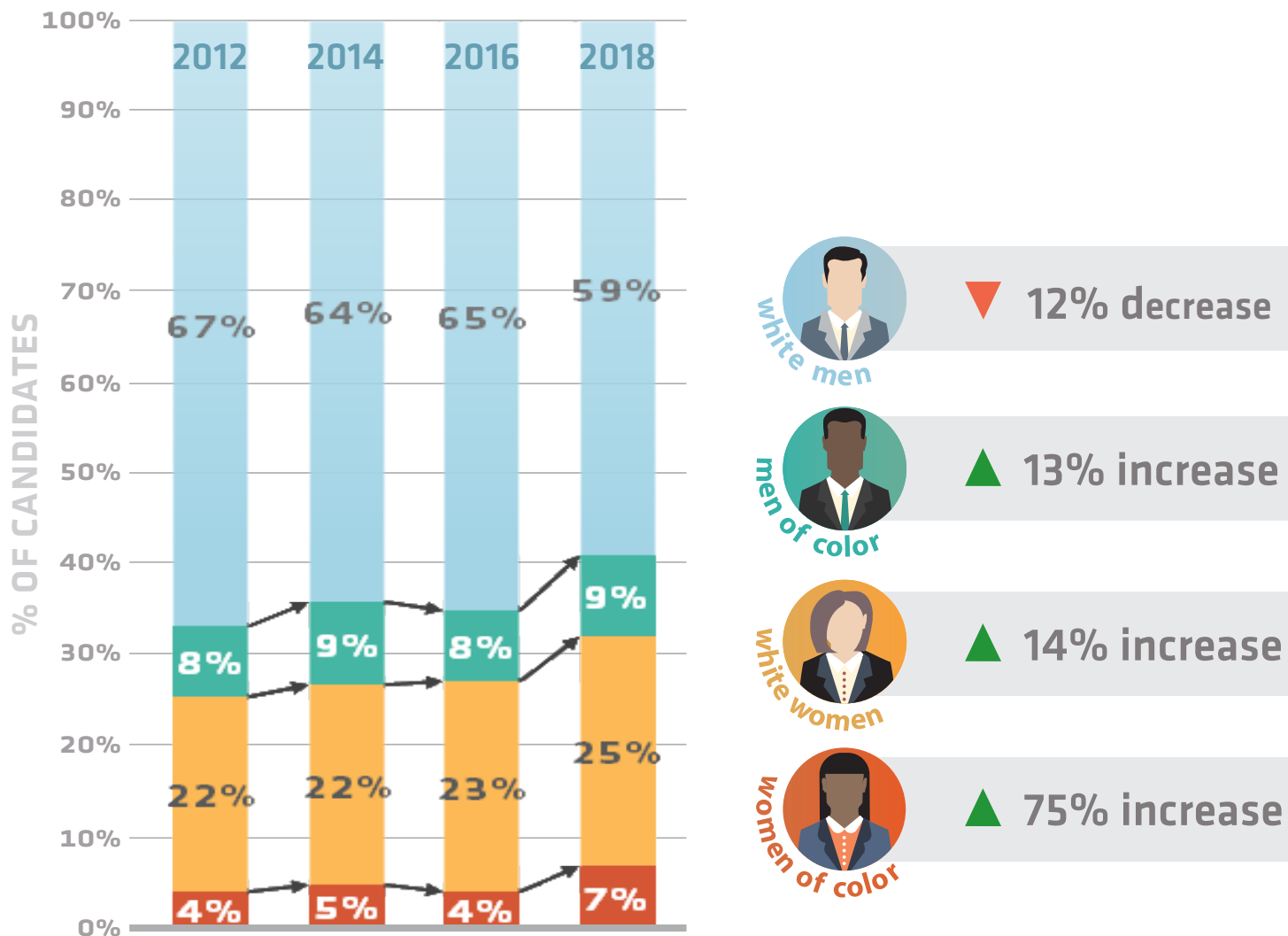| STATE	2016 TO 2018 % CHANGE	% OF WOMEN CANDIDATES IN 2016 (LEFT) & 2018 (RIGHT)
SC	▲ 74.4%	13.3% ► 23.2%
KY	▲ 62.8%	19.6% ► 31.9%
PA	▲ 62.5%	20.0% ► 32.5%
CA	▲ 57.8%	22.5% ► 35.5%
OK	▲ 51.0%	19.8% ► 29.9%
OR	▲ 46.5%	29.7% ► 43.5%
NM	▲ 45.8%	29.7% ► 43.3%
NE	▲ 44.9%	22.5% ► 32.6%
AR	▲ 43.6%	17.2% ► 24.7%
ND	▲ 43.4%	25.6% ► 36.7%
AK	▲ 42.0%	26.9% ► 38.2%
MI	▲ 41.2%	26.7% ► 37.7%
IA	▲ 39.7%	25.7% ► 35.9%
GA	▲ 36.7%	27.5% ► 37.6%
DE	▲ -4.5%	28.8% ► 27.5%
ID	▼ -6.0%	31.5% ► 29.6%
IL	▼ -6.1%	41.0% ► 38.5%
KS	▼ -6.4%	32.7% ► 30.6%

REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN

RACE & GENDER SNAPSHOT

Over **four election cycles**, we tracked the demographics of state legislature candidates in selected states where white men most dominate elected offices[7] and selected states whose officeholders best reflect America.[5]

CANDIDATE RACE & GENDER BY PARTY 2012-2018

% OF CANDIDATES

Year	2012	2014	2016	2018
white men	67%	64%	65%	59%
men of color	8%	9%	8%	9%
white women	22%	22%	23%	25%
women of color	4%	5%	4%	7%

▼ **12% decrease** — white men

▲ **13% increase** — men of color

▲ **14% increase** — white women

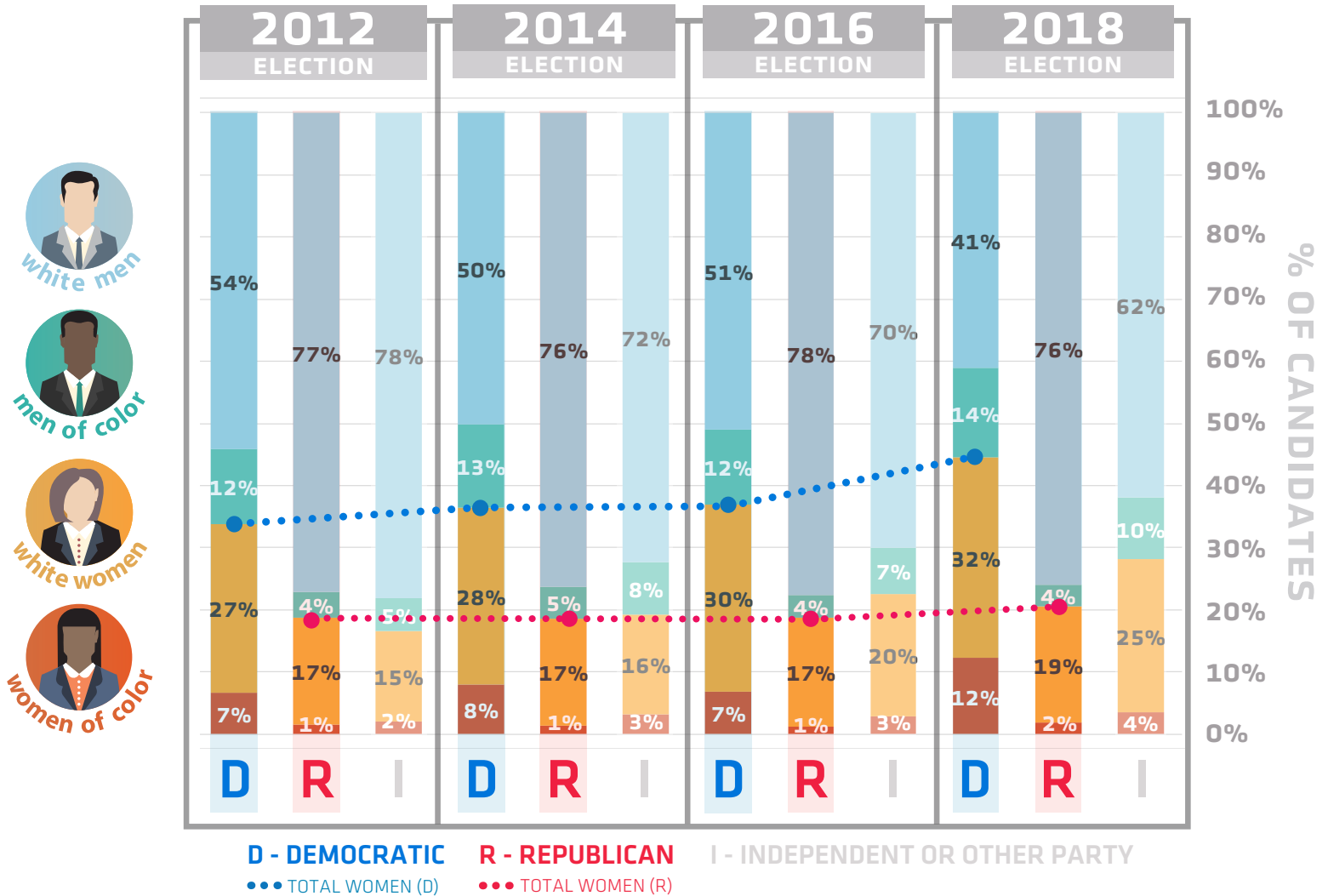▲ **75% increase** — women of color

TREND **Women of color have been the driving force** behind the increase in both women and people of color candidates in state legislature races, with **their 75% increase** driving a **23% increase in women** and a **33% increase in people of color.**

REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN

RACE & GENDER BY PARTY

On the Democratic side, **women of color candidates** for state legislatures[3] have **increased by 71%**, contributing significantly to the **overall increase** of both **women** and **people of color**.

CANDIDATE RACE & GENDER BY PARTY 2012-2018

white men

men of color

white women

women of color

2012 ELECTION

	D	R	I
white men	54%	77%	78%
men of color	12%		
white women	27%	17%	15%
women of color	7%	4% (women R), 1%	5%, 2%

2014 ELECTION

	D	R	I
white men	50%	76%	72%
men of color	13%		8%
white women	28%	17%	16%
women of color	8%	5%, 1%	3%

2016 ELECTION

	D	R	I
white men	51%	78%	70%
men of color	12%		7%
white women	30%	17%	20%
women of color	7%	4%, 1%	3%

2018 ELECTION

	D	R	I
white men	41%	76%	62%
men of color	14%		10%
white women	32%	19%	25%
women of color	12%	4%, 2%	4%

% OF CANDIDATES

100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0%

D - DEMOCRATIC   R - REPUBLICAN   I - INDEPENDENT OR OTHER PARTY

••• TOTAL WOMEN (D)   ••• TOTAL WOMEN (R)

TREND Similar to congressional races, **Democratic party candidates** for state legislature are shifting to reflect America's demographics more closely: 55% men and **44% women**; 41% white men, **32% white women**, **14% men of color** and **12% women of color**.

TREND **Republican candidates** for state legislature remain relatively unchanged, with **white men representing 76% of candidates** in 2018, compared to 77% in 2012.

REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN

3 LARGEST STATES BY POPULATION[11]

CALIFORNIA

TEXAS

FLORIDA

2017 STATE POPULATION[12]

California: 62.8% OF COLOR | 37.2% WHITE

Texas: 58.0% OF COLOR | 42.0% WHITE

Florida: 45.9% OF COLOR | 54.1% WHITE

2018 STATE LEGISLATURE CANDIDATES

California: 45.7% OF COLOR | 54.3% WHITE

Texas: 25.7% OF COLOR | 74.3% WHITE

Florida: 26.1% OF COLOR | 73.9% WHITE
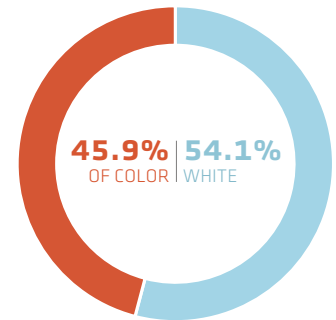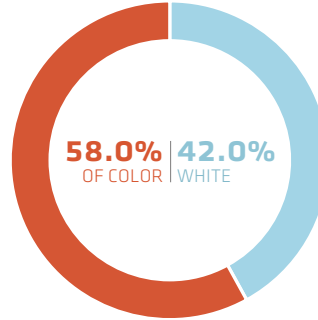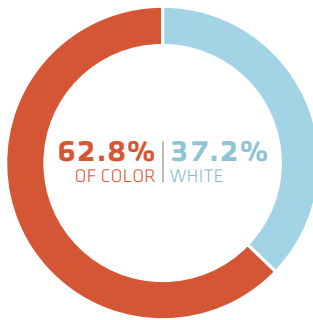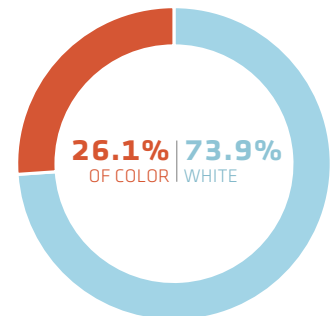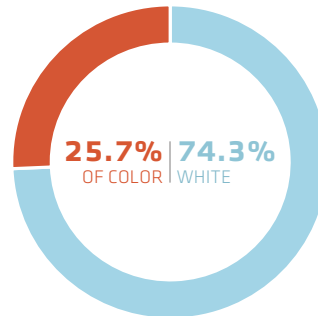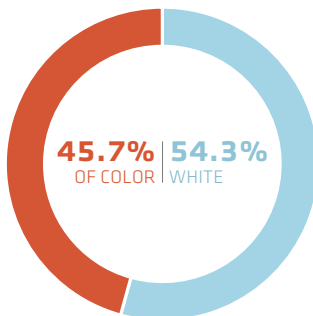
STATE LEGISLATURE 2016 ▶ 2018

		CALIFORNIA		TEXAS		FLORIDA	
CANDIDATES OF COLOR	2016 TO 2018 % CHANGE	CANDIDATES OF COLOR % 2016 ▶ 2018	2016 TO 2018 % CHANGE	CANDIDATES OF COLOR % 2016 ▶ 2018	2016 TO 2018 % CHANGE	CANDIDATES OF COLOR % 2016 ▶ 2018	
	▲ 38.5%	33.0% ▶ 45.7%	▼ -2.2%	26.3% ▶ 25.7%	▼ -15.2%	30.3% ▶ 25.7%	
WOMEN CANDIDATES	2016 TO 2018 % CHANGE	WOMEN CANDIDATES % 2016 ▶ 2018	2016 TO 2018 % CHANGE	WOMEN CANDIDATES % 2016 ▶ 2018	2016 TO 2018 % CHANGE	WOMEN CANDIDATES % 2016 ▶ 2018	
	▲ 57.8%	22.5% ▶ 35.5%	▲ 31.4%	22.6% ▶ 29.7%	▲ 35.9%	25.9% ▶ 35.2%	

TREND In just one election cycle, **California** has shown a **steep increase in reflective candidates** for state legislature, with **women increasing by 52%** and **people of color increasing by 38%.**

TREND While both California and Texas are "majority-minority" states, Texas is particularly un-reflective in terms of race. While **women candidates in Texas increased by 32%**, **people of color candidates decreased by 2%.**
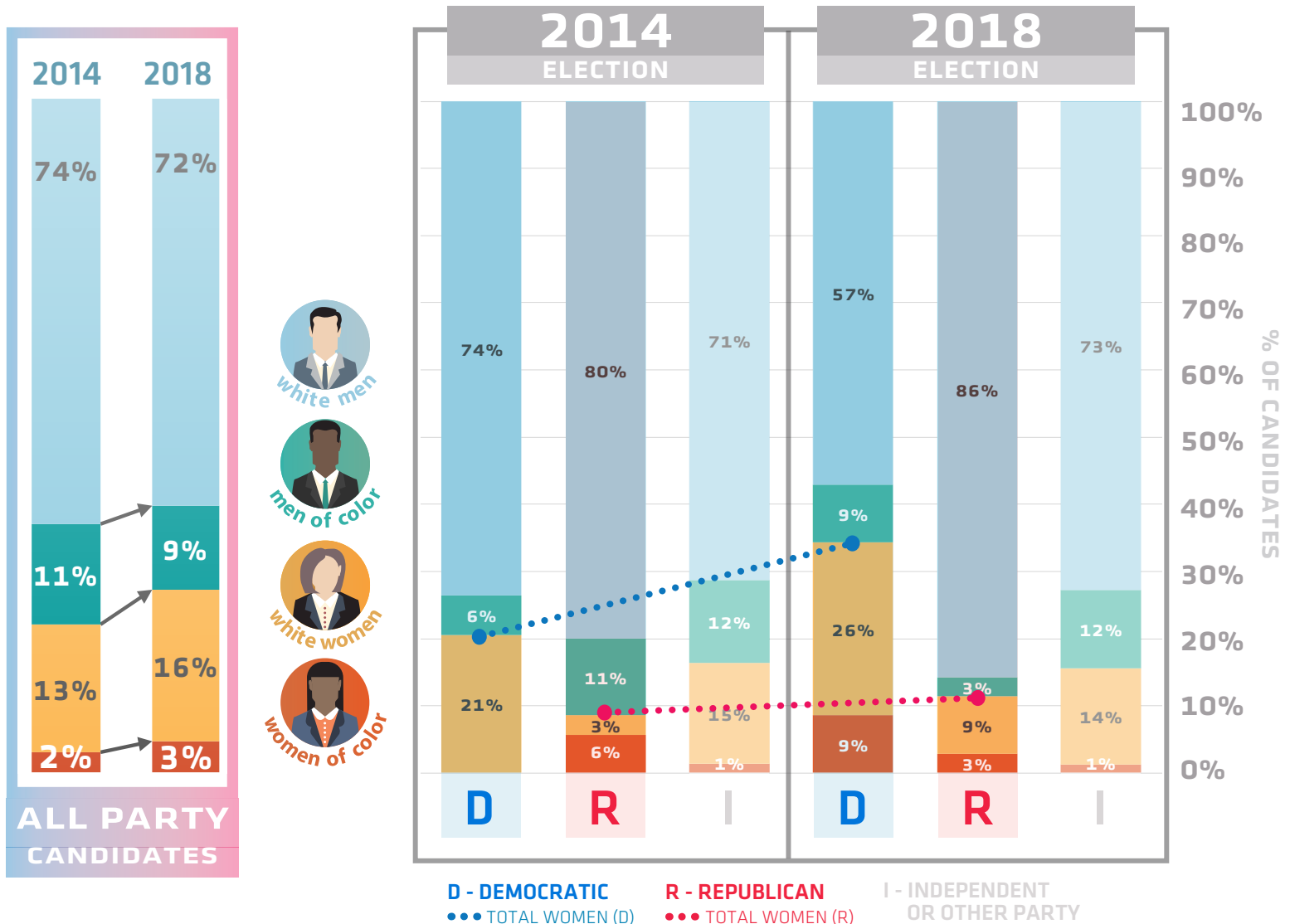
REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN

34 RACES IN 2018

The **overall demographics of gubernatorial candidates**[9] **barely shifted** between 2014 and 2018.
This "counter-trend" is caused by **Republican candidates** for governor, who are now **almost
exclusively white and male**.

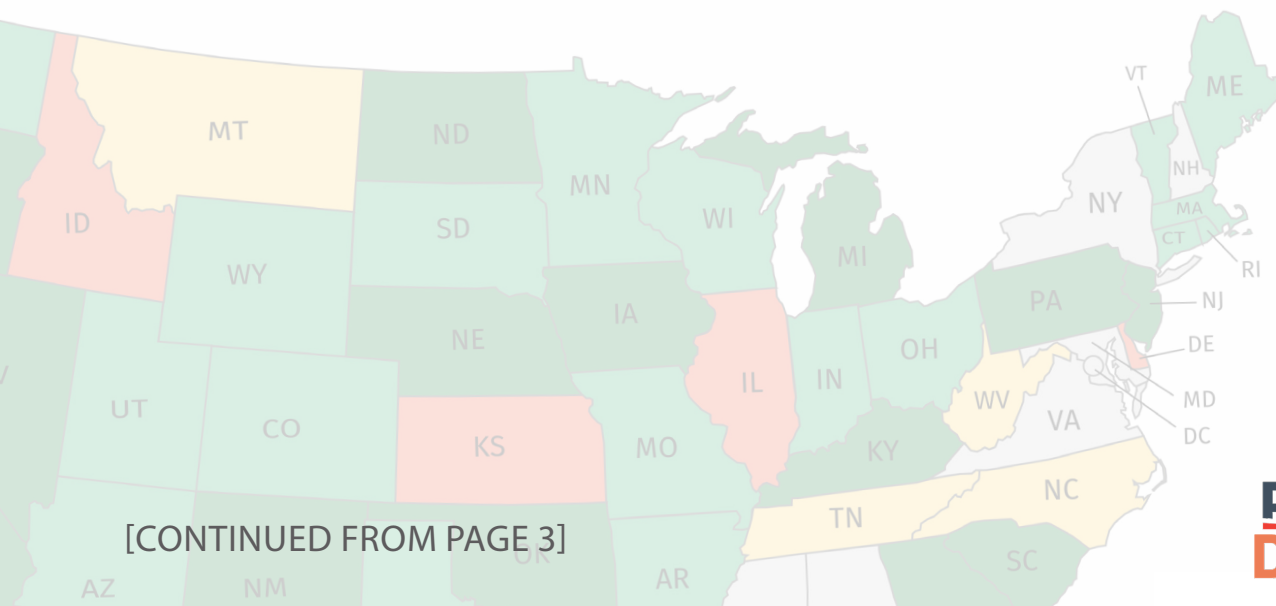## CANDIDATE RACE & GENDER BY PARTY 2014 & 2018

2014

2018

74%
72%

9%

11%

16%

13%

2%
3%

**ALL PARTY
CANDIDATES**

white men
men of color
white women
women of color

2014 ELECTION

74%
80%
71%
6%
21%
11%
3%
6%
12%
15%
1%

2018 ELECTION

57%
86%
73%
9%
26%
9%
3%
12%
9%
3%
14%
1%

D
R
I

D
R
I

100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%

% OF CANDIDATES

D - DEMOCRATIC
••• TOTAL WOMEN (D)

R - REPUBLICAN
••• TOTAL WOMEN (R)

I - INDEPENDENT
OR OTHER PARTY

TREND Unlike their Republican counterparts, **Democratic
gubernatorial candidates**[9] became dramatically **more reflective**.
Women candidates have increased by 67% and people of color
candidates – including 3 women of color – have tripled.

**REFLECTIVE
DEMOCRACY**
CAMPAIGN

STATE LEGISLATURE
WOMEN CANDIDATES BY STATE

Changes in Women Candidates: 2016-2018

STATE	2016 TO 2018 % CHANGE	% OF WOMEN CANDIDATES IN 2016 (LEFT) & 2018 (RIGHT)
SC	▲ 74.4%	13.3% ▶ 23.2%
KY	▲ 62.8%	19.6% ▶ 31.9%
PA	▲ 62.5%	20.0% ▶ 32.5%
CA	▲ 57.8%	22.5% ▶ 35.5%
OK	▲ 51.0%	19.8% ▶ 29.9%
OR	▲ 46.5%	29.7% ▶ 43.5%
NM	▲ 45.8%	29.7% ▶ 43.3%
NE	▲ 44.9%	22.5% ▶ 32.6%
AR	▲ 43.6%	17.2% ▶ 24.7%
ND	▲ 43.4%	25.6% ▶ 36.7%
AK	▲ 42.0%	26.9% ▶ 38.2%
MI	▲ 41.2%	26.7% ▶ 37.7%
IA	▲ 39.7%	25.7% ▶ 35.9%
GA	▲ 36.7%	27.5% ▶ 37.6%
FL	▲ 35.9%	25.9% ▶ 35.2%
NV	▲ 35.8%	33.0% ▶ 44.8%
MO	▲ 33.8%	22.2% ▶ 29.7%
TX	▲ 31.4%	22.6% ▶ 29.7%
HI	▲ 25.0%	30.4% ▶ 38.0%
WI	▲ 23.8%	24.4% ▶ 30.2%
ME	▲ 23.5%	31.1% ▶ 38.4%
NJ	▲ 20.0%	50.0% ▶ 60.0%
RI	▲ 20.0%	26.5% ▶ 31.8%
IN	▲ 19.1%	23.0% ▶ 27.4%
SD	▲ 18.5%	25.4% ▶ 30.1%
CT	▲ 16.4%	28.7% ▶ 33.4%
OH	▲ 15.7%	25.4% ▶ 29.4%
MN	▲ 11.8%	32.3% ▶ 36.1%
MA	▲ 11.7%	26.5% ▶ 29.6%
WA	▲ 7.3%	36.9% ▶ 39.6%
CO	▲ 7.1%	36.8% ▶ 39.4%
VT	▲ 6.6%	31.8% ▶ 33.9%
UT	▲ 4.4%	27.3% ▶ 28.5%
AZ	▲ 4.0%	43.0% ▶ 44.7%
WY	▲ 2.3%	26.0% ▶ 26.6%
NC	▲ 0.7%	26.8% ▶ 27.0%
MT	■ 0.0%	33.2% ▶ 33.2%
WV	■ 0.0%	17.7% ▶ 17.7%
TN	▼ -1.3%	24.0% ▶ 23.7%
DE	▼ -4.5%	28.8% ▶ 27.5%
ID	▼ -6.0%	31.5% ▶ 29.6%
IL	▼ -6.1%	41.0% ▶ 38.5%
KS	▼ -6.4%	32.7% ▶ 30.6%
AL	2016 DATA UNAVAILABLE	
MD	2016 DATA UNAVAILABLE	
LA	2018 DATA UNAVAILABLE	
MS	2018 DATA UNAVAILABLE	
NH	2018 DATA UNAVAILABLE	
NY	2018 DATA UNAVAILABLE	
VA	2018 DATA UNAVAILABLE	
DC	N/A	

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3]

REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN

METHODOLOGY

Race and gender data for 2012-2018 candidates was aggregated over four years by the Center for Technology and Civic Life (CTCL) in the following ways:

1. **Existing Research and Public Information (2014-2018)** - In cases where a candidate or official had previously self-identified by race or gender through a state- or third-party-administered interview, survey or personal statement, this information was matched to their existing record in our system and integrated into the analysis.

2. **Email and Phone Surveys (2014-2017)** - CTCL staff conducted multiple surveys, asking candidates and officials with available contact information to self-identify their race and gender.

3. **Voter File Matching (2014-2018)** - If self-identifying information was unavailable, CTCL worked with TargetSmart Communications' augmented commercial voter files. Using publicly available information from campaign finance and filing documents, candidates and elected officials were matched to their state's list of registered voters and to the enhanced TargetSmart file.

4. **Race/Gender Modeling (2014-2017)** - In states that do not track race on their voter registration form, a likely race and gender was modeled by TargetSmart for each voter based on a proprietary mix of geographic, demographic and other factors. In our test sample of nearly 1000 candidates and elected officials for whom both self-identified and modeled race were available, the modeled race was found to be accurate 95% of the time. (The gender model was accurate 99% of the time in a similarly sized sample.) While voter file matching may introduce some errors at the individual level, we have high confidence in the aggregated numbers.

5. **Longitudinal Analysis (2018)** - The number of elections and candidates varies by state and by year. To account for this variance, if candidate race and gender data were unavailable for a specific state in a specific year, that state was removed from the analysis for the relevant section. Please review the endnotes on page 11 for details on which states are included in the analyses for each section.

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1   43,051 general election candidates* were aggregated for this report, including:
- 4,902 congressional candidates from 2012, 2014, 2016 and 2018
- 382 governor candidates from 2014 and 2018
- 37,767 state legislature candidates from 2012, 2014, 2016 and 2018

2   Congressional candidate gender and race data was available for 43 states. States not included in the congressional candidate analysis are:
- AL and MD (no 2016 data available for comparison)
- LA, MS, NH, NY and VA (no 2018 general election data available as of 09/21/2018)

3   State legislature candidate gender data is more easily verifiable than race data, and was therefore available for 43 states. States not included in the state legislature candidate gender analysis are:
- AL and MD (no 2016 data available for comparison)
- LA, MS, NH, NY and VA (no 2018 data available as of 09/21/2018)

4   Given that complete demographic data for candidates is not directly tracked by most states, this intersectional analysis – unique to the Reflective Democracy Campaign – requires exceptional rigor and time. For this reason, we focused on sample of 15 states.

5   The "eight states whose officeholders best reflect America's demographics" refers to states at the top of the NRI. Eight states were included in the state legislature candidates race/gender analysis based on their high NRI rankings:
- ME, IN, IL, MN, WA, HI, IA, ND
- NH and MA are also ranked at the top, but the relevant 2018 candidate data was not available as of 09/21/2018.

6   The National Representation Index (NRI) found at: wholeads.us/national-representation-index measures political power by race and gender, comparing the demographics of a state's population to its elected officials and adjusting for level of office.

7   The "seven states at the bottom of the NRI" refers to states at the bottom of the NRI. Seven states were included in the state legislature candidates race/gender analysis based on their low NRI rankings:
- KS, SC, TX, AK, UT, MD, GA
- AZ, VA, and LA are also ranked at the bottom, but the relevant 2018 candidate data was not available as of 09/21/2018.

8   The phrases "more reflective" and "less reflective" refer to a state's candidates or elected officials more closely resembling the gender and race demographics of the population.

9   Governor candidate gender and race data was compared over two elections (2014 and 2018). 2012 and 2016 are not comparable, as different sets of states have elections in those years. Data was available for 34 states. States not included in the governor candidate analysis are:
- DE, IN, MO, MT, NC, ND, NH, UT, WA, WV (gubernatorial elections took place in 2012 and 2016)
- KY, MS, NJ, VA (gubernatorial elections take place in odd years)
- LA (2018 primary election has not occurred as of 09/21/2018)
- WY (no 2016 data available for comparison)

10   The phrase "independent and other party" refers to candidates who are not plainly identified as belonging to the Democratic or Republican party. (Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party is included in "Democratic party" data.)

11   The "top 3 most populated states" are California, Texas and Florida, as determined by U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (PEP) 2017: https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/fl,ca,tx,US/RHI825217

12   State populations and percentages of white residents for CA, TX and FL as determined by U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey (ACS) 2017: https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/fl,ca,tx,US/RHI825217

Analyses based on availability of data as of 09/21/18. May not include finalized general election candidates from all contests.

Visit wholeads.us/resources for the most up-to-date data

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