

# Keeping Up with the Congressmen: Evaluating Constituents' Awareness of Redistricting

Christopher N. Lawrence  
Department of History and Political Science  
Middle Georgia State College  
Macon, Georgia 31206  
Email: c.n.lawrence@gmail.com

Scott H. Huffmon  
Department of Political Science  
Winthrop University  
Rock Hill, South Carolina 29733  
Email: huffmons@winthrop.edu\*

April 10, 2013

## Abstract

Existing political science research suggests that citizens know little about the decennial reapportionment and redistricting processes, although they have substantial effects on their representation at the national, state, and local levels. However, much of this evidence comes from national-level surveys in which many respondents are minimally affected by redistricting, if at all, and there is no real district-level evidence from open-seat contests. We reconsider these findings using a focused telephone survey of the Myrtle Beach–Conway–Florence “Pee Dee” region of northeastern South Carolina that historically had lacked local representation but recently received a new district as a result of the decennial census. We also consider whether some groups of citizens were more likely to be conscious of redistricting’s effects on their region than others.

The effects of congressional redistricting on voters can vary dramatically in magnitude. In many cases, in states with fairly stable population trends across the state, we would expect redistricting plans to have few substantive effects on representation. In other cases, either due to political manipulation of the redistricting process or unequal population growth, the effects may be quite profound. However, most existing political science research focuses on the effects of redistricting on the *outcomes* of elections, particularly in terms of the partisan and racial identity of the candidates that are elected and the effects of redistricting on the incumbency advantage (see, for example, Overby and Cosgrove 1996; Desposato and Petrocik 2003; Grose 2005; Juenke and Preuhs 2012).

---

\*We thank Winthrop University and the West Forum on Politics and Policy for their financial support for the survey whose results are analyzed here. Any errors in the analysis or reporting of the survey results are the sole responsibility of the authors.

Instead, here we focus on its effects on constituents within the district, a relatively underexplored topic. Specifically, we consider the effects of redistricting on constituents' perceptions of their representation, with particular attention to the question of whether or not individuals are aware of redistricting's effects on them. We find, in general, that voters in the new district were only weakly—it at all—aware of both redistricting and its consequences for local representation, although the district's voters generally seem to believe the redistricting plan in question would help (or at least not harm) their representation in Congress. Finally we consider the consequences of these findings for future redistricting research.

## 1 Evidence of Redistricting and Its Consequences

The effects of redistricting on Congressional representation have long been a subject of study for political scientists. Most of this research, however, has focused on the elite-level consequences of redistricting, considering questions of how redistricting affects who is elected. For example, studies have considered the effects of redistricting on incumbents' reelection prospects (Desposato and Petrocik 2003; Hood and McKee 2008), the quality of representation broadly speaking (Yoshinaka and Murphy 2011), the policy representation of minority groups in Congress (Grose 2005; Juenke and Preuhs 2012), and the long-running debate over the merits of race-conscious redistricting as a vehicle for descriptive and substantive representation of minority interests, particularly among African-American southerners (Overby and Cosgrove 1996; Cameron, Epstein, and O'Halloran 1996; Canon 1999; Lublin 1999a, 1999b; Epstein and O'Halloran 1999).

The consequences of redistricting on voters, however, is largely unexplored, with some recent limited exceptions which examine voters' recognition of incumbent members of Congress after redistricting. McKee (2008), at the national level, examined the effects of redistricting on voter recognition and recall of their local House member in the 1992 and 2002 American National

Election Studies, finding lower recollection and knowledge of the incumbent member's identity for voters who had been drawn into an existing incumbent's district than for voters who had previously been in that incumbent's district; Hayes and McKee (2009) elaborate on this evidence using both individual data from the 1992 ANES, supplemented by an aggregate-level analysis of voter roll-off in House races in Texas at the voting precinct level that indicates that voters are less likely to participate in House contests if they have been moved into a new district. Hood and McKee (2010) find similar evidence of a lack of recognition of the incumbent's identity among the voters added to an existing district in a study of voters in Georgia's Eighth Congressional District after a legislature-initiated mid-decade redistricting that shifted Macon-based Democratic incumbent Jim Marshall into a more heavily Republican district, leading to an erosion of the incumbency advantage. In a similar vein, Winburn and Wagner (2010) find that voters who are located in a salient of a district that splits a traditional community of interest are less likely to know the identity of the candidates seeking office in their district, although they do not find statistically significant effects on participation as a result.

In this paper, instead, we consider the effects of redistricting on constituents in an open-seat election, specifically the newly-recreated 7th District of South Carolina.

## **2 The New 7th District of South Carolina**

One of the most striking features of U.S. demographics since World War II is the relatively rapid pace of population growth in, and migration to, the American South, in a reverse of the trends that held for much of the 19th and early 20th centuries. South Carolina is no exception: due to its rapid population growth over the past decade, it was one of eight states to gain additional representation in Congress as a result of the 2010 Census (Burnett 2011). The addition of a new district created a rare opportunity for the legislature to create an open seat that would favor

certain candidates over others. While the South Carolina legislature and various political figures and interest groups considered a number of possible approaches to redistricting, including either the potential creation of a second majority-minority district (in addition to the existing 6th District represented by longtime incumbent James “Jim” Clyburn) or centering a new district on Hilton Head Island in Beaufort County on the southern coast of the state, ultimately the legislature adopted a Congressional redistricting plan with the new 7th District centered in the northeastern region of the state, known locally as the “Pee Dee” region after the major river in that area.<sup>1</sup>

The Pee Dee region’s population is mostly concentrated in the coastal areas, most notably in Horry County, the home of Myrtle Beach, Conway (the county seat), and numerous unincorporated communities that form the “Grand Strand” along with less populous Georgetown County to the southwest. The other counties in the new district include Chesterfield, Darlington, Dillon, Marion, and Marlboro counties, along with most of Florence County. In recent decades, this region of the state was divided between congressional districts centered on urban areas in other regions of the state, including Charleston, Columbia (Richland County), and the Charlotte suburbs of Fort Mill and Rock Hill (located in York County), potentially diluting the common community of interest in the region; for example, see Figure 1 for the district configuration prior to the 2010 redistricting cycle.

This lack of local representation would no longer be the case; the 2010 redistricting plan, shown in Figure 2, virtually ensured the election of a representative who called the Pee Dee region home. The open-seat contest attracted a wide field of candidates in the Democratic and Republican primaries; the contests became even more wide-open after frontrunners Ted Vick (a Democrat from Chesterfield) and Thad Viers (a Republican from Myrtle Beach), who were both

---

1. For more background on the 2010 redistricting cycle in South Carolina, see Lawrence and Huffmon (2013).

serving at the time in the South Carolina House of Representatives, both dropped out of the election due to legal problems (Vick was arrested on DUI charges in May, while Viers was indicted on stalking and harassment charges in March).

After the first primary round, college professor and businesswoman Gloria Bromell Tinubu, a relative unknown in the state (despite her past political activity in Georgia), and attorney Preston Brittain faced off in a run-off election after leading a Democratic primary field of five candidates, while Republicans André Bauer (a former lieutenant governor, from Charleston) and Tom Rice (then the chairman of the Horry County Council) won the right to a run-off primary after leading a field of nine contenders.<sup>2</sup> Rice prevailed in the Republican runoff over Bauer, while Bromell Tinubu defeated Brittain despite the latter's endorsements by leading South Carolina Democrats. In the November 2012 general election, Rice ultimately prevailed over Bromell Tinubu, garnering 55.6% of the vote (South Carolina State Election Commission 2012).<sup>3</sup>

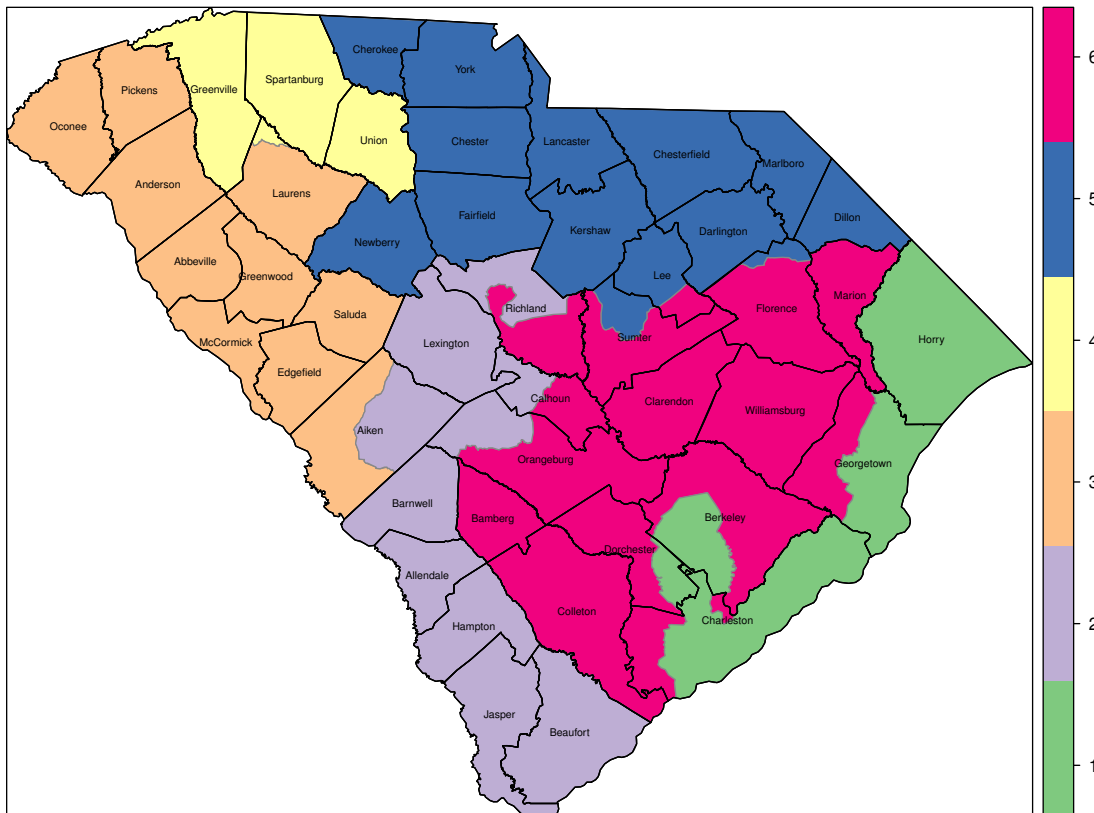
While the redistricting process was, of course, a prominent part of the state legislature's business during its 2011 session, and thus we would expect political elites and highly-engaged citizens to be aware of the redistricting, it is not obvious that the general public in the newly-formed district would necessarily become aware of the effects of the plan. Due to the two-step flow of political information (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 1944; Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955 (2006); Katz 1957) we might expect this information to "trickle down" to the mass public over time, particularly as the result of the campaigns to fill the seat in 2012. We would also expect citizens with greater political awareness and engagement in general to be more likely to be aware of the impact of redistricting on the region.

---

2. Only three of the other twelve potential primary races in the state were even contested in 2012.

3. South Carolina's small Working Families Party also nominated Democratic nominee Bromell Tinubu in the general election; the state is one of the few that continues to permit electoral fusion. None of the state's minor parties nominated Rice.

Figure 1: South Carolina districts prior to 2010 redistricting.



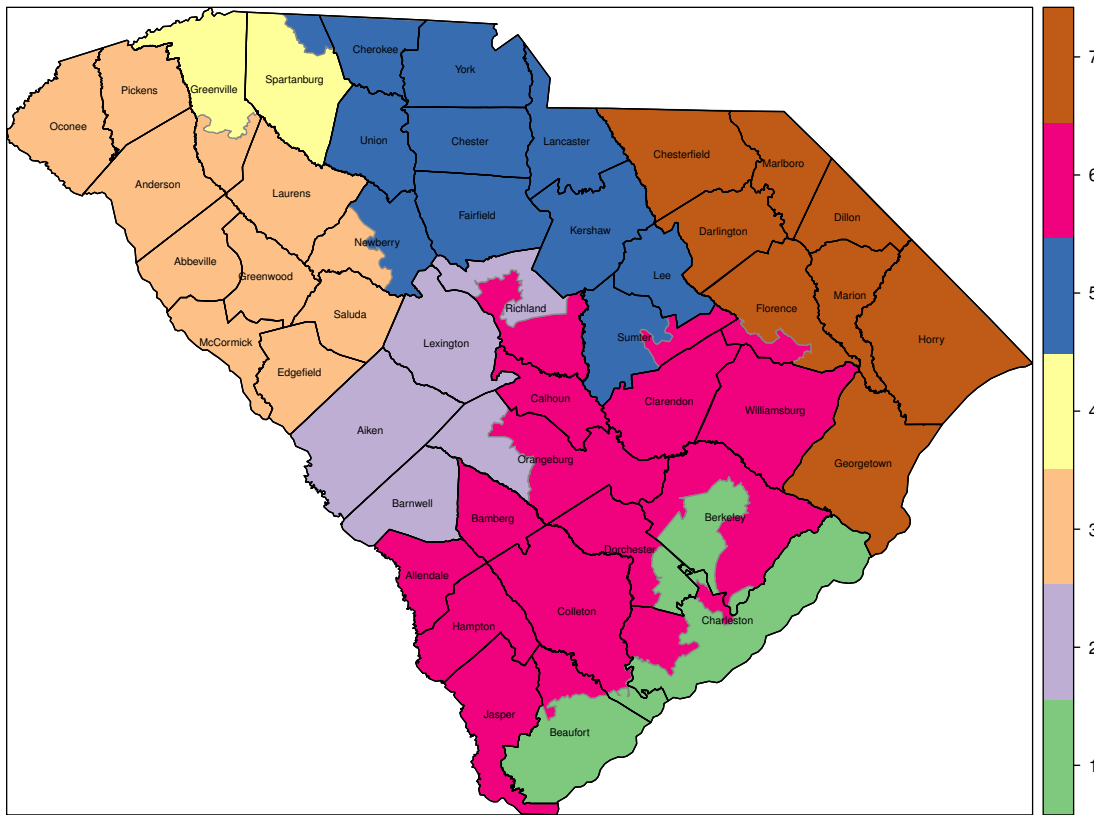
Data source: South Carolina House of Representatives.

### 3 Data and Methods

To consider these questions, we examined data collected as part of the October 2012 Winthrop Poll, part of an ongoing series of polls on national, regional, and state politics and policy conducted by the Social and Behavioral Sciences Laboratory at Winthrop University in Rock Hill, South Carolina. This particular poll was a telephone survey of 981 registered voters residing in the new 7th District of South Carolina; respondents were randomly selected from lists of registered voters from the counties in the district, supplemented by random digit dialing landline and wireless samples screened for registered voters. The survey was conducted September 23–30, 2012.<sup>4</sup>

4. Further details on the methodology of the study can be found at <http://www.winthrop.edu/uploadedFiles/wupoll/Oct2012WinthropPollMethodology.pdf>.

Figure 2: South Carolina districts since 2010 redistricting.



Data source: South Carolina House of Representatives.

Respondents were asked to respond to questions on contemporary political concerns and public policy issues facing the United States, South Carolina, and the Grand Strand and Pee Dee regions of the state. Questions were also included regarding the awareness of the effects of redistricting on the area covered by the newly-formed 7th District.

To consider the research questions at hand, we mostly rely on descriptive data analysis of the survey responses, supplemented by binary logistic regression models estimated in R version 2.15, supplemented by the `memisc` package (R Development Core Team 2013; Elff 2013). We incorporate respondent weights based on respondents' genders, ages, and racial self-identification to ensure reported statistics are representative of the demographic profile of the adult registered voter population of the district.

	Counts	Percent
Aware and KNEW lived in	398.1	38.9
Aware, NOT SURE if lived in	186.9	18.2
Aware, did NOT think lived in	85.8	8.4
Not Aware	337.6	33.0
Refused	15.9	1.6

Table 1: Awareness of being placed in new district, all respondents.

## 4 Findings

### 4.1 Awareness of the new 7th District and its area

In general, awareness of the new district among voters, even a few weeks before the general election in the midst of a competitive, open-seat election contest, appears to have been quite low. In Table 1, we find that approximately 65 percent of the respondents were aware of the redistricting process itself, although only around 39 percent of respondents report knowing they were in the new district prior to the interview.

To see if there were systematic differences in awareness of being placed in the new district, we constructed two multivariate logistic regression models of whether or not respondents knew they were in the new district. We examined whether respondents' objective political knowledge, awareness of political events, formal education, age, gender, income, and race affected knowledge of the new district, along with incorporating the interviewer's evaluation of the respondent's level of political knowledge; for details on the measures, see the appendix.<sup>5</sup> In the first model, respondents were coded as knowing that they were in the new district only if they expressed certainty that they had been placed there; in the second model, we examined whether respondents knew whether a district had been created at all (regardless of whether or not they believed they were in it). The results of these models are presented in Table 2.

5. We include two measures of political knowledge because the objective knowledge items did not produce as much variation across respondents as we might have liked; the modal and median respondents were unable to answer any of the four items we used correctly. The two measures are correlated using Kendall's tau at 0.281 ( $p < .001$ ).



	Knew was in district	Knew district existed
(Intercept)	-4.843*** (0.559)	-3.382*** (0.523)
Knowledge items	0.357*** (0.103)	0.314* (0.133)
Education	0.137* (0.065)	0.252*** (0.070)
Political awareness	0.268* (0.121)	0.420*** (0.108)
Age	0.016** (0.006)	0.008 (0.006)
Female (1/0)	-0.197 (0.169)	0.015 (0.179)
Black (1/0)	0.136 (0.205)	-0.319 (0.196)
Iwr eval of knowledge	0.421*** (0.079)	0.388*** (0.083)
Income	0.141*** (0.039)	0.108** (0.042)
Aldrich-Nelson R-sq.	0.182	0.193
Likelihood-ratio	171.807***	183.896***
Log-likelihood	-485.630	-438.858
N	771	771
ePCP	61.5%	66.7%
ePRE	20.9%	22.5%

Table 2: Logit models of awareness of the new district.

- Entries are probability-weighted binary logit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.
- All significance tests are two-tailed; † :  $p \leq .10$ ; \*  $\leq .05$ ; \*\*  $\leq .01$ , \*\*\*  $\leq .001$ .

As we can see from the table, respondents with greater political knowledge and awareness were more likely to know they were in the new district, as were respondents with higher formal education, respondents with greater incomes, and respondents evaluated by the interviewer as having greater political knowledge. Older respondents, all things being equal, appear more likely to have been aware of being in the new district but age does not seem to have an independent effect on awareness of the new district itself. Race and gender did not appear to have statistically significant effects.

We also considered whether or not respondents were aware of the geographical configuration of the new district. The survey included three questions asking respondents whether or not particular counties were included in the new district: Georgetown County, York County, and Sumter County. Of these counties, only Georgetown County is actually part of the new 7th district. The responses to these questions are in Table 3. While pluralities of respondents who did venture a response did offer the correct answer in all three cases, these were outnumbered by the respondents who indicated they did not know or were unsure whether these counties were in the new district.

Respondents living in Georgetown County did perform significantly better on the question about their county than those living in other districts; nearly 68% of respondents in that county did say Georgetown County was in the new district, as opposed to 31.4% of those living outside the county. However, this result is not particularly impressive since, in the course of the interview, a respondent in Georgetown County would have presumably surmised being in the new district, given that he or she had already been asked if they were aware they were living in it.

	Georgetown (yes)	York (no)	Sumter (no)
Yes	35.8%	21.5%	12.6%
No	12.2%	25.2%	29.4%
Not Sure/Don't Know	51.7%	53.1%	57.7%
Refused	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%

Table 3: Is the specified county in new district? (Correct answer in headings.)

	Counts	Percent
Better	319.8	31.2
Worse	40.6	4.0
No Difference	508.0	49.6
Not Sure	150.5	14.7
Refused to Answer	5.9	0.6

Table 4: Will your interests now be better represented in Congress?

## 4.2 Cui Bono?

One of the presumptive goals of the new 7th District was to ensure that the community of interest in the Pee Dee Region was better represented in Congress. To consider whether this goal was met by the new district, we asked respondents whether or not they believed that their interests would be represented better than in the past; the responses to this question are presented in Table 4. While around 31% of respondents did say they believed that the new district would improve their representation, a greater percentage (nearly 50%) said they believed it would not make any difference.

We constructed a multivariate logit model to try to determine what factors, if any, led to respondents believing the redistricting plan would be beneficial to their representation in Congress; this model is presented in Table 5.

As we can see from the table, respondents with greater political knowledge and awareness believed the district would improve their representation, as did Republican identifiers. We also found that residents of the two coastal counties (Georgetown and Horry) believed that the new

(Intercept)	-2.358*** (0.521)
Knowledge items	0.363*** (0.096)
Education	-0.050 (0.064)
Political awareness	0.351** (0.121)
Age	-0.006 (0.005)
Female (1/0)	0.067 (0.164)
Black (1/0)	0.535* (0.236)
Ivr eval of knowledge	0.099 (0.074)
Income	0.030 (0.039)
Coastal county (Georgetown/Horry)	0.313† (0.170)
Republican identifier/leaner	0.439* (0.203)
Aldrich-Nelson R-sq.	0.060
Likelihood-ratio	47.837***
Log-likelihood	-511.229
N	750
ePCP	58.0%
ePRE	5.0%

Table 5: Logit model: Expect better representation in the new district?

- Entries are probability-weighted binary logit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.
- All significance tests are two-tailed; † :  $p \leq .10$ ; \*  $\leq .05$ ; \*\*  $\leq .01$ , \*\*\*  $\leq .001$ .

district would enhance their representation more than those in the inland counties of the district (although this finding is only significant at the 90% confidence level). The respondent's level of education, age, gender, or income did not have substantial effects on their expectation of better representation; nor did the interviewer's evaluation of the respondent's level of knowledge.

Somewhat surprisingly, black respondents were more likely than non-blacks to believe that they would have better representation in the new district as well; perhaps this belief reflected the fact the new district was a minority influence district. However, many of the district's African Americans, residing in Florence, Georgetown, and Marion counties, were previously part of the majority-black 6th District, represented by Jim Clyburn. It is possible that African American respondents believed that a local representative, regardless of his or her race, would better represent them than Clyburn, who resides in Columbia and whose constituency sprawled across much of the south-central cotton belt of the state and black neighborhoods of Charleston. It is also possible that black voters in the district believed that Bromell Tinubu had a good chance of winning the election in November, despite the district's white majority.

We also considered whether it was perceived that elected officials would pay disproportionate attention to only part of the district. Potentially these concerns may have been magnified by the field of candidates in the general election; both major-party run-off winners, Democrat Gloria Bromell Tinubu and Republican Tom Rice, were residents of and otherwise associated with Horry County, the most populous county in the district. Residents of cities and counties in the backcountry region of the district might well have been concerned that the interests of the coast might have received disproportionate influence.

Respondents were also asked to identify which, if any, portions of the district would be favored in the new district; these findings are presented in Table 6. While 47% of respondents did not believe any part of the district would benefit more than others, approximately 22% of

	Counts	Percent
None	473.7	47.1
Horry County / Coast / Myrtle Beach	217.6	21.7
Other	198.8	19.8
Refused	116.2	11.5

Table 6: What part (if any) of district will benefit more?

respondents suggested that Horry County, its principal city Myrtle Beach, or the beach region would benefit more than the rest of the district.<sup>6</sup>

### 4.3 Voting in the new district

The new district’s population had a black voting age population (BVAP) comprising approximately 27.6% of the district’s total voting age population (Lawrence and Huffmon 2013). Accordingly, the district was a potential minority influence district, although given the increasingly Republican leanings of white voters both across the south and within South Carolina more specifically, the chances of a Democrat (white or African-American) being elected from the district were rather slim. However, longtime incumbent Democrat John Spratt, a white Democrat from the northern portion of the state whose district included parts of the new 7th District and whose district had a similar BVAP, had been successful in holding his seat despite an increasingly Republican electorate until his defeat at the 2010 midterm elections.

Given the presence of an African-American Democrat (Bromell Tinubu) and a white Republican (Rice) on the general election ballot, we might reasonably expect both partisan and racial polarization in respondents’ potential vote choices. According to the survey, 56.2% of registered voters who expressed a preference or voting intention planned to vote for, or leaned toward, Rice, while 43.8% expressed a preference for Bromell Tinubu.<sup>7</sup> Respondents’ voting

6. The “other” responses were also recorded by the interviewers; many of these responses referred to counties or regions that were not part of the district, including the most common response, “Columbia.”

7. According to the certified November 2012 election results from the South Carolina State Election Commission, Rice received 55.6% of the vote, while Bromell Tinubu received 44.4% of the vote (41.6% on the Democratic line,

	Blacks	Non-Blacks
Bromell Tinubu (D)	96.6%	21.0%
Rice (R)	3.4%	79.0%

Table 7: Expected vote, including leaners: by race.

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Bromell Tinubu (D)	94.3%	21.0%	2.8%
Rice (R)	5.7%	79.0%	97.2%

Table 8: Expected vote, including leaners: by party identification.

intention by race is presented in Table 7; not surprisingly, Bromell Tinubu received overwhelming support from African Americans, while the vast majority of non-black registered voters supported Rice. Given the BVAP of the district, even though the district was potentially a minority-influence district, Bromell Tinubu (or another Democrat) would have needed much more than 21% of the non-black vote to win the general election. Similar stark contrasts can be seen in Table 8, where we can see Democrats overwhelmingly supported Bromell Tinubu and Republicans showed similarly lopsided support for Rice.

To examine what other factors (if any) made a substantial difference in expected vote choice, we constructed a logit model of expected votes in the 2012 general election. In addition to race and party identification, we also included controls for other demographic factors (education, age, income, gender, and marital status), and also included a measure of the respondent’s ideology. The multivariate model is presented in Table 9.

Not surprisingly, given the bivariate relationships previously discussed, race and party identification did have substantial, statistically-significant effects on the expected voting behavior of respondents. We also found that more conservative respondents were more likely to support the Republican nominee Rice, as were respondents who are married (suggesting the continued

2.8% on the Working Families line), excluding write-in votes (South Carolina State Election Commission 2012). Thus we can be reasonably confident the survey’s findings reflect the behavior of the November electorate.

(Intercept)	-7.054*** (1.309)
Education	0.127 (0.141)
Age	0.013 (0.012)
Female (1/0)	-0.084 (0.387)
Black (1/0)	-2.445*** (0.598)
Income	0.003 (0.098)
Party ID (7 point, D→R)	1.134*** (0.117)
Ideology (5 point, Lib→Con)	0.607** (0.212)
Married (1/0)	0.763† (0.444)
Aldrich-Nelson R-sq.	0.517
Likelihood-ratio	713.519***
Log-likelihood	-121.455
N	666
ePCP	90.8%
ePRE	81.3%

Table 9: Logit model of expected vote. 1=Republican (Rice), 0=Democrat (Bromell Tinubu).

- Entries are probability-weighted binary logit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.
- All significance tests are two-tailed; † :  $p \leq .10$ ; \*  $\leq .05$ ; \*\*  $\leq .01$ , \*\*\*  $\leq .001$ .

validity of the “marriage gap” in political behavior, as considered by Kingston and Finkel 1987, Osborn and Mendez 2011 and Wilson and Lusztig 2004), albeit only at the 90% confidence level (two-tailed). We do not, however, find any statistically-significant effects of gender, age, education, or income.

## 5 Conclusions

In this paper, we examined the effects on voters of a redistricting plan that created an open seat in a community of interest that had previously been divided between three Congressional



districts. We found that awareness of the redistricting itself was quite low, even in the midst of a competitive general election campaign. We also found that while a plurality of voters did not believe the new district would disproportionately favor the interests of certain parts of the district, and that overall voters believed that the effects of redistricting not harm their representation in Congress (with a substantial minority believing that the plan would improve their representation), there was a notable minority of voters in the district who believed that the Myrtle Beach region would receive disproportionate attention from those elected. And, while the district was demographically a potential minority-influence district, we find even the presence of an African American incumbent president at the top of the ballot—which presumably would have mobilized black voters to come to the polls—was insufficient to build a cross-racial coalition to elect an African American woman Democrat from the district.

Overall these findings further contribute to our understanding of the implications of redistricting in legislative elections. Consistent with the findings of Winburn and Wagner (2010) and Hayes and McKee (2009), the redistricting process appears to disrupt the representation of constituents by removing existing legislator-voter linkages, even though it does provide opportunities for previously-neglected communities of interest to gain effective legislative representation over the longer term. The increasing frequency of court-ordered and legislature-initiated mid-decade redistricting over the past three decades, while often motivated by reasonable desires to improve the congruence of elected officials with statewide partisan support (for example, to correct a partisan bias toward one major party in a past redistricting plan) or to ensure minorities have reasonable opportunities to elect candidates of their choice to public office, as required by the Voting Rights Act and the 14th Amendment, may have contributed to further alienation between members of Congress and their constituents, undermining support for both individual members and the institution of Congress as a whole.

These findings suggest that perhaps a loosening of the existing “one person, one vote” standard in House redistricting (which already is not strictly applied in redistricting of state and local jurisdictions) may give states a greater opportunity to keep communities of interest intact as part of redistricting plans. Another potentially fruitful approach would perhaps be to depoliticize the redistricting process by placing redistricting in the hands of independent commissions, or through the introduction of electoral systems, such as the “mixed member proportional” or “alternate member” systems used in Germany, Mexico, New Zealand, and the Scottish and Welsh legislatures, that would potentially make large-scale gerrymandering ineffective (see e.g. Nagel 1994).

Finally this paper suggests the need for longer-term study of the process by which newly-redistricted citizens become aware of their new political context; a single cross-sectional survey of a new district was insufficient to identify, for example, how citizens might be acclimatizing to their new districts over time. The increasing availability of reliable, Internet-based panels with sufficient respondents at the congressional district level may be helpful in this regard, although there are substantial obstacles, particularly in the case of rural areas with relatively high poverty rates and large minority populations, such as the district examined here, whose residents are typically underrepresented in the Internet panels of Internet-based survey houses such as Knowledge Networks and YouGov Polimetrix.

## A Independent variables used in the analysis

**Political knowledge** A four-item index constructed from whether the respondent knew the current lieutenant governor of South Carolina, the Chief Justice of the United States, the 30-year trend in violent crime rates, and the 30-year trend in teen pregnancy rates. “Don’t know” responses were coded as incorrect (Luskin and Bullock 2011).

**Interviewer measure of political knowledge** A seven-point scale of perceived political

awareness, ranging from “Extremely high” to “Extremely low.”

**Political awareness** Four-point scale based on respondent’s response to “how often would you say you follow what’s going on in government and public affairs?”: “Most of the time,” “Some of the time,” “Only now and then,” and “Hardly at all.”

**Income** Respondent’s income category (11-point scale): ‘Under \$15,000’, ‘\$15-20,000’, ‘\$20-30,000’, ‘\$30-40,000’, ‘\$40-50,000’, ‘\$50-75,000’, ‘\$75-100,000’, ‘\$100-125,000’, ‘\$125-175,000’, ‘\$175-250,000’, and ‘Over \$250,000’.

**Female** Based on interviewer’s coding of respondent’s perceived gender.

**Age** Respondent’s self-reported age at his or her last birthday.

**Black** Based on respondent’s self-reported race or ethnicity.

**Education** Respondent’s level of formal education: ‘Less than High School’, ‘High School graduate / GED’, ‘Some college’, ‘Two-year tech college grad’, ‘Four-year college degree’, or ‘Post Graduate’.

**Married** Coded 1 for respondents who reported currently being married, 0 for all other marital statuses.

**Party identification** Seven-point party identification scale, based on the conventional ANES branching questions, ranging from “Strong Democrat” (1) to “Strong Republican” (7). “Republican identifiers/leaners” include values 5–7.

**Ideology** Respondent’s ideological self-placement on a five-point scale, ranging from “Very liberal” (1) to “Very conservative” (5).

## References

- Burnett, Kirstin D. 2011. Congressional apportionment.  
<http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-08.pdf>.
- Cameron, Charles, David Epstein, and Sharyn O’Halloran. 1996. Do majority-minority districts maximize substantive black representation in congress? *American Political Science Review* 90 (4): 794–812.
- Canon, David T. 1999. *Race, redistricting, and representation: the unintended consequences of black majority districts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Desposato, Scott W., and John R. Petrocik. 2003. The variable incumbency advantage: new voters, redistricting, and the personal vote. *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (1): 18–32.
- Elff, Martin. 2013. *Memisc: tools for management of survey data, graphics, programming, statistics, and simulation*. R package version 0.96-4.  
<http://CRAN.R-project.org/package=memisc>.

- Epstein, David, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1999. A social science approach to race, redistricting, and representation. *The American Political Science Review* 93 (1): 187–91.
- Grose, Christian R. 2005. Disentangling constituency and legislator effects in legislative representation: black legislators or black districts? *Social Science Quarterly* 86 (2): 427–43.
- Hayes, Danny, and Seth C. McKee. 2009. The participatory effects of redistricting. *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (4): 1006–23.
- Hood, M. V., III, and Seth C. McKee. 2008. Gerrymandering on Georgia's mind: the effects of redistricting on vote choice in the 2006 midterm election. *Social Science Quarterly* 89 (1): 60–77.
- . 2010. Stranger danger: redistricting, incumbent recognition, and vote choice. *Social Science Quarterly* 91 (2): 344–58.
- Juenke, Eric Gonzalez, and Robert R. Preuhs. 2012. Irreplaceable legislators? Rethinking minority representatives in the new century. *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (3): 705–15.
- Katz, Elihu. 1957. The two-step flow of communication: an up-to-date report on an hypothesis. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 21 (1): 61–78.
- Katz, Elihu, and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. 1955 (2006). *Personal influence: the part played by people in the flow of mass communications*. New York: Transaction Publishers.
- Kingston, Paul William, and Steven E. Finkel. 1987. Is there a marriage gap in politics? *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 49 (1): 57–64.
- Lawrence, Christopher N., and Scott H. Huffmon. 2013. Incumbency, influence, and race: redistricting, South Carolina style. Chap. 3 in *The political battle over congressional redistricting*, ed. William J. Miller and Jeremy D. Walling. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. 1944. *The people's choice: how the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lublin, David. 1999a. Racial redistricting and African-American representation: a critique of “Do majority-minority districts maximize substantive black representation in congress?” *American Political Science Review*:183–86.
- . 1999b. *The paradox of representation: racial gerrymandering and minority interests in Congress*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Luskin, Robert C., and John G. Bullock. 2011. “don't know” means “don't know”: dk responses and the public's level of political knowledge. *The Journal of Politics* 73 (2): 547–57.
- McKee, Seth C. 2008. Redistricting and familiarity with U.S. house candidates. *American Politics Research* 36 (6): 962–79.
- Nagel, Jack H. 1994. What political scientists can learn from the 1993 electoral reform in New Zealand. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 27 (3): 525–29.
- Osborn, Tracy, and Jeanette Morehouse Mendez. 2011. Two become one? Spouses and agreement in political opinions. *American Politics Research* 39 (5): 783–803.
- Overby, L. Marvin, and Kenneth M. Cosgrove. 1996. Unintended Consequences?: Racial Redistricting and the Representation of Minority Interests. *Journal of Politics* 58:540–50.

- R Development Core Team. 2013. *R: a language and environment for statistical computing*. ISBN 3-900051-07-0. Vienna, Austria: R Foundation for Statistical Computing.  
<http://www.R-project.org/>.
- South Carolina State Election Commission. 2012. Election results.  
[http://www.scvotes.org/2010/09/08/election\\_results](http://www.scvotes.org/2010/09/08/election_results).
- Wilson, J. Matthew, and Michael Lusztig. 2004. The spouse in the house: what explains the marriage gap in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37 (4): 979–95.
- Winburn, Jonathan, and Michael W. Wagner. 2010. Carving voters out: redistricting’s influence on political information, turnout, and voting behavior. *Political Research Quarterly* 63 (2): 373–86.
- Yoshinaka, Antoine, and Chad Murphy. 2011. The paradox of redistricting: how partisan mapmakers foster competition but disrupt representation. *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (2): 435–47.