Rejoinder

Malcolm E. Jewell, *University of Kentucky*
David A. Breaux, *Mississippi State University*

Krassa and Combs raise some questions about our analysis of the effects of districting on Republican representation in southern legislatures. They point out that one of the consequences of changes in the districting system may be to affect turnout, particularly if the new districts reduce the minority party's chances of winning a seat. This is obviously true, and it is worth emphasizing. A related point, which we have made, is the difficulty of measuring turnout accurately in those free-for-all multimember districts where one party runs less than a complete slate of candidates. The problem is that we do not know how many voters cast all the votes they are entitled to.

Krassa and Combs argue that what we define as the multimember districts with positions should be defined and coded as one form of single-member district. Our classification of these as positional multimember districts is the conventional one that has been used by other political scientists writing about districts.

Positional multimember districts are similar to free-for-all multimember districts (and unlike single-member districts) in at least two important respects: voters in such a district are able to vote for more than one legislative candidate, and minority groups or partisans that are geographically concentrated have less chance to elect one of their own than if the district were divided into single-member districts. Of course, minorities are disadvantaged in either a single- or multimember winner-take-all district compared to any proportional representation districting system.

There are important differences between the positional and the free-for-all multimember districts, as we have emphasized. Minority parties may follow different recruiting strategies, and voters may follow different voting patterns, in the two types of districts. Little research has been done on these differences. We have also noted that there is no perfect method of calculating the party vote in free-for-all races. Partly because of these difficulties,

MALCOLM E. JEWELL is Professor Emeritus at the University of Kentucky.
DAVID A. BREAUX is Associate Professor of Political Science at Mississippi State University.

we do not have any good explanation for the finding that the ratio of Republican seats to votes is lower in positional than in free-for-all multimember districts.

The 1994 elections show how important it is for political scientists to understand as fully as possible the reasons for state-by-state variations in the success of Republican state legislative candidates. Our paper shows how that success in the recent past has been affected by differences in districting systems, and also illustrates the difficulties of calculating those effects precisely.

Charles Bullock's paper provides impressive evidence of how Republican gains can be affected by the creation of majority minority districts—development that we need to watch closely in the immediate future. The paper also suggests how important it is to gather more detailed information on the racial and partisan aspects of redrawing district lines.

The way district lines are drawn, like the choice of districting systems, has implications for the recruiting and campaign strategies of southern Republican parties. We need to learn as much as possible about how many Republican legislative candidates are running and how many are chosen in competitive primaries. We need information on how much effort local, state, and national Republican parties make to recruit candidates and how they determine recruting priorities.

For many years we have been noting how slowly the Republican parties in most states have been to achieve state legislative successes comparable to those won at the presidential, congressional, and statewide levels. Now that the Republicans have made substantial legislative gains, and won majorities in several chambers, we have an opportunity to study this new phenomenon in greater detail. We should not miss the opportunity.