

# Gerrymandering in the Laboratory

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## Abstract

Gerrymandering, the act of drawing political boundaries for electoral advantage, remains a hot button political topic. Previous theoretical work has treated gerrymandering as a one-stage strategic game against nature, but this paper treats drawing districts as the first stage in a two stage game in which the two parties compete within districts for undecided voters. In a controlled laboratory experiment, subjects overwhelmingly engage in gerrymandering, which is optimal in terms of maximizing the probability of winning a majority of the districts and maximizing the expected payoff of the party drawing the districts. Engaging in gerrymandering occurs despite the fact that subjects report being opposed to the practice and regardless of their own political views. However, when forced to select the electoral map behind a veil of ignorance, our subjects indicate a clear preference for fair maps although not the theoretically socially efficient map. Additionally, consistent with past Tullock contest experiments, the subjects overspend at the second stage although average spending across electoral maps is largely consistent with the theoretical comparative static predictions.

## 1 Introduction

Gerrymandering is the act of strategically determining the boundaries of an electoral district in an attempt to influence the outcome of an election. The term was introduced in 1812 to criticise Massachusetts Governor Elbridge Gerry, who authorized a state senate district thought by some to resemble a salamander. Today, gerrymandering is perhaps most associated with the United States House of Representatives with districts known as the earmuffs (Illinois' 4<sup>th</sup> District), the duck (Ohio's 4<sup>th</sup> District), and Goofy kicking Donald (Pennsylvania's 7<sup>th</sup> District) all based on their geographic shape. Redrawing Congressional districts has become a data science driven endeavor (Newkirk 2017), so it is little wonder that the practice continues to receive considerable political attention. For example, in September 2021 Democrats in Indiana accused Republican lawmakers of cracking apart democratic voters in the state to create districts that favor Republicans. That same month, Oregon's state legislature put forward a plan that Republicans claim favors Democrats in five of the state's six Congressional

districts. Also in September 2021, a case was filed in federal court claiming that Alabama’s congressional districts are racially motivated and pack many black voters into one district to minimize the impact of that community in other districts. Concern with gerrymandering has led some states to form non-partisan groups to draw Congressional Districts; in September 2021, Michigan’s Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission provided a draft map of its proposed districts. However, in the 2019 case *Rucho, et al v. Common Cause*, the United States Supreme Court ruled that claims of partisan gerrymandering are not justiciable leaving the practice in play.<sup>1</sup>

Previous economic research on gerrymandering has primarily fallen into two categories. The first examines the effects of redistricting on voter participation (Hayes and McKee 2009), policy choices (Shots 2002, Besley and Preston 2007), and polarization (McCarty, et al. 2009). The second category focuses on gerrymandering as a strategic problem (from the perspective of the gerrymanderer). Owen and Grofman (1988) introduce a model where the party drawing districts has an aggregate level of support but can partition that support among a fixed number of districts. They show that a gerrymanderer who wishes to either maximize the expected number of districts won or to maximize the chance of winning a majority of districts should pack rival’s supporters into some districts and fragment own supporters across the other districts. Known as packing and cracking, respectively, these two strategies have become a cornerstone of partisans seeking to gain a political advantage. Gilligan and Matsusaka (1999) consider a setting in which the preferences of each voter are observable and show that constructing districts that maximize homogeneity within districts can effectively eliminate bias whereas randomly generated districts will not eliminate bias in general. More recent work by Friedman and Holden (2008), Gul and Pseendorfer (2010) and Kolotilin and Wolitzky (2020) has focused on voters with unobservable types.

Our paper contributes to the strategic gerrymandering literature in two ways. First, the prior papers in this area have treated districting as a one stage game against nature, whereas in practice districting is only the first stage in a two stage game against another party. Therefore, we combine the notion of districting with a second stage Tullock style electoral competition within each district. Specifically, we assume that there are two types of voters: partisan voters who will vote for their favored party and undecided voters who can be influenced by the campaign efforts of the candidates. In our setting, optimal gerrymandering involves packing (rival partisans) and cracking (own partisans and undecided voters). Theoretically, gerrymandering yields a higher expected payoff and a greater probability of winning than the other possible ways district maps could be drawn. Second, we conduct a controlled laboratory experiment to examine not only what districts are chosen, but also how people compete in those districts. We find that conditional on the electoral map, subjects tend to overspend relative to the theoretical predictions, but spending across electoral maps

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<sup>1</sup>Cases involving racial discrimination, such as that alleged against the State of Alabama, can be reviewed by the courts and are subject to the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

is largely consistent with the predicted comparative statics of the model. Additionally, we find that subjects overwhelmingly engage in self-interested gerrymandering when given the opportunity to do so and this pattern holds regardless of the subjects own political leanings. This pattern also holds despite the nearly unanimous claim among the subjects that they do not support gerrymandering. However, when our subjects are forced to draw electoral boundaries behind a veil of ignorance, they are far more likely to choose an unbiased map although not the one that theoretically yields the greatest expected profit.

## 2 Theory

We consider an election game with two players (A and B) and 9 zones arranged in a 3x3 grid. The players compete for a fixed prize,  $V$ . To win the prize, a player must win at least two of the three districts. For simplicity we refer to the districts as (W)hite, (L)ight Gray, and Dark (G)Gray. Each district is comprised of 3 zones and to win a district a player must claim at least two of the three zones in the district. The players represent political parties competing for majority control of a representative legislature and the zones represent individual voters. To capture the notion that some voters are party loyalists while others are influenced by political campaign, some zones are preassigned to a specific player while other zones are not. We assume that one-third of zones are preassigned to A, one-third are preassigned to B, and one third are not preassigned. We refer to a specific assignment of the 9 zones to three equally sized districts as a map. Figure 1 shows five distinct maps. Any other map that could be constructed with three zones of three districts each where one third of the zones are not preassigned and the other districts are equally split between the two players is strategically equivalent to one of these five maps.

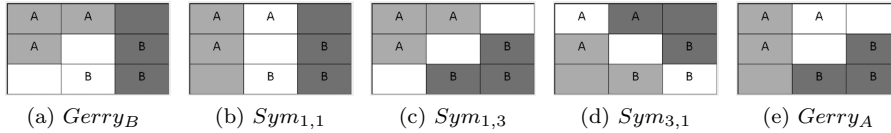


Figure 1: Map Structures

The players compete via simultaneous independent Tullock contests for each non-preassigned zone; however, investment decisions are made at the district level reflecting the practical reality of electioneering. Specifically, given Map  $M$ , Player  $i \in \{A, B\}$  selects an expenditure triple  $(e_{i,W|M}, e_{i,L|M}, e_{i,G|M})$  where  $e_{i,d|M}$  denotes the player's investment in district  $d \in \{W, L, G\}$ . When there is no ambiguity with regard to the map being referenced, we drop  $|M$  from the notation. The probability that player  $i$  wins a non-preassigned zone in district  $d$  of map  $M$  is  $\frac{(e_{i,d|M})}{(e_{i,d|M}) + (e_{j,d|M})}$  with  $i \neq j$ . Player  $i$ 's expected payoff is  $E\pi_i = \rho_i V - \sum_d e_{i,d|M}$  where  $\rho_i$  is the probability that player  $i$  claims a

majority of the zones in a majority of the districts given the choices of both players.

We now consider each Map shown in Figure 1. Three of these maps are symmetric in the sense that the objective function of the two players are symmetric and the resulting equilibrium strategy is symmetric. We refer to these the maps as  $Sym_{D,Z}$  as there are  $D$  districts in the map that either player could win and there are  $Z$  zones in each of those competitive districts that are not preassigned. For example, in  $Sym_{1,1}$  there is only one district that is competitive and there is a single zone in that district that is in play. The other two districts each have 2 zones preassigned to a single player and thus that player is guaranteed to win those districts. Specifically, player  $A(B)$  is guaranteed to win district  $L(G)$ . Therefore  $e_{A,L}^* = e_{B,L}^* = e_{A,G}^* = e_{B,G}^* = 0$  as expenditures in these districts cannot influence which player wins those districts. For  $Sym_{1,1}$ , whichever player claims the non-preassigned zone in district  $W$  wins the map. Thus,  $\rho_i = \frac{e_{i,W}}{(e_{i,W} + e_{j,W})}$  for  $Sym_{1,1}$  and the competition reduces to a standard Tullock contest with the optimal expenditure from both players being  $e_{A,W}^* = e_{B,W}^* = \frac{V}{4}$ , giving each player a 50% chance of winning and an expected profit of  $\frac{V}{4}$ .

In  $Sym_{3,1}$ , no player has a guaranteed victory in any district. Further, because each player has one preassigned zone in each district the player who wins the non-preassigned zone in a district will win that district. Thus, the two parties are playing a simultaneous best of three Tullock contest, where each contest is independent. For  $Sym_{3,1}$ ,

$$\rho_i = \frac{e_{i,W}}{e_{i,W} + e_{j,W}} \frac{e_{i,L}}{e_{i,L} + e_{j,L}} \frac{e_{i,G}}{e_{i,G} + e_{j,G}} + \frac{e_{i,W}}{e_{i,W} + e_{j,W}} \frac{e_{i,L}}{e_{i,L} + e_{j,L}} \frac{e_{j,G}}{e_{i,G} + e_{j,G}} + \frac{e_{i,W}}{e_{i,W} + e_{j,W}} \frac{e_{j,L}}{e_{i,L} + e_{j,L}} \frac{e_{i,G}}{e_{i,G} + e_{j,G}} + \frac{e_{i,W}}{e_{i,W} + e_{j,W}} \frac{e_{j,L}}{e_{i,L} + e_{j,L}} \frac{e_{j,G}}{e_{i,G} + e_{j,G}} \quad (1)$$

The equilibrium investment for each district for Player  $i$  is  $(e_{i,W}^*, e_{i,L}^*, e_{i,G}^*) = (\frac{V}{8}, \frac{V}{8}, \frac{V}{8})$ . Each player wins with a 50% chance and has an expected profit of  $\frac{V}{8}$ .

In  $Sym_{1,3}$ , Player  $A(B)$  is guaranteed to win district  $L(G)$  and thus both players should spend zero in these two districts. District  $W$  has three zones that are in play and whichever player wins at least two of those zones will win the overall contest. Again, the contest reduces to a best of three competition, but for this map both players are constrained to make a single investment that applies to all three competitive zones. Thus, for  $Sym_{1,3}$

$$\rho_i = \left( \frac{e_{i,W}}{e_{i,W} + e_{j,W}} \right)^3 + 3 \frac{e_{i,W}^2 e_{j,W}}{(e_{i,W} + e_{j,W})^3} \quad (2)$$

The equilibrium investment for District  $W$  for player  $i$  is  $e_{i,W}^* = \frac{3V}{8}$  and the expected profit is  $\frac{V}{8}$ . Thus, of the three symmetric maps  $Sym_{1,1}$  is socially optimal and yields the greatest expected profit to the players.

We now turn to the two asymmetric maps. In  $Gerry_A$ , all of the zones preassigned to Player B are packed into District G. However, the zones preassigned to Player A are cracked and split between Districts L and W in such a way that Player A is guaranteed to win District L and that Player A has a one zone advantage in District W. Because the outcomes in Districts L and G are guaranteed,  $e_{A,L}^* = e_{B,L}^* = e_{A,G}^* = e_{B,G}^* = 0$ . While either player can win the contest, Player A only needs to win one of the two non-preassigned zones in District W while Player B must win both non-preassigned zones in District W. Thus, the game effectively becomes a weak-link contest. In  $Gerry_A$ ,

$$\rho_A = 1 - \left( \frac{e_{B,W}}{e_{A,W} + e_{B,W}} \right)^2 \quad (3)$$

In equilibrium,  $e_{A,W}^* = e_{B,W}^* = \frac{V}{4}$ , giving Player A 75% chance of winning the contest and an expected profit of  $\frac{V}{2}$  while Player B has a 25% chance of winning the contest and an expected profit of 0.  $Gerry_B$  is similar to  $Gerry_A$  except that the advantage and equilibrium favor Player B.

Table 1 summarizes the equilibrium predictions for each of the 5 maps in Figure 1. From this table it is clear that Player A would prefer to compete on  $Gerry_A$  while Player B would prefer to compete on  $Gerry_B$ . That is, both players find it optimal to engage in gerrymandering if given the opportunity.

Table 1: Summary of theoretic results

	$Sym_{1,1}$	$Sym_{3,1}$	$Sym_{1,3}$	$Gerry_A$	$Gerry_B$
$(e_{A,W}^*, e_{A,L}^*, e_{A,G}^*)$	$(\frac{V}{4}, 0, 0)$	$(\frac{V}{8}, \frac{V}{8}, \frac{V}{8})$	$(\frac{3V}{8}, 0, 0)$	$(\frac{V}{4}, 0, 0)$	$(\frac{V}{4}, 0, 0)$
$(e_{B,W}^*, e_{B,L}^*, e_{B,G}^*)$	$(\frac{V}{4}, 0, 0)$	$(\frac{V}{8}, \frac{V}{8}, \frac{V}{8})$	$(\frac{3V}{8}, 0, 0)$	$(\frac{V}{4}, 0, 0)$	$(\frac{V}{4}, 0, 0)$
$\rho_A$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
$\rho_B$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
$E\pi_A$	$\frac{V}{4}$	$\frac{V}{8}$	$\frac{V}{8}$	$\frac{V}{2}$	0
$E\pi_B$	$\frac{V}{4}$	$\frac{V}{8}$	$\frac{V}{8}$	0	$\frac{V}{2}$

### 3 Experimental Design

To test the theoretical predictions developed in the previous section we conducted a controlled laboratory experiment using a within subjects design. While the choice of  $V$  is somewhat arbitrary, given the predictions in Table 1 we set  $V = 80$ . The experiment progressed in 3 main stages.

*Stage 1* consisted of ten decision periods with random and anonymous re-matching each period. Participants were informed of their role as Player A or

Player B and shown all 5 maps simultaneously. As explained to the participants, one map would be selected at random after both players made all of their decisions and it was the result for the randomly selected map that would determine the actual outcome for that period. That is, the strategy method was used so that participants had an incentive to faithfully report their preferred choices for all 3 district on all 5 maps each period. After both players made their decisions, participants received feedback that included the other player's choices, the probability they themselves would win each district, the probability they would win the map, a realization of the outcome for the map and the resulting payoff. The map that was randomly selected to determine the outcome was highlighted on the participant's screen. Figure 2 provides an example of the period end feedback.



*Stage 2* consisted of three decision periods with random and anonymous rematching each period. The only distinction between Stage 2 and Stage 1 is that in Stage 2 participants were first asked what map they would prefer to use to determine the outcome for that period. Both Player A and Player B privately indicated their preferred maps, but this information was not revealed until after the period was over. What participants did know was that the computer would randomly pick one of the maps selected by the two players. But because a player did not know which map would be selected, both players had an incentive to make choices on each map as though it would be the one that determined the outcome. The feedback received in Stage 2 was the same as the feedback received in Stage 1.

*Stage 3* consisted of a single decision period with random and anonymous rematching. The only difference between Stage 3 and Stage 2 is that a participant was asked to select the map that he or she preferred to use prior to learning if the subject would be in the role of Player A or Player B. That is, in Stage 3 each participant selected a map behind a veil of ignorance. Once both people in the contest made their selections, roles were revealed. But which map would be used that period was not revealed and thus both players again had to make choices on each map as if it were the map that would determine the outcome. The feedback received in Stage 3 was the same as the feedback received in the other two stages.

In each session, participants entered the laboratory. Each person was seated at a private workstation where they read instructions and went through several practice contests. To minimize experimenter demand effects or other implications of loaded language, no mention of elections or gerrymandering were used in the instructions or during the three stages of the experiment. Copies of the instructions are available in Appendix A. After everyone completed the initial set of instructions, Stage 1 of the study was conducted. After Stage 1 was completed, instructions regarding Stage 2 were displayed and then Stage 2 was completed. After Stage 2 was completed, instructions for Stage 3 were displayed and then Stage 3 was completed. After Stage 3 was completed, an anonymous survey that collected information about gender, political leaning, and attitude towards gerrymandering was administered. The entire experiment was programmed using ztree (Fischbacher, 2007). Once everyone in the session completed the experiment, a die was rolled in front of the participants to determine which single period from across all 3 stages would determine the participants' actual payments.

A total of 8 sessions were conducted at The University of Alabama's TIDE Lab. All of the participants were undergraduate students at that university who had registered in the lab's standing pool of volunteers. Each participant received \$5 plus their salient earnings, which averaged \$XXX. As explained to participants in the instructions, all monetary amounts in the experiment were denoted in Lab Dollars that were converted at the rate 4 Lab Dollars = 1\$US. To avoid the loss of experimenter control associated with negative earnings, each participant received an endowment of 80 Lab Dollars and was not allowed to spend more than this on any map in any period.



## 4 Results

We present the analysis separately for each stage. In our analysis, we combine data for Player A and Player B in equivalent strategic positions. That is, for  $Sym_{1,1}$ ,  $Sym_{1,3}$ , and  $Sym_{3,1}$  we combine Player A and Player B data from district  $d$  on a given map as player roles are interchangeable. For the maps with gerrymandering, we combine Player A data from District  $d$  in  $Gerry_A$  with Player B data from district  $d$  in  $Gerry_B$  and refer to this as Gerrymander-Advantaged- $d$  and we combine Player A data from District  $d$  in  $Gerry_B$  with Player B data from District  $d$  in  $Gerry_A$  and refer to this as Gerrymander-Disadvantaged- $d$ . In Appendix B we show that role labels do not impact behavior between these various strategically equivalent situations. iii This appendix should have the cdfs by player role and tests that they do not differ. It should also have information about whether map bidding differs between Stages 1 and 2.  $\lll$

### 4.1 Stage 1

Our data includes 9,600 Stage 1 decisions with 640 decisions per district. Table XXXX provides a summary of the observed behavior. Several patterns are readily apparent from this table. First, the participants are far more likely to make positive expenditures in districts where the equilibrium prediction is positive than in districts where the equilibrium prediction is zero. However, some participants do make positive expenditures in districts that have no strategic value, a common pattern in the experimental contest literature (see for example XXXX and XXXX). On the other hand, participants do not always make positive expenditures in districts when they are predicted to do so. This is most notable in  $Sym_{3,1}$ , something we return to later. Another pattern readily apparent from Table XXXX is that on average participants expend more than the predicted level. Of the seven situations in which the equilibrium expenditure is positive, the average expenditure exceeded the predicted level in each of them. This overbidding is typical in the experimental contest literature (see for XXXX for a survey). iii Here we need to work in some comparisons with prior work  $\lll$

1) Insert summary Table XXXX - see Map and District Summary Table.docx. This is similar to Table 2

Figure XXXX plots average bid by district by period. Behavior in districts with positive equilibrium expenditures is fairly stable across Stage 1. However, the amount expended in districts that have no strategic value does fall over the first part of the study. Therefore, to compare behavior across treatments we do so using all of the Stage 1 data as well as only using data from the last half of the stage. Specifically, to compare total expenditures we rely on the regression analysis in Table XXXX that includes subject fixed effects and standard errors clustered at the session level. The omitted treatment is  $Sym_{1,1}$ , which is theoretically equivalent to a standard Tullock game, and thus the coefficients for the other treatments can be viewed as deviations from that baseline.

2) we go with something like Figure ?? but lets have separate plots for each district in  $sym_{1,1}$   $sym_{1,3}$   $sym_{3,1}$   $GerryAdv$  and  $GerryDisadv$

3) we compare total expenditure by treatment and use something like Table ?? but with only the data for stage 1 (two specifications: one with periods 1-10 and one with periods 6-10).

Theoretically, both the advantaged and the disadvantaged player in a gerrymandered map should exert the same total effort as each other and that level should equal that of a player in  $Sym_{1,1}$ . The lack of significance for Advantaged in Table XXXX is consistent with the theoretical prediction. But the negative and significant coefficient for Disadvantaged is not consistent with the prediction. Further, as shown in the lower portion of Table XXXX, the coefficients on Advantaged and Disadvantaged are statistically different; contrary to the theoretical predication of equal expenditures, disadvantaged players expend less than advantaged players on average. The coefficient on  $Sym_{1,3}$  is predicted to be ten, but it is not statistically different from zero and is statistically different from ten. Thus, while  $Sym_{1,3}$  is predicted to lead to greater expenditure than  $Sym_{1,1}$ , it does not.  $Sym_{3,1}$  is also predicted to lead to an increase in expenditure relative to  $Sym_{1,1}$ , which it does as evidence by the positive and significant coefficient in Table XXXX. However, the effect is less than the predicted change of ten, as shown in the lower portion of the table. We also note that, although  $Sym_{1,3}$  and  $Sym_{3,1}$  are predicted to generate equal expenditures, they do not as shown in the lower portion of Table XXXX.

Before continuing to Stage 2, we highlight two additional patterns of behavior that we observe in our data. First, Table XXXX shows that participants are less likely to make positive expenditures in districts where the equilibrium is positive when competing on  $Sym_{3,1}$  than when competing on other maps. One difference between this maps and the others is that here players should make positive expenditures on all three districts whereas for the other maps the players should focus on a single district. Further, on  $Sym_{3,1}$  the benefit of winning a district depends on the outcome for the other districts. Deck, et al. (XXXX) report that participants in a related situation often focus on forming a minimum winning combination. In our setting, a minimum winning combination would consist of two of three districts. Further, Deck, et al. (XXXX) report that participants often make nearly equal expenditures across the components of a given minimum winning combination. Our participants exhibit similar behavior. Only three percent of the time do participants make positive expenditures in only one of three districts in  $Sym_{3,1}$ .<sup>2</sup> But in nearly one fifth of the cases participants make positive expenditures in exactly two of the districts and, as shown in the left panel of Figure ??, when they do they almost always expend the same amount in both districts. When participants make positive expenditures in all three districts in  $Sym_{3,1}$ , which occurs about three quarters of the time, behavior is split between nearly equal spending on all three districts and spending heavily on only two districts as shown in the right panel of Figure ??.

Finally, based on the average observed expenditure by the advantaged and

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<sup>2</sup>Only eight percent of the time do participants make zero expenditure on all three districts in  $Sym_{3,1}$ .

disadvantaged player as reported in Table XXX, one would expect the advantaged player to win XXXX% of the time. By comparison, gerrymandering is expected to result in the advantaged player winning the overall contest 75% of the time. But in fact we observe the advantaged player only winning 60% of the time. This is because the disadvantaged player is both more likely to have a very low expenditure and more likely to have a very large expenditure. That the distribution of expenditure by the advantaged player second order stochastically dominates the the distribution of expenditure by the disadvantaged player is shown in Figure XXXX. A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test indicates confirms that these two distributions differ (p-value = 0.XXXX).

## 4.2 Stage 2

The focus of Stage 2 is to identify what maps participants prefer.<sup>3</sup> As revealed in Figure 3 over 70% of the participants attempted to gain advantage by gerrymandering the map in their own favor. Statistically, map preferences are not random (p-value for chi-squared test  $\leq 0.0001$ ). [[[I am not sure I follow all the notes about who is included or not and when, but we need to be clear about what we do.]]]. Despite a clear willingness by most participants to engage in gerrymandering, in the post-study survey over 95% of the participants indicated they were opposed to gerrymandering. In fact, professed opposition to gerrymandering and willingness to gerrymander are independent (p-value for chi-squared test = 0.9843). The post study survey also asked participants to self-identify their political leanings on a 9-point scale from far left (= 1) to far right (= 9). Figure 4 shows both the political leanings and support for gerrymandering among those participants who did and those who did not engage in gerrymandering. From this figure there is suggestive evidence that professed opposition to gerrymandering might vary with political leanings with those on the right being relatively more supportive. However, this relationship is not significant (p-value for chi-square test = 0.1083).<sup>4</sup> What is clear from Figure 4 is that one's willingness to actually engage in gerrymandering does not depend on one's political leanings (p-value for chi-square test = 0.3106).

Figure 3 needs to be updated with Advantaged and Disadvantaged!!!!!!

## 4.3 Stage 3

Stage 3 consists of a single period and differs from Stage 2 only in that participants are asked to indicate a map preference before learning if they were going to be Player A or Player B. That is, map selection occurred behind a veil of ignorance. In a reversal from Stage 2, in Stage 3 about three-quarters of the participants indicate a preference for a symmetric map, see Figure 5. We also noted that map selection in Stage 3 is not random (p-value for chi-squared test

<sup>3</sup>Appendix B provides analysis of expenditures on maps during Stage 2. The relative patterns between maps are similar to those reported for Stage 1.

<sup>4</sup>One should be cautious in interpreting the results of this test as there are only three participants who report supporting gerrymandering.

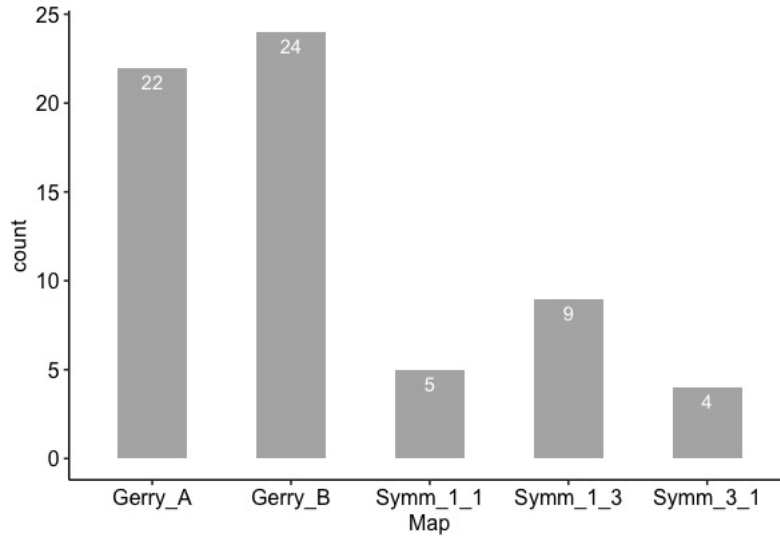


Figure 3: Modal choice of map for each participant

$= 0.0260$ ). Interestingly, the modal map preference in Stage 3 was  $Sym_{1,3}$  rather than  $Sym_{1,1}$ , which theoretically yields the largest expected payoff among the symmetric maps. However, as noted when discussing Stage 1 behavior, the total expenditures did not differ substantially between  $Sym_{1,3}$  and  $Sym_{1,1}$  making these choices empirically equally profitable. It is also worth noting that the gerrymandered maps result in lower average expenditures (see Table XXXX). Thus, given how people actually behave when competing on the various maps, empirically a gerrymandered map has the greatest expected payoff *a priori*.

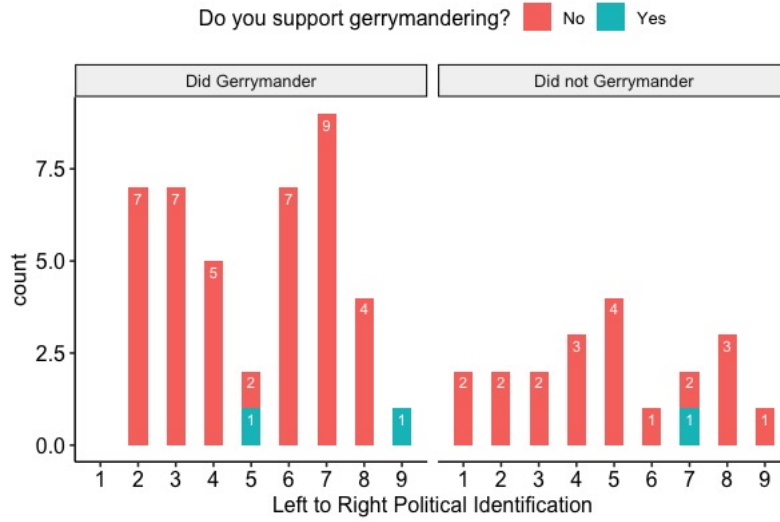


Figure 4: Political leaning and decision to gerrymander

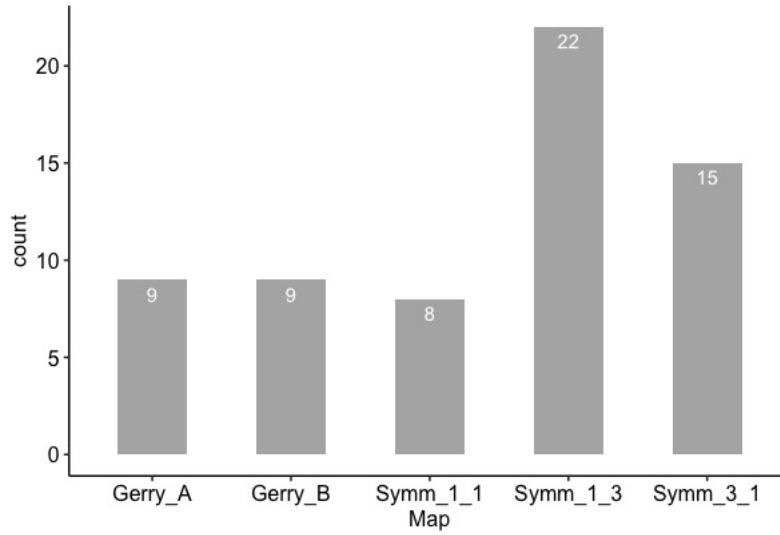


Figure 5: Modal choice of map for each participant in Stage 3

Table 2 provides the percentage of participants who bid zero in any given district, the average bid conditional on not bidding zero, and the unconditional average bid for each district.

Table 2: District Statistics

Map and District	Percent Bidding Zero	Average Positive Bid	Unconditional Average Bid
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>B</sub></i> W	6	40.05	37.73
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>B</sub></i> LG	85	17.45	2.59
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>B</sub></i> DG	77	19.84	4.59
<i>Symm<sub>1,1</sub></i> W	3	40.35	39.35
<i>Symm<sub>1,1</sub></i> LG	80	16.03	3.26
<i>Symm<sub>1,1</sub></i> DG	76	19.94	4.80
<i>Symm<sub>1,3</sub></i> W	3	44.51	43.40
<i>Symm<sub>1,3</sub></i> LG	87	14.98	1.99
<i>Symm<sub>1,3</sub></i> DG	84	21.10	3.43
<i>Symm<sub>3,1</sub></i> W	13	20.38	17.73
<i>Symm<sub>3,1</sub></i> LG	12	21.56	18.94
<i>Symm<sub>3,1</sub></i> DG	16	21.24	17.92
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>A</sub></i> W	6	39.95	37.57
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>A</sub></i> LG	80	18.32	3.75
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>A</sub></i> DG	84	20.96	3.44

Table 3 provides the percentage of participants who bid zero in any given district, the average bid conditional on not bidding zero, and the unconditional average bid for each district, but here we only look at the last half of Stage 1 (or periods 6-10)

Model 4 presents the results of

$$Bid = \alpha + \beta_1 Advantage + \beta_2 Disadvantage + \beta_3 Symm_{1,3} + \beta_4 Symm_{3,1} + \varepsilon \quad (4)$$

with subject level fixed effects and standard errors clustered at the session level. We are able to reject the null that  $Adv = Disadv$  and  $Symm_{1,3} = Symm_{3,1}$  with both p-values being less than 0.001.

Table 3: District Statistics: second half of Stage 1

Map and District	Percent Bidding Zero	Average Positive Bid	Unconditional Average Bid
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>B</sub></i> W	6	40.21	37.95
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>B</sub></i> LG	91	17.62	1.60
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>B</sub></i> DG	83	21.40	3.68
<i>Symm<sub>1,1</sub></i> W	3	41.26	40.23
<i>Symm<sub>1,1</sub></i> LG	85	15.00	2.25
<i>Symm<sub>1,1</sub></i> DG	82	20.56	3.79
<i>Symm<sub>1,3</sub></i> W	2	44.37	43.40
<i>Symm<sub>1,3</sub></i> LG	92	16.73	1.36
<i>Symm<sub>1,3</sub></i> DG	89	23.81	2.68
<i>Symm<sub>3,1</sub></i> W	12	19.99	17.68
<i>Symm<sub>3,1</sub></i> LG	13	21.14	18.36
<i>Symm<sub>3,1</sub></i> DG	18	20.63	16.89
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>A</sub></i> W	6	39.88	37.52
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>A</sub></i> LG	84	20.50	3.20
<i>Gerrymandered<sub>A</sub></i> DG	88	22.05	2.62

Table 4: Model 4 Regression Results

<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
Effort	
Adv	−1.547 (1.030)
Disadv	−4.425*** (1.030)
Symm_1_3	1.172 (1.030)
Symm_3_1	6.666*** (1.030)
Observations	1,600
R <sup>2</sup>	0.076
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.036
F Statistic	31.602*** (df = 4; 1532)
<i>Note:</i> *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

The average [total] bid by an advantaged player on a gerrymandered map in the last 5 periods of stage 1 is 44.7

The average [total] bid by a disadvantaged player on a gerrymandered map in the last 5 periods of stage 1 is 41.8

The percentage of wins by an advantaged player on a gerrymandered map for the entire stage 1 is 55%

The percentage of wins by an advantaged player on a gerrymandered map for the last 5 periods of stage 1 is 59%