

cially based gerrymandering is unconstitutional under the Fifteenth Amendment, at least when it is accomplished through the manipulation of district lines.¹⁹³⁹ Even if racial gerrymandering is intended to benefit minority voting populations, it is subject to strict scrutiny under the Equal Protection Clause if racial considerations are the dominant and controlling rationale in drawing district lines.¹⁹⁴⁰ Showing that a district's "bizarre" shape departs from traditional districting principles such as compactness, contiguity, and respect for political subdivision lines may serve to reinforce such a claim,¹⁹⁴¹ although a plurality of the Justices would not preclude the creation of "reasonably compact" majority-minority districts in order to remedy past discrimination or to comply with the requirements of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.¹⁹⁴² On the other hand, the Court appears to have more recently weakened a challenger's ability to establish equal protection claims by showing both a strong deference to a legislature's articulation of legitimate political explanations for districting decisions, and by allowing for a strong correlation between race and political affiliation.¹⁹⁴³

Partisan or "political" gerrymandering raises more difficult issues. Several lower courts ruled that the issue was beyond judicial cognizance,¹⁹⁴⁴ and the Supreme Court itself, upholding an apportionment plan frankly admitted to have been drawn with the intent to achieve a rough approximation of the statewide political strengths of the two parties, recognized the goal as legitimate and observed that, while the manipulation of apportionment and districting is not wholly immune from judicial scrutiny, "we have not ven-

¹⁹³⁹ *Gomillion v. Lightfoot*, 364 U.S. 339 (1960); *Wright v. Rockefeller*, 376 U.S. 52 (1964); *Sims v. Baggett*, 247 F. Supp. 96 (M.D. Ala. 1965) (three-judge court). *Hunt v. Cromartie*, 526 U.S. 541 (1999).

¹⁹⁴⁰ *Miller v. Johnson*, 515 U.S. 900 (1995) (drawing congressional district lines in order to comply with § 5 of the Voting Rights Act as interpreted by the Department of Justice not a compelling governmental interest).

¹⁹⁴¹ *Miller v. Johnson*, 515 U.S. 900 (1995); *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. 630 (1993). *See also* *Shaw v. Hunt*, 517 U.S. 899 (1996) (creating an unconventionally-shaped majority-minority congressional district in one portion of state in order to alleviate effect of fragmenting geographically compact minority population in another portion of state does not remedy a violation of § 2 of Voting Rights Act, and is thus not a compelling governmental interest).

¹⁹⁴² *Bush v. Vera*, 517 U.S. 952, 979 (1996) (opinion of Justice O'Connor, joined by Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justice Kennedy) (also involving congressional districts).

¹⁹⁴³ *Easley v. Cromartie*, 532 U.S. 234 (2001).

¹⁹⁴⁴ *E.g.*, *WMCA, Inc. v. Lomenzo*, 238 F. Supp. 916 (S.D.N.Y. 1965) (three-judge court), *aff'd*, 382 U.S. 4 (1965); *Sincock v. Gately*, 262 F. Supp. 739 (D. Del. 1967) (three-judge court).