

zenship and denies the franchise to others, the Court must determine whether the exclusions are *necessary* to promote a *compelling* state interest.”

“And, for these reasons, the deference usually given to the judgment of legislators does not extend to decisions concerning which resident citizens may participate in the election of legislators and other public officials. . . . [W]hen we are reviewing statutes which deny some residents the right to vote, the general presumption of constitutionality afforded state statutes and the traditional approval given state classifications if the Court can conceive of a ‘rational basis’ for the distinctions made are not applicable.”¹⁸⁷³ Using this analytical approach, the Court has established a regime of close review of a vast range of state restrictions on the eligibility to vote, on access to the ballot by candidates and parties, and on the weighing of votes cast through the devices of apportionment and districting. Changes in Court membership over the years has led to some relaxation in the application of principles, but even as the Court has drawn back in other areas it has tended to preserve, both doctrinally and in fact, the election cases.¹⁸⁷⁴

Voter Qualifications.—States may require residency as a qualification to vote, but “durational residence laws . . . are unconstitutional unless the State can demonstrate that such laws are *necessary* to promote a *compelling* governmental interest.”¹⁸⁷⁵ The Court applies “[t]his exacting test” because the right to vote is “a fundamental political right, . . . preservative of all rights,” and because a “durational residence requirement directly impinges on the exer-

¹⁸⁷³ *Kramer v. Union Free School Dist.*, 395 U.S. 621, 626–28 (1969). *See also* *Hill v. Stone*, 421 U.S. 289, 297 (1975). *But cf.* *Holt Civic Club v. City of Tuscaloosa*, 439 U.S. 60 (1978).

¹⁸⁷⁴ Thus, in *San Antonio School Dist. v. Rodriguez*, 411 U.S. 1, 34–35 nn.74 & 78 (1973), a major doctrinal effort to curb the “fundamental interest” side of the “new” equal protection, the Court acknowledged that the right to vote did not come within its prescription that rights to be deemed fundamental must be explicitly or implicitly guaranteed in the Constitution. Nonetheless, citizens have a “constitutionally protected right to participate in elections,” which is protected by the Equal Protection Clause. *Dunn v. Blumstein*, 405 U.S. 330, 336 (1972). The franchise is the guardian of all other rights. *Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 562 (1964).

¹⁸⁷⁵ *Dunn v. Blumstein*, 405 U.S. 330, 342 (1972) (internal quotation marks omitted, emphasis added by the Court) (striking down a Tennessee statute that imposed a requirement of one year in the state and three months in the county). The Court did not indicate what, if any, shorter duration it would permit, although it noted that, in the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970, 84 Stat. 316, 42 U.S.C. § 1973aa–1, “Congress outlawed State durational residence requirements for presidential and vice-presidential elections, and prohibited the States from closing registration more than 30 days before Congress prescribed a thirty-day period for purposes of voting in presidential elections.” *Id.* at 344. Note also that it does not matter whether one travels interstate or intrastate. *Hadnott v. Amos*, 320 F. Supp. 107 (M.D. Ala. 1970), *aff’d*, 405 U.S. 1035 (1972).