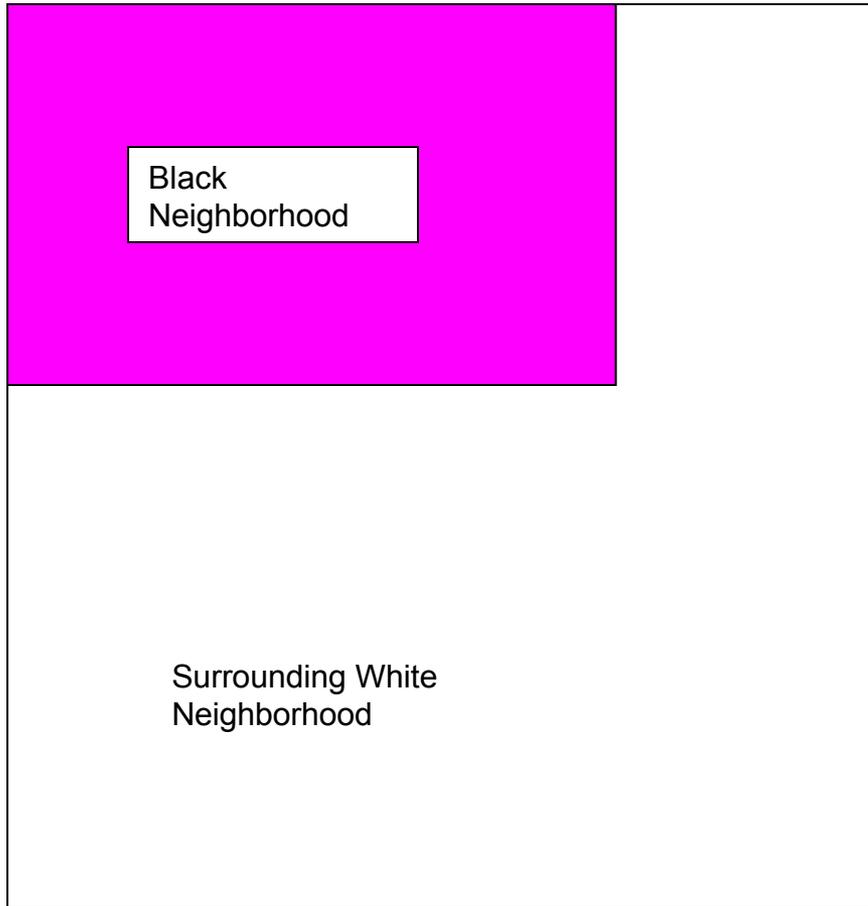
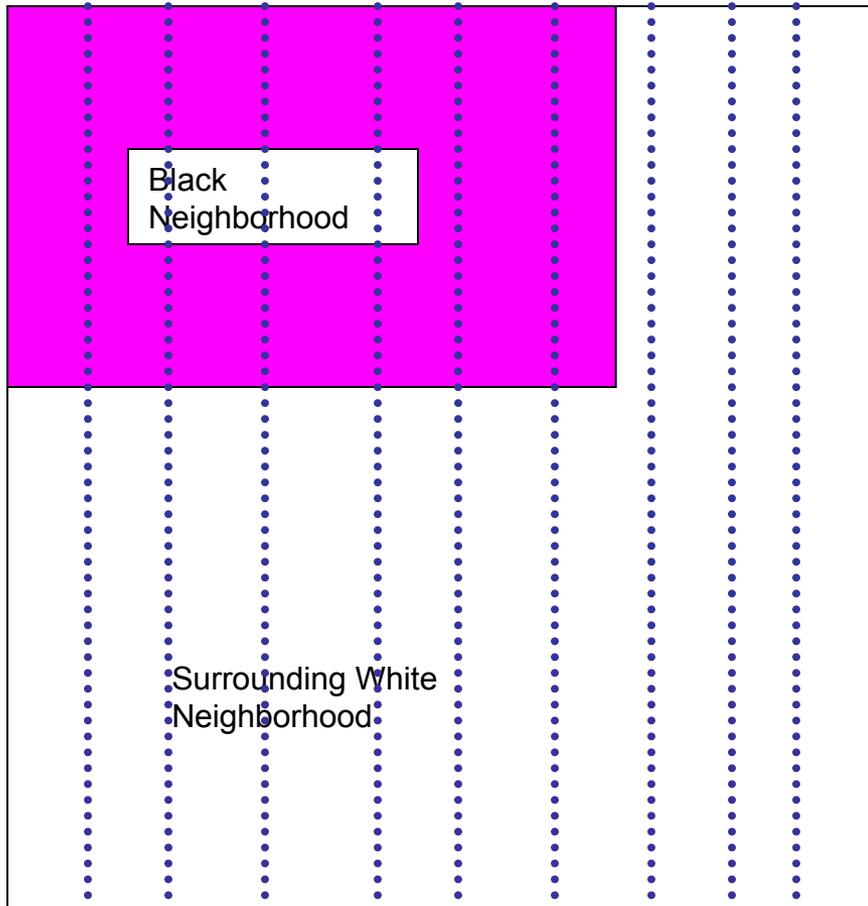


An imaginary city, with a black neighborhood at its center. Assume a high degree of residential segregation

© 2004 Michael J. Rosenfeld ■



Scenario 1: Old Fashioned gerrymandering was meant to insure that minority groups were underrepresented among elected officials. Dotted blue lines represent district boundaries ■



The city is 30% black. All 10 electoral districts have a majority of whites. Seven of the districts have a substantial black electorate, 3 districts are all white. The purpose of old-fashioned gerrymandering was to divide the minority neighborhood into many districts so that the minority group (in this case blacks) would be a minority in every district. Assuming whites are unwilling to vote for a black candidate, the result of the election is:

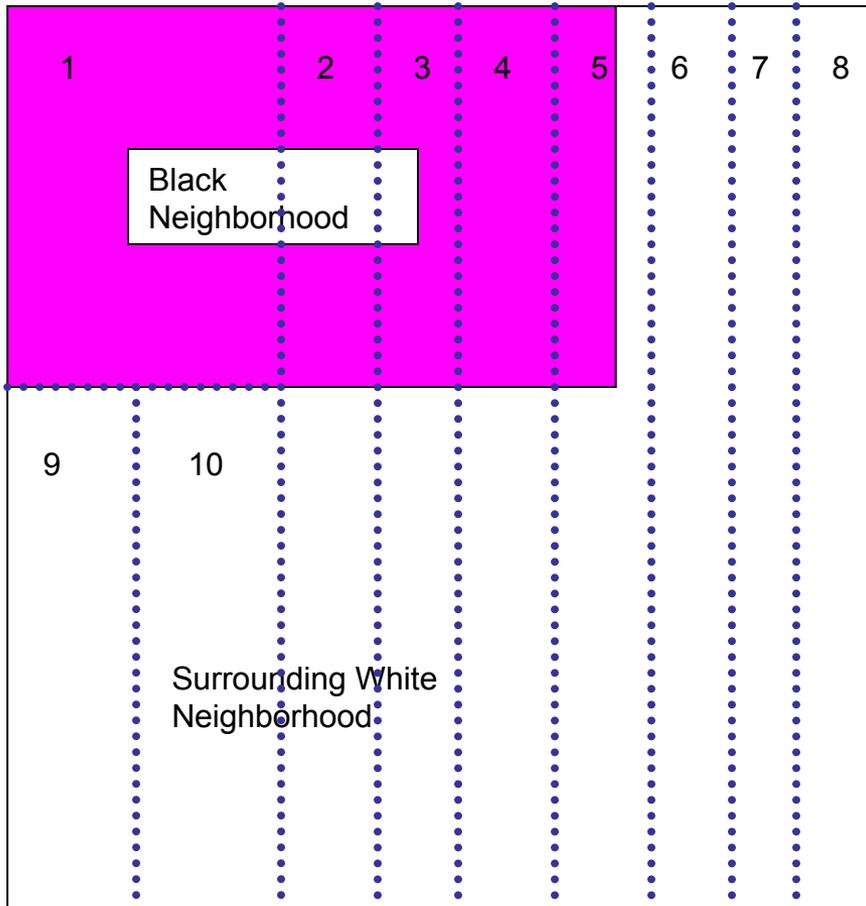
City Council:

10 whites

0 blacks

Old fashioned gerrymandering, the kind that predated the Voting Rights Act of 1965, was generally designed to make sure that racial minorities were underrepresented among elected officials.

Scenario 2: Old Fashioned gerrymandering, modified. Dotted blue lines represent district boundaries ■



The city is 30% black. The first electoral district is all black, electoral districts 2-5 have a substantial minority of black voters, districts 6-10 are all white. Assuming whites are unwilling to vote for a black candidate, the result of the election is:

City Council:

9 whites

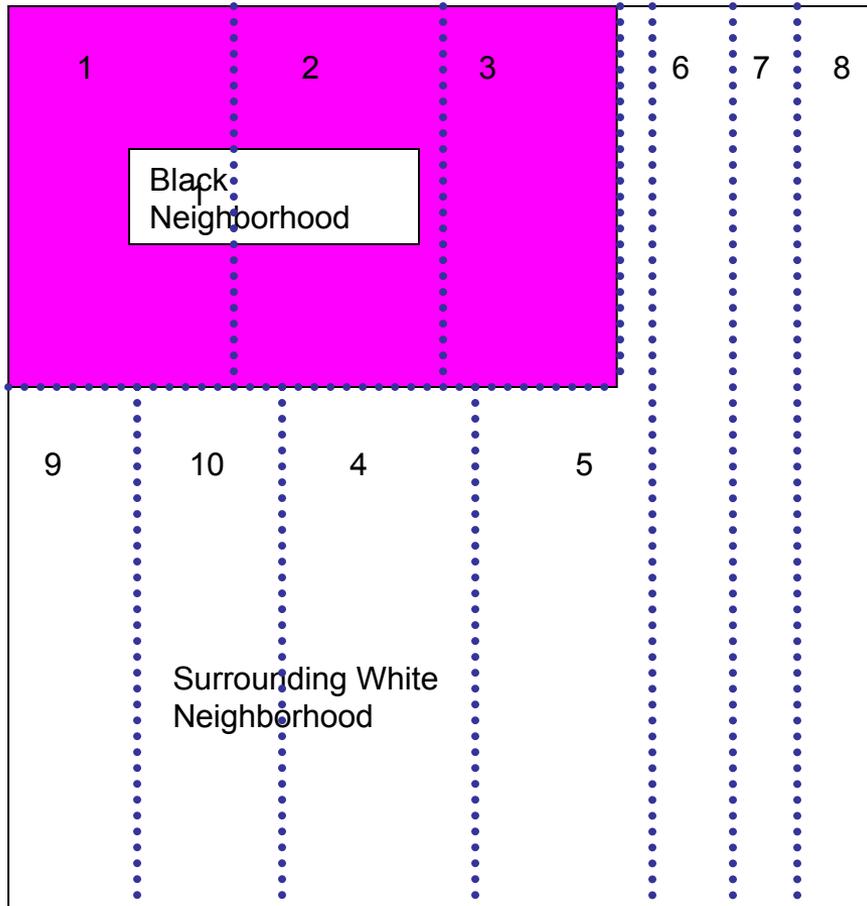
1 black

This picture more closely represents the pre-Voting Rights Act reality in the North. Cities like Chicago had black elected officials, and a black electoral political machine that was subordinate to the larger white political machine.

See :

- Hirsch, Arnold R. 1983. *Making the Second Ghetto*. Cambridge University Press
- *Wilson, James Q. 1960. *Negro Politics*. Free Press.

Scenario 3: Post Voting Rights Act Reverse Gerrymandering. Dotted blue lines represent district boundaries ■



The city is 30% black. Electoral districts 1-3 are 100% black. Districts 4-10 are 100% white. The result of the election is:

City Council:

7 whites

3 blacks

Post Voting Rights Act reverse gerrymandering has sharply increased the number of black elected officials, but at a cost. Remaining white elected officials have no black constituency to answer to. Without the moderating influence of minority voters in white districts, the politics of the legislature becomes even more racially polarized. And since black elected officials are still in the minority, blacks may find their political aspirations even more frustrated than before. Ultimately, residential segregation separates the political fortunes of the segregated groups, in ways that are usually disadvantageous for the minority.

See :

•Guinier, Lani. 1991. "The Triumph of Tokenism: The Voting Rights Act and the Theory of Black Electoral Success" *Michigan Law Review* 89: 1077-1154

•Massey, Douglas and Nancy Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid*. Harvard University Press.

An Example of post Voting Rights Act reverse gerrymandering. Illinois' 4th Congressional district, which includes the historically Puerto Rican Logan Square, and the historically Mexican South Side neighborhoods of Pilsen and Little Village (the 'Lower West Side' in the Chicago neighborhood map). In order to connect these two Latino neighborhoods and create a single congressional district without disturbing the contiguity of mostly black congressional districts in between, the north and south neighborhoods had to be connected with a miles long corridor that runs through parks and cemeteries, all the way to the edge of Cook County on the west. Current representative: Luis Gutierrez.

