

**ANALYSIS AND COMMENTS ON
ARKANSAS BOARD OF
APPORTIONMENT
REDISTRICTING PROPOSAL**

submitted by

**ARKANSAS PUBLIC POLICY PANEL
and
ARKANSAS CITIZENS FIRST CONGRESS**

NOVEMBER 26, 2021



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These comments were prepared with the much-appreciated help of the Arkansas Fair & Equitable Maps Awareness, Planning and Action Team, a project of Washitaw Foothills Youth Media Arts & Literacy Collective.

KEY COMMENTS AND FINDINGS:

Arkansas' Board of Apportionment proposed new district boundaries for the Arkansas House and Senate on October 30, 2021. Analysis of the proposal, based on the criteria that governs Arkansas' redistricting process, found that the proposed maps ignore most of the required criteria for redistricting at almost every turn.

The proposed district lines are politically and racially gerrymandered. They divide communities unnecessarily to serve political ends and marginalize the ability of racial and ethnic groups to influence the outcome of elections.

The Board should redraw the maps to follow the guidelines established in Arkansas law. The Board should also hold public hearings after they release revised maps to give the public more opportunities for input before finalizing new boundaries.

The proposed maps, as well as the process the Board used to create them, illustrate why Arkansas needs redistricting reform to make the process more independent, consistent, transparent and less partisan. We should live in a state where voters choose their politicians, not one where politicians choose their voters.

The proposed maps from the Arkansas Board of Apportionment were supposed to follow criteria established in state and federal law:

See our previous report: [Redistricting and Gerrymandering in Arkansas, How Our Districts Got Their Shape](#) for a full description of the Arkansas redistricting process on our website.

1. One person, one vote. Each of the legislative districts is balanced every ten years, after the Federal Census, so that they are “substantially equal” in population. That would be about 30,000 Arkansans in each of our 100 House districts. And it's about 86,000 in each of our Senate districts. Generally, district populations are allowed to deviate from the average by up to 5% to meet other criteria.
2. Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (as amended) prohibits discrimination based on race, color, or language minority.
3. The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment limits redrawing district boundaries strictly based on race.
4. Compactness, one of 4 geographic principles, or the “eyeball test,” refers to the shape of a district. Districts should be round or square. We should not have districts that are long and spread out, or irregularly shaped unless needed to meet other criteria such as following an existing political boundary like a county line.
5. All parts of a district should be contiguous, touching with a common border. No partial districts that are islands.

6. Preserve communities of interest: commonalities of economic, social, political, cultural, ethnic, or religious interests.
7. Protect continuity of representation: Avoid making incumbents run against each other and preserve incumbent districts to the extent possible while meeting other criteria.
8. Minimize partisanship: No targeting or giving preferential treatment to one party or another.

Considering the district lines proposed by the Board of Apportionment, it's clear that most of the redistricting criteria were not followed.

- **Many proposed districts split existing political boundaries** of city, county or other boundaries where they should be left whole. The senate map had 33 counties split 72 times and the House map had 53 counties split 135 times. These numerous splits affect nearly half of the total population of the state.

Many cities are divided as well, while communities of interest were ignored unnecessarily. For example, the City of Fayetteville is split seven times in the house and three times in the senate, when it could easily have been split between just four house and two senate districts. The City of Little Rock is split eight times in the house and five times in the senate. This could have been done with just six house and three senate districts. The City of Jonesboro is split five times in the house and two times in the senate. The city only requires three house districts and one senate district. The City of Hot Springs is split three times in the house and two times in the senate, when only two house and one senate districts were necessary. Many small communities are also unnecessarily cracked into pieces, such as Mtn. Home, Hoaxie and Forrest City.

In the Senate, there are only 8 counties that require a split because their population far exceeds that number of people that are required to be placed in each district. If the map adhered to the wholeness criterion, a total of fourteen single county districts could have been created. Instead, the proposed map only has three.

These splits, particularly those that targeted minority precincts, were clearly drawn in the pursuit of disproportionate partisan advantage and marginalizing minority voters.

- **The proposed maps result in minority voter dilution** through either cracking minority voting precincts into multiple districts to dilute the number of majority minority districts, or by packing high numbers of minority voting precincts into fewer districts that creates fewer competitive districts. Several dozen districts had this as a defining feature.

If the excessive splitting of the 33 counties on the senate map and the 53 counties on the house map results in a marked increase in the number of majority-minority districts and the number of minority influence districts in both the senate and the house, then such splitting would be justified to comply with the Voting Rights Act. However, the opposite was true.

The Board stated that they prioritized the interests of minority voters, but this does not appear to be the case. The Board claims to have created 4 minority-majority districts and one minority-coalition district in the Senate -- but they achieved that by packing high concentrations of minority voters into those districts even when it violated other guidelines.

In other places they cracked minority voter precincts to dilute the minority vote, again while violating other redistricting guidelines such as compactness or preserving communities of interest. They could have created many more minority-coalition and minority-opportunity districts while preserving more community boundaries.

The outcome of the Board's proposal would be fewer opportunities for minorities to influence the outcome of elections, fewer opportunities for minorities to choose the candidate of their choice and fewer competitive districts. It increased the number of districts where candidates could largely ignore the concerns of minority voters.

- **Many proposed districts fail the compactness test** — they are sprawling, needlessly complicated and, as mentioned above, divide existing city, county and school district lines without a rationale basis.

In the Senate, only 16 of the proposed districts pass the compactness test of less than 30%. Two of the districts absolutely fail the compactness test of greater than 50%: Districts 15 and 34. In the House forty-six districts failed the compactness test. The following proposed districts had a 75+ score: Districts 5, 9, 17, 77, 79, 80, 85, and 92. Districts 17 and 92 are the most egregious examples of the Board ignoring the principle of compact districts to achieve a partisan result.

- **Many proposed districts also divide communities of interest.** Many cultural boundaries are divided in the proposal as well. Urban precincts are put together with rural ones. Minority precincts are placed with largely white precincts.
- **One criterion where the map excels is protecting incumbents.** Many maps look like they were drawn to arrive at a specific political outcome for a specific politician, even when protecting that incumbent meant violating every other required.
- **The proposed maps are highly partisan.** The same party who makes up all 3 members of the Board of Apportionment is more likely to win elections under the proposed maps. Heavily Democratic precincts have either been cracked into other districts, or packed into a few super majority districts.

The partisan lean of the maps heavily favors Republicans, far exceeding their makeup of the general electorate. The average Democratic two-party vote share in Arkansas is 35.79%, and the Republican is 64.21%. The number of Senate seats leaning Democrat closest to proportional is 13. Yet the Board's proposal results in only 6.36 likely Democratic seats.

The Board of Apportionment's proposal violates state and federal law by ignoring many of the guidelines for making redistricting choices and by engaging in partisan and racial gerrymandering. The proposal creates real-world challenges for Arkansas' democracy.

- By dividing political boundaries and communities of interest, fair representation is not possible. Elected officials are supposed to represent their communities, and those communities are stronger when their representation is consistent along their existing political and cultural boundaries.
- It creates biased representation where some parts of the electorate become even more dominant while others are denied political representation.
- It leads to uncompetitive elections where whoever wins the primary is overwhelmingly likely to win the general election. This reduces diversity in political thought and limits the opportunities for voters to choose between highly competitive candidates vying to represent their interests.
- It leads to more polarized and divisive politics because many more candidates need only worry about winning their party primary and not about being competitive in a general election that actually reflects the full breadth of their district.
- Gerrymandering is also used to marginalize the political power of racial and ethnic groups, exacerbating systemic civil rights and racial equity challenges.

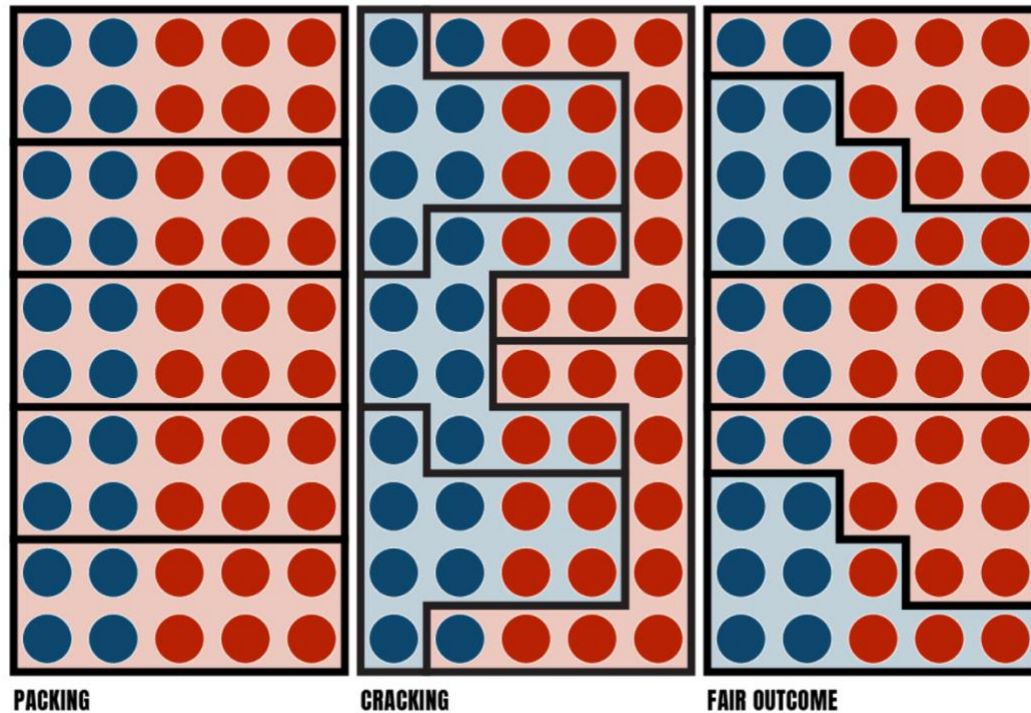
A better redistricting proposal that follows the criteria in Arkansas and Federal law is possible. We provide an example on page 32. Our alternative maps have less deviation from the one person, one vote principle than the Board's proposal. They follow the Voting Rights Act and preserve minority voting power. They are more compact and preserve existing boundaries of counties and cities as well as communities of interest. They still protect existing political representation and incumbents without picking favorites. They were made with no consideration of partisan make up and result in many more competitive districts than the Board's proposal.

Finally, the process the Board used to create these proposed maps was deeply flawed. The Board's make up of three partisan elected officials, all representing the same political party, already sets the stage for self-interested and partisan outcomes. Furthermore, the criteria the Board followed are poorly defined and lack any clear prioritization when they conflict with one another. The Board appears to have ignored many of the criteria altogether.

The public engagement process the Board used was also deeply flawed. The Board held a series of public forums *before* issuing any proposed maps but failed to hold a single public forum after issuing proposed maps. The result is that most Arkansans do not know how the draft maps will impact them. It is likely that many residents of communities that have been cracked apart do not know they are being divided from their neighbors. A process as important as redistricting is to our

democracy deserves very robust public engagement throughout the process, and clearly defined criteria and rules.

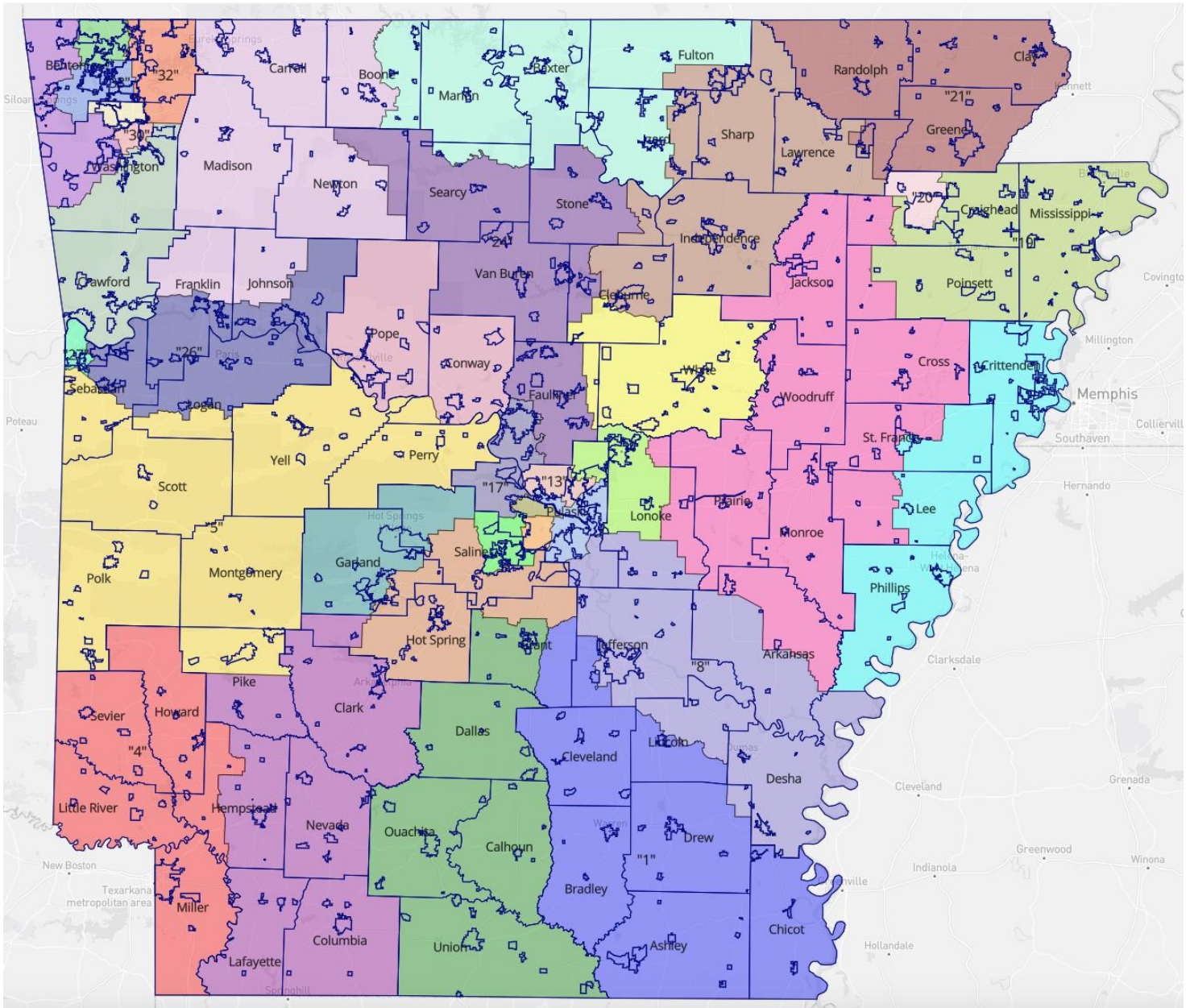
The Board of Apportionment's proposed maps are in need of serious revision, and the public deserves a better process of providing feedback on proposed revisions.



A Deeper Look at Gerrymandering: In the left image (packing), red wins all districts. In the middle image (cracking) red wins two districts and blue wins three districts. In the right image (fair distribution), red wins three districts and blue wins two because red has 60% of the population and won 60% of the districts.

APPENDIX 1: Senate District Detailed Analysis

Arkansas Board of Apportionment Proposed State Senate Map



View the Board of Apportionment's proposed Senate map online either at their website: <https://mydistricting.arkansas.gov/legdistricting/comments/plan/26/9> or Dave's Redistricting: <https://davesredistricting.org/maps#viewmap::037c213e-9a5d-4896-9924-6d3c7d62db90>

The overall view of the BOA proposed map for the State Senate is that it does not adhere to the nine “Redistricting Criteria and Goals” as a cohesive whole.

District 1 – It spans eight counties. On the northern side of this district is drawn along white and minority precinct lines around the City of **Pine Bluff**, along **Lincoln County**, and through part of **Drew County**. It could be more compact by substituting **Desha County** for **Jefferson County** and **Grant County**.

District 2 – It extends too far north. It could be made more compact by switching **Dallas County** and **Grant County** for most of **Columbia County**.

*“Currently, **Grant County** is split into three state senate districts, two of which extend all the way to the Louisiana border. In the past, **Grant County** was in senate district that generally was comprised of **Grant, Hot Springs, and Clark Counties**. I would like to see it return to that configuration.”* – public comment submitted by State Rep. Ken Bragg

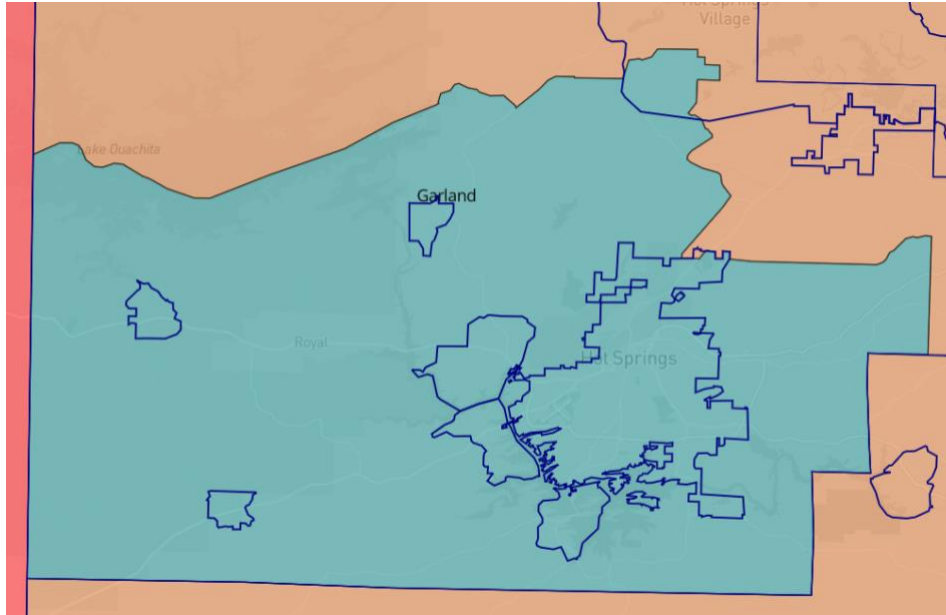
Districts 3 & 4 – These two districts split **Hempstead County**, and the splits appear to be intentionally concentrated within several of the minority precincts. If District 3 allowed for Hempstead County’s minority precincts to remain intact, which would keep the entire county whole, these two districts could be reconfigured where both districts had whole counties.

District 5 – It spans nine counties where four of them are split.

*“The proposed Senate map should be amended to move the precincts of **Glenwood North and Glenwood South** to district 3 in order to unite the **Centerpoint school district** and ensure the interests of the **Glenwood-Amity** area are well-represented in the General Assembly. The Centerpoint campus lies in **Pike County**, but most of its land area is in **Clark County**. Furthermore, most folks in **Amity** go to the **Glenwood** to shop or work, and many people in both towns have friends and family in the other. Moving these precincts would also likely decrease the population deviations of both districts, as district 5 has too many people and district 3 doesn’t have enough. Please consider it!”* – public comment submitted by Amelia Johnson

District 6 – It splits the **City of Hot Springs** between District 6 and District 7.

*“While I appreciate the efforts of the redistricting board, I feel it’s my duty to make a small complaint. By splitting district 6 and reassigning the western half of **Hot Springs, Mtn Pine, Royal, Pearcy, etc**; I feel you have done a huge disservice to the more rural areas of **Garland County**. We feel that our representation will be more dictated by **Hot Springs Village** and the city (inside city limits) of **Hot Springs**. This runs a strong likelihood that the voices of rural **Garland County** could be lost. Please reconsider the proposed change to district 6.”* – public comment submitted by Claire Kelly.



District 7 – It splits the cities of **Hot Springs, Hot Springs Village, Benton, and Bryant**. **Grant County** is also split three ways.

*“The current Senate Redistricting Proposal isolates the Northeast portion of **Hot Springs Village** from the rest of our community that align with us with a distant district focused on the south of our community. We request that we be kept aligned with the rest of **Hot Springs Village** in the proposed Senate District 6. Request that Senate District 6 be extended to Burkes Road south of Saline River to consolidate all of **Hot Springs Village** in the same Senate District.”* – public comment submitted by Dennis Helmer

District 8 – It spans seven counties, where five of them are split. **Jefferson County** and **Arkansas County** could be paired as whole for this district.

District 9 – It splits **Forrest City** between District 9 and District 10. The split appears to be intentionally concentrated between two minority precincts.

District 10 – It spans eleven counties where five of them are split. **Lonoke County, Prairie County, and Monroe County** could be grouped as whole for this district, which would also make **Forrest City** whole again.

Districts 11, 12 & 13 – These combined three districts split the cities of **Little Rock, North Little Rock, Sherwood, and Jacksonville**. The splits appear to be intentionally concentrated among the minority precincts in each of these four cities.

District 14 – This district adheres to the nine “Redistricting Criteria and Goals.”

District 15 – This appears to arbitrarily split precincts 116, 117, and 120.

District 16 – It splits the cities of **Benton** and **Bryant** between District 7 and District 16.

District 17 – It splits **Pulaski County** and **Faulkner County** by crossing the natural boundary of the Arkansas River. Crossing natural boundaries is ill-advised in redistricting if such can be avoided. The district could be redrawn, comprising just the City of Conway and the City of Greenbrier.

District 18 – It splits the cities of **Heber Springs** and **Quitman**.

*“You have divided **Heber Springs** between two Senate Districts. This means that our city of 7,000 will no longer have the same representation and no long be contiguous. Really? **Heber Springs** should be left in only one Senate District. Put all of **Heber Springs** in District 22.”*

– public comment submitted by Jacque Martin

Districts 19 & 20 – These two districts split **Jonesboro** between District 19 and District 20. **Jonesboro** can have an entire district within its borders. This split appears to intentionally dilute the vote for both people of color and urban dwellers.

District 21 – It splits the city of **Hoxie**, removing part of the city from being in the same district as the neighboring city of **Walnut Ridge**, both cities together are considered a community of interest.

District 22 – It spans seven counties where five of the counties, along with the cities of **Heber Springs** and **Hoxie** are split.

*“Barely crossing the lines into multiple counties is ridiculous. Also, what does the area north of **Hardy** have in common with folks down by **Heber Springs**?”* – public comment submitted by Heather Graham

District 23 – It spans seven counties, where five of them are split.

District 24 – It spans six counties, splitting them all. This district could be redrawn by pairing **Searcy County** and **Cleburne County**.

District 25 – This district adheres to the nine “Redistricting Criteria and Goals.”

District 26 – It extends north into the Ozark Mountains. This district could be redrawn to keep **Logan County** whole.

District 27 – This district adheres to the nine “Redistricting Criteria and Goals.”

District 28 – This district could be redrawn by grouping **Boone County**, **Newton County**, and **Johnson County** as whole.

Districts 29 & 30 – These two districts, along with District 35, split the city of **Fayetteville** into three. The city could be left more whole by dividing it into just two districts.

District 31 – It splits the city of **Springdale**.

District 32 – It splits the cities of **Lowell, Bethel Heights, and Rogers** between Districts 31 and 32. The split in both districts appears to be intentionally concentrated among several minority precincts.

*“Why is **Rogers** divided in half at Dixieland, with half going out way into the country?”* – public comment submitted by Allison Bynum

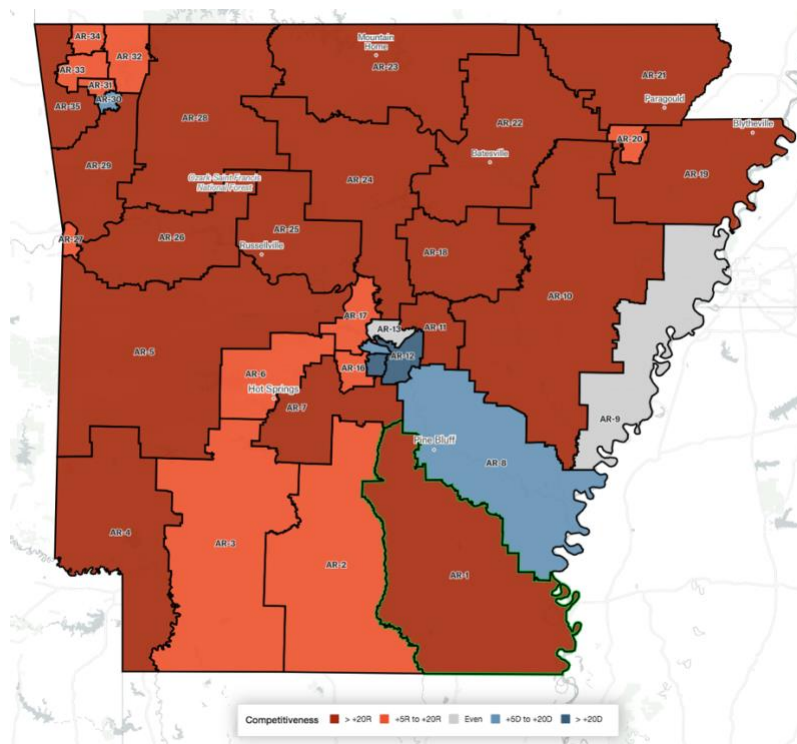
District 33 – This district could be redrawn by grouping the cities of **Lowell, Bethel Heights, and Rogers**.

District 34 – It splits the cities of **Bentonville, Centerton, and Hiwasse**. The split appears to be intentionally concentrated among minority precincts.

District 35 – It splits the cities of **Fayetteville, Gentry, and Hiwasse**.

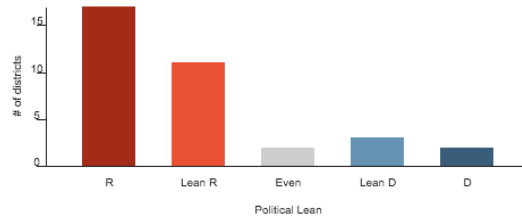
District Builder’s Non-Partisan Competitiveness Rating

This competitiveness metric evaluates the BOA Proposed State Senate Map based on the average partisan lean of each district, calculated using the Partisan Voting Index (PVI). A partisan lean of the district plan which deviates from the overall lean of the state can be indicative of gerrymandering.



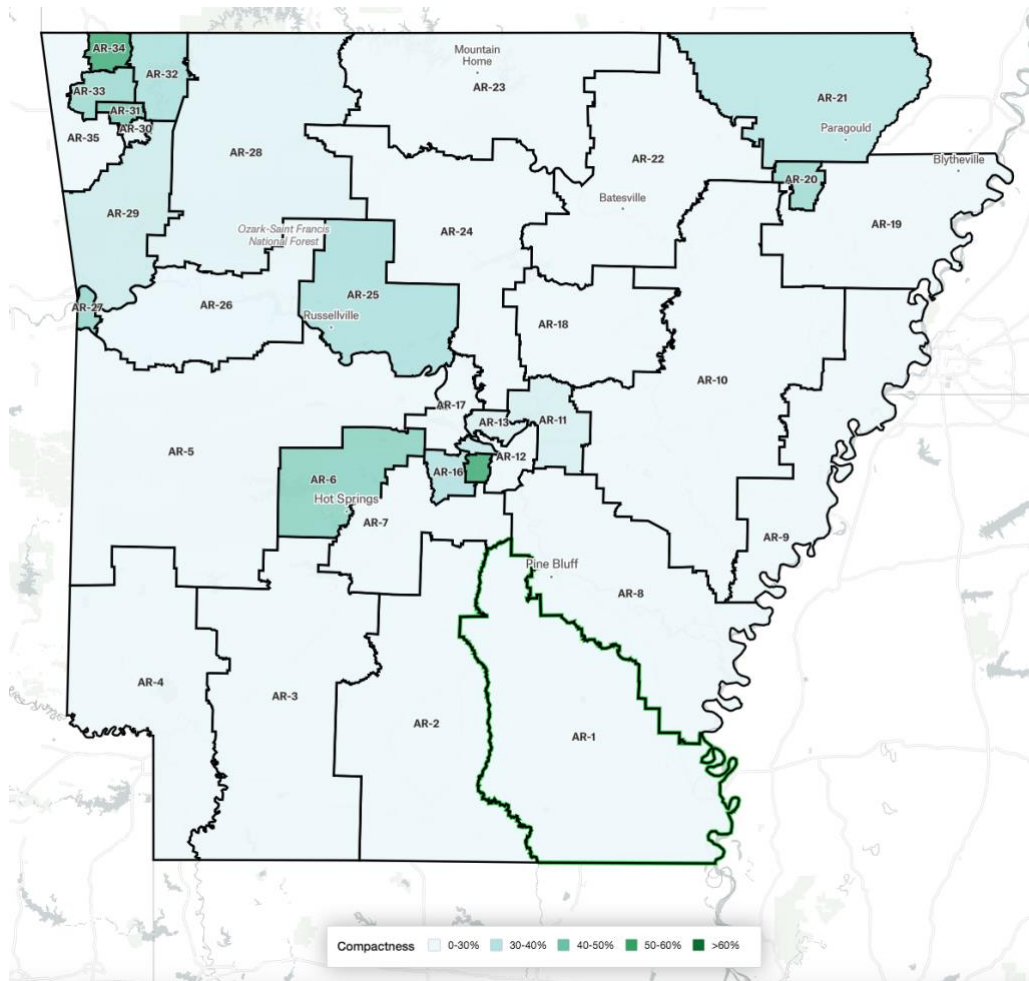
The BOA Proposed State Senate Map yields only two truly competitive districts: Districts 8 and 13. It also offers an additional six districts that offer the possibility of competitiveness dependent upon who the candidates are and the manner in which they campaign: Districts 9, 14, 17, 27, 30, and 31.

Partisan Voting Index (PVI): **R+16**



DistrictBuilder's Non-Partisan Compactness Rating

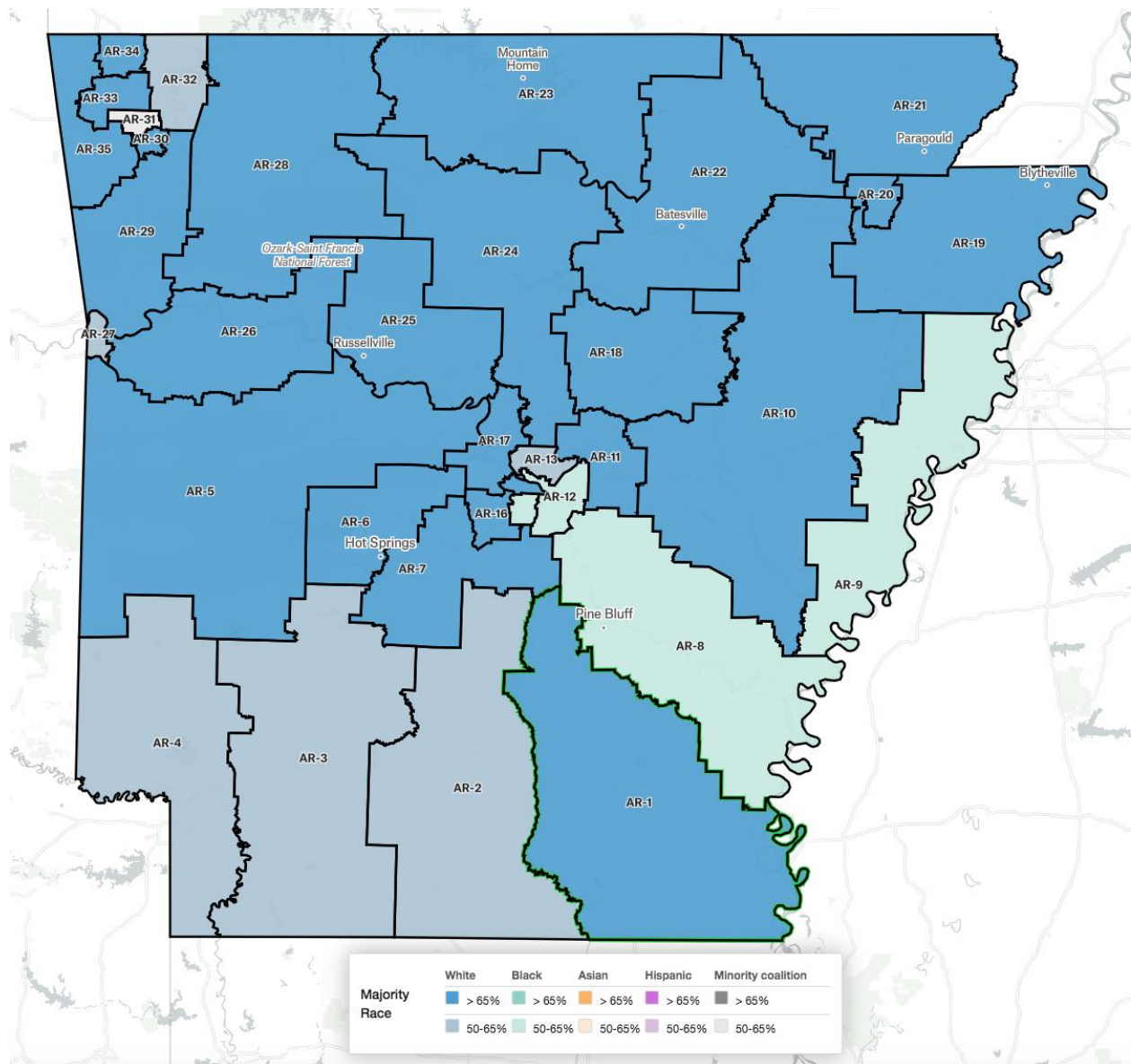
A district that efficiently groups constituents together has higher compactness. Low compactness or districts that branch out to different areas can be indicators of gerrymandering. Compactness is calculated using the Polsby-Popper method. Higher numbers are better.



The BOA Proposed State Senate Map has sixteen districts that pass the compactness test of less than 30%: Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, and 35. Two of the districts absolutely fail the compactness test of greater than 50%: Districts 15 and 34.

DistrictBuilder's Non-Partisan Majority-Minority Rating

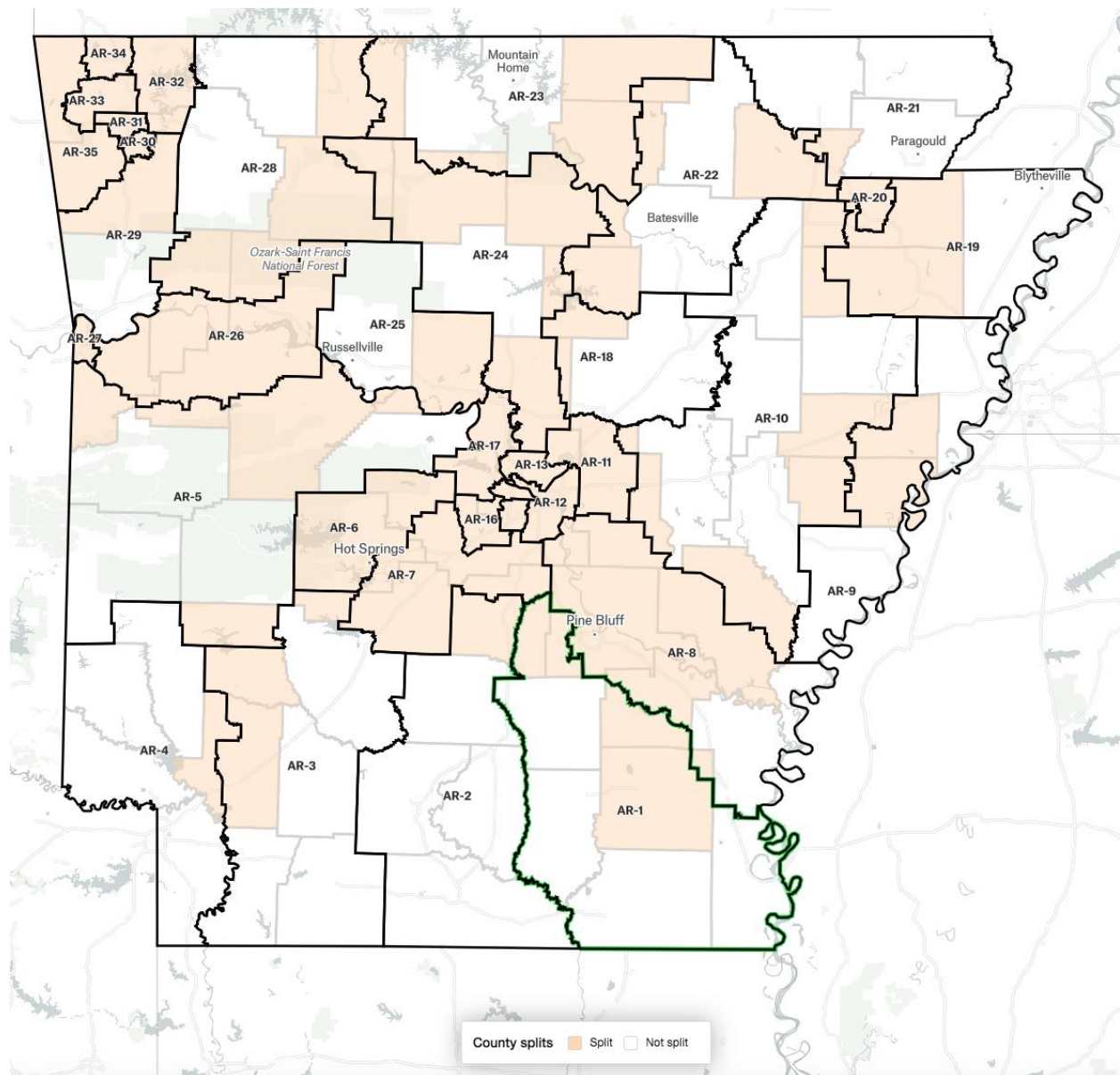
A majority-minority district is a district in which a racial minority group or groups comprise a majority of the district's total population. The display indicates districts where a minority race has a simple majority (Black, Hispanic, etc.), or where the sum of multiple minority races combine to a majority (called "Coalition" districts).



The BOA Proposed State Senate Map has four verified VRA majority-minority districts comprised of over 50% Black voting age population: Districts 8, 9, 12, and 15. There is also one verified minority coalition district with at least 40% non-white voting age population: District 31.

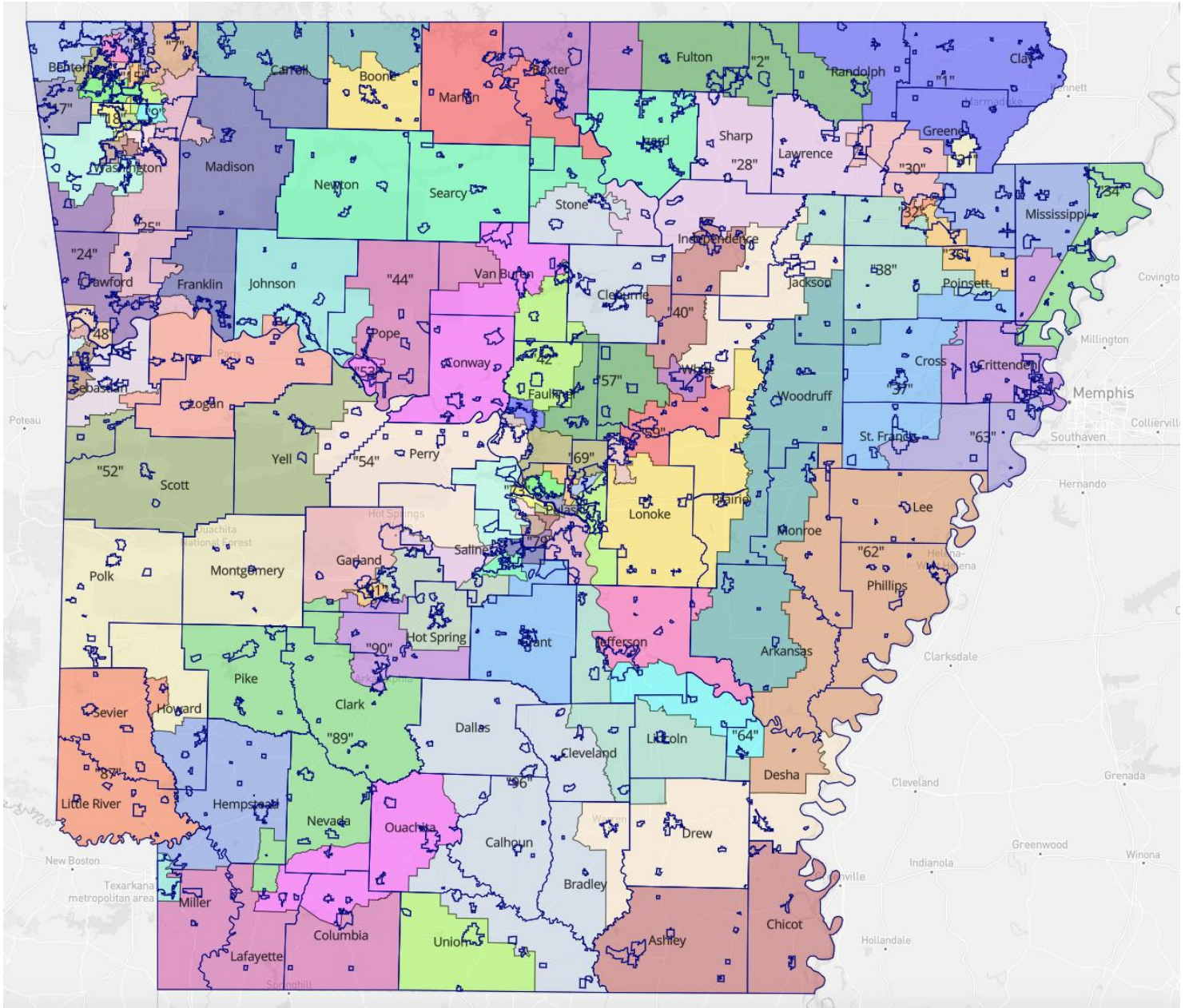
DistrictBuilder's Non-Partisan County Splits Rating

County splits occur when a county is divided between two or more districts. The Board's WHOLENESS criterion of its nine "Redistricting Criteria and Goals" require minimizing county splits, to the extent practicable. However, 33 of the 75 Arkansas counties were split.



APPENDIX 2: House District Detailed Analysis

Arkansas Board of Apportionment Proposed State House Map



View the Board of Apportionment's proposed Senate map online either at their website: <https://mydistricting.arkansas.gov/legdistricting/comments/plan/27/9> or at Dave's Redistricting: <https://davesredistricting.org/maps#viewmap::a5bd0b97-fcf6-4dbd-ac04-9c9774249628>

The overall view of the BOA proposed map for the State House is that 79 out of 100 districts do not adhere to the nine “Redistricting Criteria and Goals,” with the exception of the following twenty-one districts that do: Districts 1, 2, 5, 17, 27, 28, 40, 50, 58, 59, 68, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 86, 87 and 92.

District 3 & 4 – These districts split the City of **Mountain Home**.

*“As the **Baxter County** Tax Collector I am asking you not to split **Mountain Home** into 2 House of Representative districts. I believe that would make voting very confusing to the voters and citizens of **Mountain Home** when they are wanting to contact their State House of Representative. Please reconsider not splitting **Mountain Home**. Thank you for your time & reconsideration.”* – public comment submitted by Teresa Smith, Baxter County Tax Collector

*“Dividing **Mtn Home** proper and taking in parts of **Fulton County** is not in the best interest of our area, and does not serve our economic needs.”* – public comment submitted by Heather Graham

*“I do not like having **Mountain Home** split between 2 districts. Why should we have a representative miles from 1/2 the city when the other representative lives IN **Mountain Home** and represents the other 1/2 of the city?”* – public comment submitted by Debbie Recktenwald

Districts 6 & 26 – These districts unnecessarily split the City of **Green Forest**.

Districts 7, 8 & 15 – These are three of the five districts that have split the City of **Rogers**. This mutli-split appears to have intentionally targeted the minority precincts of 3, 44, 50, 54, and 92. A 54.16% VRA majority-minority district could be created by grouping these targeted precincts with precincts 90 and 108.

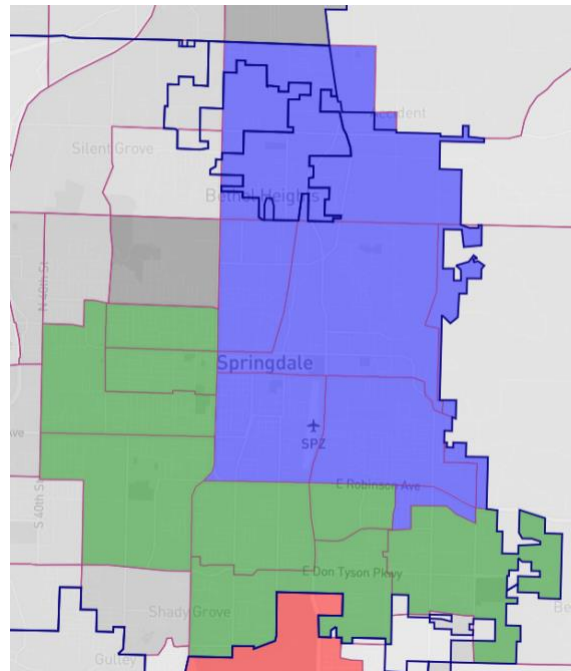
*“Downtown **Rogers** being split into 3 different districts, which makes no sense. I live next to Lake Atalanta and am very involved with DTR but my district is being included with **Pea Ridge**, places that are half an hour drive away, and not people who are practically neighbors?”* – public comment submitted by Allison Bynum

Districts 9, 11, 18, 16 & 19 – These districts split the City of **Springdale** in a manner that appears to intentionally dilute the minority vote in that city. The City of **Springdale** could be kept whole, with two VRA majority-minority districts inside its borders.

According to the Board, the proposed District 11 has a minority population 50.79%. However, an analysis of the shapefile that the Board released in response to an FOIA request only shows a minority population of 49.84%. This difference appears to have resulted from the Board using total population instead of the legally required voting age population.

*“Downtown **Springdale** should not be split into different districts. The proposed boundaries split an area that has been majority-minority, allowing the community's voice to be represented. I do not see any reasonable rationale for the proposed district split.”* – public comment submitted by Olivia Harrington

*“The new District 18, **Elm Springs** and **Tontitown**, do not need to be split up. This district looks cobbled up, seems like we could square it up and keep **Springdale**, **Tontitown**, **Elm Springs**, and **Wheeler** communities together with some minor adjustments. These communities identify together and are used to working together.”* – public comment submitted by Nikki Beavers



District 10 & 12 – These districts, along with a portion of District 8, split the City of **Bella Vista**.

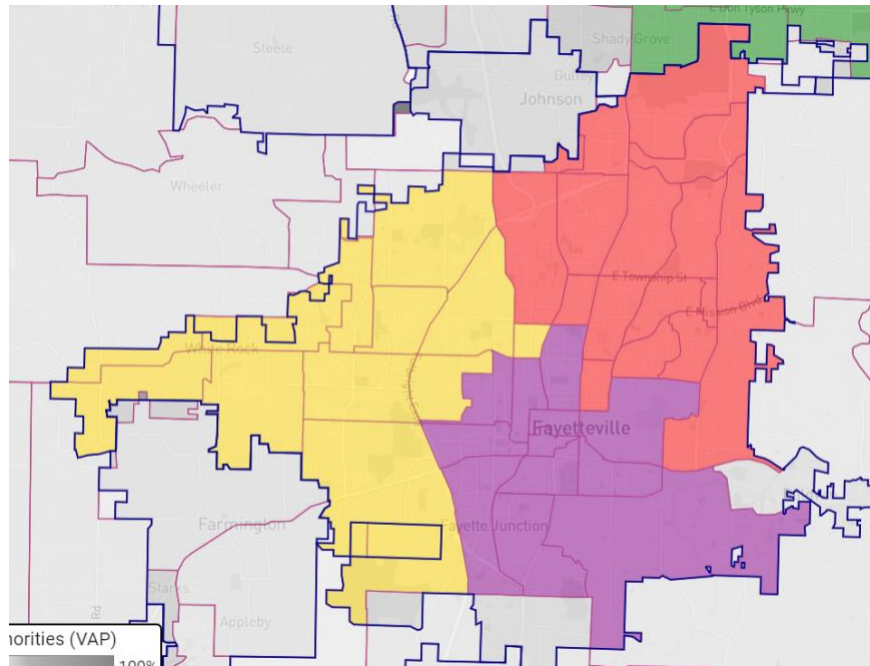
*“My city is being split with 14th street being the southern border. District 10 does not represent the demographics of my city. Our city should be kept more whole rather than being split and combined with parts of **Bella Vista** which is much less diverse.”* – public comment submitted by Beck Keck

District 13 – It splits the Cities of **Bentonville**, **Rogers**, and **Bella Vista**.

District 14 & 16 – These two districts include portions of the cities of **Bentonville** and **Highfill** when such could have been avoided.

District 20 – It splits the City of **Fayetteville**, adding areas outside the city limits.

District 21 – It is one of the five districts that split the City of **Fayetteville**. **Fayetteville** could be kept whole and split between three districts that all remain within the city limits.



District 22 & 23 – These two districts split the cities of **Fayetteville**, **Farmington**, and **Prairie Grove**.

*“I am on the City Council of PG, the director of our Main Street program, and have the pleasure to sit on the Economic Advisory Committee of the Arkansas Municipal League. I would request you reconsider the district lines of **Prairie Grove**. The proposed map splits the NE part of City (North of 170) and puts it in with **Farmington**. **Prairie Grove** would be split with districts 23 and in 22. (keep in mind some houses have **Farmington** addresses but are in the city limits of PG) I would be best for everyone to include all residents of **Prairie Grove** in one district based on the city limit boundary and not mailing address.”* – public comment submitted by Rick Ault

District 24 – It splits the City of **Mulberry** in half and includes a very small portion of the City of **Fort Smith**.

District 25 – It spans five different counties and splits both the cities of **Fayetteville** and **Mulberry**.

District 29 – It splits the City of **Haskell**.

District 30, 32, 33, 36 & 38 – These five districts split the City of **Jonesboro**. **Jonesboro** could be kept whole and split between three districts, in which two of the three remain within the city limits.



*“I have concerns on the proposed Representative District 30 territory. With **Walnut Ridge** being the county seat for **Lawrence County**, I am worried about splitting up representation for the **Lawrence County School district** in WR. The proposed change would also break up our general market area and the city of **Walnut Ridge** currently supplies over 50-55% of the sales tax base for LawCo, most of which would have a different representative under the current proposal. Lastly, a significant part of **Lawrence County’s** only Opportunity Zone would be split under the current plan for District 30. Thank you for listening to my concerns.”* – public comment submitted by Mayor Charles Snapp of **Walnut Ridge**

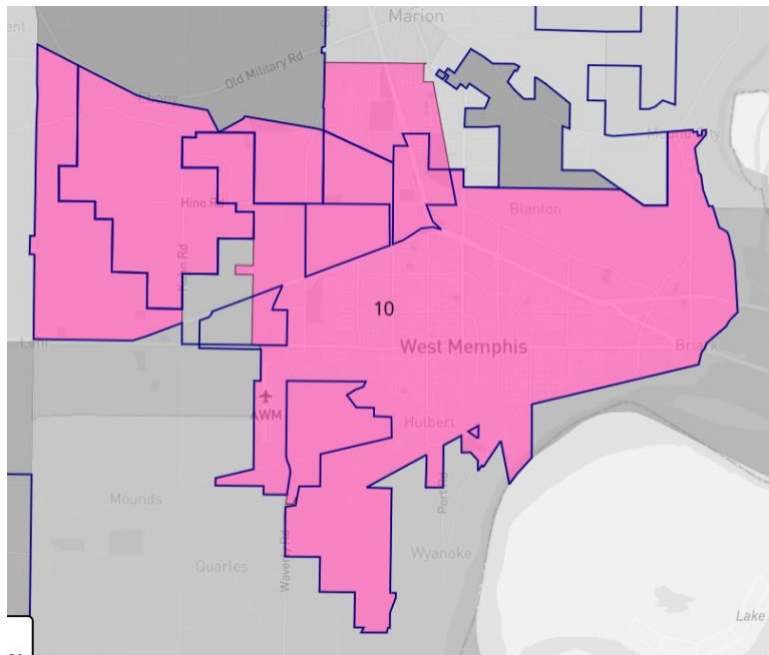
*“I don't understand why the northeast corner of **Jonesboro** city limits was added into a district with **Brookland/Lake City**/eastern **Craighead County**. That doesn't make sense. I live within city limits yet my district covers a majorly rural areas. Also it feels like the minority population of Jonesboro was carved up between multiple districts.”* – public comment submitted by Jenny Petty

*“**Jonesboro** has been divided into multiple districts and intact communities have been splits and placed with rural areas. Communities of color have been splits and their votes diluted. North **Jonesboro** was places with **Walnut Ridge**; ASU was placed with **Truman**. And my own **Jonesboro** districts now stretches into **Swift**. **Jonesboro** should be kept as intact as possible.”* – public comment submitted by Rebekah Evans

District 31 – It splits **Stone County** without any apparent rationale basis.

*“I would like to express my dislike of **Stone County** being split between two districts.”* – public comment submitted by Ann Gray

District 34, 35, 37 & 63 – These four districts split **Mississippi County** and **Crittenden County**, as well as the cities of **Turrell, West Memphis, Gilmore, Marked Tree, Madison, and Forrest City**. They are also non-contiguous. There are several precincts within these districts that appear to have been intentionally split in a manner that reduces the non-white voting population electoral influence. The **City of West Memphis** could be kept whole in one district.



*“First, I appreciate your hard work on this project. Second, as an election commissioner I understand how hard of a job that is, however splitting **Cross County** in 3 different state rep districts is more burden on us and money when designing ballot types. I would like to see the **Hickory Ridge** area restored to the main district with **Wynne**.”* – public comment submitted by Matthew Hodges, **Cross County** Election Commissioner

*“With the new boundary lines, **Poinsett County** will be represented by three different House members. With the new boundary lines, a Representative from **Forest City** will now be representing the city of **Tyronza**. Furthermore, **Poinsett County** will also be further divided by two additional Representative’s jurisdictions. The interests of the citizens of **Poinsett County** will be greatly diminished by dividing the county into three different districts. I respectfully request that the redistricting of **Poinsett County** be examined again in order to reduce the number of Representatives of our county.”* – public comment submitted by Mayor Charles Glover of **Tyronza**.

District 39 – It splits the **Tuckerman**.

District 41, 42 & 43 – These two districts split the cities of **Fairfield Bay** and **Quitman** into three different districts.

*“How is it that **Cleburne County** went from two House districts to four? You have divided **Quitman**, a city of 752 people, into three districts. Really?”* – public comment submitted by Jacque Martin

*“Please make all of **Fairfield Bay, AR** under one district. Thank you!”* – public comment submitted by Cynthia Scheitz

District 44 – It splits the City of **Pottsville**.

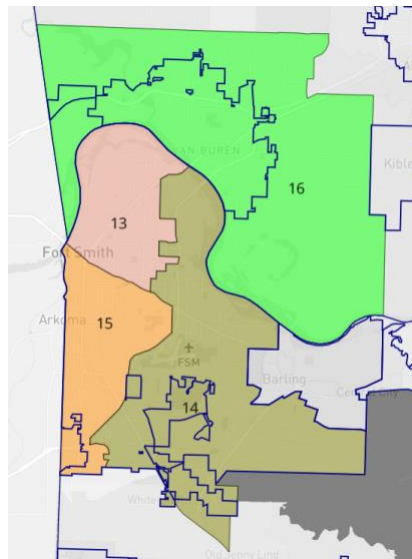
District 45 – It splits the City of **Clarkesville**.

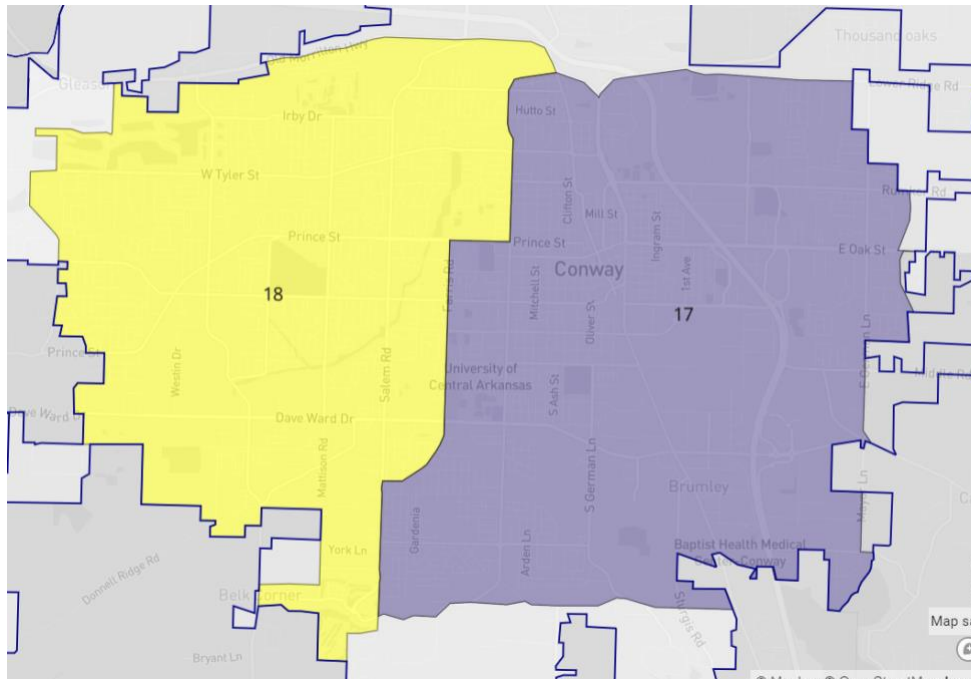
District 46 – It spans five different counties and splits the City of **Clarkesville**.

District 47, 48, 49 & 51 – These four districts splits the City of **Fort Smith**. There are several precincts within these districts that appear to have been intentionally split in a manner that reduces the non-white voting population electoral influence. The City of **Fort Smith** could be drawn in three districts.

District 52 & 53 – Although the cities of **Dardanelle** and **Russellville** are on opposite banks of the Arkansas River, a natural border, there has been at least one Community of Interest (COI) Report filed at www.representable.com that spoke to these two cities being grouped together as a COI.

District 54 – It spans four different counties and splits the City of **Conway**.





Districts 55 & 56 – These districts further split the City of **Conway**. There are several precincts within these districts that appear to have been intentionally split in a manner that reduces the non-white voting population electoral influence. The City of **Conway** could be drawn whole in two districts.

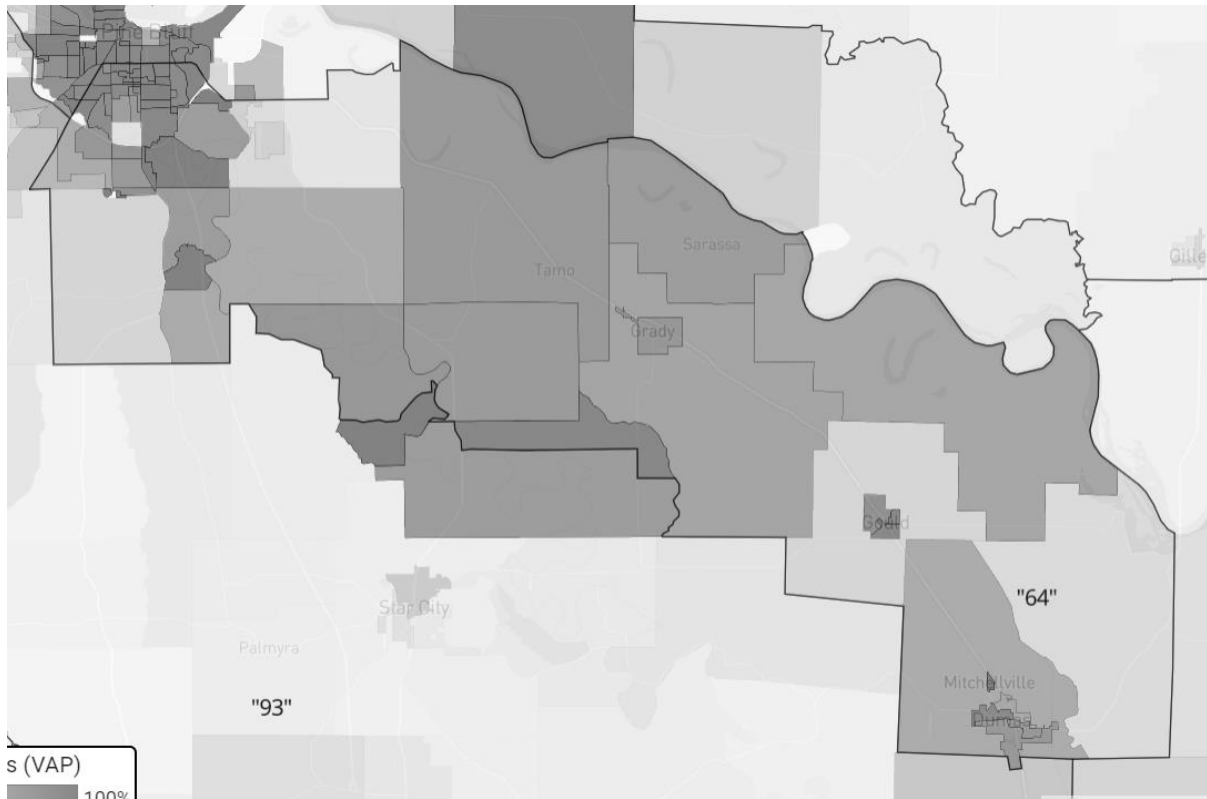
District 57 – It splits the cities of **Enola** and **Quitman**.

District 60 – It spans three counties.

District 61 – It spans six counties, and its boundaries appear to have been intentionally based solely on the racial mix-up of the district.

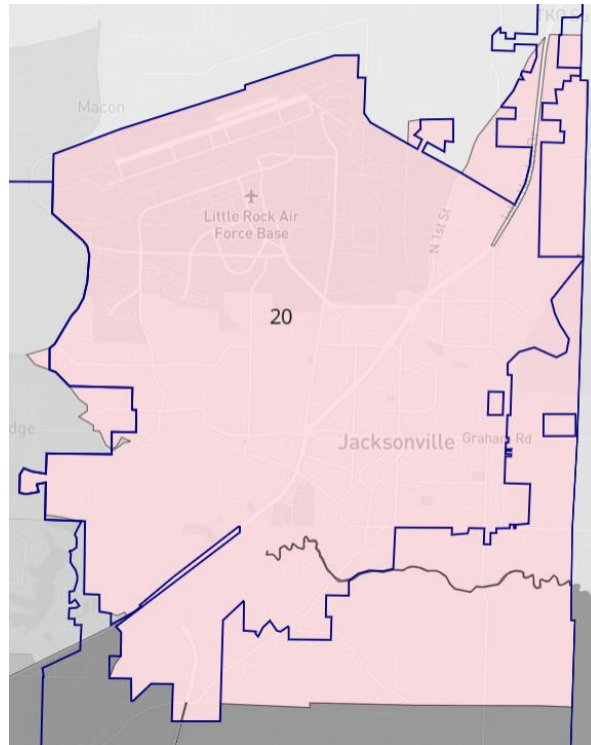
District 62 – It encompasses combined portions of the current VRA Districts 11, 12, and 48.

District 64 – It spans three counties, splitting **Jefferson County** and the City of **Pine Bluff** and connecting the southeastern section of **Pine Bluff** with **Dumas**. Most of this proposed district is the current District 16. Due to the way that it is drawn, it has a sizeable increase in non-white voting age population from 66.18% to 72.71%.



District 65 – It splits **Jefferson County** and the City of **Pine Bluff**. Formerly District 17, the proposed district is drawn in a way that significantly decreases its non-White voting age population, from 79.96% to 68.33%.

Districts 66, 67, 69, 70, 71 & 72 – These four districts split the cities of **North Little Rock, Sherwood, Jacksonville, Maumelle, and Mayflower**. The unincorporated town of **Gibson**, which sits between **Camp Robinson** and the **Little Rock Air Force Base**, is also split as an identified Community of Interest (COI). The City of **Jacksonville** and the Little Rock AFB can be coupled together to create one whole district. These surgical splits have strikingly similar effects on the non-white voting age populations of the cities of **Jacksonville, North Little Rock, and Sherwood** that the split of **Pulaski County** had in the proposed congressional map.

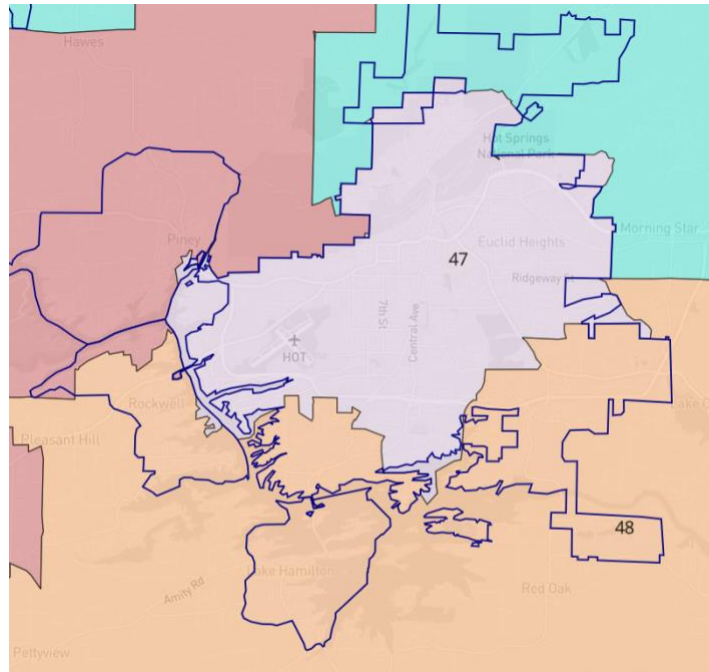


District 78 – It splits the City of **Salem** and connects it to the western portion of the City of **Little Rock**.

District 81 & 82 – These two districts split the cities of **Bryant** and **Benton**. Each city could have its own district and remain whole.

District 83- It splits the cities of **Benton**, **Salem** and **Hot Springs Village**.

District 84 & 91 – These two districts split the cities of **Hot Springs**, **Hot Springs Village** and **Lake Hamilton**. There are several precincts within these districts that appear to have been intentionally split in a manner that reduces the non-white voting population electoral influence. The City of **Hot Springs** is large enough to have two districts, with one of them being entirely within its borders. Several Community of Interest (COI) Reports submitted at www.representable.org requested that City of **Hot Springs Village** be kept whole in one district, despite the fact that the city is within two different counties.



District 85 – It splits cities of **Hot Springs** Village and **Pearcy**.

*“The map appears to split **Hot Springs Village** into at least 4 house districts. It would be more appropriate to split the Village along the Garland/Saline County lines if at all possible.”* – public comment submitted by Gary Clingman

District 88 & 100 – These are two of three districts that split the City of **Texarkana**, which is large enough for its own district.

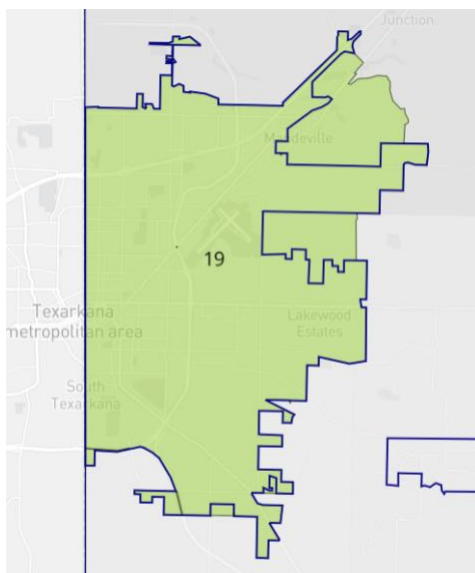
District 89 – It unnecessarily spans seven counties.

District 90 – It splits the City of **Lake Hamilton**.

District 93 – It spans five counties.

District 94 – It splits **Desha County** along racial lines.

District 95 – It decouples **Chicot County** from **Desha County** and couples it with **Ashley County**, minimizing the strength of the non-white voting age population in **Chicot County**

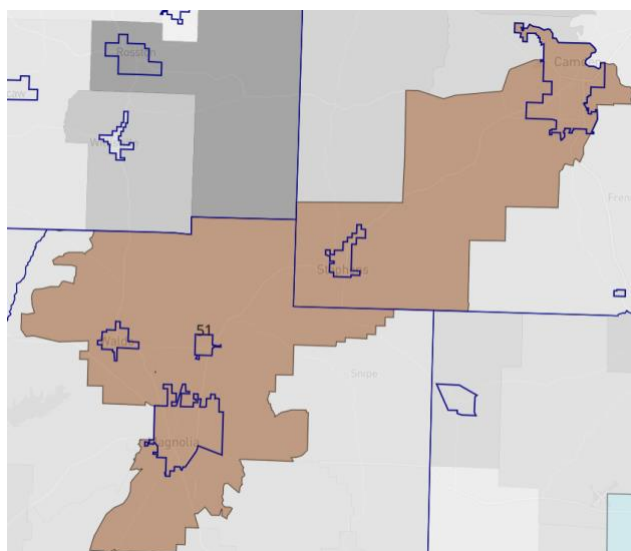


District 96 – It spans six counties, splitting **Union County, Bradley County, Ouachita County, and Cleveland County** in half. There are several precincts within this district that appear to have been intentionally split in a manner that reduces the non-white voting population electoral influence.

*“Keep **Bradley County** whole.”* – public comment submitted by Randy Clayton

District 97 – It splits the City of **El Dorado** in an apparent manner that reduces the non-white voting population electoral influence.

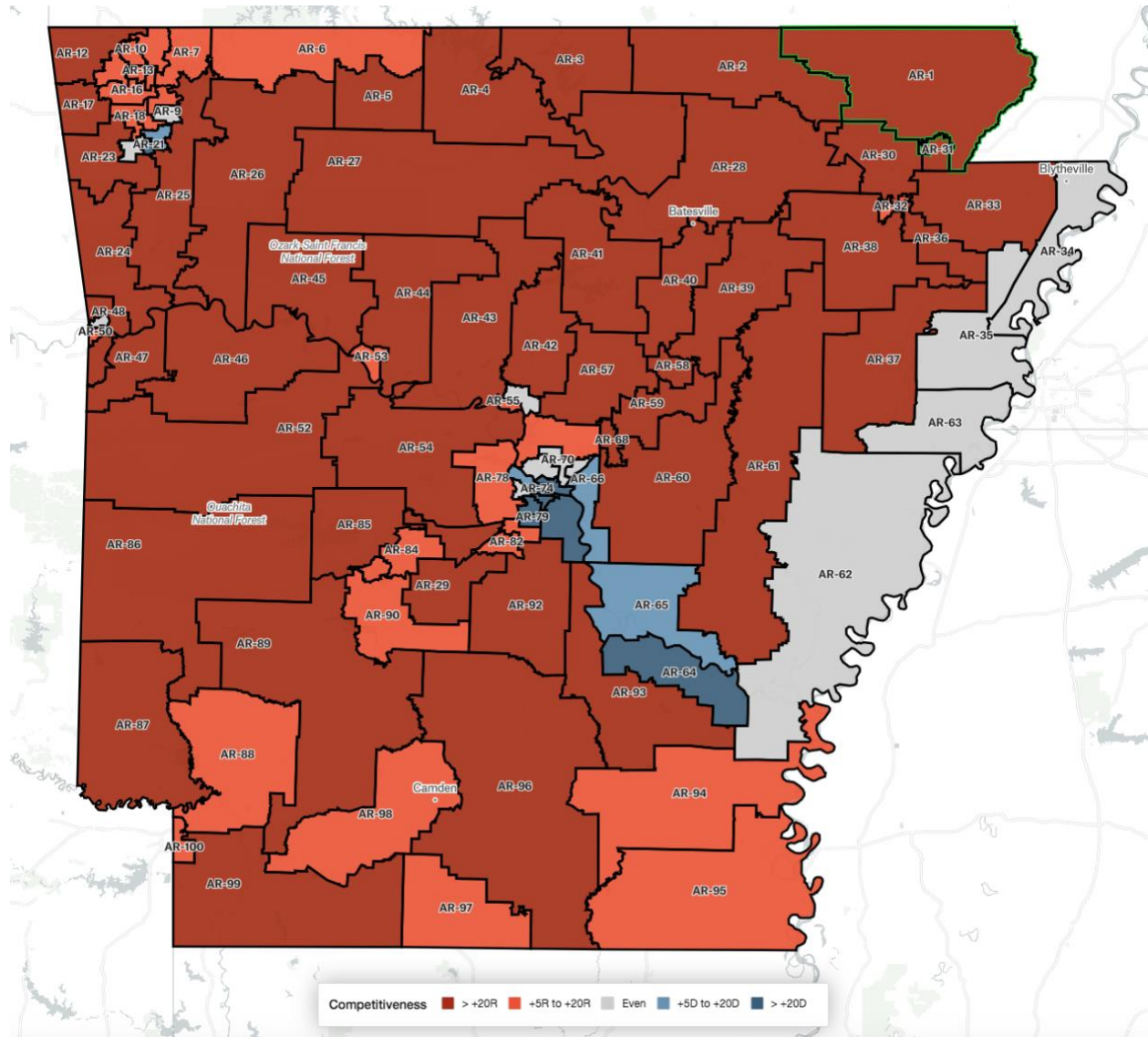
District 98 – It spans four counties, splitting the cities of **Magnolia and Camden** in half. The result is that a VRA district with a 56.26% non-white voting age population no longer exists.



District 99 – It splits the cities of **Magnolia** and **Texarkana**. There are several precincts within this district that appear to have been intentionally split in a manner that reduces the non-white voting population electoral influence.

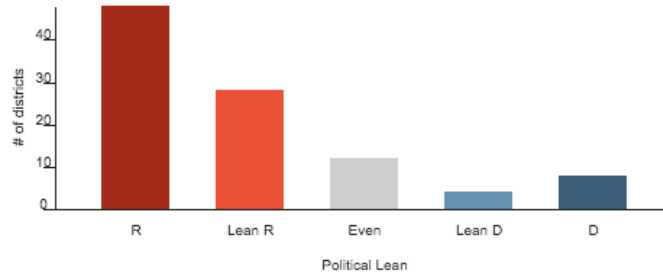
DistrictBuilder’s Non-Partisan Competitiveness Rating

This competitiveness metric evaluates the BOA Proposed State Senate Map based on the average partisan lean of each district, calculated using the Partisan Voting Index (PVI). A partisan lean of the district plan which deviates from the overall lean of the state can be indicative of gerrymandering.



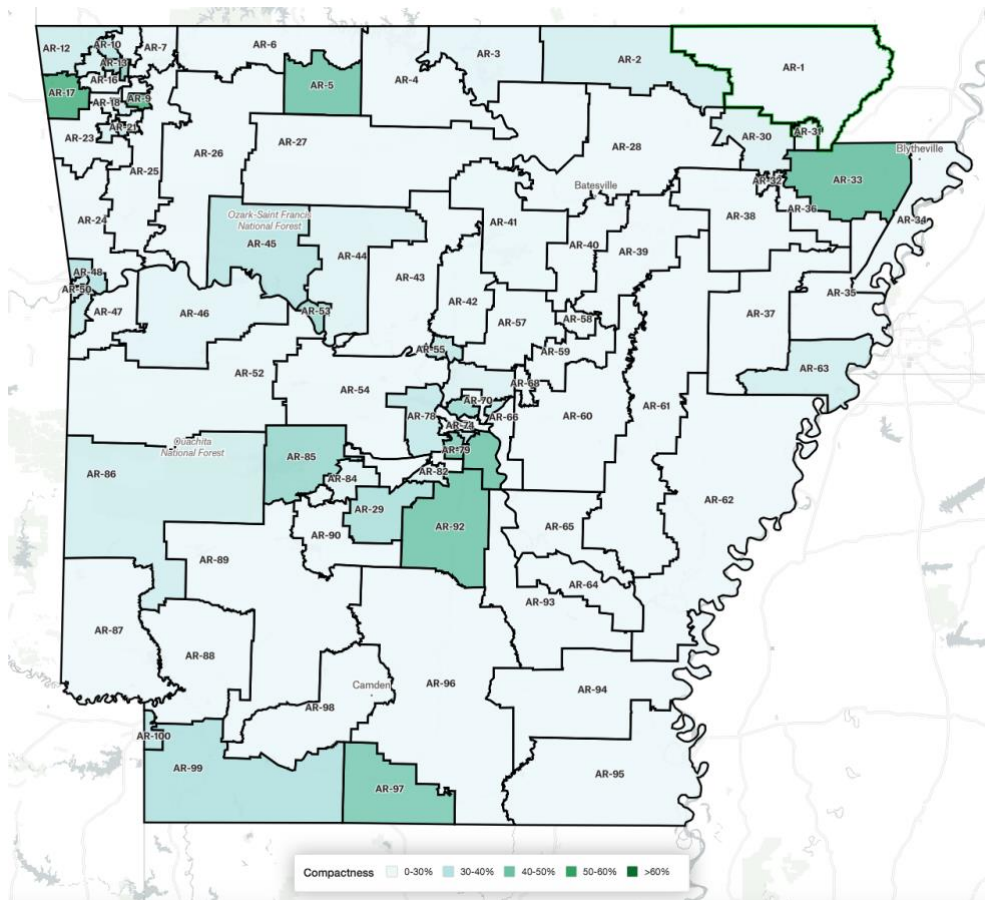
The BOA Proposed State House Map yields twelve truly competitive districts: Districts 9, 22, 34, 35, 49, 62, 63, 67, 70, 71 and 75.

Partisan Voting Index (PVI): R+16



DistrictBuilder's Non-Partisan Compactness Rating

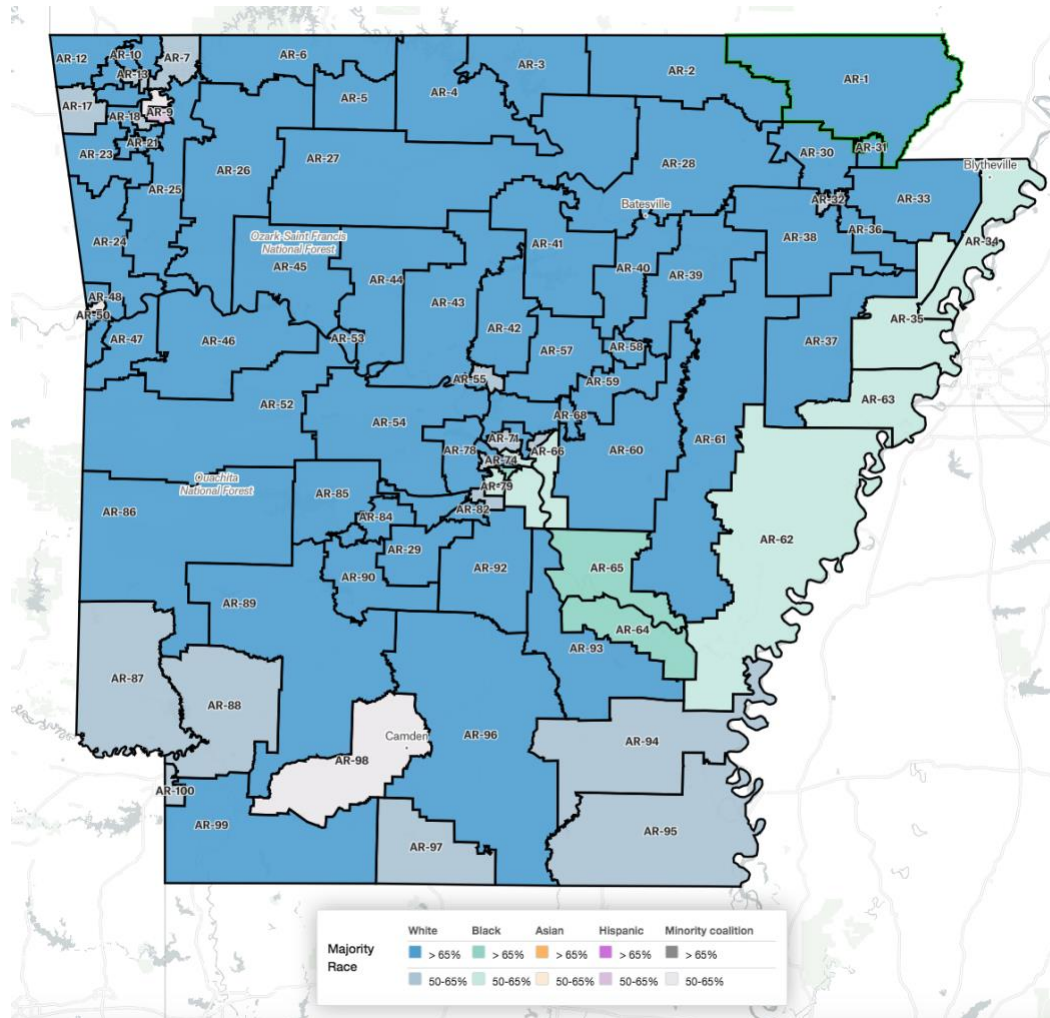
A district that efficiently groups constituents together has higher compactness. Low compactness or districts that branch out to different areas can be indicators of gerrymandering. Compactness is calculated using the Polsby-Popper method. Higher numbers are better.



The BOA Proposed State House Map has over half of its districts passing the compactness test of less than 30%: Districts 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 18, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 47, 52, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 68, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 81, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, and 98. However, forty-six districts failed the compactness test. The following proposed districts had a 75+ score: Districts 5, 9, 17, 77, 79, 80, 85, and 92. Districts 17 and 92 are the most egregious examples of the Board ignoring the principle of compact districts to achieve a partisan result.

DistrictBuilder's Non-Partisan Majority-Minority Rating

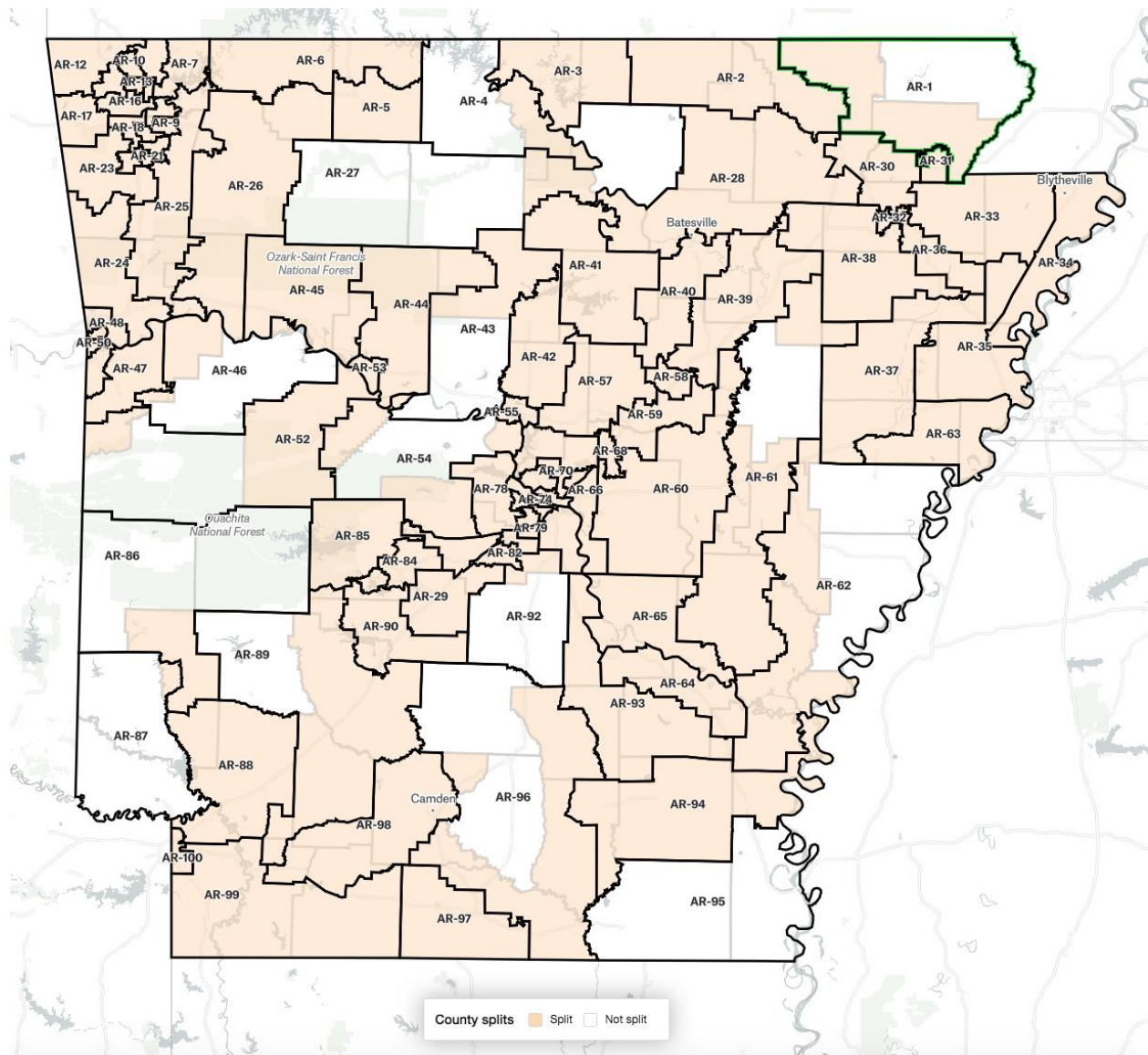
A majority-minority district is a district in which a racial minority group or groups comprise a majority of the district's total population. The display indicates districts where a minority race has a simple majority (Black, Hispanic, etc.), or where the sum of multiple minority races combine to a majority (called "Coalition" districts).



The BOA Proposed State House Map has twelve verified VRA majority-minority districts comprised of over 50% Black voting age population: Districts 34, 35, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 72, 76, 77, 79, and 80. Additionally, it is comprised of one verified VRA majority-minority district comprised of over 50% Hispanic voting age population: District 9. There is also three verified minority coalition district with at least 40% non-white voting age population: District 11, 49, and 98.

DistrictBuilder's Non-Partisan County Splits Rating

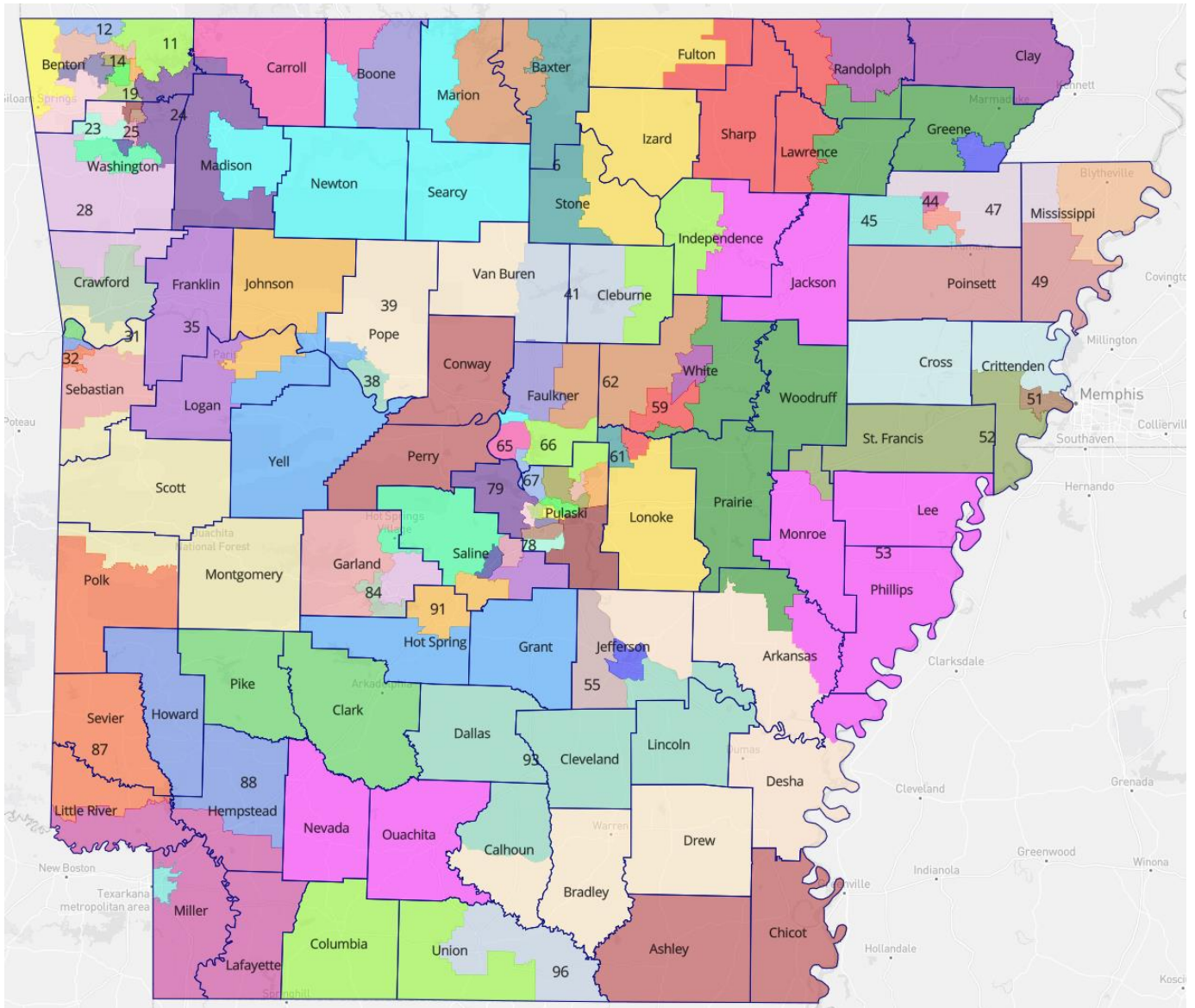
County splits occur when a county is divided between two or more districts. The Board's WHOLENESS criterion of its nine "Redistricting Criteria and Goals" require minimizing county splits, to the extent practicable. However, 53 of the 75 Arkansas counties were split.



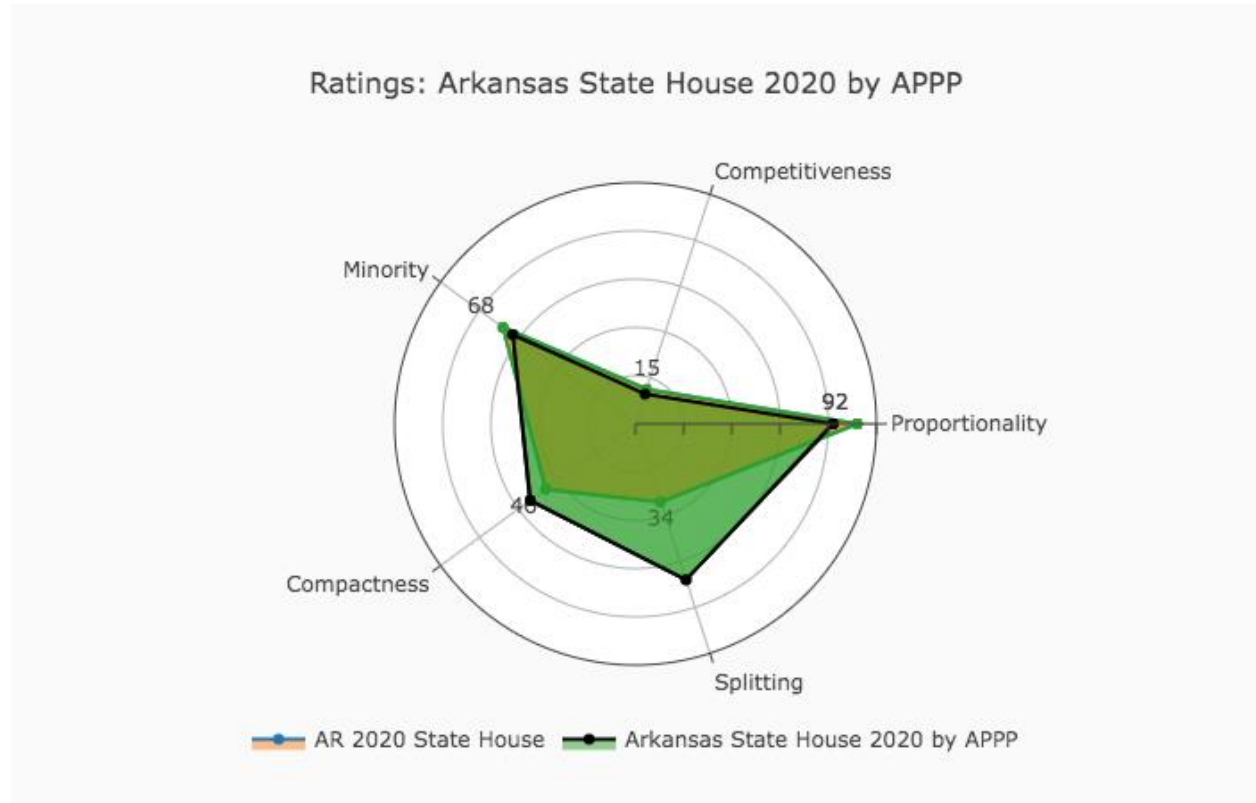
APPENDIX 3: Proposed Alternative Maps that better comply with Board of Apportionment Guidelines

The Arkansas Public Policy Panel and the Arkansas Citizens First Congress jointly propose the following alternative maps for the Arkansas Board of Apportionment to consider:

ALTERNATIVE ARKANSAS HOUSE



This proposed house map solves the problem of unnecessarily excessive political subdivision splitting that is inherent in the Board’s map, as such was addressed by a very large percentage of the comments posted on the Board’s website. Note how many counties and communities are left whole, as compared to the Board’s proposal. Our map demonstrates a much better splitting rating, a higher compactness rating, and a comparable proportionality rating:

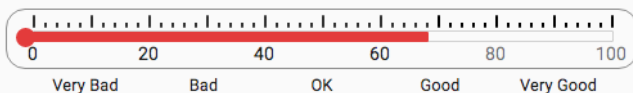


Splitting

All else equal, prefer maps that split counties across districts the least.

Metric	Description
• County splitting	1.41 Measures how much single counties are split across multiple districts. Smaller is better.
• District splitting	1.19 Measures how much single districts are split across multiple counties. Smaller is better.

Rating

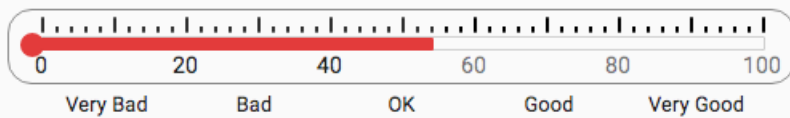


Compactness

All else equal, prefer maps with districts that are more compact.

Metric		Description
• Reock	0.3876	Measures how dispersed district shapes are. Bigger is better.
• Polsby-Popper	0.3129	Measures how indented district shapes are. Bigger is better.

Rating

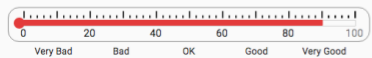


Proportionality

All else equal, prefer maps that are more proportional.

Metric		Description
• Disproportionality	16.13%	The deviation from the number of whole seats closest to proportional. Smaller is better. By convention, positive values of bias metrics favor Republicans & negative values favor Democrats.

Rating



Also, to provide a more accurate measure of the number of Arkansans that will potentially have an opportunity to vote for the candidate that more closely represents their interests, we have decided to use the voting age population to analyze our map's minority representation. (It seems apparent to us that the Board used total population in its own analysis which may give its map inflated numbers.)

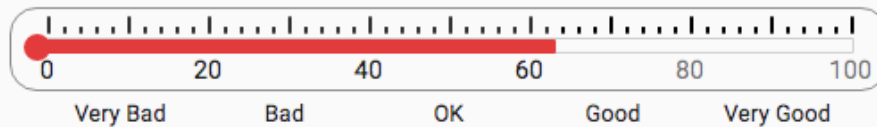
Minority Representation

All else equal, prefer maps that give minorities more opportunities to elect representatives.

District VAP %	Potential Opportunity Districts (based on map)				
	Minority Hispanic	Black	Asian	Native	Pacific
35% ≤ VAP < 40%	5	1	3	0	0
40% ≤ VAP < 45%	7	1	1	0	0
45% ≤ VAP < 50%	0	1	1	0	0
50% ≤ VAP < 55%	5	0	3	0	0
55% ≤ VAP < 60%	2	0	1	0	0
60% ≤ VAP < 100%	8	0	4	0	0

	Proportional Seats (based on total VAP %)				
	Minority Hispanic	Black	Asian	Native	Pacific
Total VAP %	28.48%	7.01%	15.22%	2.11%	3.67%
Proportional Seats	28	7	15	2	4

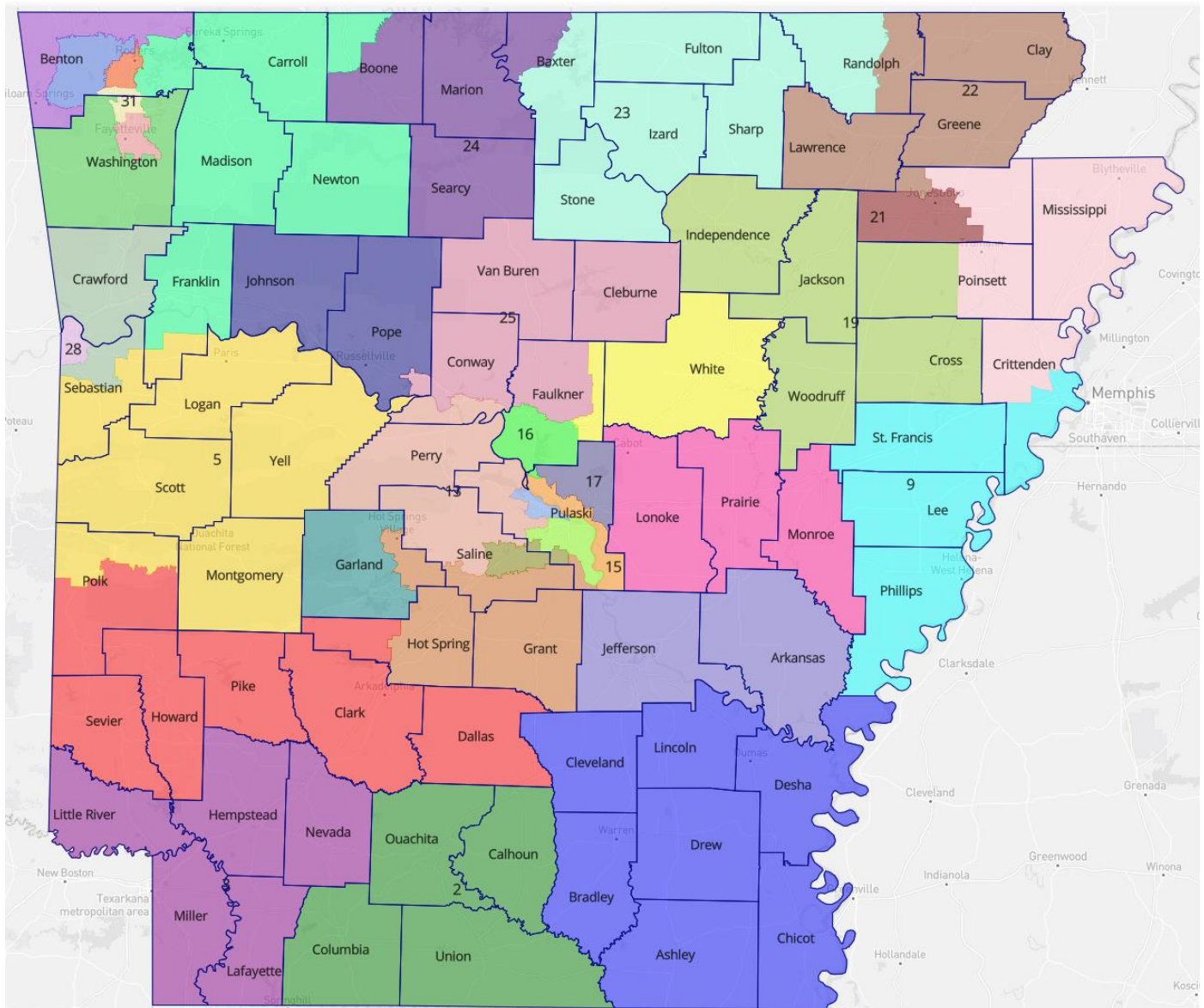
Rating



View our alternative Arkansas House Map online here:

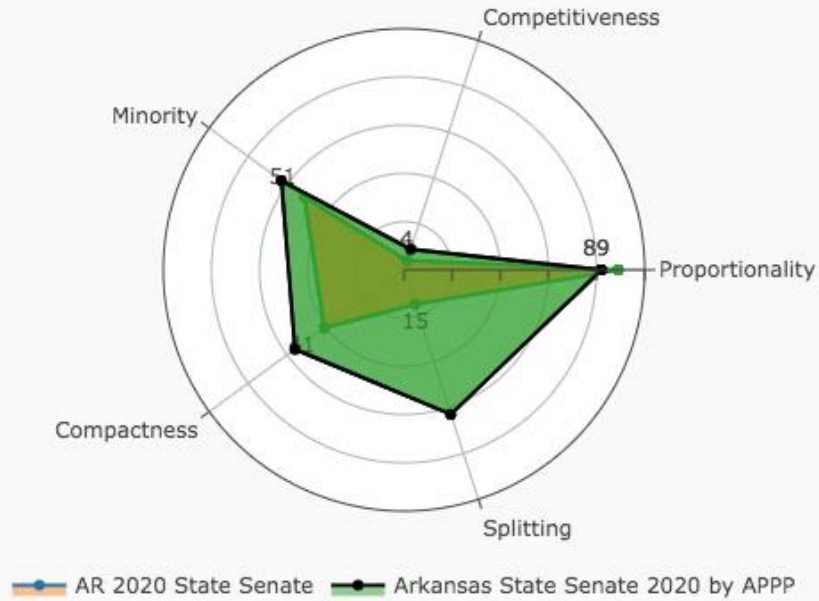
<https://davesredistricting.org/maps#viewmap::53a83a97-74e3-4a03-b6db-d88b058ba621>

ALTERNATIVE ARKANSAS SENATE



Similar to our proposed house map, this proposed senate map solves the problem of unnecessarily excessive political subdivision splitting that is inherent in the Board's map, as noted by a very large percentage of the comments posted on the Board's website. Note how many counties and communities are left whole, as compared to the Board's proposal. Our map demonstrates a much better splitting rating, a higher compactness rating, and a higher minority representation rating.

Ratings: Arkansas State Senate 2020 by APPP

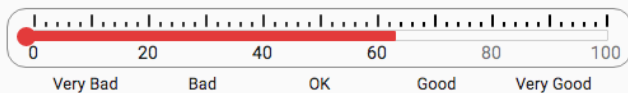


Splitting

All else equal, prefer maps that split counties across districts the least.

Metric	Description
• County splitting	1.28 Measures how much single counties are split across multiple districts. Smaller is better.
• District splitting	1.29 Measures how much single districts are split across multiple counties. Smaller is better.

Rating

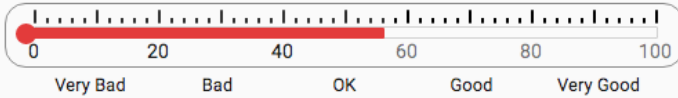


Compactness

All else equal, prefer maps with districts that are more compact.

Metric	Description
• Reock	0.4020 Measures how dispersed district shapes are. Bigger is better.
• Polsby-Popper	0.3011 Measures how indented district shapes are. Bigger is better.

Rating



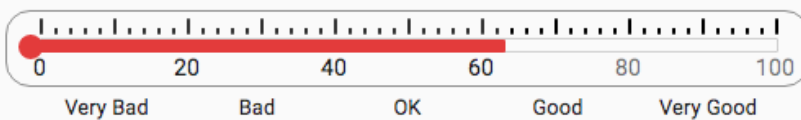
Minority Representation

All else equal, prefer maps that give minorities more opportunities to elect representatives.

District VAP %	Potential Opportunity Districts (based on map)				
	Minority Hispanic	Black	Asian	Native	Pacific
35% ≤ VAP < 40%	5	1	0	0	0
40% ≤ VAP < 45%	1	0	0	0	0
45% ≤ VAP < 50%	0	0	1	0	0
50% ≤ VAP < 55%	2	0	1	0	0
55% ≤ VAP < 60%	1	0	0	0	0
60% ≤ VAP < 100%	1	0	1	0	0

	Proportional Seats (based on total VAP %)					
	Minority Hispanic	Black	Asian	Native	Pacific	
Total VAP %	28.48%	7.01%	15.22%	2.11%	3.67%	0.45%
Proportional Seats	10	2	5	1	1	0

Rating



Finally, both our house and our senate map took into account the more than six dozen Community of Interests (COI) reports with maps that were collected by the Arkansas Fair & Equitable Maps Awareness, Planning and Action Team from citizens throughout the State of Arkansas using its portal on the Representable website. These COI reports with maps, coupled with the dozens of public comments submitted on the Board of Apportionment's website, greatly informed us as to the wishes of all interested Arkansans. This makes us conclude that our maps are much more likely to represent a redistricting process that is geared towards providing all Arkansans fair, equitable and competitive maps that will enhance the opportunity to elect the candidate the best encapsulates our core collective values and principles. The Board's proposed maps are deeply flawed in their own right, but their deficiency is especially clear in comparison to our maps or other similarly drawn maps that better adhere to the legally required criteria. The Board's maps are partisan to an extreme and geared to allow candidates to choose their voters instead of the other way around.

View our alternative Arkansas Senate Map online here:

<https://davesredistricting.org/maps#viewmap::8a66b908-75ab-4d84-a59e-5eb5655821d7>

You can view all six dozen of the Community of Interests (COI) reports with maps submitted at:
<https://www.representable.org/map/AR/>

APPENDIX 4: PARTIAL LIST OF CITIES AND COUNTIES UNNECESSARILY DIVIDED BY BOARD OF APPORTIONMENT PROPOSAL

The following is only a partial list of communities unnecessarily divided in the name of partisan and racial gerrymandering:

Cities:

- Bella Vista
- Benton
- Bentonville
- Bethel Heights
- Bryant
- Camden
- Centerton
- Clarkesville
- Conway
- El Dorado
- Enola
- Fairfield Bay
- Farmington
- Fayetteville
- Forrest City
- Fort Smith
- Gentry
- Gilmore
- Green Forest
- Haskell
- Heber Springs
- Highfill
- Hiwasse
- Hot Springs
- Hot Springs Village
- Hoxie
- Jacksonville
- Jonesboro
- Lake Hamilton
- Little Rock
- Lowell
- Madison
- Magnolia
- Marked Tree
- Maumelle
- Mayflower
- Mountain Home
- Mulberry
- North Little Rock
- Percy
- Pine Bluff
- Pottsville
- Prairie Grove
- Quitman
- Rogers
- Salem
- Sherwood
- Springdale
- Texarkana
- Tuckerman
- Turrell
- Walnut Ridge
- West Memphis

Counties:

- Baxter
- Bradley
- Cleburne
- Cleveland
- Craighead
- Crittenden
- Cross
- Desha
- Drew
- Faulkner
- Fulton
- Garland
- Grant
- Hempstead
- Jefferson
- Lawrence
- Lincoln
- Logan
- Mississippi
- Ouachita
- Poinsett
- Pulaski
- Searcy
- Stone
- Union

APPENDIX 5: Background on the AR Board of Apportionment Process

In Arkansas, “The Board of Apportionment” is the body that is legally responsible for drawing redistricting maps for the state legislature after each federal decennial census. The Board, which is composed of the sitting governor, attorney general and Secretary of State, was created in 1936 by Amendment 23 to the Article 8 of the 1874 Constitution of the State of Arkansas, which reads in its entirety:

Section 1 (Board of apportionment created – Powers and duties)

A Board to be known as "The Board of Apportionment," consisting of the Governor (who shall be Chairman), the Secretary of State and the Attorney General is hereby created and it shall be its imperative duty to make apportionment of representatives in accordance with the provisions hereof; the action of a majority in each instance shall be deemed the action of said board.

Section 2 (One hundred members in House of Representatives – Apportionment)

The House of Representatives shall consist of one hundred members and each county existing at the time of any apportionment shall have at least one representative; the remaining members shall be equally distributed (as nearly as practicable) among the more populous counties of the State, in accordance with a ratio to be determined by the population of said counties as shown by the Federal census next preceding any apportionment hereunder.

Section 3 (Senatorial districts – Thirty-five members of Senate)

The Senate shall consist of thirty-five members. Senatorial districts shall at all times consist of contiguous territory, and no county shall be divided in the formation of such districts. "The Board of Apportionment" hereby created shall, from time to time, divide the state into convenient senatorial districts in such manner as that the Senate shall be based upon the inhabitants of the state, each senator representing, as nearly as practicable, an equal number thereof; each district shall have at least one senator.

Section 4 (Duties of Board of Apportionment)

On or before February 1 immediately following each Federal census, said board shall reapportion the State for Representatives, and in each instance said board shall file its report with the Secretary of State, setting forth (a) the basis of population adopted for representatives; (b) the number of representatives assigned to each county; whereupon, after 30 days from such filing date, the apportionment thus made shall become effective unless proceedings for revision be instituted in the Supreme Court within said period.

Section 5 (Mandamus to compel Board of Apportionment to act)

Original jurisdiction (to be exercised on application of any citizens and taxpayers) is hereby vested in the Supreme Court of the State (a) to compel (by mandamus or otherwise) the board to perform its duties as here directed and (b) to revise any arbitrary action of or abuse of discretion by the board in making such apportionment; provided any such application for revision shall be filed with said Court within 30 days after the filing of the report of apportionment by said board with the Secretary of State; if revised by the court, a certified copy of its judgment shall be by the clerk thereof forthwith transmitted to the Secretary of State, and thereupon be and become a substitute for the apportionment made by the board.

Section 6 (Election of Senators and Representatives)

At the next general election for State and County officers ensuing after any such apportionment, Representatives shall be elected in accordance therewith, Senators shall be elected henceforth according to the apportionment now existing, and their respective terms of office shall begin on January 1 next following. Senators shall be elected for a term of four years at the expiration of their present terms of office.

[As amended by Const. Amends. 23 and 45.]

The Board originally convened on May 24, 2021. At its next meeting on June 7, 2021, it hired former state Supreme Court Chief Justice Betty Dickey to lead the legislative redistricting efforts on its behalf. On July 29, 2021, Chief Justice Dickey held the first in a series of eight public hearings throughout the state to explain the redistricting process and allow for public comments. Those hearings were held as follows:

University of Arkansas at Monticello
Fine Arts Center
371 University Drive
Monticello

Thursday, July 29, 2021, 6:30-8:00pm

25 minutes, 54 seconds

VIEW HERE: <https://APJMM.news/ARedistrictingBOA1stHearing>

Arkansas State University in Mountain Home
Vada Sheid Community Development Center
1600 South College Street
Mountain Home

Tuesday, August 3, 2021, 6:30-8:00pm

40 minutes, 25 seconds

VIEW HERE: <https://APJMM.news/ARedistrictingBOA2ndHearing>

Walmart Auditorium Shewmaker Center for Workforce Technologies
1000 S.E. Eagle Way
Bentonville
Thursday, August 5, 2021, 6:30-8:00pm
56 minutes, 55 seconds
VIEW HERE: <https://APJMM.news/ARedistrictingBOA3rdHearing>

University of Arkansas at Hope
Hempstead Hall
2500 South Main Street
Hope
Tuesday, August 10, 2021, 6:30-8:00pm
33 minutes, 46 seconds
VIEW HERE: <https://APJMM.news/ARedistrictingBOA4thHearing>

Phillips County Community College
Fine Arts Center
1000 Campus Road
Helena
Thursday, August 12, 2021, 6:30-8:00pm
48 minutes, 5 seconds
VIEW HERE: <https://APJMM.news/ARedistrictingBOA5thHearing>

University of Arkansas at Fort Smith
Smith-Pendergraft Campus Center
800 North 50th Street
Fort Smith
Tuesday, August 17, 2021, 6:30-8:00pm
38 minutes, 55 seconds
VIEW HERE: <https://APJMM.news/ARedistrictingBOA6thHearing>

Arkansas State University in Jonesboro
Carl R. Reng Student Union
101 North Caraway Road
Jonesboro
Thursday, August 19, 2021, 6:30-8:00pm
41 minutes, 46 seconds
VIEW HERE: <https://APJMM.news/ARedistrictingBOA7thHearing>

University of Arkansas at Little Rock
Jack Stephens Center
2801 South University Avenue
Little Rock

Tuesday, August 24, 2021, 6:30-8:00pm
2 hours, 5 minutes, 38 seconds

VIEW HERE: <https://APJMM.news/ARedistrictingBOA8thHearing>

On October 29, 2021, the Board released its proposed maps for the State Senate and the State House.

APPENDIX 6 Background on the Arkansas Public Policy Panel and Arkansas Public Policy Panel

The Arkansas Public Policy Panel is a statewide organization dedicated to achieving social and economic justice by organizing citizen groups around the state, educating and supporting them to be more effective and powerful, and linking them with one another in coalitions and networks. The Panel seeks to bring balance to the public policy process in Arkansas. We have members in every county in Arkansas and a long tradition of encouraging robust civic participation in our electoral process.

The Arkansas Citizens First Congress is a coalition of grassroots communities and allies working together to establish a strong public voice to influence political and policy decisions and ensure accountability. Our membership has over 50 organizations representing over 40,000 Arkansans across the state.

