# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT EASTERN DISTRICT OF ARKANSAS CENTRAL DIVISION

FILED
U.S. DISTRICT COURT
EASTERN DISTRICT ARKANSAS

DEC 2 9 2021

THE ARKANSAS STATE CONFERENCE NAACP and

ARKANSAS PUBLIC POLICY PANEL

TAMMY H. DOWNS, CLERK
By:

PLAINTIFFS

DEP CLERK

v.

Case No. 4:21-cv-1239-LPR

THE ARKANSAS BOARD OF APPORTIONMENT;

ASA HUTCHINSON, in his official capacity as the Governor of Arkansas Chairman of the Arkansas Board of Apportionment;

JOHN THURSTON, in his official capacity as the Secretary of State of Arkansas and as a member of the Arkansas Board of Apportionment;

LESLIE RUTLEDGE, in her official capacity as the Attorney General of the State of Arkansas and as a member of the Arkansas Board of Apportionment; and

THE STATE OF ARKANSAS

**DEFENDANTS** 

This case assigned to District Judge Rudofsky and to Magistrate Judge Volpe

#### COMPLAINT FOR INJUNCTIVE AND DECLARATORY RELIEF

#### **Introduction**

This is an action under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C. § 10301, challenging the reapportionment plan for the Arkansas House of Representatives that took effect today. The plaintiffs are non-partisan, non-profit, interracial membership organizations that seek declaratory and injunctive relief prohibiting the implementation of that plan on the ground that their members are irreparably harmed by living and voting in districts whose boundaries dilute

Black voting strength. The defendants include the Arkansas Board of Apportionment, which drew the plan, state officials, and the State of Arkansas.

## **JURISDICTION AND VENUE**

- 1. This Court has original jurisdiction of this action under 28 U.S.C. §§ 1331, 1343(a)(3)-(4), 1357, and 2201(a), and 52 U.S.C. § 10308(f).
  - 2. Venue is proper in this Court under 28 U.S.C. § 1391(b).

## **PARTIES**

- 3. Plaintiff THE ARKANSAS STATE CONFERENCE NAACP ("Arkansas NAACP") is a non-partisan, non-profit, interracial membership organization affiliated with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ("NAACP"). Its mission is to eliminate racial discrimination through democratic processes and to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of all citizens. It is headquartered in Little Rock and has approximately 2,625 members. It has members who are African-American registered voters in each of the areas where the plaintiffs allege that vote dilution is occurring. These members are irreparably harmed by living and voting in districts whose boundaries dilute Black voting strength.
- 4. Plaintiff ARKANSAS PUBLIC POLICY PANEL ("Arkansas PPP") is a non-profit, non-partisan, interracial membership organization founded in 1963. Its mission is to achieve 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. It is headquartered in Little Rock and has approximately 3,000 members. It has members who are African-American registered voters in each of the areas where

the plaintiffs allege that vote dilution is occurring. These members are irreparably harmed by living and voting in districts whose boundaries dilute Black voting strength.

- 5. Defendant THE STATE OF ARKANSAS is one of the states of the United States of America.
- 6. Defendant THE ARKANSAS BOARD OF APPORTIONMENT ("the Board") is the state body with the duty to apportion Arkansas's state legislative districts under Article VIII of the Arkansas Constitution. The Board consists of the Governor, Secretary of State, and Attorney General of the State of Arkansas.
- 7. Defendant ASA HUTCHINSON is the Governor of Arkansas and the Chairman of the Board. He is sued in his official capacity.
- 8. Defendant JOHN THURSTON is the Secretary of State of Arkansas and a member of the Board. He is sued in his official capacity.
- 9. Defendant LESLIE RUTLEDGE is the Attorney General of the State of Arkansas and a member of the Board. She is sued in her official capacity.

# **STATEMENT OF FACTS**

#### **The 2021 Redistricting Process**

10. The Arkansas House of Representatives (the "House") is the lower house of the Arkansas General Assembly, which is the state legislature of the State of Arkansas. It consists of 100 members, and each member is elected by plurality vote from a single-member district in partisan elections held in November of even-numbered years. The term of office is two years, and members are limited to sixteen years in the House.

- 11. The Arkansas Constitution requires the Board to redraw the boundaries of state

  House districts following each decennial census to reflect changes in the state's population. The

  Board operates by majority vote, and its reapportionment plans become effective 30 days after
  the Board files them with the Secretary of State unless proceedings for revisions are instituted in
  the Arkansas Supreme Court.
- 12. Following the release of the 2020 Census, the Board adopted a reapportionment plan for the state House ("Board Plan") on November 29, 2021. It filed the plan with the Secretary of State on the same day; no proceedings have been instituted in the Arkansas Supreme Court regarding the plan; and it became effective on December 29, 2021. A copy of that plan is attached to this complaint as Exhibit 1.
- 13. The Board Plan contains 11 districts in which Black voters have a meaningful opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. Those are House Districts 35, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 72, 76, 77, 79, and 80.

#### **Demographics in Arkansas**

- 14. According to the 2020 Census, the State of Arkansas has a total population of 3,011,524 persons, of whom 2,063,550 (68.5%) are non-Hispanic White, 495,968 (16.5%) are Black (alone or in combination with another racial group), and 452,006 (15.0%) are members of other racial or ethnic groups.<sup>1</sup>
- 15. According to the 2020 Census, Arkansas has a voting-age population of 2,312,273 persons, of whom 1,653,772 (71.5%) are non-Hispanic White, 351,878 (15.2%) are Black (alone

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, *P1:Race (Arkansas)*, 2020 Census Redistricting Data, https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?g=0400000US05&y=2020&tid=DECENNIALPL2020.P1; U.S. Census Bureau, *P2: Hispanic or Latino, and Not Hispanic Or Latino By Race (Arkansas)*, 2020 Census Redistricting Data, https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?g=0400000US05&y=2020&tid=DECENNIALPL2020.P2

or in combination with another racial group), and 306,623 (13.3%) are members of other racial or ethnic groups.<sup>2</sup>

- 16. According to the 2019 American Community Survey 1-year estimates, which is the most recent citizenship data available, Arkansas has a citizen voting-age population of 2,235,415 persons, of whom 1,727,484 (77.3%) are non-Hispanic White, 345,456 (15.5%) are Black alone, and 162,475 (7.2%) are members of other racial or ethnic groups.<sup>3</sup>
- 17. Arkansas's Black population has grown since the 2010 Census, in both absolute and relative numbers. In 2010, Arkansas's total Black population was 468,710 (16.1%). Since then, Arkansas's Black population has grown by 27,258 people, and Black Arkansans' share of the state's total population has increased by 0.4%.<sup>4</sup>

#### **Gingles Preconditions**

- 18. In *Thornburg v. Gingles*, the Supreme Court explained the elements required for a vote-dilution claim under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, including three demographic prerequisites. 478 U.S. 30, 50–51 (1986).
- 19. <u>First Gingles Precondition</u>: Black Arkansans are sufficiently numerous and geographically compact to constitute a majority of the voting-age population in more than 11 House districts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, *P3: Race for the Population 18 Years and Over (Arkansas)*, 2020 Census Redistricting Data, https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?g=0400000US05&y=2020&tid=DECENNIALPL2020.P3; U.S. Census Bureau, *P4: Hispanic or Latino, And Not Hispanic Or Latino By Race for the Population 18 Years and Over (Arkansas)*, 2020 Census Redistricting Data,

https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?g=0400000US05&y=2020&tid=DECENNIALPL2020.P4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, *S2901: Citizen, Voting-Age Population by Selected Characteristics* (Arkansas), 2019 ACS 1-Year Estimates, https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=S2901%3A%20CITIZEN,%20VOTING-AGE%20POPULATION%20BY%20SELECTED%20CHARACTERISTICS&g=0400000US05

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, *Race and Ethnicity in the United States: 2010 Census and 2020 Census*, https://www.census.gov/library/visualizations/interactive/race-and-ethnicity-in-the-united-state-2010-and-2020-census.html

- 20. For example, the Illustrative Plan attached hereto as Exhibit 2 contains 16 reasonably compact majority-Black districts in which Black voters have a meaningful opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. These are House Districts 5, 11, 12, 16, 17, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, 42, 48, 50, 51, 55.
- 21. The Illustrative Plan shows that, compared to the Board's plan, additional majority-Black districts can be drawn in the following areas:
  - a. *Central Arkansas*: The Board Plan includes six majority-Black districts in the Central Arkansas region (House Districts 66, 72, 76, 77, 79, and 80). One additional majority-Black district can be drawn in the Central Arkansas region by "unpacking" the Black population in House Districts 76, 77, 79, and 80, and by "uncracking" the Black populations in House Districts 74 and 75. The Illustrative Plan includes seven reasonably compact majority-black districts in the Central Arkansas region (House Districts 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, and 42).
  - b. *Upper Delta*: The Board Plan includes two majority-Black districts in the Upper Delta region (House Districts 35 and 63). One additional majority-Black district can be drawn in the Upper Delta by "uncracking" the Black population split between House Districts 34 and 37. The Illustrative Plan includes three reasonably compact majority-Black districts in the Upper Delta region (House Districts 50, 51, and 55).
  - c. Lower Delta: The Board Plan includes three majority-Black districts in the Lower Delta region (House Districts 62, 64, and 65). Two additional majority-Black districts can be drawn in the Lower Delta by "uncracking" the Black population split in the Board Plan between House Districts 94 and 95, by "unpacking" the Black population

in House Districts 64 and 65, by reconfiguring House District 62, and by "uncracking" the Black population spread across House Districts 61, 90, 93, and 96. The Illustrative Plan includes five reasonably compact majority-Black districts in the Lower Delta region (House Districts 11, 12, 16, 17, and 48).

- d. Southwest Arkansas: The Board Plan includes no majority-Black districts in the Southwest Arkansas region. One additional majority-Black district can be drawn in the Southwest Arkansas region by "uncracking" the Black population split in the Board Plan among House Districts 97, 98, and 99. The Illustrative Plan contains one reasonably compact majority-Black district in the Southwest Arkansas region (House District 5).
- 22. <u>Second Gingles Precondition</u>: Black voters in Arkansas are politically cohesive.
- 23. In recent statewide elections, for example, Black voters have often supported their preferred candidates with greater than 80 percent of their votes.
- 24. <u>Third Gingles Precondition</u>: Except in elections where Black voters form an effective majority, white voters in Arkansas vote sufficiently as a bloc to enable them—in the absence of special circumstances—usually to defeat the candidates preferred by Black voters.
- 25. In recent statewide elections, for example, white voters have often supported their preferred candidates with greater than 70 percent of their votes and were able to defeat the candidates preferred by Black voters in each one.

#### **Senate Factors**

26. Once the above demographic prerequisites are met, a court must assess a claim for vote dilution by reviewing the totality of the circumstances. *See Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 45 (listing

out factors from the "Senate Report" that can establish a vote-dilution claim under the Voting Rights Act).

- 27. Senate Factor 1: Arkansas has a long history of official voting-related discrimination against its Black citizens. *See, e.g., Jeffers v. Clinton*, 730 F. Supp. 196, 211 (E.D. Ark. 1989) ("In short, there is a long history of official [voting] discrimination."); *Smith v. Clinton*, 687 F. Supp. 1310, 1317 (E.D. Ark. 1988) ("The Court takes judicial notice that there is a history of racial discrimination in the electoral process in Arkansas. ... We do not believe that this history of discrimination, which affects the exercise of the right to vote in all elections under state law, must be proved anew in each case under the Voting Rights Act.").
- 28. <u>Senate Factor 2</u>: Voting in Arkansas's elections is highly polarized along racial lines.
- 29. <u>Senate Factor 3</u>: Arkansas's electoral system maintains voting procedures and practices that disenfranchise and dilute the political power of its Black citizens. Arkansas's long and continuing history of majority-vote requirements, off-cycle elections, and at-large elections at the municipal level all serve to discriminate against Black Arkansans. Further, other existing voting laws and procedures disproportionately harm Black Arkansans.
- 30. <u>Senate Factor 5</u>: Black Arkansans continue to bear the effects of the State's long history of racial discrimination in a way that impedes their political participation. As compared to their white counterparts, Black Arkansans have higher poverty and child poverty rates, higher unemployment rates, higher incarceration and juvenile incarceration rates, lower high school and college graduation rates, and worse health outcomes and life expectancy. Black Arkansans are

also less likely to own a home, have access to a motor vehicle, and have access to the internet.

Black voter turnout also tends to be depressed compared to white turnout.

- 31. Senate Factor 6: There is a long and continuing history of both overt and implicit race-based appeals in political campaigns across the state. Throughout the civil rights era, politicians in Arkansas regularly ran on militant segregationist platforms in order to curry favor from white citizens. To this day, candidates for elected office across Arkansas continue to make racially charged appeals. In just the past few years alone, candidates for high-profile offices in Arkansas have linked people of color to criminality and gangs, used racial epithets, and invoked lynching in their campaign rhetoric and materials.
- 32. Senate Factor 7: At all levels of politics in Arkansas, Black citizens are underrepresented in their rates of election to public office. Arkansas has never had a Black member of the United States Senate or House of Representatives, the only southern state that has failed to do so. Only one Black person has ever been elected statewide in Arkansas history. No Black Arkansans have ever been elected to the state supreme court, and Black Arkansans are significantly underrepresented in the state judiciary more broadly. No Black Arkansans served in the state legislature from 1893-1972, and today, white people make up 89% of the state legislature, meaning they are vastly overrepresented based on the statewide white population. There are 24 Black mayors in Arkansas as of 2021, representing less than 5% of all mayorships in the state at a time when Black people make up 16.5% of the total population.
- 33. <u>Proportionality</u>: The Board Plan lacks rough proportionality in that the percentage of districts in which African-American voters constitute an effective majority (11%) is less than the Black percentage of Arkansas's total population (16.5%), voting-age population (15.2%) and

citizen voting-age population (15.5%). Five additional districts in which Black voters constitute an effective majority would better achieve rough proportionality as contemplated by the Voting Rights Act.

## **CLAIM FOR RELIEF**

# Count 1: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act

- 34. The allegations contained in the preceding paragraphs are alleged as if fully set forth herein.
- 35. The Board Plan for the Arkansas House of Representatives dilutes Black voting strength in violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, as amended, 52 U.S.C. § 10301.

### **Basis for Equitable Relief**

- 36. Plaintiffs have no adequate remedy at law. Only declaratory and equitable relief can remedy the harms alleged above.
- 37. Despite fundamental concerns about discrimination in the voting and redistricting process, the 2022 election cycle is quickly approaching. By statute, the general primary election must be held on "the third Tuesday in June preceding the general election," which would be June 21, 2022. Ark. Code § 7-7-203. The candidate filing period for primary elections runs from February 22, 2022, to March 1, 2022. *See id.* (party filing period begins "one week prior to the first day in March").
- 38. Without judicial intervention, the Board's reapportionment plan will be used in elections from 2022 until 2032. This poses a concrete and certainly impending risk to Plaintiffs that—if not addressed—will result in irreparable harm to their members' voting rights. That

harm will occur unless the current reapportionment plan is declared unlawful and enjoined by the

Court.

PRAYER FOR RELIEF

WHEREFORE, Plaintiffs respectfully request that the Court:

A. Declare the Board Plan to be in violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act;

B. Enjoin the Defendants from using the Board Plan for elections for the Arkansas House;

C. Enjoin Defendants from failing to hold elections for the Arkansas House using a plan that

complies with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act;

D. Award Plaintiffs their costs, expenses, and disbursements, and reasonable attorneys' fees

incurred in bring this pursuant to in accordance with 52 U.S.C. § 10310(e) and 42 U.S.C.

§ 1988;

E. Retain jurisdiction over this matter until all Defendants have complied with all orders and

mandates of this Court;

F. Grant such other and further relief as the Court may deem just and proper.

Dated: December 29, 2021

Respectfully submitted,

Gary Solivan (AR Bar: 92051)

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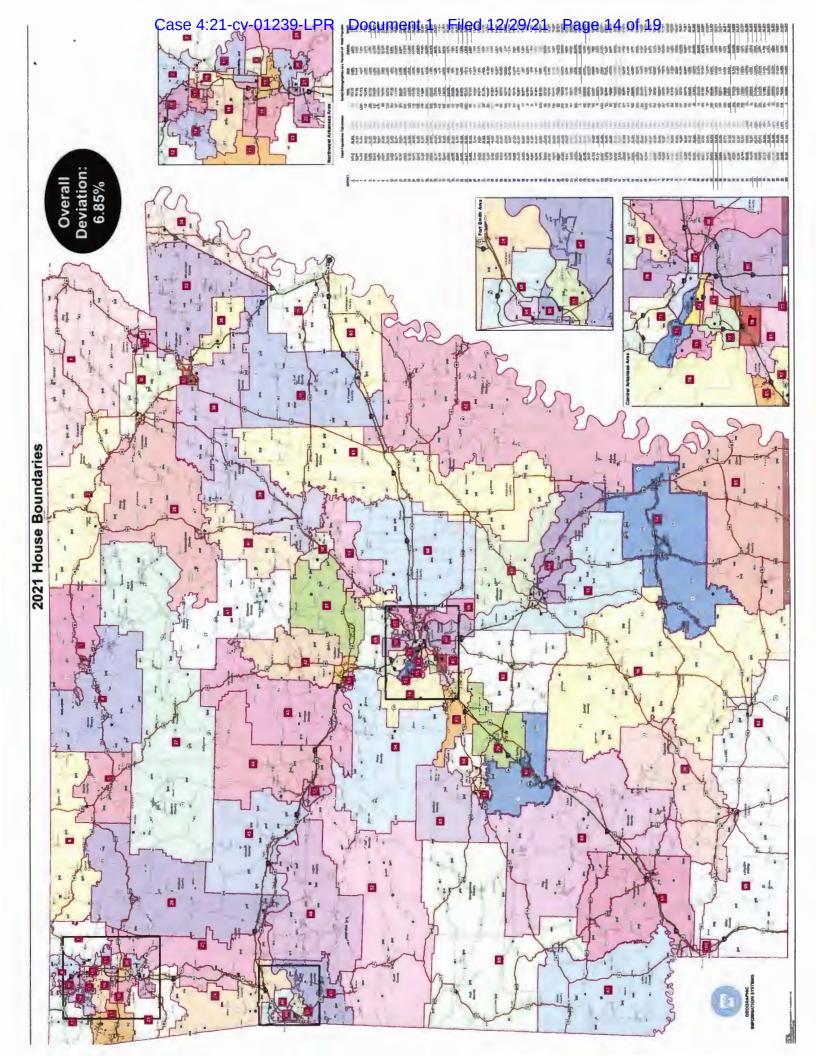
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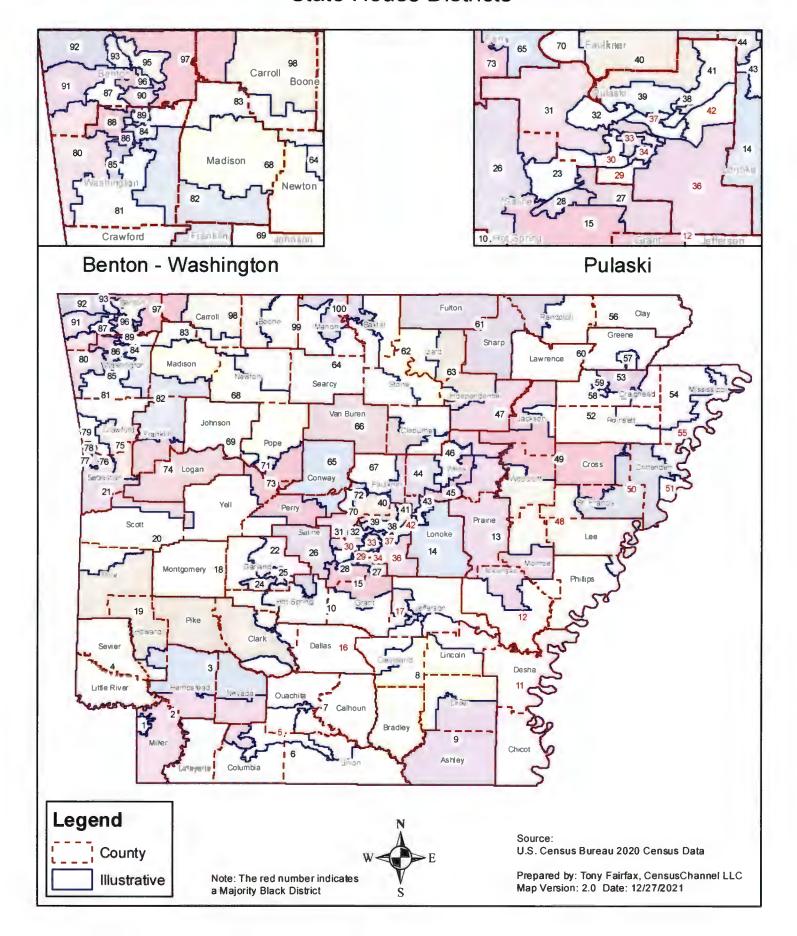
# EXHIBIT 1



# EXHIBIT 2

# Arkansas

# Illustrative Plan State House Districts



Arkansas State House Districts Illustrative Complaint Plan

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Arkansas State House Districts Illustrative Complaint Plan

	142	0.47%	23,973	4.06%	72.51%	17.61%	2.77%	78.03%	16.47%
	-15	-0.05%	23,237	4.01%	72.91%	17.02%	2.53%	76.21%	18.37%
	1,428	4.74%	24,091	4.51%	78.78%	11.40%	2.30%	83.93%	10.85%
30,460	345	1.15%	23,620	5.46%	64.84%	23.52%	4.04%	70.81%	21.79%
28,692	-1,423	-4.73%	21,071	2.86%	37.03%	53.25%	2.02%	45.71%	50.34%
30,797	682	2.26%	22,333	4.47%	82.98%	2.92%	4.23%	%90.06	2.74%
31,076	196	3.19%	23,132	3.09%	88.86%	1.63%	2.25%	94.56%	0.82%
29,648	-467	-1.55%	22,909	4.74%	81.62%	7.71%	2.83%	%69.06	5.24%
30,397	282	0.94%	23,213	3.11%	86.78%	5.12%	2.06%	91.73%	4.46%
31,157	1,042	3.46%	23,663	2.46%	86.10%	7.12%	1.70%	89.84%	5.89%
28,702	-1,413	-4.69%	22,247	1.94%	41.96%	54.30%	1.14%	44.56%	53.58%
30,171	99	0.19%	23,794	1.72%	74.78%	20.47%	1.28%	75.08%	18.91%
31,204	1,089	3.62%	24,086	3.06%	40.75%	54.06%	2.28%	41.01%	52.87%
28,662	-1,453	-4.82%	21,031	2.18%	37.50%	58.23%	0.98%	43.68%	52.35%
31,270	1,155	3.84%	23,825	2.40%	82.65%	6.19%	1.85%	91.26%	3.99%
30,101	-14	-0.05%	22,890	3.65%	83.58%	8.68%	1.39%	90.19%	7.18%
31,577	1,462	4.85%	23,566	3.75%	86.74%	2.96%	2.25%	90.76%	4.83%
29,043	-1,072	-3.56%	21,512	3.15%	43.33%	51.41%	2.29%	44.30%	50.03%
31,238	1,123	3.73%	24,032	1.70%	92.03%	1.00%	1.23%	96.15%	1.19%
30,849	734	2.44%	23,037	3.39%	88.71%	2.62%	1.95%	94.46%	2.12%
29,129	-986	-3.27%	22,093	4.13%	74.50%	16.36%	2.43%	79.53%	15.38%
29,296	-819	-2.72%	21,564	9.16%	56.23%	29.37%	2.50%	67.67%	28.55%
31,103	988	3.28%	24,046	1.50%	93.45%	0.98%	1.18%	96.43%	0.94%
31,231	1,116	3.71%	24,621	1.31%	92.64%	0.63%	1.35%	95.74%	0.41%
29,387	-728	-2.42%	24,307	1.63%	92.29%	1.23%	1.57%	94.95%	1.22%
29,897	-218	-0.72%	23,103	7.30%	84.34%	3.11%	3.17%	91.81%	2.36%
31,390	1,275	4.23%	25,206	1.48%	92.11%	0.20%	1.26%	95.19%	0.40%
29,233	-882	-2.93%	22,632	3.25%	80.80%	10.52%	1.48%	85.91%	10.98%
30,757	642	2.13%	24,973	2.19%	95.26%	0.64%	1.85%	92.62%	0.44%
29,252	-863	-2.87%	21,558	2.63%	89.50%	2.52%	1.09%	94.31%	2.96%
29,759	-356	-1.18%	22,891	4.07%	87.47%	1.11%	7.69%	83.90%	0.74%
29,194	-921	-3.06%	22,003	10.18%	79.61%	2.32%	4.38%	89.62%	1.82%
30,659	544	1.81%	24,487	5.12%	71.83%	16.57%	2.79%	79.55%	13.60%
29,804	-311	-1.03%	23,431	13.20%	73.98%	6.88%	6.79%	84.77%	5.75%
29,428	-687	-2.28%	22,901	6.85%	65.54%	22.21%	2.70%	75.34%	20.08%
29,033	-1,082	-3.59%	21,919	8.59%	84.62%	1.44%	4.63%	92.07%	1.90%
	-372	-1.24%	22,789	2.35%	89.39%	1.22%	1.93%	93.16%	1.42%

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Arkansas State House Districts Illustrative Complaint Plan

% CVAP_BLK19	0.97%	6.13%	5.97%	19.86%	2.11%	1.10%	3.24%	1.67%	2.51%	2.90%	6.75%	6.05%	3.27%	2.28%	3.10%	1.63%	2.05%	2.83%	2.40%	2.13%	0.75%	2.35%	0.59%	0.26%	0.48%	0.21%
% CVAP_WHT19 %C	92.02%	79.88%	78.00%	52.25%	82.75%	86.26%	90.62%	93.29%	78.30%	89.10%	83.60%	83.06%	83.33%	78.09%	62.37%	82.64%	81.46%	%67.06	86.61%	84.93%	89.00%	67.17%	93.46%	89.91%	94.77%	95 33%
% CVAP_HSP19 %	3.43%	4.76%	7.09%	17.55%	2.93%	4.89%	2.90%	2.21%	11.75%	4.19%	4.35%	2.79%	%95'9	13.39%	27.49%	10.65%	856.9	2.95%	7.02%	8.30%	6.38%	27.03%	3.09%	6.40%	2.13%	2.18%
% 18+ AP BIK	1.43%	6.11%	8.02%	15.06%	2.36%	1.08%	3.65%	1.95%	2.46%	4.18%	5.14%	8:00:6	3.58%	2.93%	2.52%	2.08%	2.14%	2.63%	2.18%	2.71%	1.27%	1.71%	0.85%	0.58%	0.53%	%6E U
% NH18+_Wht	85.57%	73.29%	72.44%	38.66%	77.83%	75.87%	83.20%	86.18%	63.86%	81.11%	78.76%	72.28%	65.29%	60.18%	33.26%	67.30%	70.84%	80.63%	80.77%	%16.79	79.12%	45.38%	87.14%	80.11%	90.85%	92 43%
% H18+ Pop	4.14%	7.24%	8.05%	33.81%	8.57%	10.81%	4.69%	4.14%	23.50%	6.04%	7.03%	8.87%	8.06%	23.57%	47.36%	19.97%	14.29%	7.11%	7.04%	16.41%	11.94%	45.57%	4.81%	11.44%	2.22%	2 16%
18+ Pop	23,127	23,102	23,316	21,808	23,456	23,121	24,971	22,824	22,798	23,163	26,716	25,331	22,136	22,858	20,762	21,642	22,829	22,968	23,441	23,546	24,231	22,050	24,779	22,348	24,258	26 16R
% Deviation	2.49%	-3.46%	-0.72%	1.12%	3.99%	4.15%	4.79%	-0.04%	2.23%	-1.61%	3.92%	3.51%	3.38%	4.53%	3.35%	3.66%	4.70%	1.79%	3.31%	4.15%	4.88%	3.86%	4.12%	-1.74%	3.41%	A 89%
Deviation	750	-1,041	-217	338	1,201	1,250	1,442	-11	672	-484	1,180	1,058	1,018	1,364	1,009	1,103	1,414	538	166	1,250	1,470	1,161	1,241	-523	1,028	1 474
Population	30,865	29,074	29,898	30,453	31,316	31,365	31,557	30,104	30,787	29,631	31,295	31,173	31,133	31,479	31,124	31,218	31,529	30,653	31,112	31,365	31,585	31,276	31,356	29,592	31,143	31 589
District	075	976	770	078	620	080	081	082	083	084	085	980	087	880	680	060	091	092	660	094	960	960	260	860	660	100