



PREDICTABLE RESULTS



A Report from the League of Women Voters of Ohio Comparing 2011 Gerrymandering to the 2012 and 2014 Election Results

- ✓ *Were Ohio's U.S. Congressional and state General Assembly districts drawn to favor one political party over the other?*
- ✓ *Did the political index¹ of each district so heavily favor one party that it was virtually guaranteed to win that seat?*
- ✓ *Did Ohio have any competitive districts that did not strongly favor one party over another?*
- ✓ *Did any candidates win despite their district being drawn to favor the opposing party?*
- ✓ *Did the total number of votes each party received statewide match the number of district seats they won?*

The League examined these questions after the general election in 2012² and reexamined them in light of the 2014 election results.

¹ "Political index" is a term that describes the number of voters favoring each political party within a district based on voting history in recent elections.

² "Predictable Results: A Report from the League of Women Voters of Ohio Examining 2011 Gerrymandering and 2012 Election Results", published by the League of Women Voters of Ohio on Oct. 9, 2013, available online at <http://www.lwvohio.org/site.cfm/Issues-Avocacy/Government/Redistricting.cfm> [hereinafter called "Predictable Results 2012"]

Ohio's current legislative districts were drawn in 2011. The Ohio General Assembly redrew district boundary lines for Ohio's U.S. Congressional districts, and the Ohio Apportionment Board³ redrew district boundary lines for Ohio's state General Assembly districts. There are three major criticisms of the final maps:

- Each district was drawn to favor either the majority Republican Party or the minority Democratic Party, and the makeup of the new districts essentially determined the outcome of the election.
- The districts were drawn to disproportionately favor the political party that controlled the redistricting process.
- Districts were not compact and instead twisted over a wide geographic area. A visual inspection of the maps bears this out.⁴

All three criticisms are the natural outcomes of Ohio's current map drawing process, which grants broad discretion to members of the majority political party to fashion districts favorable to its interests.

ANALYSIS OF DISTRICTS

OHIO'S U.S. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

The chart below compares the projected partisan index⁵ of each Congressional district and the percentage of official votes cast in 2012 and in 2014 for the Republican and Democratic candidates. Those districts that favor Republicans and a Republican won the seat are shaded red, and those districts that favor Democrats and a Democrat won the seat are blue. Eight of the 2012 US House races and nine of the 2014 races had third party or write-in candidates, so the totals may not add up to 100%.

³ The Ohio Apportionment Board is defined in Article 11, Section 1 of the Ohio Constitution. It is a five-member board made up of the governor, auditor of state, secretary of state, and one member of the General Assembly of each major political party. The constitution charges the Apportionment Board with drawing districts for the state legislature. In the 2011 redistricting process, four of the five members were Republican and one was a Democrat.

⁴ Predictable Results 2012.

⁵ The Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting provided the projections based on a partisan index using the results from the following statewide races: 2008- President, 2010- Governor, Auditor and Secretary of State. The election results are available from the Ohio Secretary of State at www.sos.state.oh.us.

U.S. House Races						
District No.	PROJECTED %		2012 RESULTS		2014 RESULTS	
	% R	% D	% R	% D	% R	% D
1	55.92%	44.08%	57.73% (Chabot)	37.6% (Sinnard)	63.22% (Chabot)	36.78% (Kundrata)
2	57.02%	42.98%	58.63% (Wenstrup)	41.37% (Smith)	65.96% (Weinstrup)	34.04% (Tyszkiewicz)
3	35.73%	64.27%	26.35% (Long)	68.29% (Beatty)	35.93% (Adams)	64.06% (Beatty)
4	59.61%	40.39%	58.35% (Jordan)	36.49% (Slone)	67.67% (Jordan)	32.33% (Garrett)
5	57.52%	42.48%	57.27% (Latta)	39.16% (Zimmann)	66.46% (Latta)	28.92% (Fry)
6	53.86%	46.14%	53.25% (Johnson)	46.75% (Wilson)	58.23% (Johnson)	38.58% (Garrison)
7	56.23%	43.77%	56.4% (Gibbs)	43.6% (Healy-Abrams)	100% (Gibbs)	0% (no cand.)
8	64.30%	35.70%	99.97% (Boehner)	0% (no cand.)	67.19% (Boehner)	27.36% (Poetter)
9	36.38%	63.62%	23.03% (Wurzelbacher)	73.04% (Kaptur)	32.17% (May)	67.74% (Kaptur)
10	54.14%	45.82%	59.54% (Turner)	37.49% (Neuhardt)	65.18% (Turner)	31.53% (Klepinger)
11	20.33%	79.67%	0% (no cand.)	100% (Fudge)	20.55% (Zetzer)	79.45% (Fudge)
12	59.42%	40.58%	63.47% (Tiberi)	36.53% (Reese)	68.11% (Tiberi)	27.75% (Tibbs)
13	37.70%	62.30%	27.23% (Agana)	72.77% (Ryan)	31.46% (Pekarek)	68.49% (Ryan)
14	54.36%	45.64%	54.04% (Joyce)	38.73% (Blanchard)	63.26% (Joyce)	33.02% (Wager)
15	56.46%	43.54%	61.56% (Stivers)	38.44% (Lang)	66.02% (Stivers)	33.98% (Wharton)
16	56.62%	43.38%	52.05% (Renacci)	47.95% (Sutton)	63.74% (Renacci)	36.26% (Crossland)

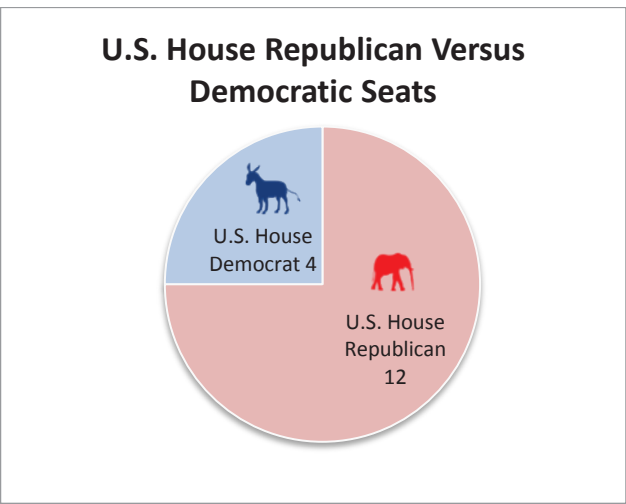
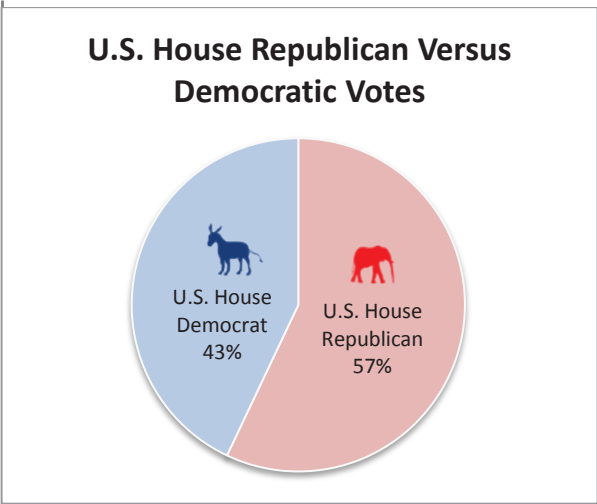
Partisan indexes perfectly predicted the party of the winner in ALL of the Congressional districts in both 2012 and 2014.

Districts tilted heavily towards one party or the other tend to deter opposition. In 2012 two candidates were unopposed, and in 2014 one candidate was unopposed.

The table below compares the total votes for the two major parties with the seats each

won. In 2014, Republican candidates for Congress received 1,686,301 (57%) of the total votes statewide for major party candidates, and the Democrats received 1,269,916 (43%) of the total major party candidate votes statewide. And yet, the majority Republican Party won 75% of the seats despite having only 57% of the total votes statewide. The difference between the percentage of seats and percentage of votes -- 18% -- represents a high level of disproportionality in the level of representation versus the overall strength of candidates with the statewide electorate. By comparison, in 2012, 51% of the votes went to the Republican candidates with the same result -- 75% of the seats. The disproportionality is slightly less in 2014 but is still quite large.

2014	U.S. HOUSE REPUBLICANS	U.S. HOUSE DEMOCRATS
# OF VOTES	1,686,301	1,269,916
% OF VOTES	57%	43%
# OF SEATS	12	4
% OF SEATS	75%	25%



Ohio House of Representatives

The partisan district index correctly projected winners in 96 of the 99 Ohio House races in 2014. The chart below compares the partisan index of each House district and the percentage of votes for the winning candidate. Those districts that favor Republicans

and a Republican won the seat are shaded red, and those districts that favor Democrats and a Democrat won the seat are blue. The three seats in which the political composition of the district and the political party of the winner are different parties are highlighted in yellow.

Ohio House Races

District No.	PROJECTED ⁶		2012 RESULTS		2014 RESULTS	
	% R	% D	% R	% D	% R	% D
1	62.17%	37.83%	65.89% (Amstutz)	34.11% (Maglio)	100% (Amstutz)	0% (no cand.)
2	59.55%	40.45%	57.23% (Romanchuck)	42.77% (Haring)	69.89% (Romanchuk)	30.11% (Bryant)
3	51.30%	48.70%	51.39% (Brown)	43.98% (Wicks)	62.76% (Brown)	31.33% (Long)
4	64.33%	35.67%	66.65% (Huffman)	33.35% (Huenke)	73.86% (Cupp)	26.14% (Huenke)
5	54.72%	45.28%	49.43% (Newbold)	50.57% (Barborak)	59.54% (Ginter)	40.46% (Barborak)
6	53.78%	46.22%	55.43% (Anielski)	44.57% (Fossaceca)	58.57% (Anielski)	41.43% (Fossaceca)
7	54.93%	45.07%	50.11% (Dovilla)	49.89% (Patten)	100% (Dovilla)	0% (no cand.)
8	22.03%	77.97%	17.17% (Hocevar)	82.83% (Budish)	18.29% (Alterman)	71.59% (Smith)
9	16.20%	83.80%	0% (no cand.)	100% (Boyd)	15.22% (Hopson)	84.78% (Boyd)
10	12.83%	87.17%	0% (no cand.)	100% (Patmon)	0% (no cand.)	81.99% (Patmon)
11	15.36%	84.64%	0% (no cand.)	100% (Williams)	0% (no cand.)	100% (Howse)
12	18.08%	81.92%	0% (no cand.)	100% (Barnes)	0% (no cand.)	100% (Barnes)
13	29.16%	70.84%	24.14% (Zappala)	75.86% (Antonio)	28.04% (Anderson)	71.96% (Antonio)
14	41.24%	58.76%	30.83% (Cygier)	69.17% (Foley)	37.57% (Melendez)	62.43% (Sweeney)
15	44.86%	55.14%	36.31% (Gascoyne)	63.68% (Celebrezze)	43.23% (Gascoyne-Telischak)	56.77% (Celebrezze)

⁶ The Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting provided the projections based on a partisan index using the results from the following statewide races: 2008- President; 2010- Governor, Auditor and Secretary of State. The election results are available from the Ohio Secretary of State at www.sos.state.oh.us.

16	54.53%	45.47%	58.12% (Baker)	41.88% (Meyer)	62.21% (Baker)	37.79% (LeVeck)
17	44.53%	55.47%	37.38% (Szabo)	62.62% (Curtin)	44.61% (Newbern)	55.39% (Curtin)
18	29.71%	70.29%	26.66% (Colgan)	73.34% (Stinziano)	25.54% (Sharrah)	74.46% (Stinziano)
19	55.99%	44.01%	56.38% (Gonzales)	43.62% (Jolley)	59.11% (Gonzales)	32.58% (Johnston)
20	49.11%	50.89%	40.72% (Burd)	59.28% (Bishoff)	42.84% (Mefford)	57.16% (Bishoff)
21	56.37%	43.63%	52.01% (Duffey)	47.99% (O'Connor)	62.37% (Duffey)	34.76% (Valasco)
22	40.09%	59.91%	31.79% (Hall)	68.21% (Carney)	37.94% (Hall)	62.06% (Leland)
23	56.86%	43.14%	55.65% (Grossman)	44.35% (Johnson)	63.81% (Grossman)	36.19% (Redfern)
24	55.66%	44.34%	51.86% (Kunze)	48% (Reedy)	57.24% (Kunze)	37.68% (Hoff)
25	17.99%	82.01%	13.88% (Golding)	86.12% (Boyce)	18.22% (Golding)	81.78% (Boyce)
26	22.26%	77.74%	17.09% (Healy)	82.91% (Heard)	24.20% (Pyles)	75.80% (Craig)
27	62.95%	37.05%	66.79% (Stautberg)	33.21% (Wissman)	67.67% (Brinkman)	32.33% (Otis)
28	54.04%	45.96%	43.58% (Wilson)	51.99% (Pillch)	55.68% (Dever)	44.32% (Kamrass)
29	65.17%	34.83%	61.27% (Blessing)	38.73% (Brown)	67.34% (Blessing)	28.73% (Simendinger)
30	70.39%	29.61%	69.17% (Terhar)	30.83% (Newsome)	74.07% (Tehar)	25.93% (Childers)
31	31.26%	68.74%	28.6% (Gabbard)	71.4% (Driehaus)	31.08% (Yeager)	65.65% (Driehaus)
32	26.21%	73.79%	22.95% (Mosby)	77.05% (Mallory)	29.18% (McIntosh)	70.82% (Bryant)
33	27.63%	72.37%	26.15% (Bryan)	73.85% (Reece)	0% (no cand.)	100% (Reece)
34	24.91%	75.09%	18.61% (Habash)	81.39% (Sykes)	28.09% (Blake)	71.91% (Sykes)
35	37.85%	62.15%	28.39% (Mitchell)	71.61% (Milkovich)	37.94% (Robinson)	62.06% (Johnson)
36	50.54%	49.46%	52.52% (DeVitis)	47.48% (Colavecchio)	59.71% (DeVitis)	40.29% (Prentice)
37	53.88%	46.12%	53.98% (Roegner)	46.02% (Schmida)	58.48% (Roegner)	41.52% (Worhatch)
38	55.35%	44.65%	54.32% (Slaby)	45.68%	59.58% (Slaby)	40.42% (Crawford)

				(Kaplan)		
39	18.97%	81.03%	17.01% (Wellbaum)	82.99% (Strahorn)	18.41% (Dalton)	77.35% (Strahorn)
40	59.92%	40.08%	54.41% (Henne)	45.59% (Fisher)	65.41% (Henne)	34.59% (Richards)
41	60.01%	39.99%	59.55% (Butler)	40.45% (Gentry)	67.90% (Butler)	32.10% (Small)
42	64.49%	35.51%	65.18% (Blair)	34.82% (Buczowski)	64.50% (Antani)	35.50% (Merris)
43	49.54%	50.46%	45.94% (Deitering)	54.06% (Winburn)	57.56% (Rezabek)	42.44% (Winburn)
44	18.16%	81.84%	0% (no cand.)	100% (Ashford)	18.66% (Insko)	81.34% (Ashford)
45	37.21%	62.79%	0% (no cand.)	100% (Fedor)	36.40% (Nowak)	63.60% (Fedor)
46	42.93%	57.07%	34.92% (kissinger)	65.08% (Szollosi)	42.82% (Blazsik)	57.18% (Sheehy)
47	57.66%	42.34%	60.01% (Sears)	39.99% (Bunck)	100% (Sears)	0% (no cand.)
48	54.86%	45.14%	57.03% (Schuring)	38.83% (Trump)	100% (Schuring)	0% (no cand.)
49	37.46%	62.54%	29.85% (Moore)	70.15% (Slesnick)	35.97% (Charton)	64.03% (Slesnick)
50	58.06%	41.94%	59.53% (Hagan)	40.47% (Ryan)	67.55% (Hagan)	32.45% (Cain)
51	62.28%	37.72%	56.66% (Retherford)	43.34% (Hardig)	69.31% (Retherford)	30.69% (Greene)
52	68.95%	31.05%	66% (Conditt)	27.08% (Rudie)	75.68% (Conditt)	24.32% (Hourani)
53	62.34%	37.66%	60.54% (Derickson)	39.46% (Rubin)	68.37% (Derickson)	31.63% (Rubin)
54	68.16%	31.84%	100% (Beck)	0% (no cand.)	71.63% (Zeltwanger)	28.37% (Smith)
55	48.69%	51.31%	37.07% (Brady)	62.93% (Lundy)	55.79% (Manning)	44.21% (Mackin)
56	35.81%	64.19%	0% (no cand.)	100% (Ramos)	0% (no cand.)	100% (Ramos)
57	56.88%	43.12%	53.92% (Boose)	40.54% (Lark)	58.92% (Boose)	35.77% (Lark)
58	22.44%	77.56%	0% (no cand.)	100% (Hagan)	0% (no cand.)	100% (Hagan)
59	46.67%	53.33%	41.33% (Poma)	58.67% (Gerberry)	46.16% (Mitchell)	53.84% (Gerberry)
60	49.26%	50.74%	44.53% (Dinallo)	55.47% (Rogers)	45.58% (Phillips)	54.42% (Rogers)
61	57.74%	42.26%	54.18% (Young)	45.82% (McGuinness)	65.22% (Young)	34.78% (Walker)
62	72.23%	27.77%	70.96% (Maag)	29.04% (Kassalen)	71.92% (Maag)	22.12% (Schneider)

63	37.44%	62.56%	27.54% (Paridon)	72.46% (O'Brien)	33.70% (Stanley)	66.30% (O'Brien)
64	40.44%	59.56%	39.75% (Law)	60.25% (Letson)	44.77% (Law)	49.19% (O'Brien)
65	70.18%	29.82%	68.7% (Becker)	31.3% (Myers)	75.26% (Becker)	24.74% (Carlier)
66	67.31%	32.69%	72.4% (Green)	27.6% (McNeely)	77.34% (Green)	22.66% (McNeely)
67	65.99%	34.01%	62.46% (Brenner)	37.54% (Hogan)	67.94% (Brenner)	32.06% (Hogan)
68	66.47%	33.53%	67.78% (Ruhl)	32.22% (Ryerson)	65.93% (Ruhl)	25.23% (Skocic)
69	60.65%	39.35%	60.63% (Batchelder)	39.37% (Cross)	69.35% (Hambley)	30.51% (Javorek)
70	61.45%	38.55%	60.46% (Hall)	39.54% (Johnson)	68.55% (Hall)	31.45% (Riley)
71	60.94%	39.06%	61.56% (Hottinger)	38.44% (Jones)	66.77% (Ryan)	33.23% (Rader)
72	58.45%	41.55%	57.51% (Hayes)	42.49% (Dilly)	67.86% (Hayes)	32.14% (Bowman)
73	63.11%	36.89%	63.46% (Perales)	36.54% (Conner)	71.26% (Perales)	28.74% (Ogan)
74	63.29%	36.71%	64.76% (Hackett)	35.24% (Key)	100% (Hackett)	0% (no cand.)
75	46.64%	53.36%	38.97% (Skeriotis)	61.03% (Clyde)	44.67% (Skeriotis)	55.33% (Clyde)
76	60.89%	39.11%	57.4% (Lynch)	42.6% (Warren)	67.73% (LaTourette)	32.27% (Lanese)
77	61.31%	38.69%	58.25% (Stebelton)	41.75% (Bryant)	68.35% (Schaffer)	31.65% (Saunders)
78	57.81%	42.19%	57.55% (Hood)	42.45% (VanMeter)	65.92% (Hood)	34.08% (Rogers)
79	53.27%	46.73%	55.23% (McGregor)	44.77% (Herier)	60.73% (Koehler)	39.27% (Jackson)
80	69.40%	30.60%	69.3% (Adams)	30.7% (Fisher)	77.35% (Huffman)	22.65% (Michalski)
81	64.09%	35.91%	67.92% (Watchmann)	32.08% (Vanover)	70.42% (McColley)	29.58% (Lymanstall)
82	63.88%	36.12%	59.04% (Burkley)	0% (no Dem. cand. **)	100% (Burkley)	0% (no cand.)
83	66.64%	33.36%	67.32% (Sprague)	32.68% (Kostyo)	74.79% (Sprague)	0% (no cand.)
84	73.14%	26.86%	80.86% (Buchy)	19.14% (Hammons)	100% (Buchy)	0% (no cand.)
85	66.14%	33.86%	100% (Adams)	0% (no cand.)	100% (Vitale)	0% (no cand.)

86	63.15%	36.85%	62.06% (Pelanda)	37.94% (Johncox)	72.55% (Pelanda)	27.45% (Babik)
87	60.50%	39.50%	66.15% (McClain)	33.85% (Lehart)	72.75% (McClain)	27.25% (Lehart)
88	57.37%	42.63%	55.61% (Damschroder)	44.39% (Young)	59.01% (Reineke)	40.99% (Young)
89	48.34%	51.66%	38.55% (Janik)	61.45% (Redfern)	51.24% (Kraus)	48.76% (Redfern)
90	51.96%	48.04%	61.95% (Johnson)	38.05% (Haas)	64.02% (Johnson)	35.98% (Davis)
91	61.84%	38.16%	61.43% (Rosenberger)	38.57% (Pence)	100% (Rosenberger)	0% (no cand.)
92	57.84%	42.16%	52.54% (Scherer)	47.46% (Armstrong)	100% (Scherer)	0% (no cand.)
93	57.72%	42.28%	64.19% (Smith)	35.81% (Bailey)	70.04% (Smith)	29.96% (Bailey)
94	44.34%	55.66%	38.63% (Richter)	61.37% (Phillips)	49.32% (Dennis)	50.68% (Phillips)
95	55.60%	44.40%	52.83% (Thompson)	47.17% (Daniels)	56.90% (Thompson)	43.10% (Daniels)
96	46.82%	53.18%	0% (no cand.)	100% (Cera)	46.11% (Ferguson)	53.89% (Cera)
97	58.26%	41.74%	60.36% (Hill)	39.64% (Fleischer)	74.72% (Hill)	25.28% (Roe)
98	56.04%	43.96%	50.01% (Landis)	49.99% (O'Farrell)	67.71% (Landis)	32.29% (Johnson)
99	49.05%	50.95%	47.02% (Kozlowski)	52.98% (Patterson)	42.13% (McArthur)	57.87% (Patterson)

* Note that some races had 3rd party or write-in candidates, so the totals for the two major party candidates may not add up to 100% in all races.

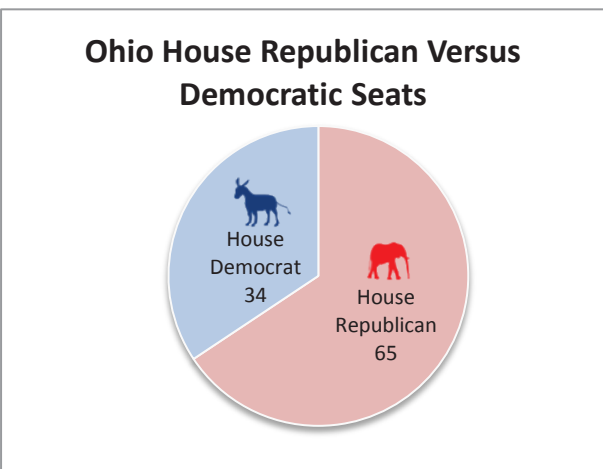
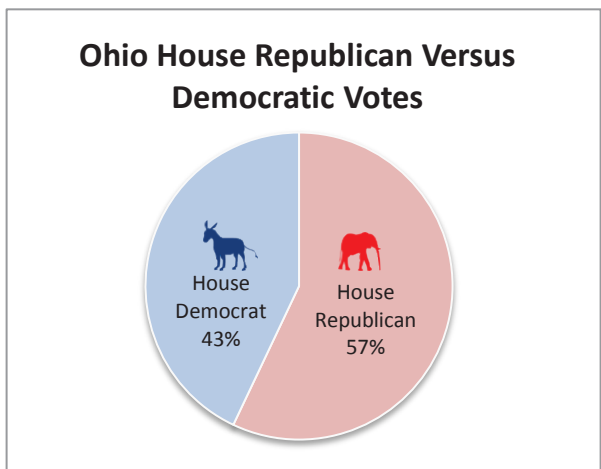
** In the 2012 race for district 82, there was no Democrat candidate, but there was an Independent candidate who received 40.96% of the votes.

*** In the 2014 race for district 10, there was no Republican candidate, but there were three Independent candidates who combined received 18.01% of the votes.

Only three out of ninety-nine districts -- a mere 3% -- elected a candidate of the party not favored by the political index. In 2012, two Democrats won in districts leaning toward the Republicans, and in 2014 Republicans won in three districts leaning toward the Democrats. The current majority party – Republican -- candidates for the House received 1,686,301 (57%) of the total votes statewide, and the current minority party – Democrat - candidates received 1,269,915 (43%) of the total votes statewide. And yet, the majority party won 66% of the seats. The difference of 9% represents a high level of disproportionality in the level of representation versus the overall strength of

candidates with the statewide electorate.

2014	Ohio House Republican	Ohio House Democrat
# of Votes	1,686,301	1,269,915
% of Votes	57.04%	42.96%
# of Seats	65	34
% of Seats	65.65%	34.34%



African American Legislators and Packing

Partisan gerrymandering (drawing lines to ensure a particular party wins) and racial gerrymandering (drawing lines to favor or disfavor minority voters’ impact on electing candidates of their choice) often utilize the same tactics.

A Citizen’s Guide to Redistricting,⁷ produced by the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, explains:

The basic techniques of creating a partisan gerrymander are cracking, packing, and tacking. The same tactics have been used to dilute the voting strength of

⁷ *A Citizens Guide to Redistricting*, Justin Levitt, Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law (2010), p.57-58.

minority populations. Cracking is the act of dividing groups of people with the same characteristics – in this case, voters likely to vote for a particular party – into more than one district. With their voting strength divided, the group is more likely to lose elections.

Packing is just the opposite – cramming as many people with the same characteristic into as few districts as possible. In these few districts, the “packed” group is more likely to win ... but this drains their voting strength elsewhere.

Tacking is the process of reaching out from the bulk of a district to grab a distant area with specific desired (usually partisan) demographics.

In looking at the Ohio House races, there are several districts that concentrate, or pack, both a majority percentage of African American voters and a high percentage of voters favoring a particular political party.

Eleven African American legislators were elected to the Ohio House in 2014. Most of these legislators were elected in majority-minority⁸ districts with very strong partisan indexes.

Legislator	District	Black Voting Age Population	Dem Partisan Index	Percentage of Vote
Janine Boyd	HD 9	52.68%	.83.80%	84.78%
Bill Patmon	HD 10	52.35%	.87.17%	81.99%
Stephanie Howse	HD 11	62.27%	.86.64%	100.00%
John Barnes, Jr.	HD 12	59.02%	.81.92%	100.00%
Kevin Boyce	HD 25	54.70%	82.01%	81.78%
Hearcel Craig	HD 26	54.63%	77.74%	75.80%
Christie Bryant Kuhns	HD 32	51.89%	73.79%	70.82%
Alicia Reece	HD 33	51.65%	72.37%	100.00%

⁸ “Majority-minority” district is a term used to describe a district whose population is predominantly African- American or other identified racial minority as documented by the U.S. Census.

Amelia Sykes	HD 34	41.06%	.75.09%	.71.91%
Fred Strahorn	HD 39	52.39%	.81.03%	.77.35%
Mike Ashford	HD 44	46.76%	.81.84%	.81.34%

The federal Voting Rights Act prohibits states from drawing district lines that discriminate against voters based on race or ethnicity – including “cracking” or “packing” to dilute minority voting strength. However, “the courts have not clarified exactly the extent to which a state may take the race or ethnicity of voters into account when drawing district lines.”⁹ Courts will often analyze whether race was the “predominant” reason for drawing the district the way it was, as opposed to other factors. If race is the predominant reason, then the court will evaluate whether it was precisely tailored to meet a compelling state interest.¹⁰

Ohio Senate

The projected winners based on partisan indexing won in ALL of the Ohio Senate races in both 2012 and 2014.

SENATE District No.	PROJECTED ¹¹		2012 RESULTS		2014 RESULTS	
	% R	% D	% R	% D	% R	% D
1	64.82%	35.18%	100% (Hite)	0% (no cand.)	100% (Hite)	0% (no cand.)
2	52.42%	47.58%	58.32% (Gardner)	41.68% (Bretz)		
3	51.18%	48.82%			61.13% (Bacon)	38.87% (Johnson)
4	64.99%	35.01%	100% (Coley)	0% (no cand.)		
5	51.40%	48.60%			57.03% (Beagle)	42.97% (Gillis)
6	61.42%	38.58%	62.42% (Lehner)	37.58% (McKiddy)		
7	67.55%	32.45%			100% (Jones)	0% (no cand.)
8	62.87%	37.13%	61.46% (Seitz)	38.54% (Luken)		
9	28.34%	71.66%			42.84% (Winburn)	57.16% (Thomas)
10	59.95%	40.05%	61.32%	38.68%		

⁹ *A Citizens' Guide to Redistricting*, p.48.

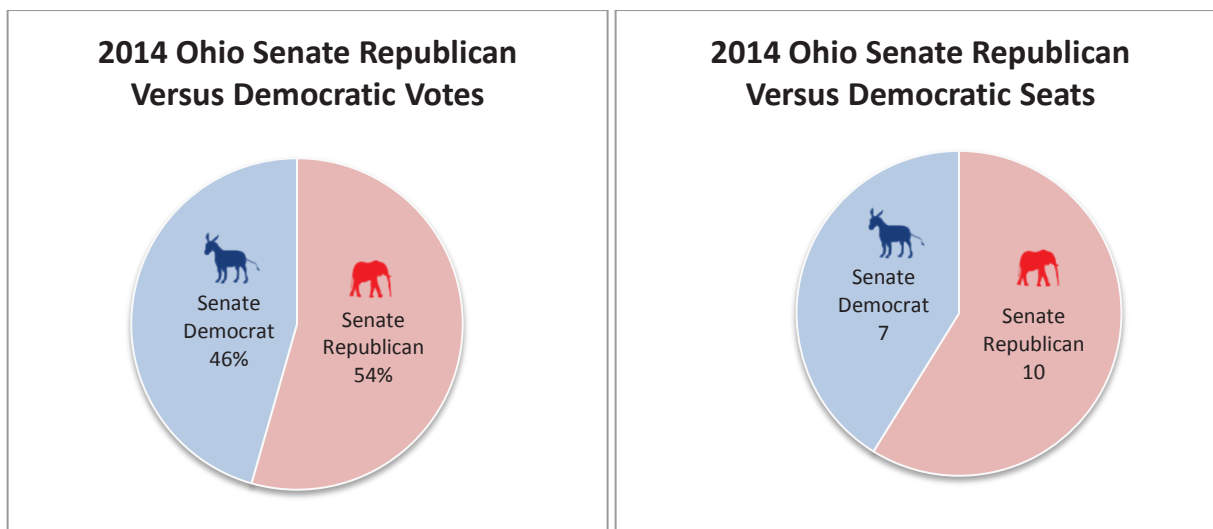
¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹ The Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting provided the projections based on a partisan index using the results from the following statewide races: 2008- President; 2010- Governor, Auditor and Secretary of State. The election results are available from the Ohio Secretary of State at www.sos.state.oh.us.

			(Widener)	(Robertson)		
11	33.26%	66.74%			35.6% (McCarthy)	64.4% (Brown)
12	68.22%	31.78%	78.84% (Faber)	0% (no Dem. cand. **)		
13	52.64%	47.36%			63.42% (Manning)	36.58% (Madison)
14	63.54%	36.46%	100% (Uecker)	0% (no cand.)		
15	23.57%	76.43%			23.6% (Healy)	76.4% (Tavares)
16	56.19%	43.81%	100% (Hughes)	0% (no cand.)		
17	59.13%	40.87%	100% (Peterson)	0% (no cand.)	100% (Peterson)	0% (no cand.)
18	55.59%	44.41%	54.69% (Eklund)	45.31% (Mueller)		
19	58.49%	41.51%			61.05% (Jordan)	38.95% (Patel)
20	58.62%	41.38%	59.48% (Balderson)	40.52% (Scarmack)		
21	28.19%	71.81%			13.34% (Kafaru)	86.66% (Williams)
22	60.53%	39.47%	59.37% (Obhof)	40.63% (Riley)		
23	39.12%	60.88%			37.63% (Haren)	62.37% (Skindell)
24	54.61%	45.39%	58.95% (Patton)	41.05% (Brady)		
25	16.62%	83.38%			24.48% (Crider)	75.52% (Yuko)
26	60.27%	39.73%	60.26% (Burke)	39.74% (Addison)		
27	56.75%	43.25%			67.73% (LaRose)	32.27% (Rusiska)
28	38.30%	61.70%	28.12% (Roush)	71.88% (Sawyer)		
29	51.05%	48.95%			66.58% (Oelslager)	33.42% (Rubin)
30	49.13%	50.87%	47.61% (Thompson)	52.39% (Gentile)		
31	59.21%	40.79%			65.04% (Hottinger)	34.96% (Carlisle)
32	41.95%	58.05%	32.85% (McArthur)	67.15% (Cafaro)		
33	41.10%	58.90%			0% (no cand.)	100% (Schiavoni)

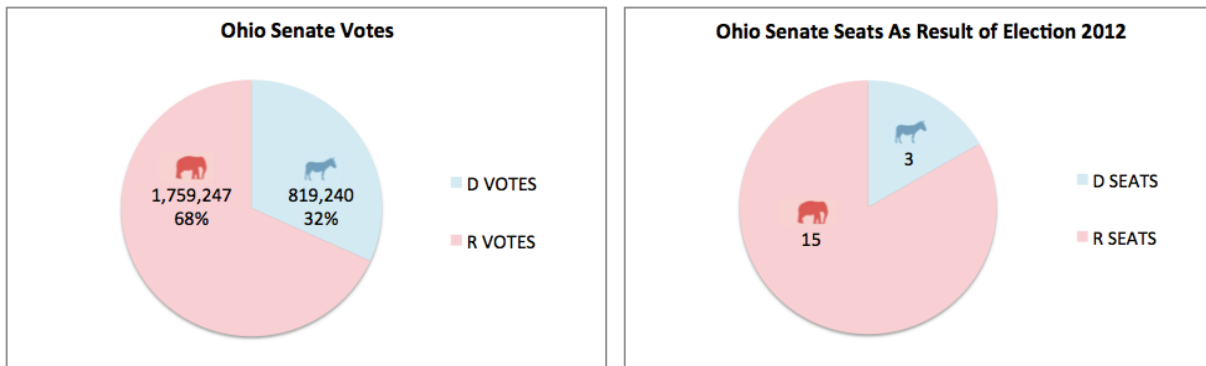
The chart below shows that while 54.42% of the total votes statewide in 2014 were cast for majority Republican Party Senate candidates that party won 10 of the 17 seats or 58.33% of those seats up for election in 2014.

2014	Ohio Senate Republican	Ohio Senate Democrat
# of Votes	753,009	630,473
% of Votes	54.42%	45.58%
# of Seats	10	7
% of Seats	58.83%	41.17%



The disproportionality was more stark in the 2012 Ohio Senate election. While 68% of the total votes statewide were cast for majority Republican Party Senate candidates, that party won 15 of the 18 seats or 83% of those seats up for election in 2012.

2012	Ohio Senate Republican	Ohio Senate Democrat
# of Votes	1,759,247	819,240
% of Votes	68.27%	31.83%
# of Seats	15	3
% of Seats	83%	17%



There are a number of possible reasons that could account for the lesser disproportionality in the Ohio Senate races as opposed to the Ohio House or US Congressional races. One possible reason is the high proportion of Ohio Senate races in which there was no opposing candidate and the candidate in the favored party ran unopposed.¹² Other possible factors that could impact disproportionality are voter turnout in a given year or the inherent challenges of running in a district drawn to heavily favor the opposing party. It will require additional research to determine which factors ultimately had the most impact on Ohio election results.

BETTER WAYS OF DRAWING DISTRICTS

Legislative districts do not have to be drawn to reach such disproportionate results. Applying a few simple rules can yield districts that more fairly and accurately reflect voter preferences.

In 2009, in conjunction with then-Ohio Secretary of State Jennifer Brunner and several good government organizations, the League of Women Voters of Ohio held a competition to determine if Congressional districts drawn based on data from the 2000 census could meet several “public interest” criteria:

- **Compactness.** Sometimes referred to as the “look” of a district, compactness assures that bizarrely-shaped legislative districts are minimized.
- **Communities of Interest.** Counties, municipalities, and other government boundaries give Ohioans a sense of place and shared interests. This measure seeks to minimize political subdivisions divided between districts.
- **Competitiveness.** Our democracy thrives when the marketplace of ideas is truly competitive, especially on Election Day. This measure seeks to increase the

¹² In 2012, 6 of the 18 Ohio Senate races had no candidate from the opposing party. In 2014, 4 of 17 Ohio Senate races had no candidate from the opposing party.

number of legislative districts that could be won by either party, providing Ohioans with a stronger voice in choosing their representatives.

- **Representational Fairness.** A final redistricting plan does not unfairly bias one party over another.

Maps also needed to meet three basic legal thresholds:

- **Population equality.** Federal case law requires that districts be as equal in population as possible.
- **Contiguity.** Every part of a district must be reachable from every other part without crossing the district's borders.
- **National Voting Rights Act.** All plans must provide for at least one majority-minority congressional district, in keeping with federal law and case law.

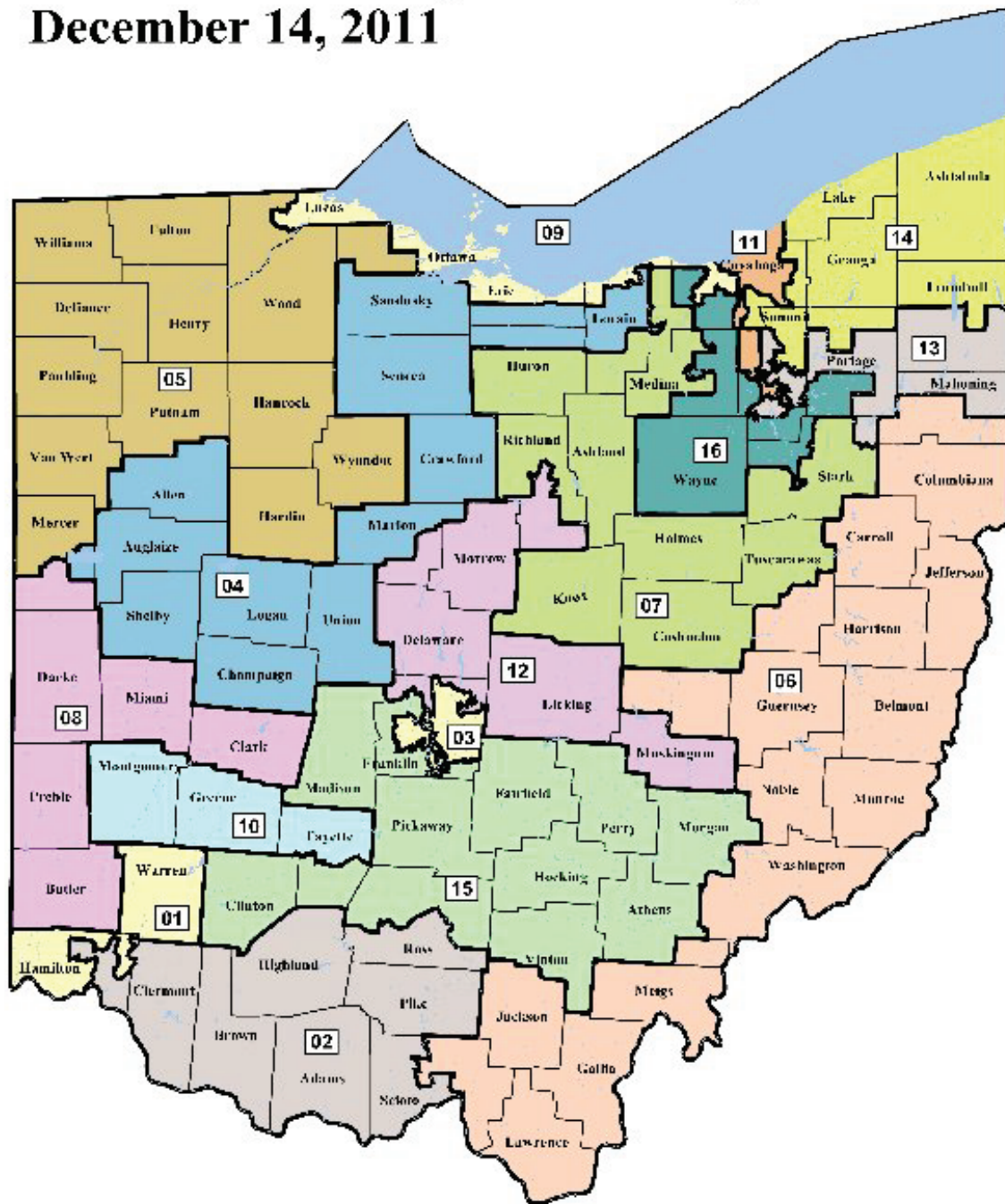
Mathematical measurements were developed for each of the public interest map-drawing criteria so maps could be easily compared. Maps submitted by members of the public proved that it is possible to successfully balance those four criteria and three legal requirements. Importantly, districts were drawn that were both compact and competitive, countering the widely held belief that this could not be accomplished. All maps submitted by the contestants far outscored the maps approved by the Ohio General Assembly during the prior redistricting in 2001.

Based on the 2009 competition, the League, in its role as a member of the Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting, participated in sponsoring a “real time” competition in 2011 to parallel the state’s official redrawing in 2011. Based on the 2010 census data, members of the public drew maps for Ohio General Assembly districts, as well as Congressional districts. The maps were judged on the same basic criteria used in 2009. The competition occurred at the same time the General Assembly and Apportionment Board were developing their maps for Congressional and General Assembly districts and maps drawn by the public were presented to those bodies. Based on the criteria used in the competition, the public maps far outscored the maps approved by the General Assembly and the Apportionment Board.

The two competitions prove that it is possible to draw maps that better satisfy “public interest” criteria.

Voters would be better served if districts were drawn to take into account representational fairness, competition, compactness and preservation of political subdivisions rather than the current majority party takes all system.

Sub. H.B. 369 Congressional Map December 14, 2011





Ohio Senate Districts 2012-2022
(As Adopted 2012)



The League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan political organization, encourages informed and active participation in government, works to increase understanding of major public policy issues, and influences public policy through education and advocacy.

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