



## A Report from the League of Women Voters of Ohio Examining 2011 Gerrymandering and 2012 Election Results

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In 2011, the Ohio General Assembly redrew district boundary lines for Ohio's U.S. Congressional districts, and the Ohio Apportionment Board<sup>1</sup> redrew district boundary lines for Ohio's state General Assembly districts. There were 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. Another criticism was that the districts had been drawn to disproportionately favor the political party controlling the redistricting process. A third criticism was that districts were not compact and instead twisted over a wide geographic area. A visual inspection of the maps bears this out.<sup>2</sup> All three outcomes are consistent with Ohio's current map drawing process that grants broad discretion to members of the majority political party to fashion districts favorable to its interests.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Maps, as approved are attached at the end of this report.

Were Ohio's U.S. Congressional and state General Assembly districts drawn to favor one political party over the other? Did the political index<sup>3</sup> of each district heavily favor one party so much 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 generally correspond to the number of district seats they won? These questions will be explored in this report, which analyzes the political leanings of each district as drawn in 2011 and the results of the 2012 election.

## ANALYSIS OF DISTRICTS

### U.S. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

The chart below compares the projected partisan index of each U.S. Congressional district and the percentage of official votes cast in 2012 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. Partisan indexes perfectly predicted the party of the winner in each Congressional district.

DISTRICT	WINNER	PROJECTED % R	PROJECTED % D	OFFICIAL % R	OFFICIAL % D
1	Steve Chabot-R	55.92%	44.08%	57.73%	37.60%
2	Brad Wenstrup-R	57.02%	42.98%	58.63%	41.37%
3	Joyce Beatty-D	35.73%	64.27%	26.35%	68.29%
4	Jim Jordan-R	59.61%	40.39%	58.35%	36.49%
5	Bob Latta-R	57.52%	42.48%	57.27%	39.16%
6	Bill Johnson-R	53.86%	46.14%	53.25%	46.75%
7	Bob Gibbs-R	56.23%	43.77%	56.40%	43.60%
8	John Boehner-R	64.30%	35.70%	99.97%	0.00%
9	Marcy Kaptur-D	36.38%	63.62%	23.03%	73.04%
10	Mike Turner-R	54.14%	45.82%	59.54%	37.49%
11	Marcia Fudge-D	20.33%	79.67%	0.00%	100.00%
12	Pat Tiberi-R	59.42%	40.58%	63.47%	36.53%

<sup>3</sup> "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.

13	Tim Ryan-D	37.70%	62.30%	27.23%	72.77%
14	David Joyce-R	54.36%	45.64%	54.04%	38.73%
15	Steve Stivers-R	56.46%	43.54%	61.56%	38.44%
16	Jim Renacci-R	56.62%	43.38%	52.05%	47.95%

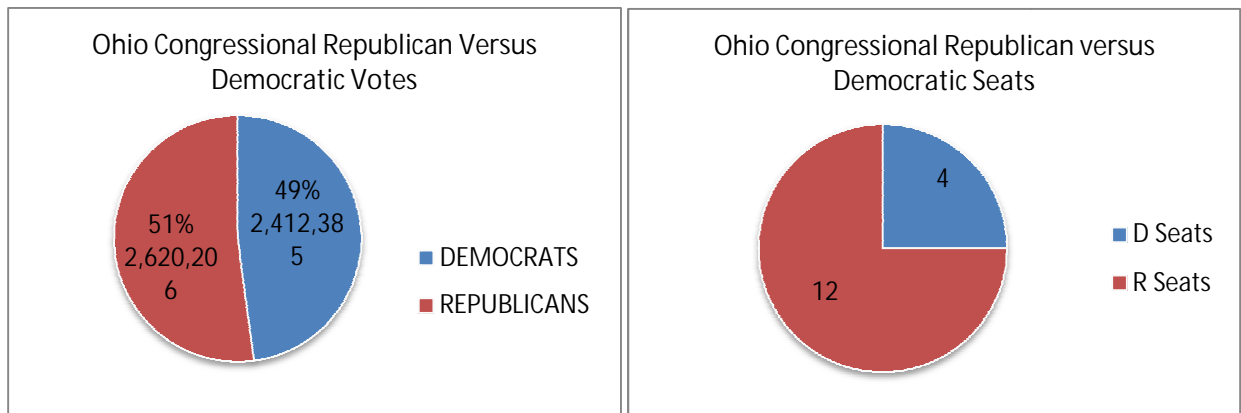
The Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting provided the projections based on a partisan index using the results from the following statewide races: 2008- President, 2010- Governor, Auditor and Secretary of State. The election results are available from the Ohio Secretary of State at [www.sos.state.oh.us](http://www.sos.state.oh.us).

Districts tilted heavily towards one party or the other tend to deter opposition. Speaker John Boehner and Congresswoman Marcia Fudge had the strongest partisan indexes for their respective parties and neither of them faced an opponent during Election 2012.

The partisan indexing suggested that none of the Congressional districts would be highly competitive. Partisan indexing was a strong predictor of the winning party even when there were no incumbents in the race. Incumbent U.S. Representative Jean Schmidt was defeated by Brad Wenstrup in the March Republican Primary race for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congressional District. Wenstrup then successfully won in the General Election. When Congressman Steve LaTourette withdrew from his race for the 14<sup>th</sup> District, Republican David Joyce won in the General Election. The most competitive Congressional race was in the 16<sup>th</sup> District and it was determined within five points. The political composition of the districts accurately predicted the winner. The 16<sup>th</sup> district was unique in Ohio because it pitted two incumbents against one another, Jim Renacci and Betty Sutton.

The current majority party – Republicans - candidates for Congress received 2,620,206 (51%) of the total votes statewide, and the current minority party – Democrats - candidates received 2,412,385 (49%) of the total votes statewide. And yet, the majority party won 75% of the seats. The difference of 24% represents a high level of disproportionality in the level of representation versus the overall strength of candidates with the statewide electorate.

	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS
# OF VOTES	2,620,206	2,412,385
% OF VOTES	51%	49%
# OF SEATS	12	4
% OF SEATS	75%	25%



## Ohio House of Representatives

The partisan district index correctly projected winners in 97 of the 99 Ohio House races in 2012. 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 two seats in which the political composition of the district and the political party of the winner are different parties are highlighted in yellow.

District	Winner	Projected % R	Projected % D	Official % R	Official % D
1	Amstutz-R	62.17%	37.83%	65.89%	34.11%
2	Romanchuck-R	59.55%	40.45%	57.23%	42.77%
3	Brown-R	51.30%	48.70%	51.39%	43.98%
4	Huffman-R	64.33%	35.67%	66.65%	33.35%
5	Barborak-D	54.72%	45.28%	49.43%	50.57%
6	Anielski-R	53.78%	46.22%	55.43%	44.57%
7	Dovilla-R	54.93%	45.07%	50.11%	49.89%
8	Budish-D	22.03%	77.97%	17.17%	82.83%
9	Boyd-D	16.20%	83.80%	0.00%	100.00%
10	Patmon-D	12.83%	87.17%	0.00%	100.00%
11	Williams-D	15.36%	84.64%	0.00%	100.00%
12	Barnes-D	18.08%	81.92%	0.00%	100.00%

13	Antonio-D	29.16%	70.84%	24.14%	75.86%
14	Foley-D	41.24%	58.76%	30.84%	69.16%
15	Celebrezze-D	44.86%	55.14%	36.31%	63.68%
16	Baker-R	54.53%	45.47%	58.12%	41.88%
17	Curtin-D	44.53%	55.47%	37.38%	62.62%
18	Stinziano-D	29.71%	70.29%	26.66%	73.34%
19	Gonzales-R	55.99%	44.01%	56.38%	43.62%
20	Bishoff-D	49.11%	50.89%	40.72%	59.28%
21	Duffey-R	56.37%	43.63%	52.01%	47.99%
22	Carney-D	40.09%	59.91%	31.79%	68.21%
23	Grossman-R	56.86%	43.14%	55.65%	44.35%
24	Kunze-R	55.66%	44.34%	51.86%	48.00%
25	Boyce-D	17.99%	82.01%	13.88%	86.12%
26	Heard-D	22.26%	77.74%	17.09%	82.91%
27	Stautberg-R	62.95%	37.05%	66.79%	33.21%
28	Pillich-D	54.04%	45.96%	43.58%	51.99%
29	Blessing-R	65.17%	34.83%	61.27%	38.73%
30	Terhar-R	70.39%	29.61%	69.17%	30.83%
31	Driehaus-D	31.26%	68.74%	28.60%	71.40%
32	Mallory-D	26.21%	73.79%	22.95%	77.05%
33	Reece-D	27.63%	72.37%	26.15%	73.85%
34	Sykes-D	24.91%	75.09%	18.61%	81.39%
35	Milkovich-D	37.85%	62.15%	28.39%	71.61%
36	DeVitis-R	50.54%	49.46%	52.52%	47.48%
37	Roegner-R	53.88%	46.12%	53.98%	46.02%
38	Slaby-R	55.35%	44.65%	54.32%	45.68%
39	Strahorn-D	18.97%	81.03%	17.01%	82.99%
40	Henne-R	59.92%	40.08%	54.41%	45.59%
41	Butler-R	60.01%	39.99%	59.55%	40.45%
42	Blair-R	64.49%	35.51%	65.18%	34.82%
43	Winburn-D	49.54%	50.46%	45.94%	54.06%
44	Ashford-D	18.16%	81.84%	0.00%	100.00%
45	Fedor-D	37.21%	62.79%	0.00%	100.00%
46	Szollosi-D	42.93%	57.07%	34.92%	65.08%
47	Sears-R	57.66%	42.34%	60.01%	39.99%
48	Schuring-R	54.86%	45.14%	57.03%	38.83%
49	Slesnick-D	37.46%	62.54%	29.85%	70.15%
50	Hagan-R	58.06%	41.94%	59.53%	40.47%
51	Retherford-R	62.28%	37.72%	56.66%	43.34%

52	Conditt-R	68.95%	31.05%	66.00%	27.08%
53	Derickson-R	62.34%	37.66%	60.54%	39.46%
54	Beck-R	68.16%	31.84%	100.00%	0.00%
55	Lundy-D	48.69%	51.31%	37.07%	62.93%
56	Ramos-D	35.81%	64.19%	0.00%	100.00%
57	Boose-R	56.88%	43.12%	53.92%	40.54%
58	Hagan-D	22.44%	77.56%	0.00%	100.00%
59	Gerberry-D	46.67%	53.33%	41.33%	58.67%
60	Rogers-D	49.26%	50.74%	44.53%	55.47%
61	Young-R	57.74%	42.26%	54.18%	45.82%
62	Maag-R	72.23%	27.77%	70.96%	29.04%
63	O'Brien-D	37.44%	62.56%	27.54%	72.46%
64	Letson-D	40.44%	59.56%	39.75%	60.25%
65	Becker-R	70.18%	29.82%	68.70%	31.30%
66	Green-R	67.31%	32.69%	72.40%	27.60%
67	Brenner-R	65.99%	34.01%	62.46%	37.54%
68	Ruhl-R	66.47%	33.53%	67.78%	32.22%
69	Batchelder-R	60.65%	39.35%	60.63%	39.37%
70	Hall-R	61.45%	38.55%	60.46%	39.54%
71	Hottinger-R	60.94%	39.06%	61.56%	38.44%
72	Hayes-R	58.45%	41.55%	57.51%	42.49%
73	Perales-R	63.11%	36.89%	63.46%	36.54%
74	Hackett-R	63.29%	36.71%	64.76%	35.24%
75	Clyde-D	46.64%	53.36%	38.97%	61.03%
76	Lynch-R	60.89%	39.11%	57.40%	42.60%
77	Stebelton-R	61.31%	38.69%	58.25%	41.75%
78	Hood-R	57.81%	42.19%	57.55%	42.45%
79	McGregor-R	53.27%	46.73%	55.23%	44.77%
80	Adams-R	69.40%	30.60%	69.30%	30.70%
81	Wachtmann-R	64.09%	35.91%	67.92%	32.08%
82	Burkley-R	63.88%	36.12%	59.04%	0.00%
83	Sprague-R	66.64%	33.36%	67.32%	32.68%
84	Buchy-R	73.14%	26.86%	80.86%	19.14%
85	Adams-R	66.14%	33.86%	100.00%	0.00%
86	Pelanda-R	63.15%	36.85%	62.06%	37.94%
87	McClain-R	60.50%	39.50%	66.15%	33.85%
88	Damschroder-R	57.37%	42.63%	55.61%	44.39%
89	Redfern-D	48.34%	51.66%	38.55%	61.45%
90	Johnson-R	51.96%	48.04%	61.95%	38.05%

91	Rosenberger-R	61.84%	38.16%	61.43%	38.57%
92	Scherer-R	57.84%	42.16%	52.54%	47.46%
93	Smith-R	57.72%	42.28%	64.19%	35.81%
94	Phillips-D	44.34%	55.66%	38.63%	61.37%
95	Thompson-R	55.60%	44.40%	52.83%	47.17%
96	Cera-D	46.82%	53.18%	0.00%	100.00%
97	Hill-R	58.26%	41.74%	60.36%	39.64%
98	Landis-R	56.04%	43.96%	50.01%	49.99%
99	Patterson-D	49.05%	50.95%	47.02%	52.98%

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Only two out of ninety-nine districts elected a candidate of the party not favored by the political index. Democrat Connie Pillich in House District 28 prevailed in a Republican leaning district. She was a second-term incumbent facing a previous Republican challenger associated with the Tea Party. She was also challenged by a Libertarian candidate who arguably pulled votes away from Republican candidate Mike Wilson. In a tight race (50.57%-49.43%), Democratic challenger Nick Barborak of House District 5 defeated incumbent Craig Newbold in a Republican leaning district. It should be noted that Columbiana County, in House District 5, has a history of electing Democrats to district offices despite a Republican political index for statewide candidates.

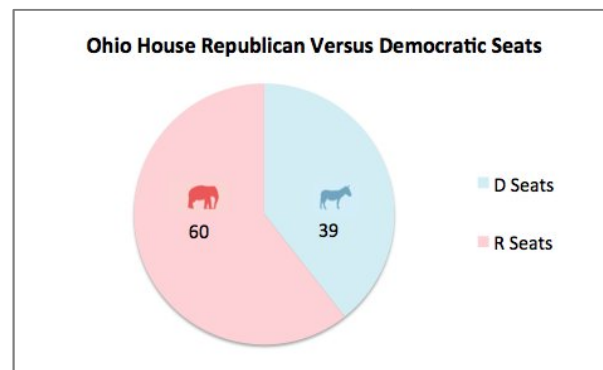
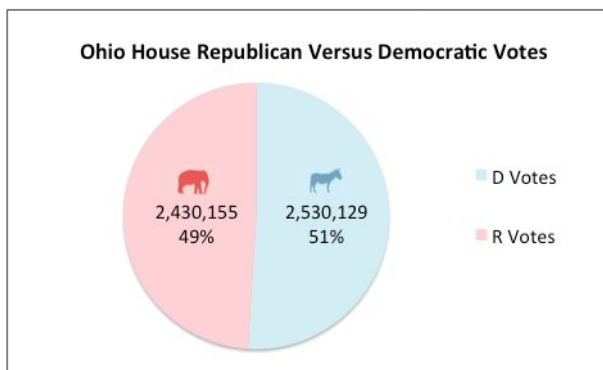
All of the House leaders ran in districts that significantly favored their own political parties. None of their districts were projected to be very competitive and all won by more than 5 points. Two Republican House leaders (John Adams and Jim Buchy) faced no actual opposition and two Democratic leaders (Armond Budish and Tracy Heard) won by more than 60 points.

MEMBER	LEADERSHIP ROLE	PROJECTED %	% OF OFFICIAL VOTE
Bill Batchelder	Speaker of the House	60.65% R	60.63%
Matt Huffman	Speaker Pro Tempore	64.33% R	66.65%
Barbara Sears	Majority Floor Leader	57.66% R	60.01%
John Adams	Asst. Majority Floor Leader	66.14% R	100.00%
Cheryl Grossman	Majority Whip	56.86% R	55.65%
Jim Buchy	Asst. Majority Whip	66.14% R	80.86%

Armond Budish	Former House Minority Leader	77.97% D	82.83%
Tracy Heard	Minority Whip	77.74% D	82.91%
Matt Szoltsi	Former Asst. Minority Leader	57.07% D	65.08%
Debbie Phillips	Asst. Minority Leader	55.66% D	61.37%
Mike Ashford	Minority Whip	81.84% D	100.00%
Dan Ramos	Asst. Minority Whip	64.19% D	81.84%

The current majority party – Republican - candidates for the House received 2,430,155 (49%) of the total votes statewide, and the current minority party – Democrat - candidates received 2,530,129 (51%) of the total votes statewide. And yet, the majority party won 60% of the seats. The difference of 11% represents a high level of disproportionality in the level of representation versus the overall strength of candidates with the statewide electorate.

2012	House Republican	House Democrat
# of Votes	2,430,155	2,530,129
% of Votes	48.99%	51.01%
# of Seats	60	39
% of Seats	60.60%	39.39%





## African American Legislators and Packing<sup>4</sup>

Twelve African American legislators were elected to the Ohio House in 2012. Most of these legislators were elected in majority-minority<sup>5</sup> districts with strong partisan indexes.

Legislator	District	Black Voting Age Population	Dem Partisan Index	Percentage of Vote
Barbara Boyd*	HD 9	52.68%	83.80%	100.00%
Bill Patmon*	HD 10	52.35%	87.17%	100.00%
Sandra Williams*	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%	86.12%
Tracy Maxwell Heard	HD 26	54.63%	77.74%	82.91%
Dale Mallory	HD 32	51.89%	73.79%	77.05%
Alicia Reece	HD 33	51.65%	72.37%	73.85%
Vern Sykes	HD 34	41.06%	75.09%	81.39%
Fred Strahorn	HD 39	52.39%	81.03%	82.99%
Roland Winburn	HD 43	23.24%	50.46%	54.06%
Mike Ashford*	HD 44	46.76%	81.84%	100.00%

\*These candidates had no opponents in Election 2012.

## Ohio Senate

The projected winners based on partisan indexing won in all the Ohio Senate races. Five candidates ran unopposed. While four of those unopposed were incumbents, Joseph Uecker also faced no challenger in an open seat race. Incoming Senate President Faber was not challenged by a Democrat, but faced a Libertarian.

SENATE	WINNER	PROJECTED % R	PROJECTED % D	OFFICIAL % R	OFFICIAL % D
1	HITE-R*	64.82%	35.18%	100.00%	0.00%
2	GARDNER-R	52.42%	47.58%	58.32%	41.68%
4	COLEY-R	64.99%	35.01%	100.00%	0.00%
6	LERNER-R	61.42%	38.58%	62.42%	37.58%

<sup>4</sup> "Packing" refers to the practice of concentrating pushing as many minority voters as possible into a few super-concentrated districts, and draining the population's voting power from anywhere else.

<sup>5</sup> "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.

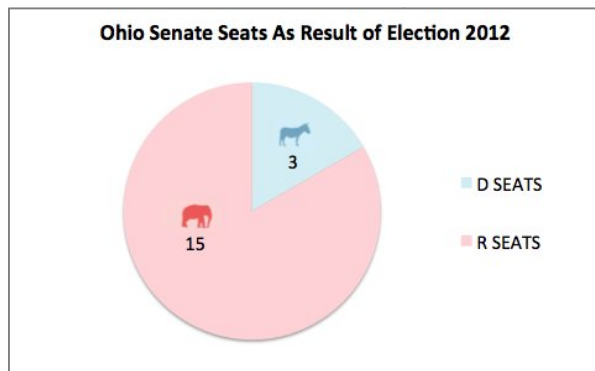
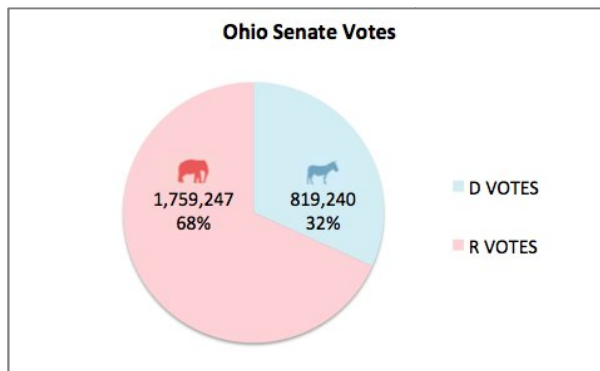
8	SEITZ-R	62.87%	37.13%	61.46%	38.54%
10	WIDENER-R	59.95%	40.05%	61.32%	38.68%
12	FABER-R	68.22%	31.78%	78.84%	0.00%
14	UECKER-R	63.54%	36.46%	100.00%	00.0%
16	HUGHES-R	56.19%	43.81%	100.00%	0.00%
17	PETERSON-R*	59.13%	40.87%	100.00%	0.00%
18	EKLUND-R	55.59%	44.41%	54.69%	45.31%
20	BALDERSON-R	58.62%	41.38%	59.48%	40.52%
22	OBHOF-R	60.53%	39.47%	59.37%	40.63%
24	PATTON-R	54.61%	45.39%	58.95%	41.05%
26	BURKE-R	60.27%	39.73%	60.26%	39.74%
28	SAWYER-D	38.30%	61.70%	28.12%	71.88%
30	GENTILE-D	49.13%	50.87%	47.61%	52.39%
32	CAFARO-D	41.95%	58.05%	32.85%	67.15%

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\*Election for an unexpired term.

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



While not all of the leaders in the 130<sup>th</sup> General Assembly were up for election in 2012, those who were ran for election won in favorable districts.

MEMBER	LEADERSHIP ROLE	PROJECTED WIN	% OF OFFICIAL VOTE
Keith Faber	Senate President	68.22% R	78.84%
Chris Widener	President Pro Tempore	59.95% R	61.32%
Tom Patton	Majority Floor Leader	54.61% R	58.95%
Larry Obhof	Majority Whip	60.53% R	59.37%

## Comparing the Ohio House and Senate

Democratic House candidates received more votes than Republicans, while Democratic Senate candidates significantly fewer votes than Republicans. This difference is likely due to the number of Senate races in which Republicans candidates faced no challenger. One-third or six of the Ohio Senate Republicans faced no Democratic opposition.

## BETTER WAYS OF DRAWING DISTRICTS

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 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.

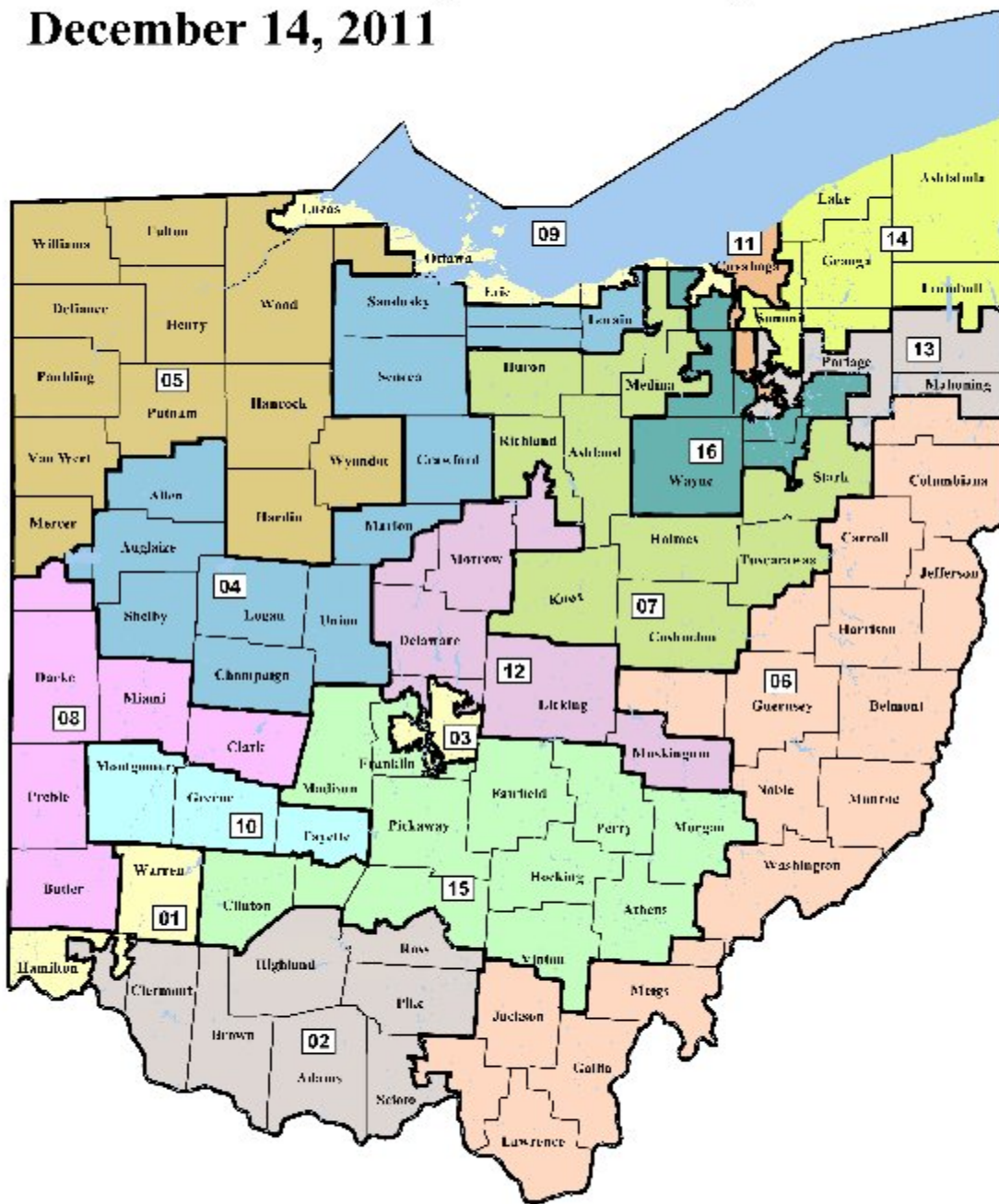
Mathematical criteria were developed for each of the criteria so maps could be easily compared. Maps submitted by members of the public proved that it is possible to successfully balance those four criteria. Importantly, districts were drawn that were both compact and competitive, countering widely held beliefs that this could not be accomplished. All maps submitted by the contestants far outranked the maps approved by the Ohio General Assembly 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. 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 outranked the maps approved by the General Assembly and the Apportionment Board.

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 House Districts 2012-2022**  
(As Adopted 2012)



**Ohio Senate Districts 2012-2022**  
(As Adopted 2012)

