

**IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO**

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**Regina C. Adams, *et al.*,**

***Relators,***

**v.**

**Governor Mike DeWine, *et al.*,**

***Respondents.***

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**Case No. 2021-1428**

**Original Action Filed Pursuant to  
Ohio Const., Art. XIX, Sec. 3(A)**

**League of Women Voters of Ohio, *et al.*,**

***Relators,***

**v.**

**Ohio Redistricting Commission, *et al.*,**

***Respondents.***

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**Case No. 2021-1449**

**Original Action Filed Pursuant to  
Ohio Const., Art. XIX, Sec. 3(A)**

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EXHIBITS APPENDIX B – REPORTS  
Volume 1 of 1**

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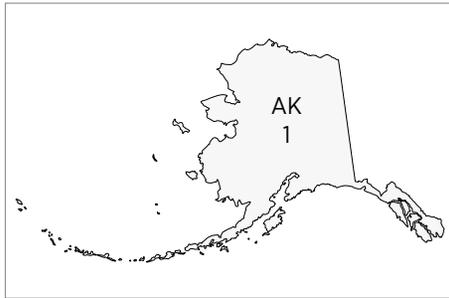
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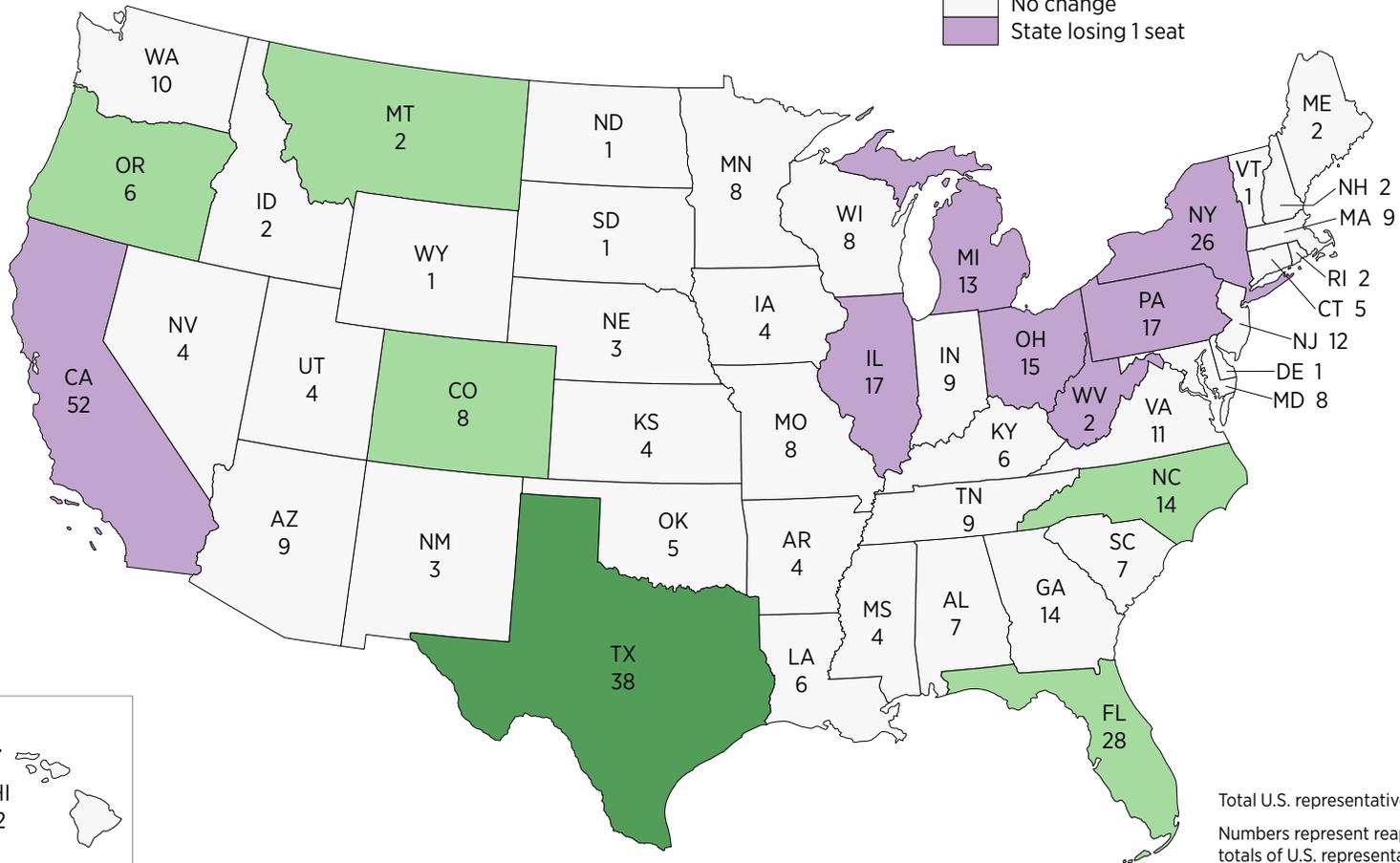
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# Apportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives Based on the 2020 Census



### Change from 2010 to 2020

- State gaining 2 seats
- State gaining 1 seat
- No change
- State losing 1 seat



Total U.S. representatives: 435  
Numbers represent reapportioned totals of U.S. representatives.

# Ohio Redistricting Transparency Report

## *The Elephant in the Room*



*How power was used in the political backrooms to manipulate districts to benefit the political insiders.*

Prepared by:

Jim Slagle, Manager

Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting

A project of the League of Women Voters of Ohio and Ohio Citizen Action

December 12, 2011



***“Information is the currency of democracy.”***

*Thomas Jefferson*

## **Executive Summary**

The 2011 redistricting process was in many ways “business as usual.” The party in power used the process to gain maximum political advantage. The minority party was shut out. Public input was ignored. The result was the approval of new districts that will provide for largely predetermined elections where we will know which party will win before we even know who the candidates are.

The districts were drawn and critical decisions were made in the backrooms outside of public view. When maps were unveiled, they were raced through the process in an effort to avoid public scrutiny. The elephant in the room that those drawing the maps would not publicly acknowledge drove the process. While the Republican officials talked about creating fair and constitutional districts, the driving force was how they could manipulate district boundaries in order to gain the maximum political advantage for the Republican Party – much like Democratic politicians have done when they had the power of the pen.

We participated in the public portion of the redistricting process and followed up with multiple public record requests in an effort to find out what really happened. While many records continue to be withheld, we have uncovered a number of records which help identify the elephant in the room.

In this report we carefully evaluate and document the level of transparency. We conclude that for the following reasons those responsible for Ohio’s 2011 redistricting process deserve a grade of D minus:

- Decisions were not made in public (p. 5)
- Public input was ignored (p. 6)
- The public had limited opportunity to review proposed maps (p. 7)
- The public was not provided with relevant data for proposed districts (p. 8)
- Nonpartisan redistricting criteria was not used (p. 9)
- The criteria used to evaluate plans was never publicly identified (p. 10)

Much of the above is apparent from observing the official process. By reviewing the records, we uncovered secrets which were not known. Some of these include:

- A concerted **strategy of secrecy** was employed which included use of a national consultant, secret meetings, and a secret redistricting office (p. 13)
- \$210,000 was **secretly paid** to two Republican staffers (p. 14)
- Speaker of the House John **Boehner’s team** was the primary decision maker for the congressional map (p. 15)

- A last minute change was made to the congressional districts to honor a request from Boehner’s team to move the **corporate headquarters of a major campaign contributor** into a different congressional district (p. 16)
- Republican officials believed that changes they made to state legislative districts could save them **millions of dollars in future campaign expenses** (p. 17)
- Based on their own political indexes, Republican officials believed they created a congressional plan which would provide a 12 – 4 Republican advantage and a state legislative plan which would **ensure their control of the legislature** even if there were a strong Democratic year (p. 17-19)
- **Multiple maps** were considered including pairings of Congressman Sutton and Fudge, Gibbs and Johnson, and Turner and Jordan (p. 19-20)
- Requests by State Senator Chris Widener to keep Clark County in one congressional district were ignored because this would **hurt the political index** for Congressman Stivers’ district (p. 20)
- **A last minute change** was made to split Mercer County into three congressional districts in order to move State Senator Keith Faber’s home from the 8<sup>th</sup> congressional district to the 4<sup>th</sup> congressional district (p. 20)

Because many records have still not been provided even though public record requests were made over two months ago, many things are still not known, including:

- What lobbying did legislators and congressmen engage in for their districts?
- What congressional district plans have been proposed in private negotiations between Democratic and Republican politicians?
- How many other district boundaries were manipulated to raise campaign funds?
- What else was discussed in the political backrooms?

## **Introduction**

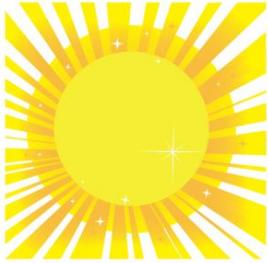
The Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting (OCAR) was established through a partnership led by the League of Women Voters of Ohio, Ohio Citizen Action, and the Midwest Democracy Network, with funding provided by the Joyce Foundation. 25 Ohio organizations joined together to support this effort with the goal of educating the public about the redistricting process. Central to this process was organizing a competition where private citizens could draw their own state legislative and congressional maps which were evaluated based on nonpartisan redistricting criteria, some of which were submitted to the Apportionment Board and Legislature for their consideration.

OCAR and its partners represented public interests by advocating for an open process and the use of nonpartisan redistricting criteria and by providing an opportunity for the public to be involved in the redistricting process. However, the requests by OCAR and other members of the public fell on deaf ears. Although there were many public hearings, the actual decisions were made in private. Maps were unveiled at the last minute and quickly adopted. But for the

efforts of OCAR and its partners, there would have been no meaningful scrutiny of the new districts.

## **Transparency Evaluation**

### **Transparency – What is it? Why does it matter?**



A transparent and open process allows for a more honest and fair outcome, as decisions are made in public based on information which is available to the public. Factors which may have been overlooked can be considered before decisions are final. An open process also requires officials to publicly explain the basis for their decisions and allows the public the opportunity to hold their elected officials accountable. After all, these officials work for the public.

On the other hand, officials who wish to conceal their actions, or the reasons for their actions, may prefer to keep the public in the dark. Nowhere is this more the case than with redistricting. It is an open secret that the political party in power uses redistricting as an opportunity to gain political advantage by drawing the districts in a way which provides the best opportunity for their party to win elections in the greatest number of districts.

Yet, few public officials will acknowledge that political advantage is their goal. Rather, they claim they are drawing fair and constitutional maps. Because the political calculations take place in private, the politicians are better able to conceal their efforts.

A truly open process in redistricting would include the following components:

- Decisions made in public
- Actual consideration of maps and input provided by the public
- A fair opportunity for the public to review proposed maps
- Public access to actual redistricting data, including political indexes, the number of districts favoring each party, compactness measures, number of splits, and any other data supporting an individual plan.
- Use of nonpartisan redistricting criteria such as compactness, minimizing splits of governmental units, maximizing politically balanced districts, and balancing the number of districts which favor each party.
- Identification of the factors which are used to evaluate each plan.

So, how did our Ohio officials do?

## Were decisions made in public?

While the new state legislative and congressional districts were approved in public, **there is no evidence that any decisions were actually made in public.** The following demonstrates that decisions were actually made in private discussions among majority party officials:

- Starting July 11, weekly meetings were held in private among the secretaries of the Apportionment Board and representatives of the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Speaker of the House, and Senate President.<sup>1</sup>
- Both the congressional and state legislative maps were drawn in private and approved within days of being unveiled.<sup>2</sup>
- HB 319 which established the new congressional districts was adopted without a single change to the proposed districts.
- The only changes made to the state legislative districts from the plan presented by the Apportionment Board Secretaries were to honor private requests made by individual legislators, none of whom addressed their requests at a public meeting.<sup>3</sup>
- Ray DiRossi<sup>4</sup> testified at the Sept. 26 Apportionment Board hearing that as he prepared draft maps of state legislative districts he presented them to legislative leadership and obtained feedback from them.<sup>5</sup>
- The first meeting of the House Government and Elections Committee to discuss congressional redistricting held on Sept. 6, 2011 was delayed while majority members were in a party caucus.
- On Sept. 21, the final Senate Government Oversight and Reform Committee hearing on HB 319 was recessed immediately before the Senators voted so that majority Senators could have a party caucus to discuss in private how to proceed.
- To ensure that the Apportionment Board meetings did not deviate from the plan worked out in private, detailed scripts of each meeting (including which member would make and second each motion) were prepared in advance.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 13-14 herein and App. pp. 19.1-22. (Documents contained in the Appendix to this report are referenced as App. pp. \_\_.)

<sup>2</sup> HB 319 which contained the new congressional districts was approved by the House of Representatives within 48 hours of being introduced. The state legislative districts were approved by the Ohio Apportionment Board within three business days of being unveiled. See App. pp. 4-6 for a complete timeline of the redistricting process.

<sup>3</sup> Testimony of Ray DiRossi and Heather Mann before Ohio Apportionment Board on Sept. 28, 2011, transcript pp. 6-16, available at: <http://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/upload/reshape/ApportionmentBoard/transcripts/2011-09-28.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> Ray DiRossi and Heather Mann served as Joint Secretaries for the Ohio Apportionment Board and were responsible for drafting the maps for the new districts. See App. pp. 1-2 for a listing of key players in the redistricting process.

<sup>5</sup> App. pp. 162-166.

<sup>6</sup> See App. pp. 146-152 for script of initial Apportionment Board meeting. Scripts were prepared for every meeting and for the regional hearings, as well. Governor Kasich acknowledged that he was following a script at the initial Apportionment Board meeting. (App. p. 154).

Making the decisions behind closed doors is not only bad policy and creates public distrust, but also puts in question whether the Apportionment Board’s actions were in violation of Ohio’s Sunshine Law.<sup>7</sup>

## Was public input actually considered?



OCAR presented eight different congressional maps to the Legislature and two state legislative maps to the Apportionment Board.<sup>8</sup> Yet, there is no evidence that any map presented even influenced a single district. The congressional map which was adopted in HB 319 was decided upon before some of the citizen maps were even presented to the Legislature.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly, the schedule adopted by the Apportionment Board to approve state legislative maps demonstrates no intention to consider public maps. The Ohio Constitution requires the Apportionment Board to meet between August 1 and October 1 to adopt state legislative districts.<sup>10</sup> Yet, at the Board’s organizational meeting Aug. 4, it approved a schedule where the full Board would not meet again until Monday, Sept. 26, only five days before the districts must be determined. The Board directed that proposed maps be submitted by Friday, Sept. 23, thus ensuring a process where there would be no opportunity to give substantial consideration to alternate maps. The Board then adopted rules which limited the proponent of any plan a total of ten minutes to testify about the plan – less than 5 seconds for each of the 132 districts in a legislative plan!<sup>11</sup>

In addition to not considering public plans, both the Legislature and the Apportionment Board completely disregarded the testimony expressed by members of the public which focused on two issues:

- Use nonpartisan redistricting criteria
- Before voting on a map, publish the map on a public website for at least two weeks in order to provide an opportunity for public scrutiny

These requests were made multiple ways:

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<sup>7</sup> See R.C. 121.22, as well as pp. 13-14 herein.

<sup>8</sup> All maps submitted by OCAR, including a description of each plan, are available at [www.drawthelineohio.org](http://www.drawthelineohio.org).

<sup>9</sup> On July 19, 2011 OCAR announced its public competition which required congressional maps to be completed by Sept. 11, 2011. This deadline was published in the media, was available on the OCAR website, and was provided to the Legislators during testimony at multiple regional legislative hearings on July 20, 21, and Aug. 2. However, on Aug. 30, the House Government and Elections Committee issued a notice scheduling hearings and requesting proposed maps by Sept. 2. OCAR was the only entity to present any map by the Sept. 2 deadline (OCAR-A). OCAR presented an additional map on Sept. 8 (OCAR-B) and four more maps on Sept. 12 (OCAR-C, OCAR-D, OCAR-E, OCAR-G). The HB 319 map was finalized over the weekend of Sept. 10-11 and was unveiled on Sept. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Art. 11, Sect. 1, Ohio Constitution.

<sup>11</sup> See App. pp. 168 for a copy of Apportionment Board Rule 011-1-10.

- On June 27, OCAR sent a letter to every legislator making these requests<sup>12</sup>
- On July 20-21 and Aug. 2, 22-26 countless citizens testified at regional legislative and Apportionment Board hearings to request that nonpartisan criteria be used, to have public hearings after proposed maps were available, and to have proposed maps available on the internet for at least two weeks before being voted on.
- On Sept. 19, OCAR sent a letter to each of the members of the Apportionment Board requesting that the proposed maps be made public<sup>13</sup>
- On Sept. 19, over 300 Ohioans e-mailed Senate President Thomas Niehaus to request that the Senate allow time for the public to review the proposed congressional districts in HB 319.<sup>14</sup> Instead, HB 319 was raced through the Senate Committee and full Senate over the next two days.
- Ohio’s newspapers called upon the Legislature to slow down the process to allow time for public input.<sup>15</sup>



## Did the public have an opportunity to review maps?

Not much. While the Legislature is often criticized for issues dragging on for months or years without resolution, on congressional redistricting they demonstrated an impressive ability to move with speed and efficiency.

On Sept. 12, Rep. Matt Huffman, Chair of the House Government and Elections Committee issued a notice indicating the next afternoon the Committee would hear testimony on a yet to be introduced bill, with a further hearing on the 14<sup>th</sup>, at which time the bill would be voted on.<sup>16</sup> The next day HB 319 was introduced with the maps unveiled that afternoon. 24 hours later the House Committee voted on the legislation and within 48 hours of the maps being introduced HB 319 was approved by the full House in a near party line vote. The Senate moved just as quickly the next week. On Sept. 20 the Senate Committee on Government Oversight and Reform<sup>17</sup> held two hearings on the bill, and approved the bill on a straight party line vote the next day, with the only change being to add a monetary appropriation to assist local boards of elections in implementing the new districts. One hour later, HB 319 was approved by the full Senate and still later the same day the full House concurred with the Senate amendment.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> App. pp. 7-8.

<sup>13</sup> App. 9.

<sup>14</sup> The e-mails were discovered among records produced in response to a public record request.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. “Give Ohioans a chance to study proposed maps”, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Sept. 14, 2011, [http://www.cleveland.com/opinion/index.ssf/2011/09/give\\_ohioans\\_a\\_chance\\_to\\_study.html](http://www.cleveland.com/opinion/index.ssf/2011/09/give_ohioans_a_chance_to_study.html); “Drawn to Gridlock”, Akron Beacon Journal, Sept. 14, 2011, <http://www.ohio.com/editorial/drawn-to-gridlock-1.235063>; “Lose this map”, Toledo Blade, Sept. 15, 2011, <http://www.toledoblade.com/Editorials/2011/09/15/Lose-this-map.html>; App. pp. 169-174.

<sup>16</sup> Copy of notice at App. pp. 25-26.

<sup>17</sup> One might have hoped that a committee devoted to oversight and reform would have been more concerned with transparency.

<sup>18</sup> See App. pp. 4-6 for a complete time line.

The Apportionment Board schedule provided even less time for public scrutiny. Proposed maps were unveiled on Friday, Sept. 23, considered by the Apportionment Board on Monday, Sept. 26, and voted on Sept. 28.<sup>19</sup>

All of this was designed to limit the time that the public could have to review, analyze, and raise questions about the proposed maps.

## Was the public provided with redistricting data for proposed districts?

The public was briefly provided with maps, a legal description, population figures, minority population percentages, and incumbent addresses, but little else. However, to fully evaluate the impact of proposed districts it is necessary to examine the underlying data on proposed districts.



Specifically, as maps were unveiled, the following information was withheld from the public:

- Political indexes for each district
- Number of districts which favored each political party
- Number of governmental units which were split
- Any measure of compactness
- An interactive map

As a starting point, the public, as well as legislators and board members who must vote on the maps, need to be able to identify the precise boundaries of proposed districts. Instead, only static pictures of the entire State and larger counties were posted on the Secretary of State’s Website ([www.reshapeohio.gov](http://www.reshapeohio.gov)), even though the site contained mapping software which could have allowed for an interactive version of the proposed congressional and state legislative districts, so that the boundaries could be examined in detail. Thus the maps only provided the public with approximate district boundaries.

But, the actual district boundaries are just the first step. In order to evaluate the maps it is important to know how the new districts will affect future elections – what are the indexes for each district and how many districts favor each party? Additionally, it is important to know the compactness measure for the proposed districts, as well as the number of governmental units which are split. This type of information allows one to objectively compare proposed plans.

Instead of providing this information, the proponents of the new congressional and state legislative districts concealed this information – not because they didn’t have it, but because

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<sup>19</sup> Proposed timelines discovered in the public records demonstrate an early plan to hold the maps “in the can” until the last minute. See p. 13 herein.

they didn't want to let the public see it.<sup>20</sup> But for OCAR, this information would not have been available to the public at all. OCAR, after making repeated requests, obtained block equivalency files<sup>21</sup> for the proposed districts and was able to evaluate each proposed map using the same criteria as used in its citizen completion.

## Were nonpartisan redistricting criteria used?



The lack of nonpartisan redistricting criteria is most apparent when the congressional and state legislative maps were compared with maps generated through the citizen competition and scored using these criteria. Mathematical formulas were used to score the competition maps based on the following nonpartisan criteria:<sup>22</sup>

- Compactness
- Minimizing the number of county and municipalities split into different districts
- Competitiveness – maximizing the number of districts which either party could win
- Representational fairness – balancing the number of districts which favor each party

The maps of the new congressional and state legislative districts were scored using the same formulas used to score the competition maps and they couldn't compete with maps generated from the competition. In fact the congressional maps scored dead last!<sup>23</sup>

This was most apparent with the congressional maps. 53 congressional district plans were submitted during the competition. Not only did all 53 plans score higher than the congressional plan adopted by the Legislature, but it wasn't even close, as is shown by the following table which shows for comparison purposes the scores for the 1<sup>st</sup> place, 10<sup>th</sup> place, and 53<sup>rd</sup> place competition plans, as compared to the congressional plan (HB 319) which was adopted by the Legislature.

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<sup>20</sup> Through public record requests, documents have been discovered which show the political indexes for each district as determined by the mapmakers. App. pp. 108-109, 111-121. See also, pp. 18-19 herein where this issue is discussed in more detail.

<sup>21</sup> A block equivalency file is a two column spreadsheet which identifies the district in which each of Ohio's 300,000 census blocks are located. It is the data that any software program needs to create a district map.

<sup>22</sup> For more information on nonpartisan redistricting principles see [A Citizen's Guide to Redistricting](#), published by the Brennan Center. Available at:

[http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/a\\_citizens\\_guide\\_to\\_redistricting/](http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/a_citizens_guide_to_redistricting/)

<sup>23</sup> App. p. 10.

Competition Scores for Congressional Plans<sup>24</sup>

1 <sup>st</sup> place <sup>25</sup>	222.6
10 <sup>th</sup> place	194.7
53 <sup>rd</sup> place	84.1
HB 319	38.5

A closer examination of the districts which were adopted demonstrates why they scored so low when evaluated based on nonpartisan redistricting criteria. The first place plan resulted in 11 of the state’s 16 congressional districts being heavily competitive, which was defined as having a political index in which neither political party had an advantage of more than 5%. The HB 319 districts which were adopted had no districts which were heavily competitive and only two districts in which the difference in the political index was less than 10%.<sup>26</sup> As a result, we can already determine which party’s candidate is likely to be elected in each of Ohio’s 16 congressional districts for the next ten years. This deprives Ohioans of having a meaningful opportunity to hold their congressmen accountable in future elections.

Ohio’s new congressional districts will likely result in an Ohio congressional delegation of 12 Republicans and four Democrats for the next decade regardless of whether most Ohioans vote for the Democratic or Republican candidate. In contrast, under any of the top ten congressional plans generated through the citizen competition, the ultimate balance of Ohio’s congressional delegation will depend on the preferences of the voters.

This type of partisan imbalance was created by splitting up counties and municipalities in a way that packed Democratic voters into four congressional districts and provided comfortable Republican majorities in the remaining 12 districts. This resulted in splitting every major Ohio city and 27 counties into different districts. In comparison, the winning congressional map kept cities intact and split only five counties into separate districts.

## Was the criteria used to evaluate plans identified?

Witness: Will you consider competitiveness as a criteria [sic] in selecting a plan?

Apportionment Board Member: I would suggest, respectfully, that’s outside the scope of this hearing?

.....

Witness: What criteria will you use to adopt a plan?

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<sup>24</sup> For a spreadsheet listing the scores for all 53 competition plans, as well as the HB 319 districts which were adopted, see App. p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> The first place plan was authored by Mike Fortner and on Sept. 12 was submitted to the Legislature for consideration as OCAR-C. See App. pp. 11-16.

<sup>26</sup> See App. pp. 110 for the political indexes for the HB 319 congressional districts as determined by OCAR.

Apportionment Board Member: Once again, I'm afraid that that's a little bit outside the context of this.<sup>27</sup>

*--Testimony from the Aug. 25 regional Apportionment Board Hearing*

Despite repeated requests, neither the Apportionment Board nor the Legislature ever clarified how they would choose among various plans.<sup>28</sup> Rather, they indicated that they would follow the legal requirements in adopting a plan. Since the regional hearings both by the joint legislative committee and the representatives of the Apportionment Board were held before any official maps were available, the only substantive issue which could be determined at the regional hearings would have been the development of criteria by which plans would be evaluated. However, the officials with the power to determine the districts did not wish to restrict themselves to any specific criteria. This allowed them to defend the plans they adopted as being fair and constitutional without having any standard by which that could be measured.

The closest those who would approve the maps came to addressing redistricting criteria was to start the July 20 joint legislative hearing in Columbus with a redistricting presentation by the Legislative Service Commission.

During the presentation, the following were listed as traditional redistricting principles:

- Compactness
- Contiguity
- Preservation of political subdivisions
- Preservation of communities of interest
- Preservation of cores of prior districts
- Protection of incumbents<sup>29</sup>

This listing of traditional redistricting principles is somewhat odd. Contiguity is not a principle by which plans are evaluated, but rather is a minimum legal requirement of any district. Moreover, achieving representation fairness and competitive districts are routinely considered to be important nonpartisan criteria, but are absent from this list. However, since neither the

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<sup>27</sup> State Auditor David Yost, one of five members of the Apportionment Board refused to answer the simple question posed by Alice Schneider of the League of Women Voters of Greater Cincinnati at an Aug. 25 regional hearing of the Apportionment Board. Yost went on to say that the criteria used were up to the conscience of each member of the Apportionment Board. Complete transcript available at:

<http://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/upload/Reshape/AppportionmentBoard/transcripts/2011-08-25-Cincinnati.pdf>

See pages 23-26 of the transcript at App. pp. 158-161.

<sup>28</sup> At the Aug. 26 regional hearing in Columbus, Secretary of State Jon Husted said he would follow the law, but refused to clarify how he would choose among competing legal plans. Complete transcript is available at:

<http://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/upload/Reshape/AppportionmentBoard/transcripts/2011-08-26-Columbus.pdf>

See pages 14-16 of the transcript at App. pp. 1659-161. The issue was raised multiple other times including at various legislative hearings which hearings are not recorded.

<sup>29</sup> A copy of the PowerPoint presentation made by LSC is available at:

<http://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/upload/reshape/testimony/2011-07-20-Jacobsen.pdf>



## Secrets Uncovered

*“The liberties of a people never were, nor ever will be, secure, when the transactions of their rulers may be concealed from them . . . To cover with the veil of secrecy the common routine of business, is an abomination in the eyes of every intelligent man.”*

*Patrick Henry*

### **Secrecy was the game plan.**

From the start, the plan was to determine the new districts in secret. This strategy was handed down from national party leaders and included private meetings, a secret office, and a plan to keep maps under wraps until the last minute.

**Secrecy strategy** – As early as May 2010, the Republican National Committee<sup>31</sup> conducted training on redistricting. The theme of the training was – “Keep it secret, keep it safe.”<sup>32</sup> The training was attended by Michael Lenzo, Ohio House Majority Counsel. Materials from the training were provided to Heather Mann and Ray DiRossi, who were assigned to draw the Ohio maps. John Morgan who provided this training served as a consultant to the Republican officials in charge of Ohio’s redistricting efforts.<sup>33</sup> The plan to keep maps secret until the last minute is also apparent from proposed timelines found in the files of the redistricting officials. These called for completing the congressional map by Aug 19 and then holding it “in the can” until the Legislature came back Sept. 13-14.<sup>34</sup> The Apportionment Board timeline called for plans to be submitted by Sept. 23 and voted on Sept. 28 or 29.<sup>35</sup>



**Secret meetings** – Even though Ohio’s Sunshine Law generally requires “public officials to take official action and to conduct all deliberations upon official business only in open meetings unless the subject matter is specifically excepted by law,”<sup>36</sup> every effort was made to conduct all of the deliberations in private.<sup>37</sup> On July 7 & 8, 2011 each Republican member of the Ohio Apportionment Board, as well as their staffs, met separately with the consultant John Morgan, as well as legal counsel, to discuss

<sup>31</sup> We assume that the Democratic Party provided similar advice for use in states where Democrats controlled the redistricting process.

<sup>32</sup> See App. p. 17 for the first PowerPoint slide presented at the training.

<sup>33</sup> See App. pp. 19-21 for e-mails describing Morgan as a consultant and arranging meetings with him.

<sup>34</sup> See App. p. 24.

<sup>35</sup> App. p. 23. Record obtained from the files of Ray DiRossi, Joint Secretary of the Apportionment Board. See also DiRossi’s e-mail of Sept. 1, 2011 where he commands that no external maps be printed. App. p. 27.

<sup>36</sup> R.C. 121.22(A).

<sup>37</sup> While the Ohio Legislature has largely exempted itself from following the requirements of the Ohio Sunshine Law, no such exemption occurs for the Ohio Apportionment Board. See Ohio Adm. Code 011-1-03, as adopted by the Apportionment Board on Aug. 4, 2011. App. p. 167.

redistricting strategy.<sup>38</sup> Starting July 11, 2011 weekly redistricting meetings were held among the staff of the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Senate President, House Majority Leader, and the Secretaries of the Apportionment Board.<sup>39</sup>

**Hotel used as secret redistricting office** – At a taxpayer cost of \$9,600, redistricting officials rented a downtown hotel room from July 17, 2011 to Oct. 15, 2011 to use as a secret redistricting office.<sup>40</sup> The address of the hotel room never shows up on any correspondence. Meetings scheduled for the hotel room appear to be described as meetings in the “bunker” or simply as “off site.”<sup>41</sup> The purpose of renting the hotel appears to be twofold – to ensure that no one could gain access to the redistricting plans and to provide a place where those drawing the maps could meet with interested parties without being seen by other staff.<sup>42</sup>

**Using “attorney-client privilege” to keep records secret** – The Apportionment Board hired Washington D.C. attorney Mark Braden to serve as legal counsel, even though the Ohio Attorney General is their statutory legal counsel. Braden served for ten years as chief legal counsel to the Republican National Committee and promotes himself as being the “father of soft money.”<sup>43</sup> House Majority Counsel Michael Lenzo has refused to provide records of any communications with Braden on the basis of attorney-client privilege.<sup>44</sup> It appears that Braden did more than simply provide legal advice. Rather, he was involved in redistricting strategy. He hired consultant John Morgan and participated in meetings with him and Ohio redistricting officials.<sup>45</sup> The secretaries of the Apportionment Board submitted draft maps to him for consideration.<sup>46</sup> Braden’s name is even listed as the author of one of the final three congressional plans considered by Republican legislative leaders.<sup>47</sup>

## **\$210,000 secretly paid to two Republican staffers.**

At its initial meeting on Aug. 4, 2011 the Ohio Apportionment Board named Ray DiRossi and Heather Mann as its joint secretaries. It was assumed that DiRossi and Mann were working as state employees as both had been employed by the House and Senate.<sup>48</sup> However, a public records search revealed that neither were state employees while the Apportionment Board met.<sup>49</sup> Instead, each were paid \$105,000 (\$210,000 total) through contracts the Republican

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<sup>38</sup> See App. pp. 19-21 for sample e-mails arranging these meetings. Note that the Ohio Supreme Court has held that the requirements of the Sunshine Law cannot be avoided simply by holding a series of separate back to back meetings with individual members of a public body. *State ex rel. Cincinnati Post v. City of Cincinnati*, 76 Ohio St.3d 540, 542, 1996-Ohio-372.

<sup>39</sup> See App. pp. 19-22 for sample e-mails arranging these meetings.

<sup>40</sup> Room 601 of the Doubletree Suites, 50 South Front St, Columbus was rented. The normal guest room furniture was moved out of the room and computers with internet connections were hooked up. See App. pp. 29-34 for documents describing the arrangements made with the hotel.

<sup>41</sup> See App. 22, 35-36 for sample references to such meetings.

<sup>42</sup> For the two weeks prior to the hotel room being rented, efforts were made to ensure that only two Senate and two House staff could have access to the state facilities in which redistricting business was being conducted. See App. p. 29.

<sup>43</sup> See App. p. 38 for Braden’s bio, as posted on his firm’s website at <http://www.bakerlaw.com/emarkbraden/>.

<sup>44</sup> See App. pp. 39-40.

<sup>45</sup> See App. pp. 19-21.

<sup>46</sup> See App. pp. 84.

<sup>47</sup> See App. p. 109.

<sup>48</sup> DiRossi and Mann were described in media reports as legislative staff. See App. pp. 62-65.

<sup>49</sup> See App. pp. 66-69.

Legislative Task Force members entered into with Policy Widgets, LLC and Capital Advantage, LLC, which were companies Mann and DiRossi established.<sup>50</sup>

Mann resigned from the House on Aug. 4 and returned to the House payroll on approximately Nov. 11, during which time she was paid under the contract with Policy Widgets.<sup>51</sup> This resulted in Mann's compensation increasing over six fold during the 14 weeks she was compensated under the redistricting contract (\$1202/wk as House employee to \$7,500/wk under the contract).<sup>52</sup>

By contracting with Policy Widgets and Capitol Advantage, rather than contracting with Mann and DiRossi personally, or having them on the payroll as state employees, Republican officials were able to hide the lucrative payments they were making to close staffers.



Governor Kasich signing HB 319 to enact Ohio's new congressional districts. Sept. 26, 2011. Heather Mann is looking over the Governor's shoulder, while Ray DiRossi is standing on the far right. Others in the photo include Chad Hawley, House Political Director; Troy Judy, House Chief of Staff; and Mike Dittoe, House Communications Director.

## Congressional map approved by Boehner

When Rep. Huffman testified in support of HB 319, he was asked who drew the map. He advised that it was drawn by staff. This was partially true. Heather Mann and Ray DiRossi were the Ohio staff responsible for the map. However, their direction came from Tom Whatman,

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<sup>50</sup> See App. pp. 41-61, for copies of the contracts, record of payment, and record regarding the companies. In addition to being paid \$105,000 each, Policy Widgets and Capital Advantage were reimbursed for any expenses incurred. The sole obligation of Policy Widgets and Capital Advantage was to provide the services of Mann and DiRossi. Neither company appears to have any other staff or employees.

<sup>51</sup> See App. pp. 67-70.

<sup>52</sup> House compensation is available at <http://das.ohio.gov/Divisions/HumanResources/HRDOCBPolicy/StateEmployeeData/StateEmployeeSalaries.aspx>. See also App. p. 70.

Executive Director of Team Boehner,<sup>53</sup> and Adam Kincaid, Redistricting Coordinator for the National Republican Congressional Committee.<sup>54</sup>

During the weekend before HB 319 was introduced, Senator Keith Faber and Senator Chris Widener sought modifications to the map. However, Senate President Thomas Niehaus made clear that the critical requirement was to create a map which Speaker Boehner fully supported.

“I am still committed to ending up with a map that Speaker Boehner fully supports, with or without votes from two members of leadership.”

Sept. 11 e-mail from Niehaus to Whatman<sup>55</sup>

The next morning when Ray DiRossi provided Senator Niehaus with the final map for his approval, Niehaus’ question was: “Did Whatman sign off?”<sup>56</sup>

If there is any question about Boehner’s influence, look what happened in the 16<sup>th</sup> Congressional District.

## Mapmakers were chasing campaign money



Not only were politicians choosing their voters, but redistricting was used to maximize potential campaign contributions. This is most obvious in the 16<sup>th</sup> Congressional District, where a puppet shaped peninsula was carved into Canton and attached to the District. The total population in this peninsula is zero! No other portion of Canton is in the 16<sup>th</sup> District.<sup>57</sup>

This zero population area was attached to the 16<sup>th</sup> District because it contains the Timken manufacturing plant and their corporate headquarters. Those connected with Timken are major campaign contributors to Congressman Renacci.<sup>58</sup> Keeping the plant in his district gave these contributors a reason to continue to contribute to Renacci.



So, who requested this bizarre change? None other than **Tom Whatman, Chief Executive of Team Boehner, requested this**

<sup>53</sup> Team Boehner was established in January 2011 to be part of a collaborative effort to support Republican Congressional candidates across the country. As Executive Director, Whatman is responsible for overseeing all of Speaker John Boehner’s political operations. See App. p. 71.

<sup>54</sup> See App. 79-85 for sample e-mails exchanged among the group during the drafting process.

<sup>55</sup> App. 73.

<sup>56</sup> Sept. 12 e-mail from Senate President Niehaus to Ray DiRossi. App. p. 74.

<sup>57</sup> See App. 102-104 for complete maps.

<sup>58</sup> According to an investigative report published in the Canton Repository on Nov. 14, 2011, Timken executives and their spouses, Timken’s board members, Timken family members, and a PAC associated with Timken have contributed over \$120,000 to Renacci during the past two years.

**carve out the night before HB 319 was introduced and it took only 8 minutes to get this approved!**

Sept 12 e-mails

9:28 PM - Whatman to Kincaid and DiRossi: “Guys: really really sorry to ask but **can we do a small carve out down 77 in Canton and put Timken hq in the 16<sup>th</sup>**. I should have thought about this earlier.”

9:36 PM - Kincaid: “**Yeah, sure, no problem.** Ray/Heather, do you want me to do it and send the file over, or will y’all do it?”

9:36 PM - DiRossi: “You do and get equivalence file<sup>59</sup> to us asap. Thanks.”

9:39 PM - Kincaid: “10-4”

9:41 PM – Whatman: “Thanks guys. **Very important to someone important to us all.** I really should have thought of this.”<sup>60</sup>

Speaker Boehner’s control over this process is demonstrated by the fact that there was no hesitation to honor this request and no explanation was necessary. Moreover the change was made after Ohio House Speaker William Batchelder and Senate President Thomas Niehaus had already signed off on the bill.<sup>61</sup> DiRossi apparently understood that he was to make changes requested by Boehner without the necessity of obtaining further approval from Batchelder, Niehaus, or the bill’s sponsor.

The 15<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District also has two strange peninsulas which reach into Franklin County. One reaches Congressman Stivers’ new residence in Upper Arlington. The other stretches into downtown Columbus to pick up various business interests, including several banks and Nationwide Insurance. Some have speculated that this was also done with potential Stivers’ contributors in mind. While we have not uncovered records to establish this, the records do show that one of the final changes to the map was an edit to the Stivers’ district.<sup>62</sup>

The records establish that Speaker Boehner was not the only one concerned about how redistricting would affect campaign funds. The map drawers also looked at how redistricting would affect funds needed for state legislative races. One week before the state legislative districts were released, Ohio House Majority Caucus Chief of Staff Troy Judy provided Ray DiRossi with an analysis which ranked the top 43 state house districts by the amount of in kind

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<sup>59</sup> Equivalence file would be short for block equivalency file which is the basic data for any redistricting plan, as it identifies the district into which each census block is assigned.

<sup>60</sup> See App. pp. 99-101 for complete e-mail exchange. HB 319 was introduced on Sept. 13, 2011 and unveiled at the House State Government and Elections Committee that afternoon.

<sup>61</sup> The final manipulations to the congressional map were made over the weekend of Sept. 10 – 11. On Monday, Sept. 12, Speaker Batchelder and President Niehaus signed off on the congressional map, which was introduced as HB 319 on Sept. 13.

<sup>62</sup> See App. pp. 96, 98. The e-mails are not clear as to the nature of the change to this district.

campaign contributions provided by the Republican Party or caucuses.<sup>63</sup> DiRossi’s response was:

“But we have made significant improvements to many HDs on this list. Hopefully saving millions over the coming years.”<sup>64</sup>

## Republican mapmakers analyzed political indexes to maximize Republican seats

No political data was presented when HB 319 was introduced or when the state legislative districts were unveiled. However, this data not only existed, but had been thoroughly analyzed with the explicit goal of increasing the Republican advantage in multiple districts. By early July Republican map drawers had agreed upon the indexes they would use to evaluate districts.

They made a strategic decision to evaluate districts under the most favorable Democratic



conditions, so that Republican candidates could safely win a solid majority of districts even in a heavily Democratic year. To do this they generally evaluated districts two ways. The first was to look at the percentage of votes which McCain received in a district in the 2008 Presidential race. Since McCain received 46.9% of the vote which is approximately 5% less than a typical statewide Republican candidate would receive.

The second comparison was to create what they labeled as a “unified index” which was based on the 2004 Presidential race, the 2006 Attorney General and Auditor’s races, the 2008 Presidential race, and the 2010 Governor’s race. Since this included two races in which the Democratic candidate won by approximately 5% and no races in which the Republican candidate won by more than 2%, this resulted in a Democratic leaning index. For the congressional districts, they also looked at the 2010 Attorney General race. Charts were created which provided the following information for each district: the incumbent, the indexes, and how much the McCain vote and the unified index changed.<sup>65</sup>

Republican map drawers concluded that 12 of the 16 new congressional districts favored Republicans and that only the 14<sup>th</sup> District (LaTourette) could be considered a swing district.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> There were 18 house districts in which the over \$1 million in Republican in kind funds were provided, with the most expensive being the 20<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> house districts, which each topped \$3.3 million. See list in July e-mail at App. pp. 106-106. See App. p. 107 for a breakdown of who won in the various districts on the list.

<sup>64</sup> App. p. 106.

<sup>65</sup> See App. pp. 108-109, 111-121. The state legislative district charts also included when each candidate was term limited, information which would only be needed if one were interested in evaluating future elections.

<sup>66</sup> See App. p. 108. Because the 14<sup>th</sup> district is bordered by Lake Erie to the north, Pennsylvania to the east, and Democratic areas to the south and west, it is not possible to make the district significantly more Republican. This analysis is very similar to

Heather Mann analyzed the number of state house districts that were 50+, 52+, and 55+ under both the unified index and the 2008 Presidential index. No matter which analysis was used the number of favorable Republican districts markedly increased under the new maps. Mann determined that under the unified index the number of districts which were 52+% Republican increased from 48 to 57 and the number of districts which were 55+% Republican increased from 36 to 44. Mann’s analysis is very similar to the OCAR analysis, as both concluded that the number of strong Republican house districts increased by 8 to 9 seats.<sup>67</sup> Mann concluded:

- We now have a majority of seats that lean Republican (50% or better) on 2008 Presidential numbers.
- Previously, to retain a 50+ seat majority under 2008 Presidential year conditions, we had to win all seats above a 49.14%; now we only have to hold 50 or more seats that are 50.94% or better.<sup>68</sup>

## Multiple maps considered

In an effort to obtain the most advantageous possible districts, multiple different configurations were considered. For example by Sept. 10, two weeks before the state legislative districts were unveiled, between 11 and 21 different Franklin County maps had been considered.<sup>69</sup>



Four primary congressional maps were considered,<sup>70</sup> which would have paired the following congressmen:

- Kaptur/Kucinich & Sutton/Fudge (labeled 4-way split)
- Gibbs/Johnson & Kaptur/Jordan & Sutton/Fudge (open seat in Franklin Co)
- Turner/Austria & Kaptur/Kucinich & Sutton/Fudge (open seat in Franklin Co)
- Turner/Jordan & Kaptur/Kucinich & Sutton/Fudge (open seat in Franklin Co)

This evolved into two Sept. 2 variations of the Turner/Austria pairing and finally a Sept. 8 variation of the Turner/Austria plan. The final three versions also changed the Sutton/Fudge pairing to a Sutton/Renacci pairing.<sup>71</sup> While the precise reasons one map was chosen over another can not be conclusively determined from the records, several things are apparent.

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the OCAR analysis which Republican officials criticized. OCAR identified the map as a 12 – 4 Republican map with only the 6<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> districts being potentially competitive. App. p. 110.

<sup>67</sup> App. pp. 130-131.

<sup>68</sup> App. p. 122. Since 1.6% of the voters in the 2008 Presidential election voted for a candidate other than McCain or Obama, that if McCain received at least 49.2% of the vote, he was likely the winning candidate in the district.

<sup>69</sup> See App. pp. 132-133 which lists options 5 through 11, along with the political indexes for each option and which legislators would end up in the same house districts and the senate districts in which various house members would end up. The accompanying e-mail describes option 11 as version 21.

<sup>70</sup> See App. p. 109 for a chart which lists each potential configuration, along with the percentage of votes received by McCain in each proposed district.

<sup>71</sup> The Sept. 8 and one of the Sept. 2 revised maps are listed with the name “Whatman” (chief executive of Team Boehner). The other Sept. 2 revised map is listed with the name “Braden” (legal counsel). App. p. 109.

**13 – 3 Republican map effort.** The number of attempted GOP seats is listed for each map.<sup>72</sup> The 4 way split map is the only one which attempts to obtain 13 Republican seats. This map was likely rejected because while it created 13 seats which favored Republicans, in four of the 13 Republican districts McCain received less than 50% of the vote.

**Jordan.** There was much speculation prior to the congressional maps being released, that Speaker Boehner would attempt to create a district which punished Congressman Jim Jordan because he led a faction in the Republican congressional caucus that opposed Speaker Boehner on various budget compromises. In one plan Jordan was paired by Republican Congressman Turner. In another he was paired with Democratic Congressman Kaptur in a Democratic district. While these options were rejected, it is unknown whether possible retaliation against Congressmen Jordan was a reason these plans were created.

**Sutton/Renacci.** It is likely that Congressman Sutton was moved out of Congressman Fudge’s district and into Congressman Renacci’s district in order to appease African-American legislators, with whom Republican officials were negotiating in an effort to pick up some Democratic votes.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, since the Sutton/Renacci district is strongly Republican and only includes 25% of Congressman Sutton’s former district, pairing these two Congressmen into the same district does little to jeopardize Republican control of the district.<sup>74</sup>

**Widener.** During the final weekend before the proposed congressional map was unveiled, State Senator Chris Widener, with the support of other current and former Clark County legislators, strongly advocated that the congressional map keep Clark County in a single district.<sup>75</sup> This request was rejected because it would have made the district prepared for Congressman Stivers less Republican.<sup>76</sup> The Boehner team described that request as “crazy.”<sup>77</sup> This demonstrates how little concern there was about splitting up counties and cities if to do so would provide a greater political advantage.

**Faber.** Also during the final weekend before the proposed congressional map was unveiled, there were multiple discussions, e-mails, and exchanges of proposed maps between State Senator Keith Faber and Ray DiRossi. Under the original maps, Mercer County was divided into two congressional districts, with Faber’s residence (7025 Dibble Rd., Celina) being in the 8<sup>th</sup> Congressional District (Boehner) and the rest of the County in the 5<sup>th</sup> Congressional District (Latta).<sup>78</sup> Different options were considered, apparently to move Faber into the 4<sup>th</sup> Congressional District (Jordan). Ultimately, the map proposed in HB 319 divided Mercer County

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<sup>72</sup> App. p. 109.

<sup>73</sup> Three African-American House members and two African-American State Senators (all Democratic) joined with Republican legislators to vote for HB 319. Moreover, a Democratic district within Franklin County was created, which was something that some African-American representatives had requested.

<sup>74</sup> See App. p. 97. This may have also been an additional reason that the Boehner team wanted to make sure that Congressman Renacci still had the benefit of the Timken contributors. See pp. 16-17 herein.

<sup>75</sup> See App. pp. 73, 94.

<sup>76</sup> See App. p. 87.

<sup>77</sup> See App. p. 87.

<sup>78</sup> See App. pp. 73, 86, 89-93.

into three districts, with a small segment which included Faber’s residence being attached to the 4<sup>th</sup> Congressional District.

## Continued Mysteries

*The rule in Ohio is that public records are the people's records, and that the officials in whose custody they happen to be are merely trustees for the people; therefore anyone may inspect such records at any time, subject only to the limitation that such inspection does not endanger the safety of the record, or unreasonably interfere with the discharge of the duties of the officer having custody of the same.*

*The Ohio Supreme Court  
Patterson v. Ayers, 171 Ohio St. 369 (1960).*

In an effort to discover the elephant in the room, on October 7, 2011 we issued multiple public records requests. This was followed by a few later requests. While numerous records have been provided in response to these requests, the following requests remain outstanding:<sup>79</sup>

- Speaker William Batchelder – Oct. 7, 2011<sup>80</sup>
- Mike Dittoe, House Communications Director – Oct. 7, 2011<sup>81</sup>
- Rep. Matt Huffman – Oct. 7, 2011<sup>82</sup>
- Speaker John Boehner – Oct. 7, 2011<sup>83</sup>
- Congressman Steve LaTourette – Oct. 7, 2011<sup>84</sup>
- Speaker William Batchelder and Leader Armond Budish – Nov. 3, 2011<sup>85</sup>
- Clerk of Ohio House – Nov. 21, 2011<sup>86</sup>



Records have been received from Governor Kasich, Senator Niehaus, Senator Faber, Leader Budish, Heather Mann, Ray DiRossi, and the Legislative Services Commission, although even in these instances significant records have been withheld on the basis of attorney-client privilege.

Much of what happened in the backrooms remains unknown. Most notably, since late October negotiations among legislative leaders have taken place behind closed doors to attempt agree

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<sup>79</sup> In addition to those listed below, an Oct. 7, 2011 public record request to Ray DiRossi and Heather Mann remains partially outstanding, although most of the requested records have been provided.

<sup>80</sup> App. p. 134.

<sup>81</sup> App. p. 136.

<sup>82</sup> App. p. 138.

<sup>83</sup> App. p. 140. Members of the U.S. Congress are not required to respond to either public record or Freedom of Information Act Requests, although they may do so.

<sup>84</sup> App. 142. Members of the U.S. Congress are not required to respond to either public record or Freedom of Information Act Requests, although they may do so.

<sup>85</sup> App. p. 144.

<sup>86</sup> App. p. 145.

upon a new congressional map. The parties involved have publicly disclosed that multiple maps have been exchanged in an effort to reach a compromise. Yet, these proposed maps have never been released even though more than a month has gone by since they have been requested.<sup>87</sup>

While it is commendable that legislative leaders are trying to reach a compromise, they seem to forget that the goal should not be to agree upon a map which the Republican politicians like and the Democratic politicians can tolerate – but that the goal should be to adopt a map which is in the public interest. While individual legislators may have a desire to create districts in which they can easily be elected, the public has an interest in creating districts in which the voters will actually decide who is elected.

A number of changes were made to the state legislative districts based on private requests of individual legislators, as this was acknowledged at the Sept. 28<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Ohio Apportionment Board. But, we don't know how many other requests were made and why some were honored and some denied.

So, we still don't know –

- What maps have been exchanged in private?
- What lobbying did individual legislators or congressmen engage in regarding their district boundaries?
- What other district boundaries were manipulated to facilitate political fundraising?
- What else was discussed in the political backrooms?

## **Conclusion**

Establishing the boundaries of legislative and congressional districts has historically been an insider issue. However, it is an issue which is central to our democracy. How these lines are drawn largely determines who may be elected and more importantly who will make our laws. This is an issue which affects us all.

Our goal is to shine a light on this process both to expose what took place in the backrooms and to help provide a roadmap to how we might do better in the future so that the voters can choose their politicians instead of the other way around.

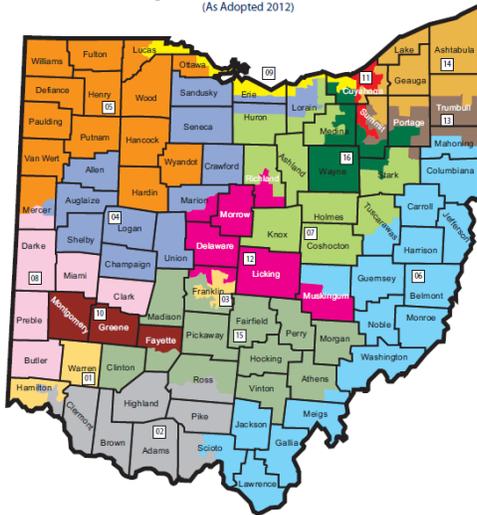
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<sup>87</sup> App. p. 144.

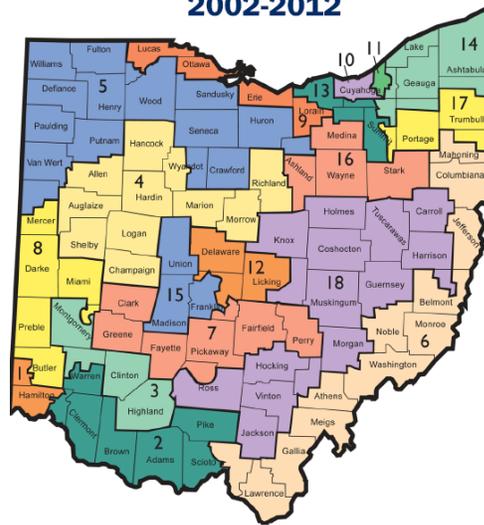
# Ohio's Gerrymandering Problem: Why Haven't We Fixed This Yet?

A Report from the League of Women Voters of Ohio and Common Cause Ohio

Ohio Congressional Districts 2012-2022  
(As Adopted 2012)



2002-2012



1992-2002

OHIO CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS



1982-1992

SHERROD BROWN, SECRETARY OF STATE

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# What is Gerrymandering?

## Redistricting 101: Why do we redraw districts?

- Every ten years the US Census is conducted to measure population changes.
- The US Supreme Court has said all legislative districts should have roughly the same population so that everyone's vote counts equally. This is commonly referred to as "one person, one vote."
- In the year following the Census, districts are redrawn to account for people moving into or out of an area and adjusted so that districts again have equal population and, for US House districts, may change depending on the number of districts Ohio is entitled to have.
- While the total number of state general assembly districts is fixed -- 99 Ohio House and 33 Ohio Senate districts -- the number of US House districts allocated to each state may change following the US Census depending on that state's proportion of the total US population. For example, following the 2010 Census, Ohio lost two US House seats, going from 18 US House seats in 2002-2012 to 16 seats in 2012-2022.

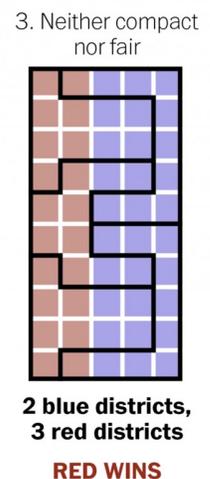
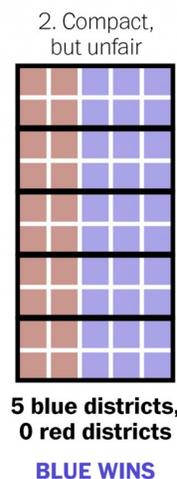
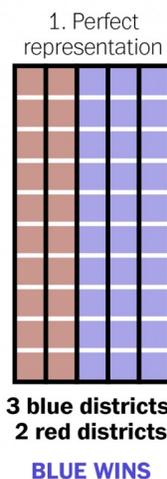
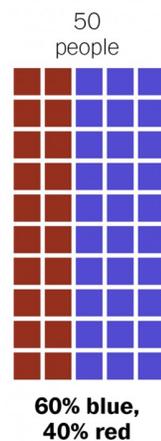
## What is Gerrymandering?

- Gerrymandering is the manipulation of political districts to rig the outcome of elections to favor one political party or candidate over another.
- Both Republicans and Democrats have done it when they controlled districting. In Ohio, US House districts are drawn by the General Assembly, with a simple majority needed for approval.
- This type of map-making reduces voter choices and leads to fewer competitive elections and elected officials who are less accountable to their constituents.

- How do map-makers create unfair districts? The two main ways are called "packing" & "cracking." The party that has the majority can pack voters of the minority party into one district so that they reduce the number of minority party districts. The majority party can also crack voters of the minority party into the remaining districts to dilute their voting power.

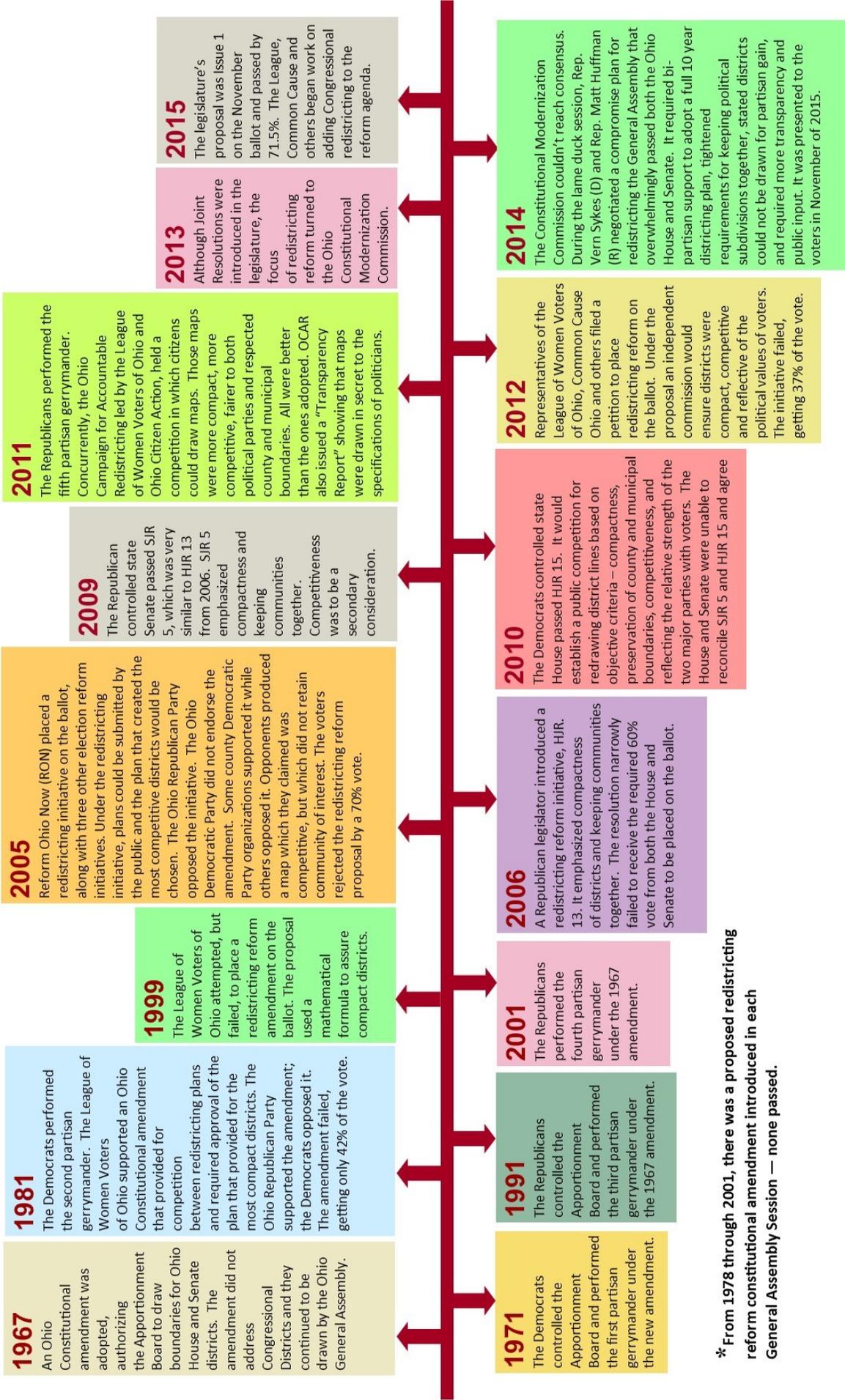
### Gerrymandering, explained

Three different ways to divide 50 people into five districts





# Ohio Redistricting Reform History



\*From 1978 through 2001, there was a proposed redistricting reform constitutional amendment introduced in each General Assembly Session — none passed.

# A Short History of Ohio Redistricting

Advocates of fair elections have been working on redistricting reform for more than 35 years.

In 1981, [a constitutional amendment was placed on the Ohio ballot](#) to change the method of state legislative and congressional redistricting to a more formulaic, mathematical approach that favored compact districts.

In 1981, [David L. Horn](#), an agricultural engineer from Athens County, told the Cleveland Plain Dealer, “I was cleaning out a ditch when I thought about compactness of districts, a mathematical relationship.”

This idea grew to become Issue 2, the Fair and Impartial Redistricting (FAIR) proposal.

This amendment was supported by good government organizations such as the League of Women Voters of Ohio, as well as by the Ohio Republican Party.

Joe Elton, the coordinator of the committee, said, “It’s easy for Republicans to be for good government when they’re down and out. However, I honestly believe that the adoption of the FAIR amendment will be in the best interests of both the Republican and Democrat parties over the long run.”

This redistricting reform effort was opposed by the Democrats and their allies, who at that time controlled the redistricting process and saw no need to change it.

It’s hard to fight fairness but Ohioans saw Issue 2 of 1981 as a partisan issue, rather than a change to ensure good government. The opposition questioned the rigid mathematical formula of compactness and the amendment was soundly rejected by the voters.

Following this defeat, Joan Lawrence, vice chair of the Committee for Fair and Impartial Redistricting commented, “[Who would try again?](#)”

The answer to the question was [Joan Lawrence](#) and the League of Women Voters.

Representative Joan Lawrence (R-Galena, 1983-1999) led the way by introducing redistricting reform legislation every year that she served in the Ohio General Assembly.

***“It wasn’t fun drawing the districts and moving them through the courts, but it was all worth it when the results of the 1972 election were counted. We won the majority in the [Ohio] House 58-41, an increase of 13 seats for the Democrats. That’s the power of the pencil.”***

- [Former Speaker Vern Riffe](#)

*Whatever’s Fair: The Political Autobiography of the Ohio House Speaker Vern Riffe*

***“I support the FAIR constitutional amendment. I believe this proposal integrates fair play and common sense into our election process. Gerrymandering is not a Republican or Democrat problem. It is a fundamental problem of government that must be corrected.”***

- Former [Governor James A. Rhodes](#) in a July 3, 1981 letter to [Benson Wolman](#) and [Robert S. Graetz](#)

Throughout the 1980s and the 1990s the League of Women Voters of Ohio and its allies including [David L. Horn](#) tried to keep redistricting on the front burner.

In 1999, the League even attempted to collect signatures for a [redistricting reform ballot measure focused on compactness](#) but came up short.

When Democrats lost control of the [Apportionment Board](#) (the body tasked with drawing districts for the state legislature) in 1990, they became more sympathetic to changing the system — but unsurprisingly, Republicans had lost their enthusiasm for change. The Republicans held on to the Apportionment Board, the legislature, and the Governor’s office through the 2000 elections and thus saw no need to change the system for the post-2000 redistricting.

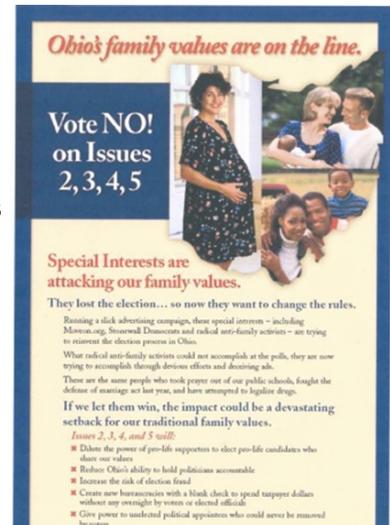
In 2005, a coalition of individuals and organizations came together under the rubric of [Reform Ohio Now \(RON\)](#) to promote a package of four constitutional amendments, one of which dealt with state legislative and congressional redistricting.

The RON redistricting amendment also took a [formulaic, mathematical approach, only this time the main criterion was competitiveness](#).

As the chair of the Ohio Democratic Party, Paul Tipps opposed redistricting reform in 1981. In 2005, following his retirement from a high profile career as a lobbyist—and with the Democrats out of power— [Tipps became one of the biggest proponents](#) for ending “pay to play” and gerrymandering.

RON included some academics, some good government organizations, some labor unions, and some Democrats — but very few Republicans. Ultimately, the Ohio Republican Party and many prominent Republicans opposed the RON amendments. The Ohio Democratic Party did not endorse the amendments, with some county organizations supporting the reform and some opposing.

The Reform Ohio Now amendments were overwhelmingly rejected by the voters. The Republican opposition was not surprising since the GOP controlled the existing process. But the tepid Democratic organizational support was somewhat surprising. One explanation given for the weak Democratic support was the expectation of many Democrats that they would sweep the 2006 and 2010 elections and thus control the post-2010 redistricting process.



### Recent legislative efforts began over a decade ago.

2006 saw the emergence of a strong Republican advocate for redistricting reform—Jon Husted. During the debate over the RON redistricting amendment in 2005, its leading Republican opponents — then House Speaker Jon Husted (R- Kettering) and then Ohio Representative Kevin DeWine (R-Fairborn) — [acknowledged that Ohio’s method of redistricting was flawed](#). While arguing that the RON amendment was not the solution, they pledged to take up the issue of redistricting reform in 2006, if RON was defeated.

Speaker Husted and Representative DeWine kept their word, negotiating with various reform groups and some Democrats. [Their 2006 proposal](#) would have placed Ohio in a national leadership position, since it explicitly included competition as a secondary criterion in choosing a redistricting plan, with compactness as the primary goal. When the time came for a legislative vote to approve an amendment for the ballot, only one Democrat supported the proposal and it failed.

While the reasons for this result are complex, it appears that Democrats did not trust the Republicans or did not want the Republicans to get credit for political reform. And—perhaps most importantly—they believed that there was no need to change a system that might soon benefit them.

## The last time Ohio almost passed reform: the 2010 legislative proposal

Redistricting reform again took center stage at the Statehouse in the **128<sup>th</sup> General Assembly (2009-2010)** when the Ohio House was dominated by Democrats and the Ohio Senate by Republicans. [A redistricting reform measure](#) sponsored by then State Senator Jon Husted was approved by the Republican Senate in September 2009. This resolution would have created the Ohio Redistricting Commission to draw state legislative and congressional districts with rules focused on compactness, with competitiveness as a secondary goal. Then in May 2010, the Democratic-controlled House passed [a different proposal](#) sponsored by then Representatives Tom Letson (D-Warren) and Jennifer Garrison (D-Marietta) and strongly supported by then Speaker Armond Budish (D-Beachwood). This proposal which addressed state legislative and congressional redistricting focused on establishing rules for mapmaking and would have established a public competition for redrawing district lines similar to a [2009 competition](#) sponsored by the Ohio Secretary of State, the League of Women Voters of Ohio, Common Cause Ohio and Ohio Citizen Action.

As former Speaker, [Husted used his floor privileges](#) to encourage fellow Republicans to support the Democratic proposal with the hope of merging the two redistricting reform measures through negotiation and the measure was supported by both Democrats and Republicans 69-28.

The [mapmaking requirements](#) of the Ohio House plan focused on creating compact districts, keeping political subdivisions together, creating as many competitive districts as possible and fair representation—the partisan leanings of state legislative and congressional districts should reflect the statewide partisan vote. This plan also included prohibitions on gerrymandering.

[Merging the two alternatives looked possible.](#) [One](#) primarily focused on establishing a bipartisan commission for mapmaking with few rules; the [other](#) on establishing strong guidelines or rules.

Unfortunately, the Ohio House and the Ohio Senate were unable to reconcile the two different versions leaving the Ohio Apportionment Board – the Governor, the Secretary of State, the Auditor of State, one legislative Democrat, and one legislative Republican— responsible for drawing new state legislative district lines and the state legislature responsible for the Congressional districts.

## Ohio Redistricting Reform Competition 2011

In 2011, redistricting reform advocates joined forces to create the Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting. Together, they held a real-time competition using census data and partisan information from Cleveland State University. This gave citizens the opportunity to draw state legislative and congressional districts. [Criteria for the 2011 Ohio Redistricting Competition](#) focused on the following: 1.) compactness, 2.) competitiveness, 3.) representational fairness (requiring maps to reflect the partisan makeup of Ohio as a whole), and 4.) respect for county and municipal boundaries. Mapmakers were also give guidance on how to create majority-minority districts.

While the 2011 competition focused on both state legislative and congressional districts and gave ordinary Ohioans the opportunity to better understand redistricting and highlighted the problems with the way Ohio draws state legislative and congressional lines, it did not impact the actual map-making.

### **“The Elephant in the Room” the last time Ohio’s congressional districts were drawn**

*Editor’s note: “Ohio Redistricting Transparency Report: The Elephant in the Room” was originally published in December 2011. The full report, complete with citations to the public records published in the appendices can be found at [bit.ly/OhRedistReports](http://bit.ly/OhRedistReports)*

The 2011 redistricting process was in many ways “business as usual.” The party in power used the process to gain maximum political advantage. The minority party was shut out. Public input was ignored. The result was the approval of new districts that will provide for largely predetermined elections where we will know which party will win before we even know who the candidates are.



***How power was used in the political backrooms to manipulate districts to benefit the political insiders.***

The districts were drawn and critical decisions were made in the backrooms outside of public view. When maps were unveiled, they were raced through the process in an effort to avoid public scrutiny. The elephant in the room that those drawing the maps would not publicly acknowledge drove the process. While the Republican officials talked about creating fair and constitutional districts, the driving force was how they could manipulate district boundaries in order to gain the maximum political advantage for the Republican Party – much like Democratic politicians have done when they had the power of the pen.

In this report we carefully evaluate and document the level of transparency. We conclude that for the following reasons those responsible for Ohio's 2011 redistricting process deserve a grade of D-:

- Decisions were not made in public
- Public input was ignored
- The public had limited opportunity to review proposed maps
- The public was not provided with relevant data for proposed districts
- Nonpartisan redistricting criteria was not used
- The criteria used to evaluate plans was never publicly identified

***“Information is the currency of democracy.”***

*- Thomas Jefferson*

Much of the above is apparent from observing the official process. By reviewing the records, we uncovered secrets which were not known. Some of these include:

- A concerted **strategy of secrecy** was employed which included use of a national consultant, secret meetings, and a secret redistricting office
- \$210,000 was **secretly paid** to two Republican staffers
- Then Speaker of the House John **Boehner's team** was the primary decision maker for the congressional map
- A last minute change was made to the congressional districts to honor a request from Boehner's team to move the **corporate headquarters of a major campaign contributor** into a different congressional district
- Republican officials believed that changes they made to state legislative districts could save them **millions of dollars in future campaign expenses**
- Based on their own political indexes, Republican officials believed they created a congressional plan which would provide a 12 – 4 Republican advantage and a state legislative plan which would **ensure their control of the legislature** even if there were a strong Democratic year
- **Multiple maps** were considered including pairings of Congressman Sutton and Fudge, Gibbs and Johnson, and Turner and Jordan
- Requests by State Senator Chris Widener to keep Clark County in one congressional district were ignored because this would **hurt the political index** for Congressman Stivers' district
- **A last minute change** was made to split Mercer County into three congressional districts in order to move State Senator Keith Faber's home from the 8th congressional district to the 4th congressional district

Because many records were not provided even though public record requests were made, many things are still not known, including:

- What lobbying did legislators and congressmen engage in for their districts?
- What congressional district plans were proposed in private negotiations between Democratic and Republican politicians?
- How many other district boundaries were manipulated to raise campaign funds?
- What else was discussed in the political backrooms?

## **Did the public have an opportunity to review maps?**

Not much. While the Legislature is often criticized for issues dragging on for months or years without resolution, on congressional redistricting they demonstrated an impressive ability to move with speed and efficiency.

On Sept. 12, Rep. Matt Huffman, Chair of the House Government and Elections Committee issued a notice indicating the next afternoon the Committee would hear testimony on a yet to be introduced bill, with a further hearing on the 14th, at which time the bill would be voted on. The next day HB 319 was introduced with the maps unveiled that afternoon. 24 hours later the House Committee voted on the legislation and within 48 hours of the maps being introduced HB 319 was approved by the full House in a near party line vote. The Senate moved just as quickly the next week. On Sept. 20 the Senate Committee on Government Oversight and Reform held two hearings on the bill, and approved the bill on a straight party line vote the next day, with the only change being to add a monetary appropriation to assist local boards of elections in implementing the new districts. One hour later, HB 319 was approved by the full Senate and still later the same day the full House concurred with the Senate amendment.

The Apportionment Board schedule provided even less time for public scrutiny. Proposed maps were unveiled on Friday, Sept. 23, considered by the Apportionment Board on Monday, Sept. 26, and voted on Sept. 28.

All of this was designed to limit the time that the public could have to review, analyze, and raise questions about the proposed maps.

## **Were nonpartisan redistricting criteria used?**

The lack of nonpartisan redistricting criteria is most apparent when the congressional and state legislative maps were compared with maps generated through the citizen competition and scored using these criteria. Mathematical formulas were used to score the competition maps based on the following nonpartisan criteria:

- Compactness
- Minimizing the number of county and municipalities split into different districts
- Competitiveness – maximizing the number of districts which either party could win
- Representational fairness – balancing the number of districts which favor each party

The maps of the new congressional and state legislative districts were scored using the same formulas used to score the competition maps and they couldn't compete with maps generated from the competition. In fact the congressional maps scored dead last!

This was most apparent with the congressional maps. 53 congressional district plans were submitted during the competition. Not only did all 53 plans score higher than the congressional plan adopted by the Legislature, but it wasn't even close, as is shown by the following table which shows for comparison purposes the scores for the 1st place, 10th place, and 53rd place competition plans, as compared to the congressional plan (HB 319) which was adopted by the Legislature.

Competition Scores for Congressional Plans

1st place	222.6
10th place	194.7
53rd place	84.1
HB 319	38.5

A closer examination of the districts which were adopted demonstrates why they scored so low when evaluated based on nonpartisan redistricting criteria. The first place plan resulted in 11 of the state's 16 congressional districts being heavily competitive, which was defined as having a political index in which neither political party had an advantage of more than 5%. The HB 319 districts which were adopted had no districts which were heavily competitive and only two districts in which the difference in the political index was less than 10%. As a result, we can already determine which party's candidate is likely to be elected in each of Ohio's 16 congressional districts for the next ten years. This deprives Ohioans of having a meaningful opportunity to hold their congressmen accountable in future elections.

Ohio's congressional districts as passed would likely result in an Ohio congressional delegation of 12 Republicans and four Democrats for the next decade regardless of whether most Ohioans vote for the Democratic or Republican candidate. In contrast, under any of the top ten congressional plans generated through the citizen competition, the ultimate balance of Ohio's congressional delegation will depend on the preferences of the voters.

This type of partisan imbalance was created by splitting up counties and municipalities in a way that packed Democratic voters into four congressional districts and provided comfortable Republican majorities in the remaining 12 districts. This resulted in splitting every major Ohio city and 27 counties into different districts. In comparison, the winning congressional map kept cities intact and split only five counties into separate districts.

***“The liberties of a people never were, nor ever will be, secure, when the transactions of their rulers may be concealed from them. . . To cover with the veil of secrecy the common routine of business, is an abomination in the eyes of every intelligent man.”***

*- Patrick Henry*

## Secrecy was the game plan.

From the start, the plan was to determine the new districts in secret. This strategy was handed down from national party leaders and included private meetings, a secret office, and a plan to keep maps under wraps until the last minute.

**Secrecy strategy** – As early as May 2010, the Republican National Committee conducted training on redistricting. The theme of the training was – “Keep it secret, keep it safe.” The training was attended by Michael Lenzo, Ohio House Majority Counsel. Materials from the training were provided to Heather Mann and Ray DiRossi, who were assigned to draw the Ohio maps. John Morgan who provided this training served as a consultant to the Republican officials in charge of Ohio’s redistricting efforts. The plan to keep maps secret until the last minute is also apparent from proposed timelines found in the files of the redistricting officials. These called for completing the congressional map by Aug. 19 and then holding it “in the can” until the Legislature came back Sept. 13-14. The Apportionment Board timeline called for plans to be submitted by Sept. 23 and voted on Sept. 28 or 29.

**Secret meetings** – Even though Ohio’s Sunshine Law generally requires “public officials to take official action and to conduct all deliberations upon official business only in open meetings unless the subject matter is specifically excepted by law,” every effort was made to conduct all of the deliberations in private.

**Hotel used as secret redistricting office** – At a taxpayer cost of \$9,600, redistricting officials rented a downtown hotel room from July 17, 2011 to Oct. 15, 2011 to use as a secret redistricting office. The address of the hotel room never shows up on any correspondence. Meetings scheduled for the hotel room appear to be described as meetings in the “bunker” or simply as “off site.” The purpose of renting the hotel appears to be twofold – to ensure that no one could gain access to the redistricting plans and to provide a place where those drawing the maps could meet with interested parties without being seen by other staff.

**Using “attorney-client privilege” to keep records secret** – The Apportionment Board hired Washington D.C. attorney Mark Braden to serve as legal counsel, even though the Ohio Attorney General is their statutory legal counsel. Braden served for ten years as chief legal counsel to the Republican National Committee and promotes himself as being the “father of soft money.” House Majority Counsel Michael Lenzo refused to provide records of any communications with Braden on the basis of attorney-client privilege. It appears that Braden did more than simply provide legal advice. Rather, he was involved in redistricting strategy. He hired consultant John Morgan and participated in meetings with him and Ohio redistricting officials. The secretaries of the Apportionment Board submitted draft maps to him for consideration. Braden’s name is even listed as the author of one of the final three congressional plans considered by Republican legislative leaders.

## **\$210,000 secretly paid to two Republican staffers.**

At its initial meeting on Aug. 4, 2011 the Ohio Apportionment Board named Ray DiRossi and Heather Mann as its joint secretaries. It was assumed that DiRossi and Mann were working as state employees as both had been employed by the House and Senate. However, a public records search revealed that neither were state employees while the Apportionment Board met. Instead, each were paid \$105,000 (\$210,000 total) through contracts the Republican Legislative Task Force members entered into with Policy Widgets, LLC and Capital Advantage, LLC, which were companies Mann and DiRossi established.

Mann resigned from the House on Aug. 4 and returned to the House payroll on approximately Nov. 11, during which time she was paid under the contract with Policy Widgets. This resulted in Mann's compensation increasing over six fold during the 14 weeks she was compensated under the redistricting contract (\$1202/wk as House employee to \$7,500/wk under the contract).

By contracting with Policy Widgets and Capitol Advantage, rather than contracting with Mann and DiRossi personally, or having them on the payroll as state employees, Republican officials were able to hide the lucrative payments they were making to close staffers.

## Congressional map approved by Boehner

When Rep. Huffman testified in support of HB 319, he was asked who drew the map. He advised that it was drawn by staff. This was partially true. Heather Mann and Ray DiRossi were the Ohio staff responsible for the map. However, their direction came from Tom Whatman, Executive Director of Team Boehner, and Adam Kincaid, Redistricting Coordinator for the National Republican Congressional Committee.

During the weekend before HB 319 was introduced, Senator Keith Faber and Senator Chris Widenor sought modifications to the map. However, Senate President Thomas Niehaus made clear that the critical requirement was to create a map which Speaker Boehner fully supported.

"I am still committed to ending up with a map that Speaker Boehner fully supports, with or without votes from two members of leadership."

- Sept. 11 e-mail from Niehaus to Whatman

The next morning when Ray DiRossi provided Senator Niehaus with the final map for his approval, Niehaus' question was: "Did Whatman sign off?"

## Mapmakers were chasing campaign money

Not only were politicians choosing their voters, but redistricting was used to maximize potential campaign contributions. This is most obvious in the 16th Congressional District, where a puppet shaped peninsula was carved into Canton and attached to the District. The total population in this peninsula is zero! No other portion of Canton is in the 16th District.

This zero population area was attached to the 16th District because it contains the Timken manufacturing plant and their corporate headquarters. Those connected with Timken are major campaign contributors to Congressman Renacci. Keeping the plant in his district gave these contributors a reason to continue to contribute to Renacci.



***The portion outlined in red in the upper right shows the area that was added to District 16 to include a political donor.***

So, who requested this bizarre change? None other than **Tom Whatman, Chief Executive of Team Boehner, requested this carve out the night before HB 319 was introduced and it took only 8 minutes to get this approved!**

Sept 12 e-mails:

9:28 PM - Whatman to Kincaid and DiRossi: "Guys: really really sorry to ask but **can we do a small carve out down 77 in Canton and put Timken hq in the 16th.** I should have thought about this earlier."

9:36 PM - Kincaid: "**Yeah, sure, no problem.** Ray/Heather, do you want me to do it and send the file over, or will y'all do it?"

9:36 PM - DiRossi: "You do and get equivalence file to us asap. Thanks."

9:39 PM - Kincaid: "10-4"

9:41 PM – Whatman: "Thanks guys. **Very important to someone important to us all.** I really should have thought of this."

Speaker Boehner's control over this process is demonstrated by the fact that there was no hesitation to honor this request and no explanation was necessary. Moreover the change was made after Ohio House Speaker William Batchelder and Senate President Thomas Niehaus had already signed off on the bill. DiRossi apparently understood that he was to make changes requested by Boehner without the necessity of obtaining further approval from Batchelder, Niehaus, or the bill's sponsor.



The records establish that Speaker Boehner was not the only one concerned about how redistricting would affect campaign funds. The map drawers also looked at how redistricting would affect funds needed for state legislative races. One week before the state legislative districts were released, Ohio House Majority Caucus Chief of Staff Troy Judy provided Ray DiRossi with an analysis which ranked the top 43 state house districts by the amount of in kind campaign contributions provided by the Republican Party or caucuses. DiRossi's response was:

"But we have made significant improvements to many HDs on this list. Hopefully saving millions over the coming years."

## **Republican mapmakers analyzed political indexes to maximize Republican seats**

No political data was presented when HB 319 was introduced or when the state legislative districts were unveiled. However, this data not only existed, but had been thoroughly analyzed with the explicit goal of increasing the Republican advantage in multiple districts. By early July, Republican map drawers had agreed upon the indexes they would use to evaluate districts.

They made a strategic decision to evaluate districts under the most favorable Democratic conditions, so that Republican candidates could safely win a solid majority of districts even in a heavily Democratic year. To do this they generally evaluated districts two ways. The first was to look at the percentage of votes which McCain received in a district in the 2008 Presidential race, since McCain received 46.9% of the vote which is approximately 5% less than a typical statewide Republican candidate would receive.

The second comparison was to create what they labeled as a “unified index” which was based on the 2004 Presidential race, the 2006 Attorney General and Auditor’s races, the 2008 Presidential race, and the 2010 Governor’s race. Since this included two races in which the Democratic candidate won by approximately 5% and no races in which the Republican candidate won by more than 2%, this resulted in a Democratic leaning index. For the congressional districts, they also looked at the 2010 Attorney General race. Charts were created which provided the following information for each district: the incumbent, the indexes, and how much the McCain vote and the unified index changed.

Republican map drawers concluded that 12 of the 16 new congressional districts favored Republicans and that only the 14th District (LaTourette) could be considered a swing district.

## Multiple maps considered

In an effort to obtain the most advantageous possible districts, multiple different configurations were considered. For example by Sept. 10, two weeks before the state legislative districts were unveiled, between 11 and 21 different Franklin County maps had been considered.

Four primary congressional maps were considered, which would have paired the following congressmen:

- Kaptur/Kucinich & Sutton/Fudge (labeled 4-way split)
- Gibbs/Johnson & Kaptur/Jordan & Sutton/Fudge (open seat in Franklin Co)
- Turner/Austria & Kaptur/Kucinich & Sutton/Fudge (open seat in Franklin Co)
- Turner/Jordan & Kaptur/Kucinich & Sutton/Fudge (open seat in Franklin Co)

This evolved into two Sept. 2 variations of the Turner/Austria pairing and finally a Sept. 8 variation of the Turner/Austria plan. The final three versions also changed the Sutton/Fudge pairing to a Sutton/Renacci pairing. While the precise reasons one map was chosen over another cannot be conclusively determined from the records, several things are apparent.

**13 – 3 Republican map effort.** The number of attempted GOP seats is listed for each map. The 4 way split map is the only one which attempts to obtain 13 Republican seats. This map was likely rejected because while it created 13 seats which favored Republicans, in four of the 13 Republican districts McCain received less than 50% of the vote.

**Jordan.** There was much speculation prior to the congressional maps being released, that Speaker Boehner would attempt to create a district which punished Congressman Jim Jordan because he led a faction in the Republican congressional caucus that opposed Speaker Boehner on various budget compromises. In one plan Jordan was paired with Republican Congressman Turner. In another he was paired with Democratic Congresswoman Kaptur in a Democratic district. While these options were rejected, it is unknown whether possible retaliation against Congressmen Jordan was a reason these plans were created.

**Sutton/Renacci.** It is likely that Congresswoman Sutton was moved out of Congresswoman Fudge’s district and into Congressman Renacci’s district in order to appease African-American legislators, with whom Republican officials were negotiating in an effort to pick up some Democratic votes. Moreover, since the Sutton/Renacci district is strongly Republican and only includes 25% of Congresswoman Sutton’s former district, pairing these two Congressmen into the same district does little to jeopardize Republican control of the district.

**Widener.** During the final weekend before the proposed congressional map was unveiled, State Senator Chris Widener, with the support of other current and former Clark County legislators, strongly advocated that the congressional map keep Clark County in a single district. This request was rejected because it would have made the district prepared for Congressman Stivers less Republican. The Boehner team described that request as “crazy.” This demonstrates how little concern there was about splitting up counties and cities if to do so would provide a greater political advantage.

**Faber.** Also during the final weekend before the proposed congressional map was unveiled, there were multiple discussions, e-mails, and exchanges of proposed maps between State Senator Keith Faber and Ray DiRossi. Under the original maps, Mercer County was divided into two congressional districts, with Faber’s residence in Celina being in the 8th Congressional District (Boehner) and the rest of the County in the 5th Congressional District (Latta). Different options were considered, apparently to move Faber into the 4th Congressional District (Jordan). Ultimately, the map proposed in HB 319 divided Mercer County into three districts, with a small segment which included Faber’s residence being attached to the 4th Congressional District.

## **The Elephant in the Room’s Conclusion**

Much of what happened in the backrooms remains unknown. Establishing the boundaries of legislative and congressional districts has historically been an insider issue. However, it is an issue which is central to our democracy. How these lines are drawn largely determines who may be elected and more importantly who will make our laws. This is an issue which affects us all.

While individual legislators may have a desire to create districts in which they can easily be elected, the public has an interest in creating districts in which the voters will actually decide who is elected.

Our goal is to shine a light on this process both to expose what took place in the backrooms and to help provide a roadmap to how we might do better in the future so that the voters can choose their politicians instead of the other way around.

## **Postscript**

In **September 2011**, the Ohio General Assembly approved a [congressional map](#) that was so gerrymandered that the Democrats [sought a voter referendum on the bill](#). Democrats were [unable to collect enough signatures for the referendum](#) but the state legislature went back to work and tweaked their first map to craft a new congressional redistricting map.

The new congressional map was a marginal improvement but the congressional districts aren’t any more competitive and established a virtual Republican lock on twelve of the sixteen districts. The political party favored in each district – Democrat or Republican— was a [perfect predictor](#) of the party of the winner in every congressional district.

## ***“Predictable Results” and how Ohio’s congressional districts are rigged against voter choice***

The League of Women Voters of Ohio has prepared a report every two years comparing the 2011 gerrymandering to the 2012, 2014, and 2016 election results to analyze how effective the gerrymandered districts were at controlling election results. The report specifically addresses these questions:

- *Were Ohio’s U.S. Congressional and state General Assembly districts drawn to favor one political party over the other?*
- *Did the political index 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 results? Entirely predictable.**

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 Board 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 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.

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 Ohio’s U.S. Congressional Districts**

The chart on the next page compares the projected partisan index of each Congressional district (the column labeled “Projected %”) and the percentage of official votes cast in 2012, 2014 and 2016 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 U.S. House races, nine of the 2014 races, and seven of the 2016 races had third party or write-in candidates, so the totals may not add up to 100%.

**Partisan indexes perfectly predicted the party of the winner in ALL of the Congressional districts in 2012, 2014 and 2016.**

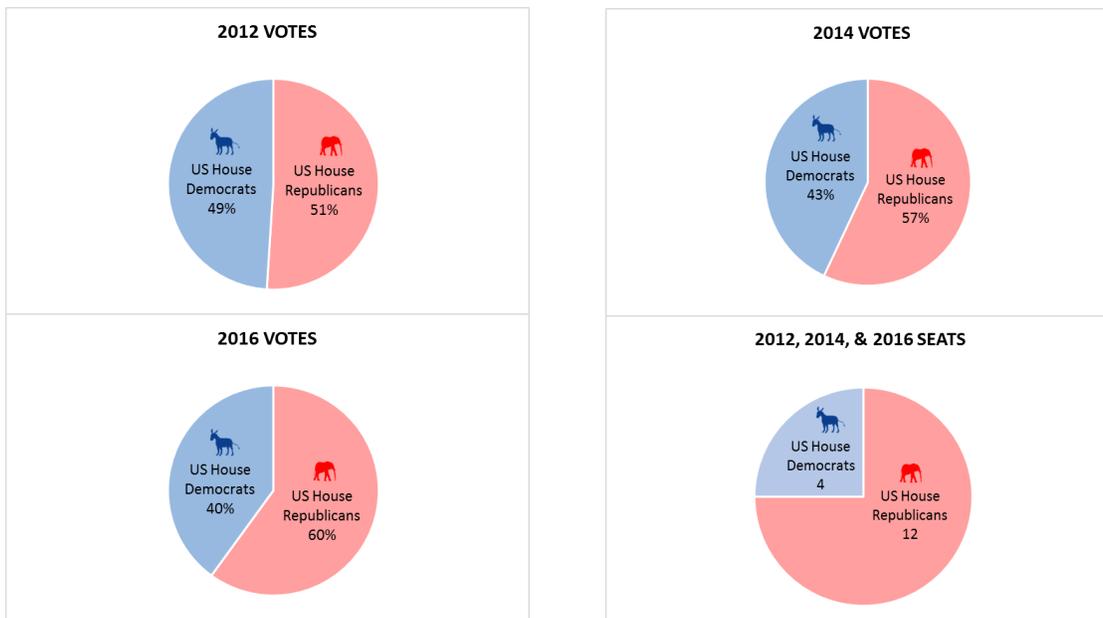
Ohio's U.S. House Races								
% of time district index predicted winning party			100%		100%		100%	
District No.	PROJECTED %		2012 RESULTS		2014 RESULTS		2016 RESULTS	
	% R	% D	% R	% D	% R	% D	% R	% D
1	55.92%	44.08 %	57.73% (Chabot)	37.60% (Sinnard)	63.22% (Chabot)	36.78% (Kundrata)	59.19% (Chabot)	40.77% (Young)
2	57.02%	42.98 %	58.63% (Wenstrup)	41.37% (Smith)	65.96% (Weinstrup )	34.04% (Tyszkiewicz)	65% (Wenstrup)	32.82% (Smith)
3	35.73%	64.27 %	26.35% (Long)	68.29% (Beatty)	35.93% (Adams)	64.06% (Beatty)	31.43% (Adams)	68.57% (Beatty)
4	59.61%	40.39 %	58.35% (Jordan)	36.49% (Slone)	67.67% (Jordan)	32.33% (Garrett)	67.99% (Jordan)	32.01% (Garrett)
5	57.52%	42.48 %	57.27% (Latta)	39.16% (Zimmann)	66.46% (Latta)	28.92% (Fry)	70.90% (Latta)	29.10% (Neu)
6	53.86%	46.14 %	53.25% (Johnson)	46.75% (Wilson)	58.23% (Johnson)	38.58% (Garrison)	70.68% (Johnson)	29.32% (Lorentz)
7	56.23%	43.77 %	56.40% (Gibbs)	43.60% (Healy-Abrams)	100% (Gibbs)	0% (no cand.)	64.03% (Gibbs)	28.96% (Rich)
8	64.30%	35.70 %	99.97% (Boehner)	0% (no cand.)	67.19% (Boehner)	27.36% (Poetter)	68.76% (Davidson)	26.97% (Fought)
9	36.38%	63.62 %	23.03% (Wurzelbacher)	73.04% (Kaptur)	32.17% (May)	67.74% (Kaptur)	31.31% (Larson)	68.69% (Kaptur)
10	54.14%	45.82 %	59.54% (Turner)	37.49% (Neuhardt)	65.18% (Turner)	31.53% (Klepinger)	64.09% (Turner)	32.67% (Klepinger)
11	20.33%	79.67 %	0% (no cand.)	100% (Fudge)	20.55% (Zetzer)	79.45% (Fudge)	19.75% (Goldstein)	80.25% (Fudge)
12	59.42%	40.58 %	63.47% (Tiberi)	36.53% (Reese)	68.11% (Tiberi)	27.75% (Tibbs)	66.55% (Tiberi)	29.84% (Albertson)
13	37.70%	62.30 %	27.23% (Agana)	72.77% (Ryan)	31.46% (Pekarek)	68.49% (Ryan)	32.26% (Morckel)	67.73% (Ryan)
14	54.36%	45.64 %	54.04% (Joyce)	38.73% (Blanchard)	63.26% (Joyce)	33.02% (Wager)	62.58% (Joyce)	37.37% (Wagner)
15	56.46%	43.54 %	61.56% (Stivers)	38.44% (Lang)	66.02% (Stivers)	33.98% (Wharton)	66.16% (Stivers)	33.84% (Wharton)
16	56.62%	43.38 %	52.05% (Renacci)	47.95% (Sutton)	63.74% (Renacci)	36.26% (Crossland)	65.33% (Renacci)	34.67% (Mundy)

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. No candidates were unopposed in 2016, but the win margin in every district was nonetheless very high.

The table below compares the total votes for the two major parties with the seats each won. In 2016, Republican candidates for Congress received 3,101,556 (60%) of the total votes statewide for major party candidates, and the Democrats received 2,048,984 (40%) of the total major party candidate votes statewide. And yet, the majority Republican Party won 75% of the seats despite having only 60% of the total votes statewide. The difference between the percentage of seats and percentage of votes -- 15% -- 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. In 2014, 57% of the votes again yielded 75% of the seats. The disproportionality is slightly less in 2016 but is still quite large.

2016 RESULTS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS
# OF VOTES	3,101,556	2,048,984
% OF VOTES	60%	40%
# OF SEATS	12	4
% OF SEATS	75%	25%

While the percentage of each party's vote share changed from year to year, the percentage of seats each party won remained unchanged. This further demonstrates that the districts are not designed to reflect voter preferences from year to year.



## Analysis of Ohio General Assembly Districts

The results are just as bleak in the state legislature, where the partisan index of the districts likewise predicted the winning party nearly every time. In the Ohio House of Representatives, the partisan district index projected winners in 97 of the 99 districts in 2012, 96 of the 99 districts in 2014, and 95 of the 99 districts in 2016. In the Ohio Senate, the partisan district index projected winners in ALL of the districts in 2012, 2014, and 2016.

## 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.

The map-drawing competitions held in 2009 and 2011, for example, scored proposed congressional maps based on whether they 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. Ohio’s current maps are comprised entirely of “safe seats” where one party or the other is virtually guaranteed to win, even though many parts of the state are not politically homogeneous. 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 roughly equal in population. (see 2012 U.S. Supreme Court case *Tennant v. Jefferson County Commission*, Case No. 11-1184 decided Sept. 25, 2012)
- **Contiguity.** Every part of a district must be reachable from every other part without crossing the district’s borders.
- **Voting Rights Act.** All plans must adhere to applicable federal law and case law about protecting minority voting rights and representation. If it is possible to draw a majority-minority districts, then the map makers should do so. Map makers should also endeavor to draw minority-opportunity districts in communities where population levels would support it..

Voters would be better served if districts were drawn to take into account widely-respected, good government principles of redistricting rather than the current majority party takes all system.

## Ohio Overwhelmingly Supported Fair District Rules for the State Legislature

In December 2014, the Ohio General Assembly reached a bipartisan deal to put new fair redistricting rules for the General Assembly before voters. The proposal, HJR12, was approved at the close of session by a strong bipartisan vote of 28-1 in the Senate and 81-7 in the House.

The legislature’s reform proposal appeared on the November 2015 general election ballot as Issue 1 and was overwhelmingly approved by voters, with more than 71% voting in favor.

That reform did not include U.S. House districts, which will require separate approval.



**The League of Women Voters** is 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.

**For further information:**

League of Women Voters of Ohio

Website: [www.lwvohio.org](http://www.lwvohio.org)

 Facebook.com/lwvohio  @lwvohio



**Common Cause** is a nonpartisan grassroots organization dedicated to upholding the core values of American democracy. We work to create open, honest, and accountable government that serves the public interest; promote equal rights, opportunity, and representation for all; and empower all people to make their voices heard in

**For further information:**

Common Cause Ohio

Website: [www.commoncause.org](http://www.commoncause.org)

 Facebook.com/commoncauseohio  @commoncauseohio



The League of Women Voters of Ohio and Common Cause Ohio co-founded the **Fair Districts = Fair Elections Coalition** in 2015 with the goal of supporting redistricting reform in Ohio.

**For further information:**

Fair Districts = Fair Elections Coalition

Website: [www.fairdistrictsohio.org](http://www.fairdistrictsohio.org)

 Facebook.com/OhFairDistricts  @OhFairDistricts

*The League of Women Voters of Ohio and Common Cause Ohio sincerely thank the Joyce Foundation whose support made this report possible, as well as the prior reports "Elephant in the Room" and "Predictable Results" referenced herein. We also thank the many donors who support the work of the Fair Districts = Fair Elections Coalition.*



**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS® OF OHIO**

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**Testimony on SJR 5, Congressional Redistricting Process Establishment  
Before the Senate Government Oversight and Reform Committee  
Presented on behalf of the  
League of Women Voters of Ohio  
January 23, 2018**

The League of Women Voters of Ohio opposes SJR5. It does nothing to reign in partisan gerrymandering and takes away an important right that voters in Ohio currently have – the right to referendum. The right to referendum is particularly important in this instance because voters are very directly impacted by partisan gerrymandering and need to have this important recourse.

Voters also have a right to fair representation and SJR5 perpetuates the ability of the majority party to draw districts designed to gain a disproportionate majority of seats for their party.

The process begins with requirement of bi-partisanship but, if agreement isn't reached with the minority party, a "majority party rules" default can be used to perpetuate the current system of partisan gerrymandering. There are no effective requirements to keep communities together – large counties can be split into 3 and 4 pieces, and most cities can be split. There is no prohibition on drawing a plan primarily to favor a disfavor a political party.

I urge this Committee to reject this proposal and substitute a plan that will require bi-partisan support to adopt a redistricting plan, keep communities together, and not permit plans to be drawn to primarily favor or disfavor a political party.

*The League of Women Voters of Ohio, 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.*

# OH\_Hamilton\_report\_1637555441018

Report: OH\_Hamilton\_report\_1637555441018

Contest List			
Contest Name	Choice Name	Total Votes	Percent of Votes
For President and Vice President	Joseph R. Biden / Kamala D. Harris	246,266	57.15%
	Donald J. Trump / Michael R. Pence	177,886	41.28%
	Jo Jorgensen / Spike Cohen	5,211	1.21%
	Howie Hawkins / Angela Walker	1,389	0.32%
	Brian Carroll / Amar Patel (Write-in)	150	0.03%
	Jade Simmons / Claudeliah J. Roze (Write-in)	19	0.00%
	Tom Hoefling / Andy Prior (Write-in)	5	0.00%
	Kasey Wells / Rachel Wells (Write-in)	2	0.00%
	Dario Hunter / Dawn Neptune Adams (Write-in)	1	0.00%
	President R19 Boddie / Eric Stoneham (Write-in)	0	0.00%
	For Representative to Congress (1st District)	Kate Schroder	130,362
Steve Chabot		112,489	44.74%
Kevin David Kahn		8,557	3.40%
Kiumars Kiani (Write-in)		7	0.00%
For Representative to Congress (2nd District)	Jaime M. Castle	93,554	54.11%
	Brad Wenstrup	79,319	45.88%
	Kiumars Kiani (Write-in)	25	0.01%
For State Senator (8th District)	Louis W. Blessing Iii	112,313	60.10%
	Daniel Brown	74,565	39.90%
For State Representative (27th District)	Tom Brinkman	37,723	53.08%
	Sara Bitter	33,339	46.92%
For State Representative (28th District)	Jessica E. Miranda	35,353	51.69%
	Chris Monzel	33,039	48.31%
For State Representative (29th District)	Cindy Abrams	43,320	98.20%
	Harrison T. Stanley	792	1.80%

	(Write-in)		
For State Representative (30th District)	Bill Seitz	42,269	72.01%
	Tom Roll	16,426	27.99%
For State Representative (31st District)	Brigid Kelly	42,180	100.00%
For State Representative (32th District)	Catherine D. Ingram	42,055	100.00%
For State Representative (33rd District)	Sedrick Denson	41,500	74.91%
	Mary L. Hill	13,901	25.09%
For County Commissioner (Full term commencing 1-2-2021)	Alicia Reece	212,638	50.78%
	Andy Black	187,263	44.72%
	Herman J. Najoli	18,843	4.50%
For County Commissioner (Full term commencing 1-3-2021)	Denise Driehaus	241,806	58.14%
	Matthew Paul O'Neill	174,088	41.86%
For Prosecuting Attorney	Joseph T. Deters	221,298	52.44%
	Fanon A. Rucker	200,738	47.56%
For Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas	Aftab Pureval	237,825	57.26%
	Alex Glandorf	177,524	42.74%
For Sheriff	Charmaine McGuffey	218,878	52.45%
	Bruce Hoffbauer	198,454	47.55%
For County Recorder	Scott Crowley	216,427	52.78%
	Norbert A. Nadel	193,632	47.22%
For County Treasurer	Jill Schiller	208,705	50.86%
	Charlie Winburn	201,650	49.14%
For County Engineer	Eric J. Beck	260,343	100.00%
For Coroner	Lakshmi Kode Sammarco	312,990	100.00%
For Justice of the Supreme Court (Full term commencing 1-1-2021)	John P. O'donnell	190,484	51.56%
	Sharon L. Kennedy	178,983	48.44%
For Justice of the Supreme Court (Full term commencing 1-2-2021)	Jennifer Brunner	219,142	59.64%
	Judi French	148,305	40.36%
For Judge of the Court of Appeals (1st District)	Ginger Bock	204,998	56.07%
	Russell J. Mock	160,641	43.93%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Full term commencing 1-1-2021)	Melba Marsh	191,834	51.72%
	Heidi Rosales	179,070	48.28%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Full term commencing 1-2-2021)	Christian A. Jenkins	189,920	51.02%
	Pat Dinkelacker	182,333	48.98%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Full term commencing 1-4-2021)	Chris Wagner	208,339	57.62%
	Curt C. Hartman	153,252	42.38%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Full term commencing 2-9-2021)	Jennifer Branch	202,643	55.95%
	Elizabeth Callan	159,525	44.05%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Full term commencing 2-10-2021)	Alan C. Triggs	198,818	54.92%
	Stacey Degraffenreid	163,225	45.08%

For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Full term commencing 2-11-2021)	Robert A. Goering	189,896	51.40%
	Thomas O. Beridon	179,567	48.60%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Full term commencing 2-12-2021)	Wende Cross	202,503	55.99%
	Ethna Marie Cooper	159,182	44.01%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Full term commencing 2-13-2021)	Alison Hatheway	213,554	58.70%
	Charles J. Kubicki, Jr.	150,233	41.30%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Drug Court Division) (Full term commencing 1-3-2021)	Nicole Sanders	207,310	57.45%
	Kim Wilson Burke	153,529	42.55%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Probate Division) (Full term commencing 2-9-2021)	Ralph Winkler	201,245	53.11%
	Pavan Parikh	177,677	46.89%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Juvenile Division) (Full term commencing 2-14-2021)	Kari L. Bloom	206,415	56.39%
	John M. Williams	159,635	43.61%
For Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Domestic Relations Division) (Full term commencing 7-1-2021)	Amy Searcy	189,943	51.64%
	Anne B. Flottman	177,888	48.36%
1 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (RENEWAL) CITY OF CHEVIOT - 0.75ml Current Expenses	For The Tax Levy	2,181	59.25%
	Against The Tax Levy	1,500	40.75%
2 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (RENEWAL) CITY OF CHEVIOT - 4.25ml Current Expenses	For The Tax Levy	2,029	55.42%
	Against The Tax Levy	1,632	44.58%
3 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (RENEWAL) CITY OF CHEVIOT - Roads & Bridges	For The Tax Levy	2,627	71.10%
	Against The Tax Levy	1,068	28.90%
4 PARTICULAR PREMISES LOCAL OPTION JUDGMENT ENTRY - KNOWLTON'S TAVERN (LB LLC, INC) CINTI 15-A	No	668	61.74%
	Yes	414	38.26%
5 PARTICULAR PREMISES LOCAL OPTION JUDGMENT ENTRY - WARSAW FOOD MART, LLC CINTI 20-B	No	286	58.25%
	Yes	205	41.75%
6 PROPOSED CHARTER CITY OF DEER PARK	Yes	1,908	70.64%
	No	793	29.36%
7 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (ADDITIONAL) COLERAIN TOWNSHIP	For The Tax Levy	18,367	62.32%
	Against The Tax Levy	11,105	37.68%
8 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (RENEWAL) VILLAGE OF ELMWOOD PLACE	For The Tax Levy	320	56.24%
	Against The Tax Levy	249	43.76%
9 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (RENEWAL) VILLAGE OF GLENDALE	For The Tax Levy	1,202	69.08%
	Against The Tax Levy	538	30.92%
10 REFERENDUM ON ORDINANCE NO. 2019-10 (BY PETITION) VILLAGE OF GOLF MANOR	Yes	1,377	73.95%
	No	485	26.05%
11 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (RENEWAL) VILLAGE OF GREENHILLS	For The Tax Levy	1,223	61.71%
	Against The Tax Levy	759	38.29%
12 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (ADDITIONAL) VILLAGE OF NORTH BEND	For The Tax Levy	331	54.53%
	Against The Tax Levy	276	45.47%
13 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (ADDITIONAL) SPRINGFIELD TOWNSHIP - Fire	For The Tax Levy	12,814	63.54%
	Against The Tax Levy	7,353	36.46%
14 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (ADDITIONAL) SPRINGFIELD	For The Tax Levy	10,747	53.45%

TOWNSHIP - Police	Against The Tax Levy	9,360	46.55%
15 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (RENEWAL) VILLAGE OF TERRACE PARK	For The Tax Levy	1,276	82.11%
	Against The Tax Levy	278	17.89%
16 PROPOSED CHARTER AMENDMENT VILLAGE OF WOODLAWN	Yes	1,398	81.00%
	No	328	19.00%
17 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (RENEWAL) CINCINNATI CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	For The Tax Levy	105,281	69.61%
	Against The Tax Levy	45,964	30.39%
18 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (SUBSTITUTE) NORWOOD CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	For The Tax Levy	5,556	66.27%
	Against The Tax Levy	2,828	33.73%
19 PROPOSED TAX LEVY (ADDITIONAL) WINTON WOODS CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	Against The Tax Levy	7,736	55.54%
	For The Tax Levy	6,192	44.46%
<b>Voting Data</b>			
Registered Voters		600,401	
Ballots Cast		434,956	
Total Num. Precincts		563	
Precinct Reporting		-	
Voter Turnout		72%	

## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that the foregoing was sent via email this 10th day of December, 2021 to the following:

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/s/ Freda Levenson