

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

BRIA BENNETT, *et al.*,

Relators,

v.

OHIO REDISTRICTING
COMMISSION, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Case No. 2021-1198

EVIDENCE OF BENNETT RELATORS

(Second Affidavit of Derek S. Clinger & Exhibits)

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Affidavit of Derek S. Clinger

I, Derek S. Clinger, having been duly sworn and cautioned according to law, hereby state that I am over the age of eighteen years and am competent to testify as to the facts set forth below based on my personal knowledge and having personally examined all records referenced in this affidavit, and further state as follows:

1. In the above-captioned case, the Ohio Supreme Court has entered an order providing that parties shall file any evidence they intend to present no later than Friday, October 22, 2021.
2. I am an attorney at law licensed to practice in the State of Ohio, and I serve as legal counsel to the Relators in this action.
3. Document 1 is a true and correct copy of the Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting's Ohio Redistricting Transparency Report, entitled "The Elephant in the Room."
4. Document 2 is a true and correct copy of the Appendix to the Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting's Ohio Redistricting Transparency Report.
5. Document 3 is a true and correct copy of a report from the League of Women Voters of Ohio and Common Cause Ohio, entitled "Ohio's Gerrymandering Problem: Why Haven't We Fixed This Yet?"
6. Document 4 is a true and correct copy of the Fall 2015 edition of "Ohio Voter," the newsletter of the League of Women Voters of Ohio.
7. Document 5 is a true and correct copy of an August 13, 2021 press release on Senator Vernon Sykes's website, entitled "Ohio Redistricting Commission Announces Dates for Regional Public Hearings."

8. Document 6 is a true and correct copy of an August 26, 2021 article in 13abc.com by Josh Croup, entitled “‘People are fed up’: Toledoans demand end to gerrymandering.”
9. Document 7 is a true and correct copy of a September 11, 2021 article in The Columbus Dispatch by Jessie Balmert, entitled “‘An insult to democracy’: Ohio Republicans’ redistricting plan panned soon after release.”
10. Document 8 is a true and correct copy of a September 15, 2021 article in The Blade by Jim Provance, entitled “Redistricting talks go into the last minute.”
11. Document 9 is a true and correct copy of written testimony submitted by Paul Szymanowski at the Ohio Redistricting Commission’s September 14, 2021 hearing.
12. Document 10 is a true and correct copy written testimony submitted by Richard Topper at the Ohio Redistricting Commission’s September 14, 2021 hearing.
13. Document 11 is a true and correct copy written testimony submitted by Zaiba Malik at the Ohio Redistricting Commission’s September 14, 2021 hearing.
14. Document 12 is a true and correct copy of the affidavit of Relator Bria Bennett dated October 21, 2021.
15. Document 13 is a true and correct copy of the affidavit of Relator Regina C. Adams dated October 19, 2021.
16. Document 14 is a true and correct copy of the affidavit of Relator Kathleen M. Brinkman dated October 19, 2021.
17. Document 15 is a true and correct copy of the affidavit of Relator Martha Clark dated October 19, 2021.
18. Document 16 is a true and correct copy of the affidavit of Relator Susanne L. Dyke dated October 20, 2021.

19. Document 17 is a true and accurate copy of the voter registration record of Carrie I. Kubicki from the Ohio Secretary of State's voter registration database.
20. Document 18 is a true and correct copy of the affidavit of Relator Meryl Neiman dated October 20, 2021.
21. Document 19 is a true and correct copy of the affidavit of Relator Holly Oyster dated October 20, 2021.
22. Document 20 is a true and correct copy of the affidavit of Relator Constance Rubin dated October 19, 2021.
23. Document 21 is a true and correct copy of the affidavit of Relator Everett Totty dated October 21, 2021.
24. The Index at the beginning of the Appendix gives a description of each document and states where it appears in the Appendix.


Derek S. Clinger

Signed at Columbus, Franklin, Ohio
City County State

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 02 day of October, 2021


Notary Public
GAIL D. J. McTIGUE, Attorney At Law
Notary Public - State of Ohio
My commission has no expiration date
Section 147.03 B.C.

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I, Derek Clinger, hereby certify that a copy of Evidence of Bennett Relators (Second Affidavit of Derek S. Clinger & Exhibits) was served via email this 22nd day of October, 2021, upon the counsel listed below:

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SECOND AFFIDAVIT OF DEREK S. CLINGER – APPENDIX OF EXHIBITS

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4	Fall 2015 edition of "Ohio Voter," the newsletter of the League of Women Voters of Ohio	BENNETT_0085 – 0100
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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 8th congressional district to the 4th 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.¹
- Both the congressional and state legislative maps were drawn in private and approved within days of being unveiled.²
- 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.³
- Ray DiRossi⁴ 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.⁵
- 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.⁶

¹ See pp. 13-14 herein and App. pp. 19.1-22. (Documents contained in the Appendix to this report are referenced as App. pp. __.)

² 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.

³ 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>.

⁴ 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.

⁵ App. pp. 162-166.

⁶ 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.⁷

Was public input actually considered?



OCAR presented eight different congressional maps to the Legislature and two state legislative maps to the Apportionment Board.⁸ 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.⁹

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.¹⁰ 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!¹¹

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:

⁷ See R.C. 121.22, as well as pp. 13-14 herein.

⁸ All maps submitted by OCAR, including a description of each plan, are available at www.drawthelineohio.org.

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ Art. 11, Sect. 1, Ohio Constitution.

¹¹ 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 requests¹²
- 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 public¹³
- 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 319.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵



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.¹⁶ 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 Reform¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

¹² App. pp. 7-8.

¹³ App. 9.

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

¹⁵ 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; "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.

¹⁶ Copy of notice at App. pp. 25-26.

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

¹⁸ 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. 28.¹⁹

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), 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

¹⁹ 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.²⁰ But for OCAR, this information would not have been available to the public at all. OCAR, after making repeated requests, obtained block equivalency files²¹ 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:²²

- 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!²³

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.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ 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.

²² For more information on nonpartisan redistricting principles see [A Citizen's Guide to Redistricting](http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/a_citizens_guide_to_redistricting/), published by the Brennan Center. Available at: http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/a_citizens_guide_to_redistricting/

²³ App. p. 10.

Competition Scores for Congressional Plans²⁴

1 st place ²⁵	222.6
10 th place	194.7
53 rd 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%.²⁶ 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?

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ 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.²⁷

--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.²⁸ 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 incumbents²⁹

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

²⁷ 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/ApportionmentBoard/transcripts/2011-08-25-Cincinnati.pdf>
See pages 23-26 of the transcript at App. pp. 158-161.

²⁸ 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/ApportionmentBoard/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.

²⁹ 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>

legislators nor the Apportionment Board ever publicly agreed upon a set of criteria to use, the public was left in the dark as to how plans would be evaluated.

Final Grade – D minus:

In an effort to search for the positive, the following small steps were taken by the Legislature and Apportionment Board which should continue in future redistricting cycles – although with changes as noted:



1. **Regional public hearings.** Holding regional hearings was a positive step and one that has the potential to help involve the public in the redistricting process. However, it would have been more beneficial to hold regional hearings after proposed maps were available to review and comment upon. Additionally, more should have been done to publicize the hearings,³⁰
2. **Public testimony.** Throughout the process both the legislative committees and the Apportionment Board did permit numerous concerned citizens including multiple representatives of the League of Women Voters and other interested organizations to provide public testimony. We would urge the officials in the future to fully consider the public input and not just use this as window dressing.
3. **Testimony by map drawers.** The authors of the official Apportionment Board map, Ray DiRossi and Heather Mann, both testified in a public hearing which provided some glimpse into what otherwise took place out of public view. It is unfortunate that they did not also testify about how they drew the congressional maps. Finally, it was disappointing that during DiRossi's testimony he needed to repeatedly consult with legal counsel before answering questions, which created a strong appearance that he was being very cautious about what he revealed.

However, on balance the lack of actual transparency was woeful. Decisions were made in private. Public input was ignored. Maps were unveiled at the last minute and raced through the process in an effort to avoid public scrutiny. And negotiations continue to take place behind closed doors as if the politicians from each political party are the only interested party.

Today's technology provides the opportunity to easily share information with the public. The public redistricting competition demonstrated that members of the public can create quality nonpartisan redistricting maps. Our politicians need to remember that they work for the public.

³⁰ News releases were not sent to local media where the hearings were held. In fact, the reporter for the Zanesville newspaper who attended the joint legislative hearing held in Zanesville only learned of the hearing that morning from his editor who had seen a Columbus media report. Nothing had been published in the local newspaper to announce the hearing. It is not surprising that only a handful of people attended the Zanesville hearing.

Secrets Uncovered

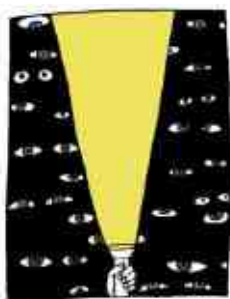
“The liberties of a people never were, nor ever will be, secure, when the transactions of their rulers may be concealed from them . . . To cover with the veil of secrecy the common routine of business, is an abomination in the eyes of every intelligent man.”

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 Committee³¹ conducted training on redistricting. The theme of the training was – “Keep it secret, keep it safe.”³² 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.³³ 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. 13-14.³⁴ The Apportionment Board timeline called for plans to be submitted by Sept. 23 and voted on Sept. 28 or 29.³⁵



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,”³⁶ every effort was made to conduct all of the deliberations in private.³⁷ 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

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

³² See App. p. 17 for the first PowerPoint slide presented at the training.

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

³⁴ See App. p. 24.

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ R.C. 121.22(A).

³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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.³⁹

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.⁴⁰ 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.”⁴¹ 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.⁴²

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.”⁴³ House Majority Counsel Michael Lenzo has refused to provide records of any communications with Braden on the basis of attorney-client privilege.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ The secretaries of the Apportionment Board submitted draft maps to him for consideration.⁴⁶ Braden’s name is even listed as the author of one of the final three congressional plans considered by Republican legislative leaders.⁴⁷

\$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.⁴⁸ However, a public records search revealed that neither were state employees while the Apportionment Board met.⁴⁹ Instead, each were paid \$105,000 (\$210,000 total) through contracts the Republican

³⁸ 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.

³⁹ See App. pp. 19-22 for sample e-mails arranging these meetings.

⁴⁰ 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.

⁴¹ See App. 22, 35-36 for sample references to such meetings.

⁴² 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.

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

⁴⁴ See App. pp. 39-40.

⁴⁵ See App. pp. 19-21.

⁴⁶ See App. pp. 84.

⁴⁷ See App. p. 109.

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

⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰

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.⁵¹ 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).⁵²

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,

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ See App. pp. 67-70.

⁵² 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,⁵³ and Adam Kincaid, Redistricting Coordinator for the National Republican Congressional Committee.⁵⁴

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 Whatman⁵⁵

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

If there is any question about Boehner’s influence, look what happened in the 16th 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 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.⁵⁷

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.⁵⁸ 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**

⁵³ 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.

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

⁵⁵ App. 73.

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

⁵⁷ See App. 102-104 for complete maps.

⁵⁸ 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 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 file⁵⁹ 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.”⁶⁰

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.⁶¹ 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 15rd 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.⁶²

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

⁵⁹ 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.

⁶⁰ 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.

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² 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.⁶³ DiRossi’s response was:

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

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.⁶⁵

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.⁶⁶

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

⁶⁴ App. p. 106.

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ See App. p. 108. Because the 14th 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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

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.⁶⁹



Four primary congressional maps were considered,⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ While the precise reasons one map was chosen over another can not be conclusively determined from the records, several things are apparent.

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

⁶⁷ App. pp. 130-131.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ 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.

⁷⁰ 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.

⁷¹ 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.⁷² 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.⁷³ 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.⁷⁴

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.⁷⁵ This request was rejected because it would have made the district prepared for Congressman Stivers less Republican.⁷⁶ The Boehner team described that request as "crazy."⁷⁷ 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 8th Congressional District (Boehner) and the rest of the County in the 5th Congressional District (Latta).⁷⁸ Different options were considered, apparently to move Faber into the 4th Congressional District (Jordan). Ultimately, the map proposed in HB 319 divided Mercer County

⁷² App. p. 109.

⁷³ 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.

⁷⁴ 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.

⁷⁵ See App. pp. 73, 94.

⁷⁶ See App. p. 87.

⁷⁷ See App. p. 87.

⁷⁸ See App. pp. 73, 86, 89-93.

into three districts, with a small segment which included Faber's residence being attached to the 4th 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:⁷⁹

- Speaker William Batchelder – Oct. 7, 2011⁸⁰
- Mike Dittoe, House Communications Director – Oct. 7, 2011⁸¹
- Rep. Matt Huffman – Oct. 7, 2011⁸²
- Speaker John Boehner – Oct. 7, 2011⁸³
- Congressman Steve LaTourette – Oct. 7, 2011⁸⁴
- Speaker William Batchelder and Leader Armond Budish – Nov. 3, 2011⁸⁵
- Clerk of Ohio House – Nov. 21, 2011⁸⁶



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

⁷⁹ 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.

⁸⁰ App. p. 134.

⁸¹ App. p. 136.

⁸² App. p. 138.

⁸³ 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.

⁸⁴ 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.

⁸⁵ App. p. 144.

⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷

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. 28th 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.

⁸⁷ App. p. 144.

Appendix

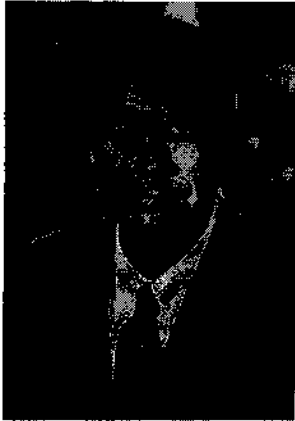
Volume 1 – pp. 1-40

(Key players, time line, OCAR, Secrecy)

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Ohio Apportionment Board - 2011

Ohio Governor John Kasich
Republican



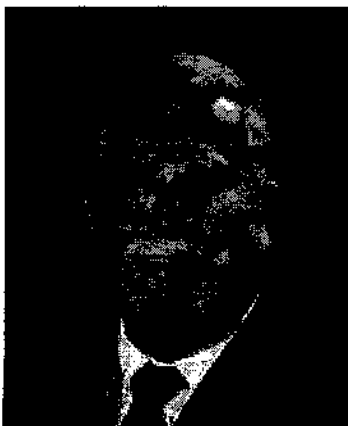
Ohio Secretary of State Jon Husted
Republican



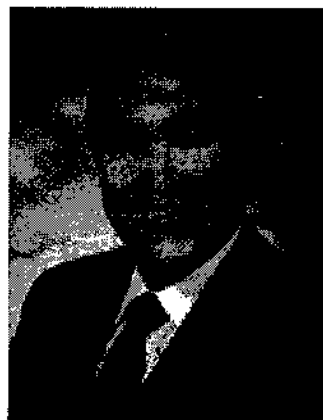
Ohio Treasurer Dave Yost
Republican



Senate President Tom Niehaus
R-New Richmond



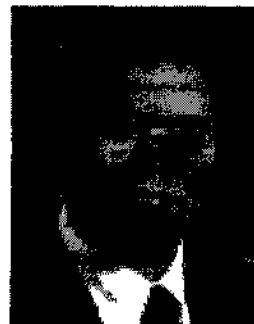
Minority Leader Armond Budish
D-Beachwood



**Secretary of the
Apportionment Board
Heather Mann**



**Secretary of the
Apportionment Board
Ray DiRossi**



Who's Who in 2011 Redistricting Process

Ohio House State Government and Elections Subcommittee on Redistricting

- Matt Huffman R-Lima, Chair and Sponsor of HB 319
- Courtney Combs R-Hamilton
- Mike Dovilla R-Berea
- Tom Letson D-Warren
- Kathleen Clyde D-Kent

Ohio Senate Select Committee on Redistricting

- Keith Faber R-Celina, chair
- Larry Obhof R-Montville Township
- Scott Oeslager R-North Canton
- Shirley Smith D-Cleveland
- Tom Sawyer D-Cleveland

Behind the Scenes

Tom Whatman -Executive Director of Team Boehner

The Freedom Project and Friends of John Boehner created Team Boehner to work with the National Republican Congressional Committee and the Republican National Committee to support House GOP candidates across the country.

John Boehner – Congressman, 8th Ohio District, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

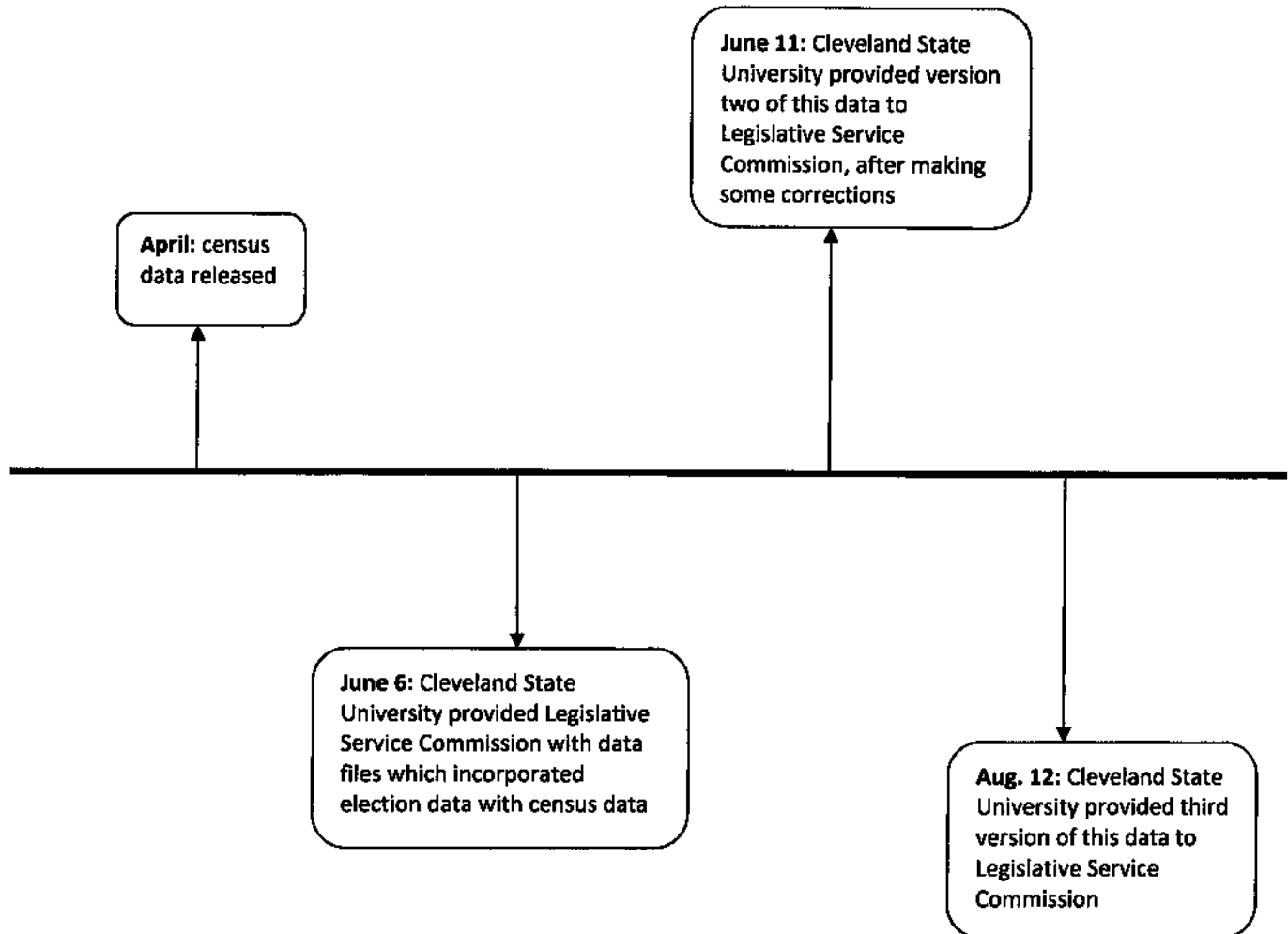
Adam Kincaid -Redistricting Coordinator at the National Republican Congressional Committee

Mark Braden – Legal Counsel from Washington D.C., formerly with Republican National Committee

Troy Judy - Chief of Staff for Speaker Bill Bachelder and the Ohio Republican House Caucus

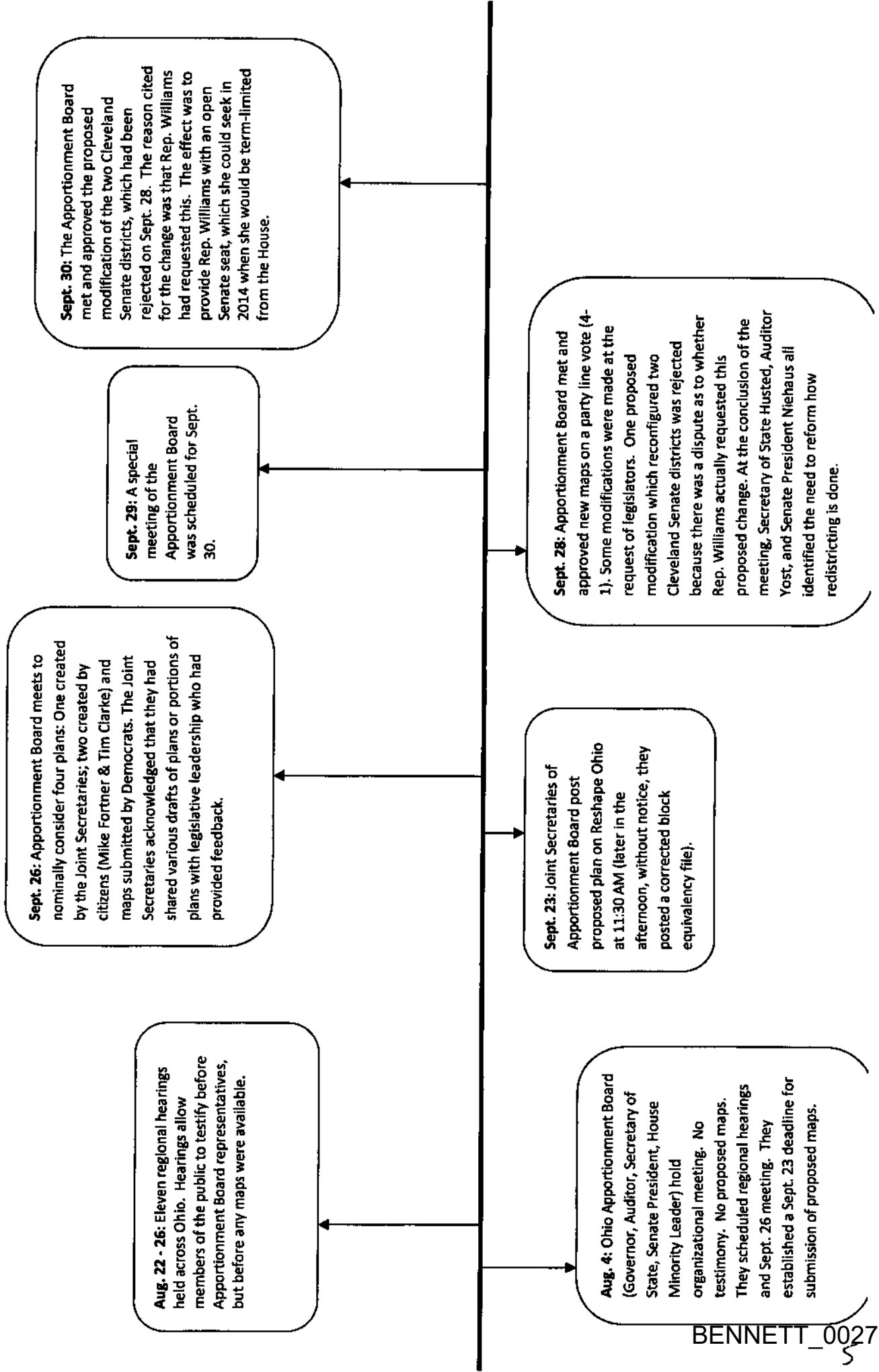
William Batchelder – Speaker of the Ohio House of Representatives

Census Time Line - 2011

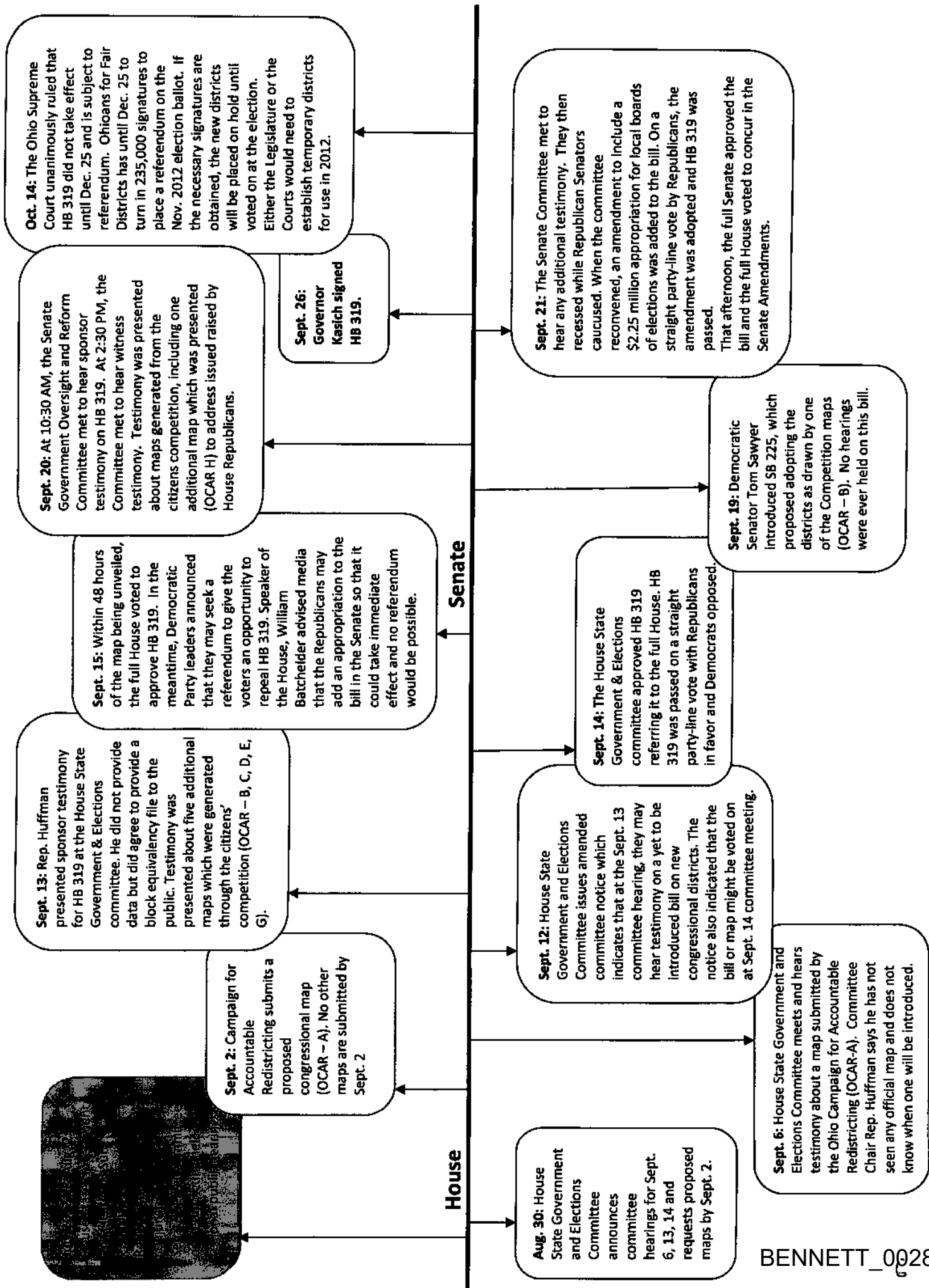


State Legislative Redistricting

August 1 – October 1: Ohio Constitution requires the Apportionment Board to meet



Congressional redistricting



Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting

*A project of the League of Women Voters of Ohio Education Fund and Ohio Citizen Action
Supported by the Joyce Foundation and Midwest Democracy Network*

June 28, 2011

The Honorable
Ohio House of Representatives
Riffe Center, 77 S. High St.
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Dear Representative:

In upcoming months the Legislature will establish new congressional districts and the Apportionment Board will establish new legislative districts. I am working with a coalition of civic groups who urge the Legislature and Apportionment Board to take this process out of the political backrooms and allow the public to participate in what *should* be an open, objective, nonpartisan, fair and transparent process.

Towards that end, on July 1 the Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting is launching a competition which will allow private citizens to draw legislative and congressional districts using publicly available software and the same census and election data that the Legislature and Apportionment Board will use. These plans will be scored using objective, nonpartisan criteria:

- (1) Preserving County Boundaries** -- measuring the number of counties which are unnecessarily split into separate districts. This helps keep communities of interest together and makes it easier for citizens to understand in which district they live.
- (2) Compactness** -- measuring the geographical compactness of the districts. This discourages bizarrely-shaped legislative districts which unnecessarily spread voters apart.
- (3) Competitiveness** -- measuring the number of districts which are truly competitive. This gives Ohioans a stronger voice in choosing their representatives.
- (4) Representational Fairness** -- measuring the degree to which a plan unfairly favors one political party over another. This encourages plans in which the number of districts which favor each political party reflects the statewide political balance.

We will award prizes to the winners and will submit the highest scoring plans to the Legislature and Apportionment Board for consideration. This is an opportunity for direct citizen participation in democracy.

3055 N. High St. #300, Columbus, Ohio 43202; 614-263-4600
E-mail: jslagle@ohiocitizen.org
www.drawthelineohio.org

In 2009, the League of Women Voters of Ohio Education Fund, Ohio Citizen Action, and others joined with the Ohio Secretary of State to sponsor a similar competition to draw congressional districts. The 2011 competition builds upon that contest which demonstrated that plans created by private citizens could be evaluated using objective, nonpartisan criteria. The 2009 competition also demonstrated that plans created by private citizens were markedly better than those that had been drawn through the political process.

We request that you promote fair and impartial redistricting by doing the following:

- Invite your constituents to participate in our redistricting competition.
- Encourage the Legislature and Apportionment Board to give fair consideration to plans developed through the competition.
- Support the use of objective, nonpartisan criteria for the establishment of new legislative and congressional districts in this year's redistricting process.
- Insist that proposed redistricting plans be published on a publicly accessible website for two weeks prior to being voted on, so that there is an opportunity for proposed plans to be publicly evaluated.
- Support amending Ohio's Constitution to reform our redistricting process, so that future redistricting will take place in an objective, nonpartisan manner.

There is general consensus that Ohio's redistricting process needs reform. The major Ohio newspapers have consistently issued editorials in support of a nonpartisan redistricting process--and the public is tired of politics as usual. Significant progress was made in the last session of the General Assembly when separate bills to reform redistricting were passed by the House and Senate (S.J.R. 5, H.J.R. 15) before the process stalled. We urge you to take the lead in ensuring that an open, objective, nonpartisan, fair and transparent redistricting process is used for the congressional plans.

For additional information on our competition, or redistricting in general, please visit our website (www.drawthelineohio.org). Upon request, we can also provide you or your staff with a copy of A Citizen's Guide to Redistricting, which is an excellent redistricting resource published by the Brennan Center for Justice.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Jim Siagle
Manager, Campaign for Accountable Redistricting

Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting

*A project of the League of Women Voters of Ohio Education Fund and Ohio Citizen Action
Supported by the Joyce Foundation and Midwest Democracy Network*



September 19, 2011

Governor John Kasich
Riffe Center, 30th Floor
77 South High Street
Columbus, Oh 43215-6117

Re: Ohio Apportionment Board maps

Dear Governor Kasich:

I write you as the Chair of the Ohio Apportionment Board on behalf of a coalition of 25 Ohio organizations which support a fair, nonpartisan, and open redistricting process. I repeat our previous requests that the proposed redistricting maps which will be considered by the Apportionment Board be made public immediately, so that there can be a realistic opportunity for public review of these maps before new state legislative districts are set in stone for the next decade.

During the week of August 22, I, along with other representatives of the League of Women Voters of Ohio, Ohio Citizen Action, Common Cause, and other organizations, repeatedly testified about the importance of having proposed maps available to the public at least two weeks before they were adopted by the Board. At one hearing, Auditor Dave Yost assured the public that the proposed map would be released in advance of the Apportionment Board meeting without providing a specific time frame.

However, the Board is scheduled to meet one week from today and the proposed map has not been released to the public. Moreover, since the Ohio Constitution requires the Board to take action on the new districts by October 1, it appears that the Board is preparing to repeat the high speed train wreck we are witnessing in the Ohio Legislature with the proposed new congressional districts, which were unveiled a mere 48 hours before being voted on by the full House and are now being rushed through the Senate.

85 E. Gay St., #713, Columbus, Ohio 43215; 614-221-6077
E-mail: jslagle@ohiocitizen.org
www.drawthefineohio.org

Governor John Kasich

September 19, 2011

Page two

As Governor, you have promised that it will no longer be business as usual. In your inaugural address you correctly stated, "Our enemy is the status quo;" "Our enemies are those who refuse to recognize the power of teamwork." Adopting maps drawn in the political backrooms to gain partisan political advantage is not teamwork and instead represents the political status quo of the worst kind.

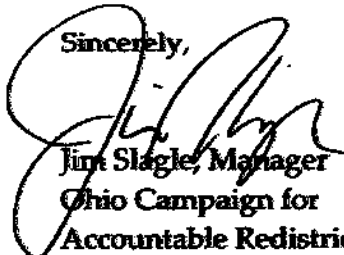
We urge you to release the maps immediately. However, even if released immediately, this will provide less than a week for public input prior to Monday's meeting. Thus, we also request that the Apportionment Board not adopt any maps next Monday and instead reconvene later in the week to vote on the new maps.

As soon as the proposed maps are released, please provide me electronically (at jslagle@ohiocitizen.org) with a zipped block equivalency file for each of the proposed maps so that we can evaluate the proposed districts. As I have explained multiple times, the block equivalency file is a simple two column Excel file which identifies the proposed district for each census block.

Finally, we urge the Apportionment Board to give real consideration to the winning maps generated from our citizen competition which we provided to the Board at regional hearings held on Aug. 25 and which remain publicly available at www.drawthelineohio.org. These maps were evaluated based on nonpartisan criteria and could be the basis for maps which would benefit all Ohioans and not just the politicians.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Jim Slagle, Manager
Ohio Campaign for
Accountable Redistricting

Cc: Secretary of State Jon Husted
Auditor David Yost
Sen. Thomas Niehaus
Rep. Armond Budish

BENNETT_0033
-10

OCAR Congressional Plan C

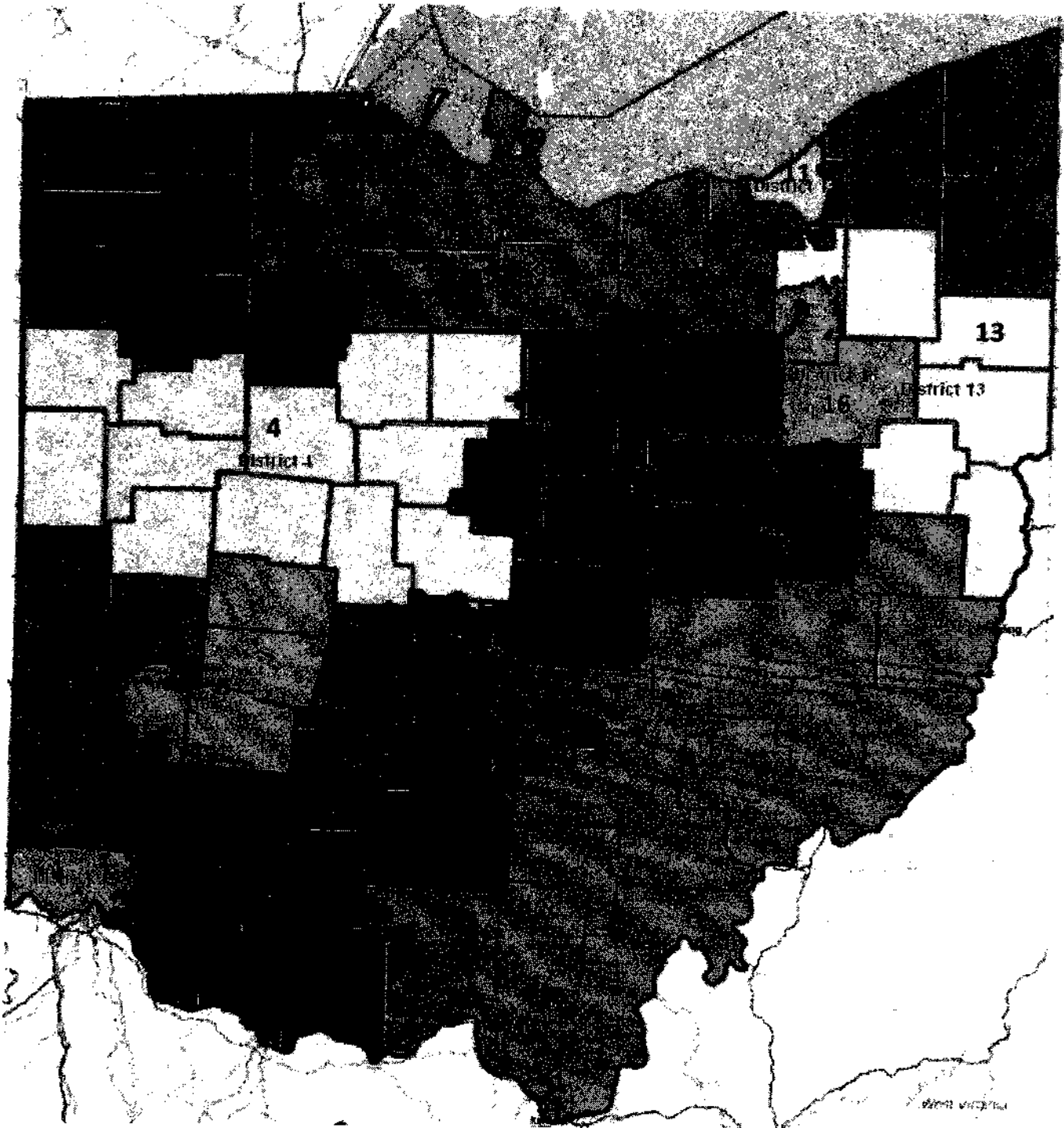
Submitted by: Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting, www.drawthelineohio.org
Jim Slagle, 85 E. Gay St., #713, Columbus, Ohio 43215; 614-221-6077

Date: Sept. 12, 2011

Author: Mike Fortner

Plan Name: mf competition congress (#1441)

Web link to full plan: <https://districtbuilder.drawthelineohio.org/districtmapping/plan/1441/view/>



Map Summary

This map was the highest scoring map in the competition sponsored by the Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting. In addition to having the overall highest score, this map scored higher than any other maps in the compactness and created more heavily competitive districts than any other plan. In an effort to honor municipal boundaries, this map also demonstrates the option of crossing county lines to keep municipalities which cross county borders intact.

Highlights

- Only 9 county fragments are joined with other districts, as compared to 44 currently.
- Multiple municipalities which are split by county boundaries are kept together in the same congressional district. This includes the Delaware County portion of Columbus, Dublin, Westerville, Reynoldsburg, Middletown, Crestline, Plain City, and Buckeye Lake.
- 83 of Ohio's 88 counties are in a single district, except for that portion of a municipality which crosses county lines.
- Cuyahoga, Franklin, and Hamilton counties each have an entire district within the county.
- 11 of 16 districts are highly competitive.
- Fairly balanced between Republican and Democratic districts.

Competitive Districts

- 11 of 16 districts are heavily competitive (political index within 5%) – Districts 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16.
- 5 districts are heavily noncompetitive (greater than 15% difference in political index) – Districts 2, 4, 8, 11, 12.
- In comparison only 6 of our current 18 districts are competitive.

Political Balance

- Four districts strongly favor Republicans (Republican index greater than 55%) – Districts 2, 4, 8, 12.
- One district strongly favors Democrats (Dem index greater than 55%) – District 11
- Three districts lean Republican (Rep index 51-55%) – Districts 3, 6, 10.
- Seven districts lean Democratic (Dem index 51-55%) – Districts 1, 5, 7, 13, 14, 15, 16.
- One district is even (Dem & Rep index 49-51%) – District 9.
- Depending on the election results, the districts could swing from 12 – 4 Democratic to 15 – 1 Republican.

District Statistics

Dist.	Tot Pop	Black VAP	Rep Partisan Index
1	723,843	26.58%	47.77%
2	722,976	2.93%	67.31%
3	720,811	17.15%	52.47%
4	717,840	4.09%	66.41%
5	718,302	11.75%	48.47%
6	720,761	2.61%	51.72%
7	717,553	22.80%	47.65%
8	722,910	5.45%	65.52%
9	722,666	5.55%	49.33%
10	724,339	5.63%	51.36%
11	717,583	48.01%	18.95%
12	719,259	2.98%	61.33%
13	723,882	7.36%	47.51%
14	723,067	5.51%	48.93%
15	717,895	12.39%	47.63%
16	722,817	9.96%	47.68%

KEY

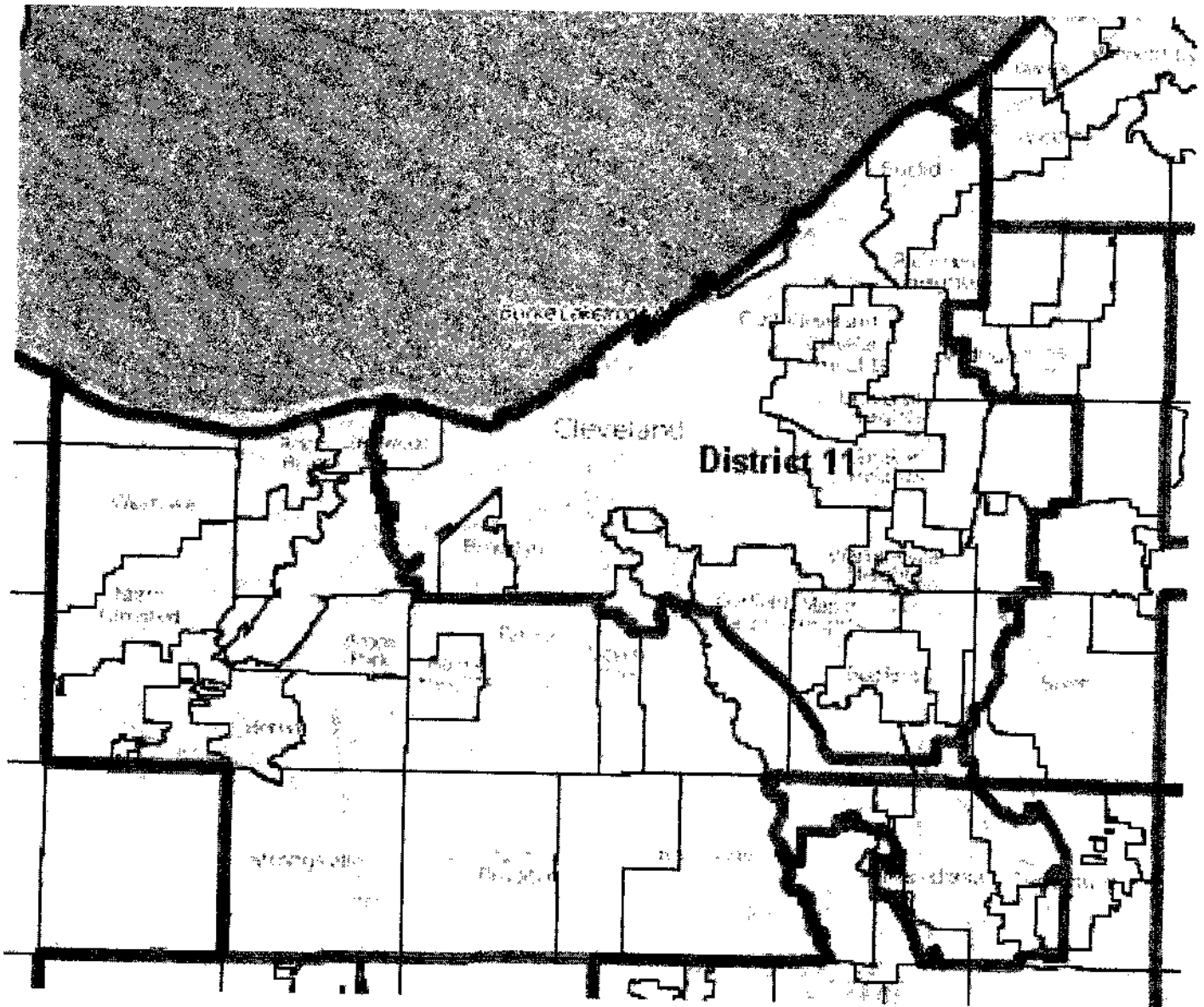
Tot Pop: Population in each district

Black VAP: Percentage of the voting age population which is African-American

Rep Partisan Index: Republican index based on the following elections: 2008 President, 2010 Governor, 2010 Auditor, 2010 Sec. of State. Percentage of total Democrat and Republican votes received by Republican candidates. Republican and Democratic Index will add to 100%.

Cuyahoga County Closeup

County population: 1,280,122



Red lines are district boundaries.

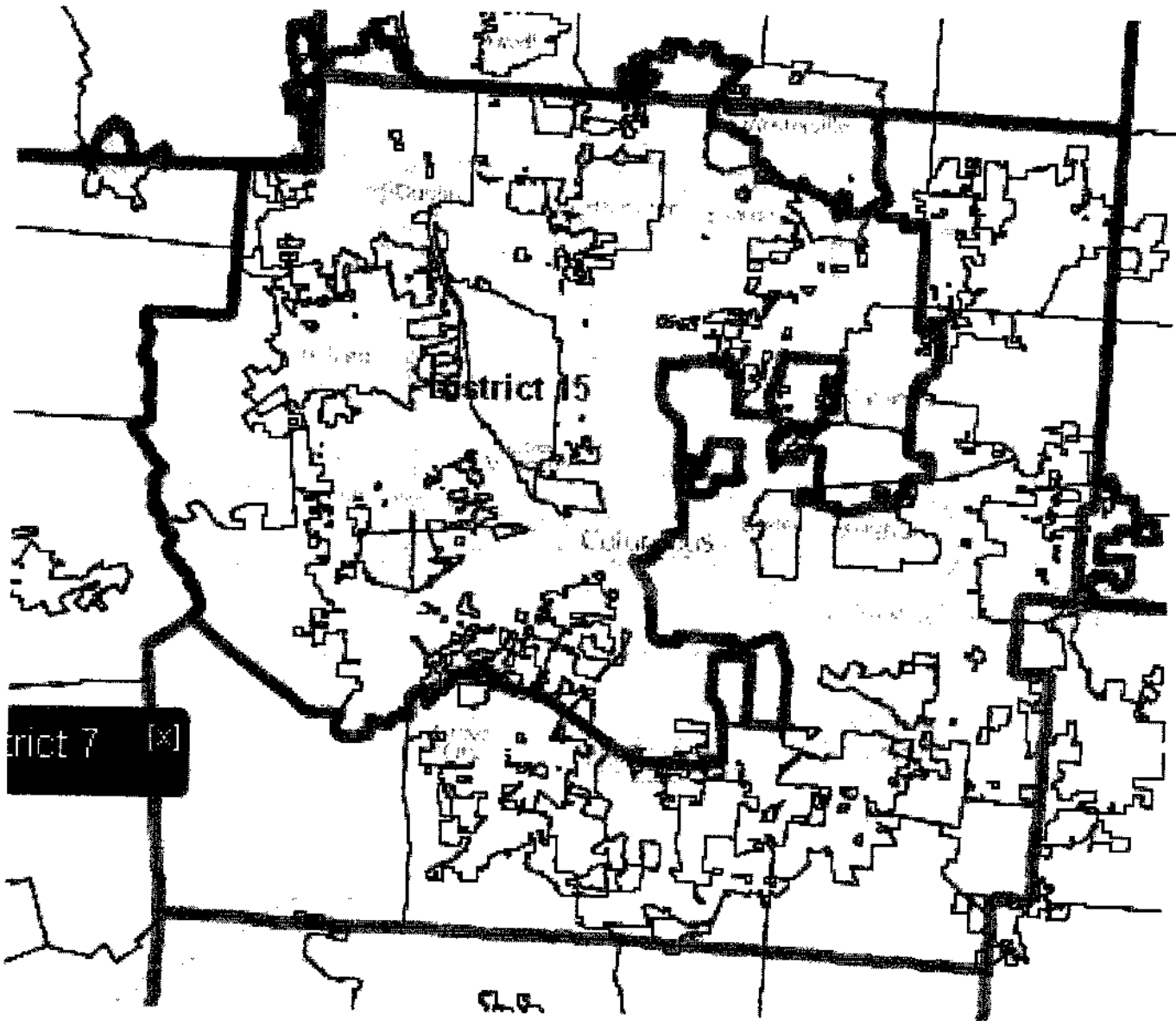
Green lines are county boundaries.

The 11th district is an African-American VRA district which includes nearly all of Cleveland and is solely within Cuyahoga County.

The eastern portion of the county, as it does now, attaches to the counties to the east to form the 14th district. The western portion of the county attaches to Medina County and a portion of Summit County to form the 10th district.

Franklin County Closeup

County population: 1,163,414



Red lines are district boundaries.

Green lines are county boundaries.

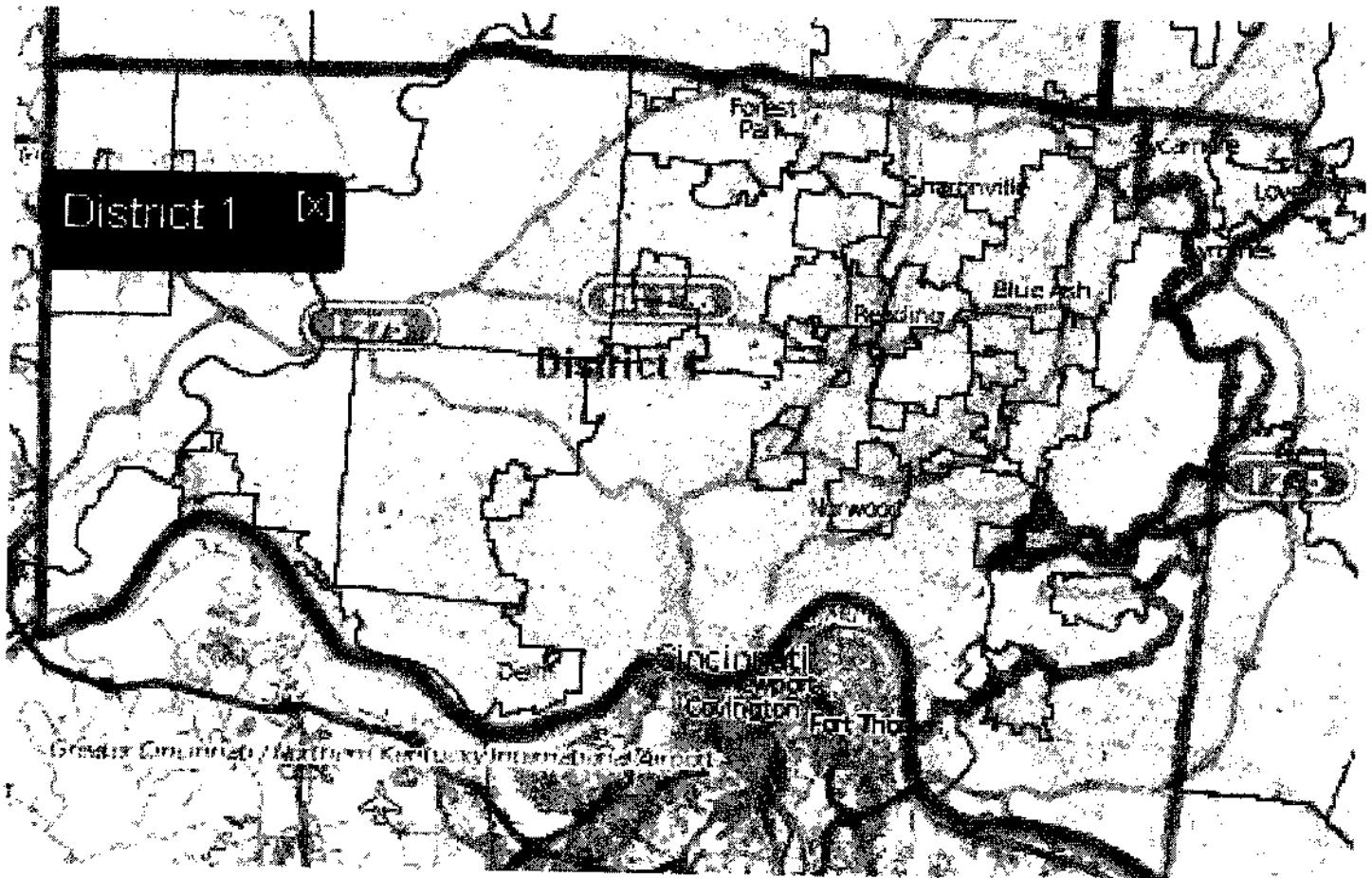
The 15th district is solely within Franklin County, except as is necessary to keep Dublin intact and to keep the Delaware County portion of Columbus with the rest of Columbus.

The rest of the county is in the 7th district, except Westerville (northern border of Franklin Co), which is kept intact with the Delaware portion of Westerville in the 4th district.

Note that the 7th District includes all of Pataskala which is in Licking and Franklin Counties (eastern border of Franklin Co) and all of Plain City which is in Madison and Union Counties (west of Franklin Co.) is kept intact.

Hamilton County Closeup

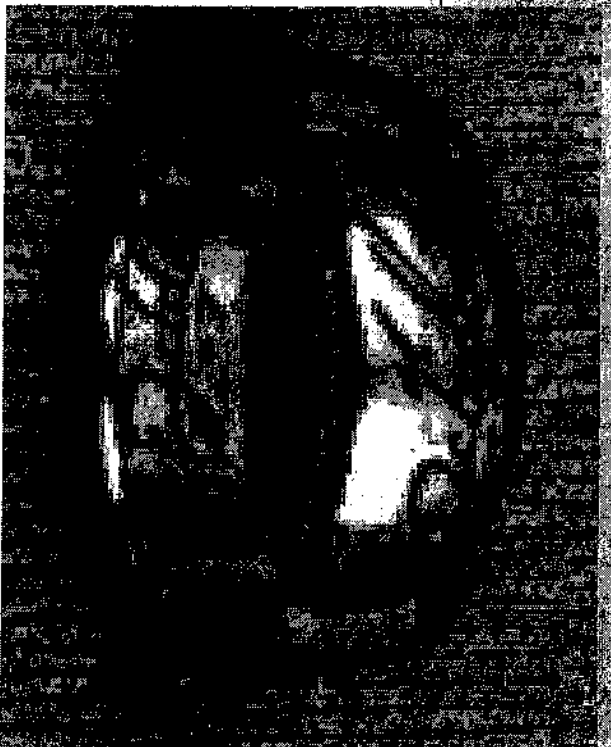
County population: 802,374



Red lines are district boundaries.

Green lines are county boundaries.

The 1st district is solely within Hamilton County and includes all of Cincinnati. Some eastern portions of the county become part of the 2nd districts.



Keep it secret keep it safe

- Controlled access to location (a door with a key)
- Machine security, plan security, personnel security
- Storage and backup
- Away from distractions
- Establish procedures for input, drawing, output
- Process always matters

Redistricting Presentation -Republican National Committee
May 2010

Presenter: John Morgan

Consultant to Ohio Republican Redistricting Task Force

Attended by Michael Lenzo, Ohio House Majority Legal Counsel

BENNETT_004017

From: Rench, Karrie
To: Carle, Matt;
cc: Wickham, John;
Subject: Meet Gov at 15th Floor
Date: Thursday, June 02, 2011 9:01:54 AM
Attachments: image001.png

Matt –

Beth wanted to know if you would meet the Governor at the 15th floor this morning. The Governor is attending Mark Braden's presentation on redistricting at 10 am. Since this is his first appointment, he will go straight to the 15th floor. Wickham should know when is ETA is.

Thanks!

Karrie Rench
Assistant to the Chief of Staff
Office of Ohio Governor John R. Kasich
614-644-0941
Karrie.Rench@governor.ohio.gov
www.governor.ohio.gov

This message and any response to it may constitute a public record and thus may be publicly available to anyone who requests it.

Mann, Heather

From: Mann, Heather
Sent: Friday, July 01, 2011 12:15 PM
To: cmorrison@sos.state.oh.us
Subject: redistricting stuff
Attachments: 2011-06-20 Co-Chairs Approval Letter to LSC for SOS Public Process Website.PDF

Christine,

Just following up on my voicemail on a few redistricting-related matters.

First, attached for your records is the letter from the Task Force Co-Chairs authorizing the funds for the public process website. Mark Flanders indicated to me that they are going to be issuing guidance to the Co-Chairs and any other party receiving funds on what LSC needs in terms of invoices, documentation, etc. Along the same lines, we wanted to ask if you had any information on the planned content of the website.

Second, Mark Braden – the special counsel to the Task Force and the Apportionment Board – will be in Columbus next Thursday, July 7 and Friday, July 8th. We'd like to set up individual meetings with the Apportionment Board members and their key staff with Mr. Braden and John Morgan, who will be consulting. Would the Secretary be available to meet at time and place of his convenience during that timeframe?

Thank you,
Heather Mann

-
Heather N. Mann, Esq.
Redistricting Director & Dep. Legal Counsel
House Republican Caucus
Ohio House of Representatives
77 South High Street, 14th Floor
Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 466-9194 - Office
(614) 719-3594 - Fax
(614) 352-5819 - Cell
heather.mann@ohr.state.oh.us

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Mann, Heather

From: Hansen, Beth [Beth.Hansen@governor.ohio.gov]
Sent: Friday, July 01, 2011 11:12 AM
To: Mann, Heather; Rensch, Karrie; Carle, Matt
Cc: Grodhaus, Michael
Subject: Re: redistricting meetings

The Governor is out of town next week. But Mike Grodhaus, Matt Carle and I would like to meet with Braden and Morgan. Thursday is best

Weekly meetings on Monday are best in the afternoon. 3?

Finally, I'd love to grab coffee - week after next is best!

Thanks Heather

From: Mann, Heather [mailto:Heather.Mann@ohr.state.oh.us]
Sent: Thursday, June 30, 2011 02:47 PM
To: Hansen, Beth
Subject: redistricting meetings

Dear Beth:

I am following up on a conversation Troy had with you about a planned Ohio visit from Mark Braden and John Morgan, the consultant on the data/technical end of redistricting. They will be in Columbus Thursday, July 7 and Friday, July 8. We would like to make them available for an individual meeting with the Governor (as well as the other apportionment board members) those days. Right now they are blocked off for staff training that Thursday afternoon and Friday morning, but of course we can move those around. Please advise if there is a time that might work.

Additionally, I spoke with Matt Schuler and Troy Judy about setting up a weekly staff meeting on redistricting starting in the next two weeks, at which you or your designee could be present. Is there a regular time that would work for your schedule? I was thinking perhaps sometime on Mondays?

Finally, not that you have any spare time, but would you like to grab coffee or lunch sometime in the next two weeks?

Thank you,
Heather Mann

-
Heather N. Mann, Esq.
Redistricting Director & Dep. Legal Counsel
House Republican Caucus
Ohio House of Representatives
77 South High Street, 14th Floor
Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 466-9194 - Office
(614) 719-3594 - Fax
(614) 352-5819 - Cell
heather.mann@ohr.state.oh.us

CONFIDENTIALITY NOTICE

Mann, Heather

From: Hansen, Beth [Beth.Hansen@governor.ohio.gov]
Sent: Friday, July 01, 2011 2:42 PM
To: Mann, Heather; Rench, Karrie; Carle, Matt; Grodhaus, Michael
Subject: Re: redistricting meetings

Karrie

Can you check with Mike and Matt on Thursday?

Mopnday 7/11 does not work. T, Th or F?

From: Mann, Heather [mailto:Heather.Mann@ohr.state.oh.us]
Sent: Friday, July 01, 2011 11:53 AM
To: Hansen, Beth
Subject: RE: redistricting meetings

Would Thursday, July 7th from 9:15-10:15 work for your contingent?

I will suggest 3PM for the weekly meetings starting on the 11th and get back to you.

Any morning the week after next is fine. 8:30/9AM Monday the 11th?

-
Heather N. Mann, Esq.
Redistricting Director & Dep. Legal Counsel
House Republican Caucus
Ohio House of Representatives
77 South High Street, 14th Floor
Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 466-9194 - Office
(614) 719-3594 - Fax
(614) 352-5819 - Cell
heather.mann@ohr.state.oh.us

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From: Hansen, Beth [mailto:Beth.Hansen@governor.ohio.gov]
Sent: Friday, July 01, 2011 11:12 AM
To: Mann, Heather; Rench, Karrie; Carle, Matt
Cc: Grodhaus, Michael
Subject: Re: redistricting meetings

The Governor is out of town next week. But Mike Grodhaus, Matt Carle and I would like to met with Braden and Morgan. Thursday is best

Weekly meetings on Monday are best in the afternoon. 3?

Finally, I'd love to grab coffee - week after next is best!

Mann, Heather

From: Huffman, Kate [KHuffman@sos.state.oh.us]
Sent: Wednesday, July 06, 2011 1:50 PM
To: Mann, Heather
Cc: Morrison, Christine
Subject: RE: follow-up

Heather,

Thanks for the clarification.

As of right now our plan is to have Scott sit-in on the meeting and have the Secretary swing in at some point. Let me know if you have any questions.

Thanks!

Kate

From: Mann, Heather [mailto:Heather.Mann@ohr.state.oh.us]
Sent: Tuesday, July 05, 2011 7:50 PM
To: Huffman, Kate
Cc: Morrison, Christine
Subject: follow-up

Kate,

Just as clarification, the folks on the Outlook invite will not all be attending this Thursday – this is only to let people in the House and Senate know it's on the calendar. In attendance will be myself, Ray DiRossi, Mark Braden (our legal counsel for redistricting) and John Morgan (a consultant through our contract with Mark Braden). I've attached Mr. Morgan's bio for your information.

Let me know if you have any other questions.

Sincerely,
Heather Mann

-
Heather N. Mann, Esq.
Redistricting Director & Dep. Legal Counsel
House Republican Caucus
Ohio House of Representatives
77 South High Street, 14th Floor
Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 466-9194 - Office
(614) 719-3594 - Fax
(614) 352-5819 - Cell
heather.mann@ohr.state.oh.us

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Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

Weekly Redistricting Meeting

1 message

Mann, Heather <Heather.Mann@ohr.state.oh.us>

Thu, Sep 1, 2011 at 4:13 PM

To: "Matthew T. Schuler" <mschuler@senate.state.oh.us>, "Barron, John" <John.Barron@senate.state.oh.us>, Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>, Troy Judy <troy.judy@gmail.com>, "karrie.rench@governor.ohio.gov" <karrie.rench@governor.ohio.gov>, "Schuler, Matt" <Matt.Schuler@senate.state.oh.us>, "Lenzo, Mike" <Mike.Lenzo@ohr.state.oh.us>, Beth Hansen <Beth.Hansen@governor.ohio.gov>, Mary Amos Augsburger <MAAugsburger@auditor.state.oh.us>, "Heather Noelle Mann (heathernmann@gmail.com)" <heathernmann@gmail.com>, "matthew.carle@governor.ohio.gov" <matthew.carle@governor.ohio.gov>, "matt.carle@governor.ohio.gov" <matt.carle@governor.ohio.gov>

When: Tuesday, September 06, 2011 5:00 PM-6:00 PM. Eastern Standard Time

Where: Offsite

~~*~*~*~*~*~*~*

Apportionment Board timeline

Need to finalize data

Need to standardize political index and other theses

Need to determine who is Joint Republican and Joint Democratic appointment

Need to determine who is Secretary

GOV call meeting 2 weeks before the 1st Meeting

August 1st 4th or 5th 1st Apportionment Board Meeting

Late August (maybe week of August 22nd) Apportionment Board Road Show

Friday September 23rd – Date of Plan submission to Board

September 28th or September 29th – AB Vote

October 1st – hold for possible date for emergency hearing

Congressional redistricting timeline

Wednesday, July 20, 2011

9AM – 12PM Columbus / Ohio Statehouse - Senate Finance Room

3PM – 6PM Zanesville / Ohio University – Zanesville Campus

Thursday, July 21, 2011

9AM – 12PM Cleveland / Cleveland State University Maxine Goodman Levin

College of Urban Affairs – Atrium

Tuesday, August 2, 2011

9AM – 12PM Lima The Ohio State University at Lima & Rhodes State College

Life & Physical Sciences Building

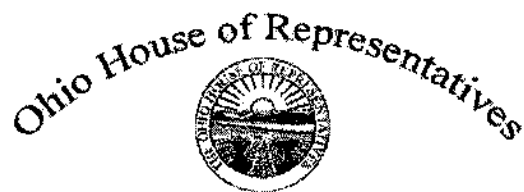
3:30PM – 6PM Cincinnati / University of Cincinnati MainStreet Cinema

August 19th – Target date to get a bill equivalency file to LSC

Hold it “in the can” until legislature comes back in September (13th / 14th)

House might come back early and do committee work to get bill moving

If that doesn't work – must get done by end of October



ANNOUNCEMENT OF COMMITTEE MEETING

COMMITTEE: State Government and Elections

CHAIRMAN: Representative Matt Huffman

DATE: Tuesday, September 13, 2011

TIME: 1:30 P.M.

ROOM: Statehouse Room 313

BILLS SCHEDULED TO BE HEARD:

<u>BILL</u>	<u>SPONSOR</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>STATUS</u>
H.B. * Pending Introduction & Referral	Blessing O'Brien	Primary Date Change	1st Hearing All Testimony
→ H.B. * Pending Introduction & Referral	Huffman	Congressional Redistricting	1st Hearing All Testimony

**The Chair respectfully requests all testifying parties please bring
50 copies of written testimony to the committee meeting.**

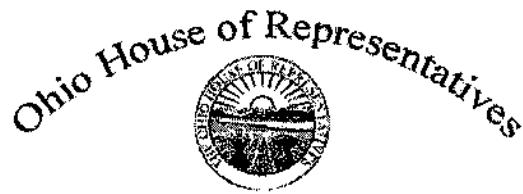
DATE: Wednesday, September 14, 2011

TIME: Immediately After Session

ROOM: Statehouse Room 313

BILLS SCHEDULED TO BE HEARD:

<u>BILL</u>	<u>SPONSOR</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>STATUS</u>
H.B. * Pending Introduction & Referral	Blessing O'Brien	Primary Date Change	2 nd Hearing All Testimony * Possible Amendment * Possible Vote



→ H.B. * Huffman Congressional Redistricting 2nd Hearing
Pending All Testimony
Introduction * Possible Amendment
& Referral * Possible Vote

**The Chair respectfully requests all testifying parties please bring
50 copies of written testimony to the committee meeting.**

**Amendments to both bills must be submitted to the Chair's office by 5:00 P.M. on
Tuesday, September 13th.**

cc:	House Clerk	Committee Members
	Committee Clerk	Speaker's Office
	Assistant Majority Floor Leader's Office	Caucus Staff
	Legislative and Policy Directors	LSC
	Minority Leader's Office	Press Room
	Legislative Information Office	



Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

FW: I2-0901-0130-map0.pdf

2 messages

Heather Mann <heathernmann@gmail.com>

Thu, Sep 1, 2011 at 4:42 PM

To: Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>, "Lenzo, Mike" <Mike.Lenzo@ohr.state.oh.us>, Troy J <troy.judy@gmail.com>

FYI, attached is one of the displays that Mark Braden wants to show the principals in the meeting tomorrow.

Heather N. Mann

827 City Park Avenue, Apt. B

Columbus, Ohio 43206

(614) 352-5819

heathernmann@gmail.com

From: Braden, E. Mark [mailto:MBraden@bakerlaw.com]


Sent: Thursday, September 01, 2011 3:16 PM

To: Nuven, Rosemarie

Cc: 'Heather Mann'

Subject: FW: I2-0901-0130-map0.pdf

can you print in color for me

 I2-0901-0130-map0.pdf
618K

Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

Thu, Sep 1, 2011 at 5:56 PM

To: Heather Mann <heathernmann@gmail.com>

Cc: "Lenzo, Mike" <Mike.Lenzo@ohr.state.oh.us>, Troy J <troy.judy@gmail.com>

this is exactly what i said I DIDNT want to do
not the content
but external maps

[Quoted text hidden]

A map of the state of Georgia, showing county boundaries and names. The map is oriented with the Atlantic Ocean to the east. Major cities like Atlanta, Savannah, and Augusta are marked. The map is divided into counties, each labeled with its name. The map is a black and white line drawing.

BENNETT_0052
26

Mann, Heather

From: Clemens, Laura
Sent: Tuesday, July 05, 2011 10:12 AM
To: Mann, Heather
Subject: RE: temporary redistricting office space arrangements

I will order the keys. The House Clerk's office also has a key and there may be rare instances when we will have to use the autopen. Will you need a table in the outer office, and if so, how many chairs would you need around it?

From: Mann, Heather
Sent: Tuesday, July 05, 2011 9:38 AM
To: Clemens, Laura
Cc: Troy J; Matthew T. Schuler (mschuler@senate.state.oh.us); raydirossi@gmail.com
Subject: temporary redistricting office space arrangements

Dear Laura:

As we are likely to be using the Sgt. of Arms office across from the House Clerk's office as our temporary space, we will need to get four keys (two for Senate staff and two for House staff) made or issued and we will need to ensure that other than Security personnel, the four persons issued those keys are the only persons with access to that office space. I do not anticipate we will be there long, but we will need to take care of this in the next two weeks.

Thank you,
Heather Mann

-
Heather N. Mann, Esq.
Redistricting Director & Dep. Legal Counsel
House Republican Caucus
Ohio House of Representatives
77 South High Street, 14th Floor
Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 466-9194 - Office
(614) 719-3594 - Fax
(614) 352-5819 - Cell
heather.mann@ohr.state.oh.us

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Mann, Heather

From: Carrie Boor [Carrie.Boor@hilton.com]
Sent: Tuesday, July 12, 2011 11:25 AM
To: Mann, Heather
Subject: Double Tree Suites
Attachments: image001.jpg; image002.gif; Office of Speaker William G. Batchelder 7-12-11.xls; DirectBillApp.pdf; CREDIT CARD AUTHORIZATION FORM 012611.pdf

Hi Heather,

It was a pleasure meeting you and Mr. Di'Rossi. I left a message for you earlier. Here is a sample invoice with charges listed, a direct bill application and when you are completing this please fill out all areas, they do not accept attachments. Also there is a cc form for the credit card number that must match the tax exempt form, also any check that is paying for the bill needs to match the tax exempt number.

At this time we cannot accommodate a double room for the entire stay, unfortunately the convention group has already reserved all of them for the first week of August. We can move the king bed to the end of the wall to open up the room or we can remove and put the roll away in the room.

As soon as I receive a call from housekeeping that an 01 room is available to show, I will contact you.

Please let me know if you have any other questions and I look forward to working with all of you.

Carrie Boor | Sales Manager

Doubletree Guest Suites Columbus
50 S. Front Street | Columbus, OH 43215-4145
Phone: 614-228-4600 ext. 195 | Fax: 614-358-8228
carrie.boor@hilton.com | www.columbussuites.doubletree.com
Twitter: <http://twitter.com/DoubletreeCols>

<http://doubletreecolumbusdowntown.blogspot.com/>

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Double Tree Guest Suites

South Front Street
Columbus Ohio 43215

50

Invoice No.

INVOICE

Customer

Name Mr. Di'Rossi
Address 77 S. High St., 14th Floor
City Columbus State OH ZIP 43215
Phone 614-466-9294

Misc

Date 7/12/2011
Order No.
Rep Carrie Boor
FOB

Qty	Description	Unit Price	TOTAL
1	Guest Room July 17-October 15, 2011 91 Days	\$7,280.00	\$ 7,280.00
0	State Tax (\$7,280 X 6.75%) exempt with form or after 30 continue stay	\$ 491.40	\$ -
0	City Tax (\$7,280 X 10%) exempt after 30 days continuous stay	\$ 728.00	\$ -
	Parking @ 12.00/per day /per car		
1	Internet charge \$9.95 per day, not per connection \$905.45	\$ 905.45	\$ 905.45
1	Removal of guest room fumature \$50.00 1 time charge	\$ 50.00	\$ 50.00
Client Please return a copy of the invoice with Payment			

Payment

Select One...
Direct Bill form attached, please
Comments complete
Name Mr. Di'Rossi
CC # need number
Expires

Tax Rate(s)

SubTotal	\$ 8,235.45
Shipping	
6.75%	\$ 555.89
10.00%	\$ 823.55
TOTAL	\$ 9,614.89

Double Tree Accounting Please inform
Sales Manger when Payment is received.

Bill for Cancellation clause in contract, signed July 11th, 2006, for a group's stay June 19, 2007. Group agreed to pay 10% of 192 room nights, at a rate of \$125. Payment is must be received no later than 30 days after dated invoice. If received after interest will be applied per contract agreement.

Please contact Robert Kapala, Sales Manager, with any questions at 614-228-4600
extension 197.

BENNETT_03055

Mann, Heather

From: Carrie Boor [Carrie.Boor@hilton.com]
Sent: Wednesday, July 13, 2011 5:37 PM
To: Mann, Heather
Cc: Steve Marangoni; Robert Kapala
Subject: Double Tree Suites Reservation
Attachments: image001.jpg; image002.gif; CREDIT CARD AUTHORIZATION FORM 012611.pdf

Hello Heather,

The executive staff just had a weekly meeting and we were reviewing the extending stay for your office. Some questions were brought to my attention and need to be answered so that we can proceed with the booking.

First question is regarding the computers. Will the IT group be using a separate server or will they need to tap into our internet lines here? Will they be doing any type of drilling into the walls to set this up?

Secondly, what is the purpose of the room? Why is it being used for 3 months, privately? This is just a security issue for both parties involved.

And our last question is the billing. We need to confirm with you the method of payment as soon as possible. I have attached the Credit Card Application for Mr. Di'Rossi, this will need to be on file until we receive a check for the 1st month from you or, if Direct Billing is needed the application will need to be completed as soon as possible and may take a few weeks to authorize. Also your Tax Exempt form to put on file.

I would be happy to stop over tomorrow morning and pick up the forms and perhaps we can discuss the details of the set up of the room at that time. Let me know when a good time would be for you.

Carrie Boor | Sales Manager

Doubletree Guest Suites Columbus
50 S. Front Street | Columbus, OH 43215-4145
Phone: 614-228-4600 ext. 195 | Fax: 614-358-8228
carrie.boor@hilton.com | www.columbussuites.doubletree.com
Twitter: <http://twitter.com/DoubletreeCols>

<http://doubletreecolumbusdowntown.blogspot.com/>

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Heather Mann

From: Heather Mann [heathernmann@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, July 13, 2011 11:15 PM
To: 'Ray DiRossi'
Subject: RE: 2011-07-013 COS Approval Letter for Double Tree Guest Suites

Categories: Red Category

Ray:

Troy has no problem paying all the static costs up front (room rental) and then paying the variable costs afterwards. Therefore, I will send you a REVISED letter for those purposes.

Sincerely,
Heather Mann

Heather N. Mann
827 City Park Avenue, Apt. B
Columbus, Ohio 43206
(614) 352-5819
heathernmann@gmail.com

-----Original Message-----

From: Ray DiRossi [<mailto:raydirossi@gmail.com>]
Sent: Wednesday, July 13, 2011 4:19 PM
To: Heather N. Mann - gmail
Cc: Michael Lenzo
Subject: Re: 2011-07-013 COS Approval Letter for Double Tree Guest Suites

I will get a signature tomorrow a.m.

On Wed, Jul 13, 2011 at 3:56 PM, Mann, Heather <Heather.Mann@ohr.state.oh.us> wrote:
> Amended per your suggestions.

Mann, Heather

From: Carrie Boor [Carrie.Boor@hilton.com]
Sent: Monday, September 19, 2011 3:01 PM
To: Mann, Heather
Subject: Internet Charges and your accommodations
Attachments: image001.gif, image002.jpg

Hi Heather!

I hope all has been going well for all of you in 601.

It was brought to my attention that the internet charges are still listed on the bill, and I wanted to find out if those charges were to be taken out of the check or should it be paid from another account.

I will have a total for you, after we make the adjustments and I also will give you a balance of your deposit.

Let me know if there is anything you need, I'm sure you are sick of the cookies by now, LOL. Talk to you soon.

Carrie Boor Corporate Sales Manager

Direct (614) 228 4600 | Mobile (614) 302 4202 | Fax (614) 358 8228 carrie.boor@hilton.com

DoubleTree Suites by Hilton Columbus Downtown

50 South Front Street Columbus Ohio 43215

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Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

Tuesday at redistricting office

1 message

Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

Tue, Aug 16, 2011 at 9:53 AM

To: Matt Schuler sbc email <mattschuler@sbcglobal.net>

Im free all day today at the Bunker

Let me know when you are coming over -- Troy is here now and most of the day too

35



Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

Re: Senator Manning update

1 message

Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

Wed, Sep 21, 2011 at 1:29 PM

To: vaughn@capitolstrategiesgrp.com

Cc: Matt Schuler <mattschuler@sbcglobal.net>

ok..

FYI - i will have to keep it to less than 30 minutes

Ray

On Wed, Sep 21, 2011 at 1:23 PM, Vaughn Flasher <vaughn@capitolstrategiesgrp.com> wrote:

I will if I can.

From: Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

Date: Wed, 21 Sep 2011 13:19:29 -0400

To: Vaughn Flasher <vaughn@capitolstrategiesgrp.com>; Matt Schuler sbc email <mattschuler@sbcglobal.net>

Subject: Senator Manning update

FYI

I am meeting with Senator Manning at the bunker at 3:30 p.m. today if Senate session is over

Please join if you can...

Ray



Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

house seat in the 13th district

4 messages

Gayle Manning <manning80@hotmail.com>

Fri, Sep 16, 2011 at 3:57 PM

To: Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

Hi Ray,

I know they are looking for Republicans in Lorain COunty for Boose and I had discussed with Matt there were some in Lorain - people that live there but their kids attend Amherst School District. I have the names of the street - listed below -if that would help. We walked there a couple of times - good response from the people. I believe Heather Mann is working on the House but I do not have her e-mail address.

Deerfield Estates: Antler Crossing, Black walnut Trace, Buckhorn Blvd., Buckskin Ln, Deer Valley trail, Doe Crossing, Fallow Way, Golden Rod Ln, Kyra Ln, Mantil Ln, Six Point LN, White Tail LN, Winter Foe Trail.

Apple Orchard- Cooper Foster: Appleseed Dr., Baldwin Blvd, Bayberry Rd, Belmont Dr, Oberlin to Broadway, Rte 58 to Linn North Side, Dannie Dr., Debra Dr., Dorwood Dr., Fiesta Ct, Lemonwood Ct, Orchard Hill Blvd.,

Jaeger Rd.: Blush Dr, Camden Blvd, Courtyard Dr, Crossing Trail, Fields Way, Meadow Way, Quincy Adams Ct, Randolph, Salem Cr.

Camden Ridge: Jenée Dr, Kingsbury Ct, Rosemount Ct, Santana Way, Viewcrest, Yorktown Ct,

Pill Hill: Greenbriar Ln, Hillgrove Dr, Laura Ln, Longbrook Rd, Marlboro Ave, Normandy Dr, Rosecliff Dr, S. Park Dr, Yorktown Rd.

Oak Point Rd.: Colony Ct, Eagle's Nest Dr, Fox Run, Hidden Creek Dr, Mallard Creek, Manhattan Dr, Mayflower Dr, Oak Point Estates, Oak Tree Dr, Providence Ct, Roe Ln, Squirrel Nest Dr, Staghorn Ln, Velvet Horn

Williamsburg: Duxbury Pl, Emerald Dr, Gargas Dr, Gettysburg Dr, Gloucester Dr, Independence Dr, Jamestown Pl, Nantucket Dr, Urban Cir, Narrangnsett Blve, revere Pl, Seven Pines Dr, Timberview Dr

Kolbe Rd: Oakcrest Dr, Oakhill Blvd, Spalding Ct

N. Pointe Pkwy-Cooper Foster: Bellfower Dr, Boxwood Dr

Middle Ridge (east of 58), Old Lake Rd, Park Square Dr, Plymouth Dr, reserve Cr, W. Erie to Beaver Creek, Oakhills, Beavercrest Dr, Hidden Creek

I hope this helps. I am sure that matt spoke to you about splitting North Ridgeville. Feel free to call anytime.

Thanks,

Gayle

Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

Mon, Sep 19, 2011 at 6:24 PM

To: Gayle Manning <manning80@hotmail.com>

Senator

Thanks for sending

I know you put a lot of time into this
Very helpful

I am continuing to work on this issue..

Ray

(Quoted text hidden)

Ray DiRossi <raydirossi@gmail.com>

Mon, Sep 19, 2011 at 6:24 PM

Baker Hostetler



E. Mark Braden
Of Counsel
 mbraden@bakerlaw.com
 v-card

Washington, DC
 Washington Square, Suite
 1100
 1050 Connecticut Avenue, NW
 Washington, DC 20036-5304

T 202.861.1504
 F 202.861.1783

BAR ADMISSIONS

U.S. Supreme Court, 1983
 U.S. District Court, District
 of Columbia, 2002
 District of Columbia, 1989
 Ohio, 1976

EDUCATION

J.D., Washington and Lee
 University School of Law,
 1976
 B.A., Washington and Lee
 University, 1973

E. Mark Braden

E. Mark Braden concentrates his work principally on election law and governmental affairs. This field includes work with Congress, the Federal Election Commission, state campaign finance agencies, public integrity issues, political broadcast regulation, contests, recounts, the Voting Rights Act, initiatives, referendums and redistricting. Each is an area in which he has substantial knowledge and unusual experience.

Mr. Braden spent ten years as Chief Counsel to the Republican National Committee, prior to joining Baker Hostetler. He has worked intimately with many elected officials, the major national political consultants and pollsters providing successful, and often highly innovative, legal guidance.

For example, in campaign finance, he can rightly claim to be the father of "soft money" as now used in national political campaigns. In redistricting, he has argued successfully at the U.S. Supreme Court and has been involved in litigation across the nation. In addition to his experience in the area of federal election law, Mr. Braden is widely recognized as an authority on state election laws, having served as Chief Counsel to the Ohio Elections Commission and Election Counsel for the Secretary of State in Ohio. He has been a principal lawyer in many of the largest recounts in our political history.

Mr. Braden was a key negotiator for the site city agreements and many of the other contracts for four Republican National Conventions and has been special counsel to the House Administration Committee. He has also worked with many nonprofit organizations on government affairs issues.

Mr. Braden has testified before congressional committees and the Federal Election Commission on numerous occasions. His experience in these areas has been recognized by numerous invitations to be a guest lecturer at universities and institutes across the nation.

Mr. Braden is a member of the adjunct faculty of George Washington University and a former Captain of the United States Army Reserve.

PRACTICE STRENGTHS

Government Policy
 Regulatory Proceedings
 Tax



November 21, 2011

Jim Slagle
Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting
85 East Gay Street, #713
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Dear Mr. Slagle:

Recently you had made a public records request to Ray DiRossi and Heather Mann, Joint Secretaries to the Ohio Apportionment Board and contractors for the Legislative Task Force on Redistricting, Reapportionment, and Demographic Research, for records related to redistricting and reapportionment. Specifically, you had asked for:

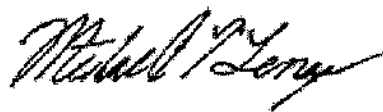
- Transcript of the September 30, 2011 Apportionment Board meeting.
- All written communication with members of the Apportionment Board or their staff relevant to redistricting or reapportionment during the period between July 1, 2011 and October 5, 2011.
- All written communication with members of the Ohio legislature or their staff relevant to redistricting or reapportionment during the period between July 1, 2011 and October 5, 2011.
- All documentation of comments, suggestions, request for changes, or other input on proposed legislative districts, draft redistricting maps, or final maps, other than what was provided during public hearings or meetings.
- News release issued by Rep. Williams on or about September 28 or 29, 2011 regarding the proposed changes to Senate Districts 21 and 25, as well as any other documentation of communication with or from Rep. Williams, her staff, Ray Miller, or representatives of the NAACP which pertained to redistricting.
- Copies of all draft maps and redistricting or reapportionment plans, whether for the entire state, portions of the state, or individual districts, which were prepared by you or others.
- All documentation pertaining to the dissemination of draft maps or plans and all documentation regarding any responses to the draft maps or plans.

As discussed during our phone conversation on the afternoon of November 21, 2011, the first installment of records is being released to you. The responsive records are voluminous and will need further time to be reviewed.

→ Pursuant to Revised Code Section 149.43(A)(1)(v), documents protected by common law attorney-client privilege and legislative legal counsel privilege under Revised Code Section 101.301(B) have been withheld.

If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

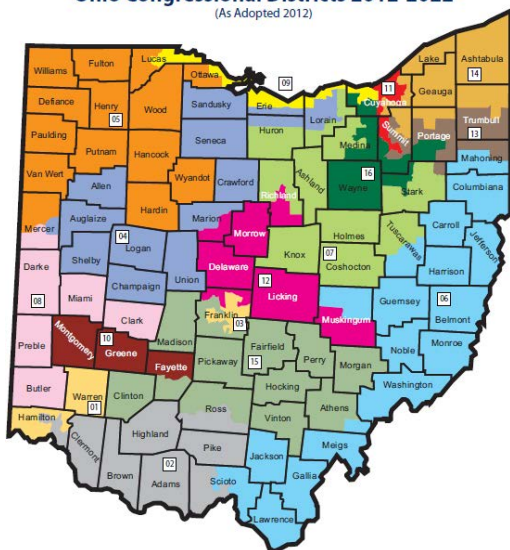
A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael Lenzo". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Michael" and last name "Lenzo" clearly distinguishable.

Michael Lenzo
House Republican Legal Counsel

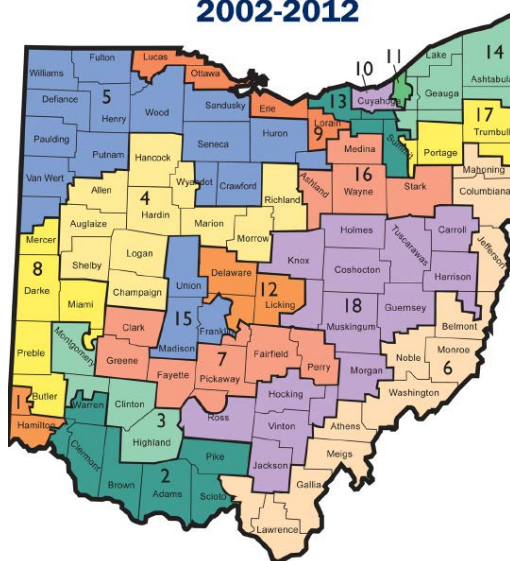
Ohio's Gerrymandering Problem: *Why Haven't We Fixed This Yet?*

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

Contents:

What is Gerrymandering?.....p.2

Ohio Redistricting Timeline.....p.3

A Short History of Ohio Redistricting.....p.4

The last time Ohio almost passed reform: the 2010 legislative proposalp.6

“The Elephant in the Room” the last time Ohio’s congressional districts were drawnp.7

“Predictable Results” and how Ohio’s congressional districts are rigged against votersp.16

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.

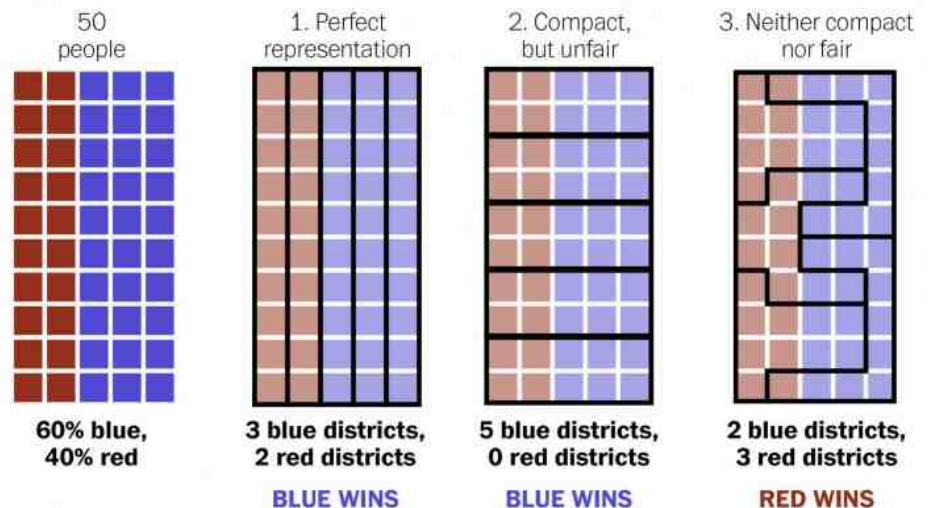
What is Gerrymandering?

- 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



WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WONKBLOG

Adapted from Stephen Nass



Ohio Redistricting Reform History

1967

An Ohio Constitutional amendment was adopted, authorizing the Apportionment Board to draw boundaries for Ohio House and Senate districts. The amendment did not address Congressional Districts and they continued to be drawn by the Ohio General Assembly.

1981

The Democrats performed the second partisan gerrymander. The League of Women Voters of Ohio supported an Ohio Constitutional amendment that provided for competition between redistricting plans and required approval of the plan that provided for the most compact districts. The Ohio Republican Party supported the amendment; the Democrats opposed it. The amendment failed, getting only 42% of the vote.

1999

The League of Women Voters of Ohio attempted, but failed, to place a redistricting reform amendment on the ballot. The proposal used a mathematical formula to assure compact districts.

2005

Reform Ohio Now (RON) placed a redistricting initiative on the ballot, along with three other election reform initiatives. Under the redistricting initiative, plans could be submitted by the public and the plan that created the most competitive districts would be chosen. The Ohio Republican Party opposed the initiative. The Ohio Democratic Party did not endorse the amendment. Some county Democratic Party organizations supported it while others opposed it. Opponents produced a map which they claimed was competitive, but which did not retain community of interest. The voters rejected the redistricting reform proposal by a 70% vote.

2009

The Republican controlled state Senate passed SJR 5, which was very similar to HJR 13 from 2006. SJR 5 emphasized compactness and keeping communities together. Competitiveness was to be a secondary consideration.

2011

The Republicans performed the fifth partisan gerrymander. Concurrently, the Ohio Campaign for Accountable Redistricting led by the League of Women Voters of Ohio and Ohio Citizen Action, held a competition in which citizens could draw maps. Those maps were more compact, more competitive, fairer to both political parties and respected county and municipal boundaries. All were better than the ones adopted. OCAR also issued a "Transparency Report" showing that maps were drawn in secret to the specifications of politicians.

2013

Although Joint Resolutions were introduced in the legislature, the focus of redistricting reform turned to the Ohio Constitutional Modernization Commission.

2015

The legislature's proposal was Issue 1 on the November ballot and passed by 71.5%. The League, Common Cause and others began work on adding Congressional redistricting to the reform agenda.

1971

The Democrats controlled the Apportionment Board and performed the first partisan gerrymander under the new amendment.

1991

The Republicans controlled the Apportionment Board and performed the third partisan gerrymander under the 1967 amendment.

2001

The Republicans performed the fourth partisan gerrymander under the 1967 amendment.

2006

A Republican legislator introduced a redistricting reform initiative, HJR 13. It emphasized compactness of districts and keeping communities together. The resolution narrowly failed to receive the required 60% vote from both the House and Senate to be placed on the ballot.

2010

The Democrats controlled state House passed HJR 15. It would establish a public competition for redrawing district lines based on objective criteria – compactness, preservation of county and municipal boundaries, competitiveness, and reflecting the relative strength of the two major parties with voters. The House and Senate were unable to reconcile SJR 5 and HJR 15 and agree

2012

Representatives of the League of Women Voters of Ohio, Common Cause Ohio and others filed a petition to place redistricting reform on the ballot. Under the proposal an independent commission would ensure districts were compact, competitive and reflective of the political values of voters. The initiative failed, getting 37% of the vote.

2014

The Constitutional Modernization Commission couldn't reach consensus. During the lame duck session, Rep. Vern Sykes (D) and Rep. Matt Huffman (R) negotiated a compromise plan for redistricting the General Assembly that overwhelmingly passed both the Ohio House and Senate. It required bipartisan support to adopt a full 10 year districting plan, tightened requirements for keeping political subdivisions together, stated districts could not be drawn for partisan gain, and required more transparency and public input. It was presented to the voters in November of 2015.

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 **128th 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 given 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

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 Widen-er 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.

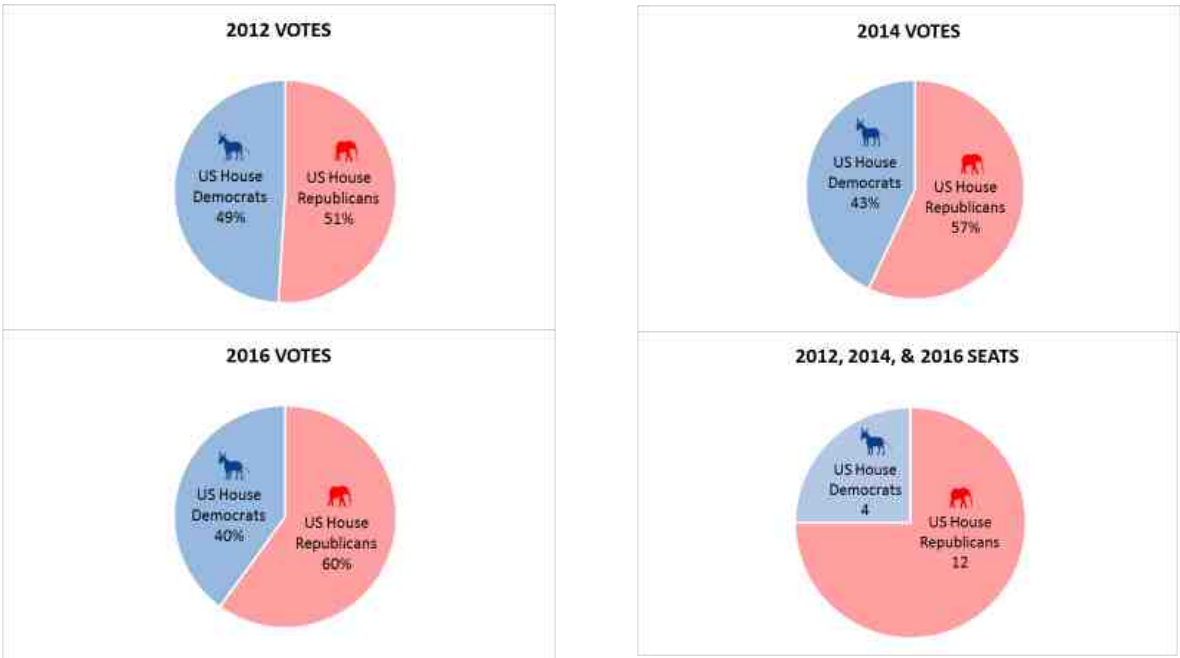
Ohio's U.S. House Races								
% of time district index predicted winning party			100%		100%		100%	
District No.	PROJECTED %		2012 RESULTS		2014 RESULTS		2016 RESULTS	
	% R	% D	% R	% D	% R	% D	% R	% D
1	55.92%	44.08 %	57.73% (Chabot)	37.60% (Sinnard)	63.22% (Chabot)	36.78% (Kundrata)	59.19% (Chabot)	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, Republicans 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	2,048984
% 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



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



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



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.



OHIO VOTER

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF OHIO FALL 2015

Fair Districts = Fair Elections

LWV Ohio urges you to Vote YES on state Issue 1 on November 3!

This year is a first for Ohio. In the decades-long fight to pass meaningful reform to end gerrymandering, every ballot issue faced strong opposition. Not so this time. This year, for the first time, we have a reform plan that is supported by both major political parties and a diverse list of endorsing organizations from across the political spectrum. Also for the first time, there is no known opposition to Issue 1.

State Issue 1, Fair Districts for Ohio, is the best chance we have ever had to pass a ballot issue that writes strong rules for **Fair Districts** into our state constitution.

You may ask, if there is no opposition to Issue 1, why do we need a strong campaign to pass it? The answer is simple. When voters find an issue confusing, they tend to vote no.

Redistricting and gerrymandering are terms many people do not know or understand. That is why we have adopted a very simple message: Fair Districts = Fair Elections.

We need your help to spread this message!

Introducing the Fair Districts = Fair Elections Coalition

A coalition of LWV Ohio, Common Cause Ohio, and other good government advocates have **formed the "Fair Districts = Fair Elections" coalition**. This coalition is supporting the Issue 1 campaign by sharing a non-partisan good government perspective with Ohio voters about the problems with gerrymandering. So anytime you see the "Fair Districts = Fair Elections" logo, you know it's us!

Fair Districts = Fair Elections



**VOTE YES
on Issue 1**

yesforissue1.org

The Fair Districts Coalition created a **new website** for Issue 1 campaign news: www.yesforissue1.org

Visit yesforissue1.org to read editorials in support of Issue 1, see a list of organizations and individuals who have endorsed Issue 1, read blog posts and other commentary, and more.

New Materials Available

LWV Ohio and the LWVO Education Fund have produced some new materials to help describe the problem (Ohio's gerrymandered districts) and the solution (pass Issue 1 to enact reform).

....continued to page 2

....continued from page 1

In late August, the LWVO Education Fund published a new report, "Predictable Results: A Report from the League of Women Voters of Ohio Comparing 2011 Gerrymandering to the 2012 and 2014 Election Results." The report concluded that Ohio's legislative districts are rigged to yield completely predictable results. Voters can predict with 97 percent to 100 percent accuracy which party will win every single legislative race in the state, because, thanks to gerrymandering, the districts are that rigged.

LWV Ohio has also produced a new postcard with the "Fair Districts = Fair Elections" and "Vote YES on Issue 1" message. You will find some free sample copies in the center of this issue of the *Voter*. Since the official bipartisan campaign won't be producing materials until closer to the election, we felt it was important to have some materials available in September and October for local League fall events.

Both the "Predictable Results" report and the Issue 1 cards are available on the state league website, www.lwvohio.org, or you can call the office at 614-469-1505 to order print copies.

LWV Ohio endorsed Issue 1 "Fair Districts for Ohio" redistricting reform and we need your help to convince Ohio voters to VOTE YES ON ISSUE 1 this fall.

How you can help:

- **Distribute materials and spread the message to vote YES on Issue 1!**
 - ⇒ Distribute "Yes on Issue 1" postcards and bookmarks. Thanks to generous donors, LWVO was able to design and print materials that can be used as handouts at League events and other events in your community. You can order copies from the LWVO office or download and print your own from our website. ***A few FREE materials are included in the middle of this newsletter for you to cut out and share!***
 - ⇒ Distribute materials at libraries, community centers, local events, etc.
 - ⇒ We hope to make additional materials available soon including bumper stickers, buttons, and yard signs.
- **Make a donation to LWVO to help us print and distribute more materials.** Gifts of any amount will be put to good use! A tear-out donation form is included in the middle of this newsletter.
- **Join our #YesIssue1 Photo Campaign.** Print out a copy of the "Fair Districts = Fair Elections / Yes on Issue 1" logo above, take your photo with it, and post it on Facebook and Twitter with #YesIssue1 and the website www.yesforissue1.org
- **Add a "Yes on Issue 1" message to your email signature.** Create your own or use this sample: "Vote #YesIssue1 on Nov. 3rd! [yesforissue1.org](http://www.yesforissue1.org)"
- **Encourage your other organizations to endorse Issue 1.** You can endorse online at <http://www.yesforissue1.org/endorsements.html>
- **Include a Yes on Issue 1 plug in newsletters** for your local League and other organizations you belong to (we have a template available).
- **Write letters to the editor and op-eds** supporting Issue 1. Be sure to include community papers and ethnic press too!
- **We have a team of speakers available for events.** Please send requests to the state League office.
- The Fair Districts coalition is hoping to line up teams of **volunteers to hand out Yes on Issue 1 cards at early voting locations** on the Saturday, Sunday, and Monday before Election Day. We would greatly appreciate help recruiting volunteers.

Voters' Guide State Ballot Issues

Issue 1: Creates a bipartisan, public process for drawing legislative districts

(Proposed by Joint Resolution of the General Assembly)

Proposing to enact new Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 of Article XI and to repeal Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 of Article XI of the Constitution of the State of Ohio.

A YES vote means approval of the constitutional amendment.

A NO vote means disapproval of the constitutional amendment.

A majority YES vote is required for the amendment to be adopted.

If approved, the proposed amendment will take effect immediately after Election Day.

League Explanation of Issue 1:

Issue 1 would amend the Ohio Constitution to change the way state legislative districts (but not U.S. Congressional districts) are determined. Every 10 years, Ohio draws new legislative district lines based on changes in population as reported in U.S. Census Bureau data. Issue 1 replaces the Apportionment Board with a bipartisan Ohio Redistricting Commission. If Issue 1 passes, members of the Commission will include:

- The Governor
- Auditor of State
- Ohio Secretary of State
- Appointee by the Speaker of the Ohio House
- Appointee by the President of the Ohio Senate
- Appointee by the Minority Leader of Ohio House
- Appointee by the Minority Leader of Ohio Senate

The Ohio Redistricting Commission will be responsible for creating district maps for the Ohio House and the Ohio Senate. Issue 1 establishes rules for map-making. It ensures compactness and keeps communities together by prohibiting splitting governmental units, like counties or cities, unless necessary. Issue 1 prohibits partisan gerrymandering. No General Assembly map shall be drawn primarily to favor or disfavor a political party. Issue 1 creates more transparent map-making by requiring public hearings.

If the amendment is passed, it will become part of the constitution immediately; however, the new rules for drawing districts will not be applied until the next time districts are redrawn beginning January 1, 2021, after the next U.S. Census.

Issue 1 encourages bipartisan map-making. For the maps to last ten years, at least two members of the minority party will have to vote in favor of it. If only one party supports a particular map, the district lines will only last four years. Map-making will be subjected to stricter criteria, including the requirement that the districts reflect the statewide partisan preferences of voters, sometimes called representational fairness.

PRO:

1. Prohibits partisan gerrymandering-- "No General Assembly district plan shall be drawn primarily to favor or disfavor a party" will be written into the rules in the Ohio Constitution.
2. Requires transparency and public hearings, encouraging accountability to the electorate.
3. Districts will better protect community cohesiveness by limiting government units such as counties and cities from being split.
4. Eliminates the continuation of previous gerrymandering by removing language from the current Ohio Constitution that requires new maps to be "reasonably consistent" with old maps.

CON:

1. Many Ohioans are not Republican or Democrat. Third parties and Independents are not represented on the Commission.
2. Issue 1 does not address the process for determining U.S. Congressional districts.
3. The Ohio Redistricting Commission is not independent from legislators; legislative members can still influence the process.
4. Bipartisan Commission members can make "sweetheart deals" that can result in districts that are not representative of the state's overall partisan preferences.

Voters' Guide State Ballot Issues

Issue 2: Anti-monopoly amendment; protects the initiative process from being used for personal economic benefit

(Proposed by Joint Resolution of the General Assembly)

Proposing to amend Section 1e of Article II of the Constitution of the State of Ohio.

A YES vote means approval of the constitutional amendment.

A NO vote means disapproval of the constitutional amendment.

A majority YES vote is required for the amendment to be adopted.

If approved, the proposed amendment will take effect immediately after Election Day.

League Explanation of Issue 2:

Issue 2 would prohibit an initiative petition amendment to the Ohio Constitution that would give special business rights to a certain person or entity. Specifically, Issue 2 would prohibit an initiative that creates a monopoly, cartel, or oligopoly; specifies or determines a tax rate; or confers a commercial interest, commercial right, or commercial license to any person or entity for the purpose of exclusively enriching its members and prohibiting others from engaging in similar enterprises.

If Issue 2 passes, the Ohio Ballot Board will be required to evaluate any proposed initiative petition to determine if it violates the prohibition above by creating a limited commercial interest. If such an initiative is proposed, the Ballot Board will be required to separate the proposed initiative into two parts – one part asking voters to override the limited business interest rule, and the second part describing the proposed new initiative – with both parts needing a majority vote for the initiative to pass.

If both Issue 2 and Issue 3 are approved by the voters, it is unclear what will happen, because they would create conflicting sections within the state constitution. The Ohio Supreme Court will likely have to resolve the matter if both issues pass.

PRO:

1. Exclusive financial deals for special interests should not be enshrined in our state constitution.
2. The state constitution should be used to protect fundamental rights for all individuals, not cluttered with special interests.
3. Nineteen states have constitutional provisions banning monopolies and protecting free and fair commerce; Ohio should too.

CON:

1. The constitution should not be amended to interfere with the constitutional initiative process and block a measure approved by the voters.
2. The language is too vague and may unintentionally preclude future policy or tax issues from being brought forward as an initiative.
3. Issue 2 gives the Ballot Board too much discretion to declare a proposed initiative to be a monopoly and force it to jump through two hurdles instead of one.

Reminder about LWVUS Studies

Constitutional Amendment Study timeline & links:

- * Late summer & fall 2015 - Local Leagues hold consensus meetings.
- * December 1, 2015 - Consensus reports (electronic) from Leagues due to LWVUS.
- * Resource page: <http://forum.lwv.org/category/member-resources/our-work/constitutional-amendment-study>

Money in Politics Review timeline & links:

- * Fall 2015 - Study guide and consensus questions posted.
- * Fall & winter 2015 - Leagues hold consensus meetings.
- * February 1, 2016 - Consensus reports (electronic) from Leagues due to LWVUS.
- * Resource page: <http://forum.lwv.org/category/member-resources/our-work/money-politics-review>

Voters' Guide State Ballot Issues

Issue 3: Grants a monopoly for the commercial production and sale of marijuana for recreational and medicinal purposes

(Proposed by Initiative Petition)

Proposing to add Section 12 of Article XV of the Constitution of the State of Ohio.

A YES vote means approval of the constitutional amendment.

A NO vote means disapproval of the constitutional amendment.

A majority YES vote is required for the amendment to be adopted.

If approved, the proposed amendment will take effect 30 days after Election Day.

League Explanation of Issue 3:

Issue 3 has a two-fold objective: (1) to legalize marijuana for personal and medical use and (2) to establish rules for growth and sales.

Growth and cultivation of marijuana will be limited to ten pre-determined, specific "grow sites" situated throughout the state. The ten sites already have designated investors. There will also be a number of pre-determined "quality control" sites throughout the state to test the product being cultivated. About 1,100 retail outlets will be allowed to sell marijuana, but they must buy it only from the ten specified sites and cannot develop their own supplies.

Individuals may grow up to four plants and possess up to eight ounces of actual product at one time. The four plants must also be bought from the ten specified wholesale grow sites. Under this initiative, individuals possessing or cultivating over 100 grams of marijuana would be committing a felony. Selling marijuana outside of the sanctioned outlets would also be a felony, with a possible sentence of up to one year in prison.

PRO:

1. Marijuana will, within the strict limits specified in the initiative, become legal to cultivate, use, and sell in Ohio for medicinal and personal use.
2. Issue 3 creates rules for a tightly controlled industry. The system of designated grow sites and quality control testing areas will ensure that the marijuana grown at these sites will conform to standards of public safety.
3. Issue 3 will create tens of thousands of jobs in Ohio and will eventually generate millions of dollars in tax revenue to support local government services.

CON:

1. The state constitution should be used to protect the fundamental rights of all individuals, not to enshrine an extremely detailed plan creating exclusive financial deals for a group of special interest investors.
2. The initiative sets up an exclusive business scheme that eliminates competition to such an extent that independent business owners could be permanently locked out of what is projected to be a billion-dollar market and individual users who do not abide by the strict restrictions will still be subject to criminal penalties.
3. Issue 3 will flood Ohio with marijuana and marijuana-infused products, like candy and cookies, that put the public health and safety of Ohio's adults and children in danger.

LWV Ohio's Position on Statewide Fall Ballot Issues

On September 14, 2015, the Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters of Ohio (LWVO) announced the following positions on state Issues 1, 2, and 3 for the November 3, 2015 ballot.

Issue 1: *Support*

LWVO's board voted earlier this year to formally endorse the Fair Districts for Ohio redistricting reform proposal that will appear as Issue 1 on the November 2015 ballot. We have been a staunch supporter of the need for redistricting reform in Ohio and have been advocating for such reform for the last forty years. We are pleased that the Ohio General Assembly came together to approve a bipartisan measure to improve how we draw state legislative districts, and we wholeheartedly support its approval by the voters.

Issues 2 & 3:

The League of Women Voters of Ohio has a position, adopted in May 1968, on the Ohio Constitution:

"LWVO believes a constitution should be a clearly stated body of fundamental principles. It should provide for the flexible operation of government and be logically organized and internally consistent."

Based on this position, LWVO opposed the 2009 initiative to write casinos into the Ohio Constitution.

For this same reason, LWVO takes the following position on Issue 2 and Issue 3 on the November 3, 2015 Ohio ballot.

Issue 2 - *Support* Issue 2 because it protects the constitution as a document of general principles.

Issue 3 - *Oppose* Issue 3 because the constitution should be a document of general principles.

However, LWVO is *Neutral* on the aspect of Issue 3 pertaining to marijuana as we have no applicable League position.

LWV Moment in History

By Mary Kirtz Van Nortwick, LWVO Co-President

The 1920 election was simultaneously exhilarating and disappointing to the suffragists who had fought so long and so hard to get women the vote. Expectations were high for a voter turnout of at least thirty million, but, in the end, slightly more than twenty-six million votes were cast. Because Georgia and Mississippi required voters to register four months before an election, women in those states were unable to participate in the election. For every five men who voted, only three women did. A similar disparity would last throughout the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, excitement ran high among those who did vote. On Nov. 3, the *Boston Daily Globe* reported that in many places "women, old and young, married and single, most of them under no compulsion to vote at that daylight hour, had come forward with pride and eagerness to be among the first," and the *New York Times* stated that "Women showed intense interest in the election. In many districts, more women than men went to the polling places in the morning."

In a prepared statement, Carrie Chapman Catt affirmed her belief that the League of Women Voters had a role to play in elections, noting that "the vote came to women in many states too late for the best preparatory work to be done. Political parties worked to get their own women to register and vote the straight ticket; the League of Women Voters worked to get all women to register, regardless of political faith, and urged them to choose their own party affiliations with the aid of reason. Had the vote [for ratification] come earlier, more women would have voted and more women would have been trained for election work....Women have good and sufficient reason to be fairly well satisfied with this, their first participation in a great national contest."

The League's two-fold mission, to educate voters and to improve our political institutions, had begun.

Fair Districts = Fair Elections



yesforissue1.org

Election Day
is Tuesday,
November 3, 2015
Polls are open
6:30am to 7:30pm

Vote YES on Issue 1!

*Paid for by the League of Women
Voters of Ohio*

Fair Districts = Fair Elections



yesforissue1.org

Election Day
is Tuesday,
November 3, 2015
Polls are open
6:30am to 7:30pm

Vote YES on Issue 1!

*Paid for by the League of Women
Voters of Ohio*

Help spread the “Yes on Issue 1” message!

Please cut out and share these “YES on Issue 1” bookmarks and cards with your family, friends, coworkers, and neighbors.

Tell them you plan to VOTE YES ON ISSUE 1 and ask them to vote yes too.

Visit yesforissue1.org to order more copies.

Fair Districts = Fair Elections



VOTE YES on Issue 1

yesforissue1.org

We need your help to pass Issue 1!

Please make a donation today to help us spread the “Yes on Issue 1” message across Ohio.

Here's what your gift will do:

- ♦ \$65 - print 1,000 postcards
- ♦ \$100 - print & distribute 1,500 postcards
- ♦ \$200 - print 3,000 postcards
- ♦ \$300 - print 5,000 postcards or 10,000 bookmarks
- ♦ \$500 - print & distribute 8,000 postcards
- ♦ \$1000 - print 15,000 postcards
- ♦ \$2000 and up - begin producing bumper stickers and yard signs

Fair Districts = Fair Elections



**VOTE YES
on Issue 1**

yesforissue1.org

Yes! I want to help pass Issue 1 to ensure Ohio's future includes fair districts and fair elections.

Enclosed is my donation for (please circle one):

\$100 \$200 \$250 \$500 \$1000 \$2500 \$5000 other _____

Please make checks payable to LWV Ohio or make a secure donation online via PayPal at www.lwvohio.org and click “Donate.”

* Contributions to LWV Ohio, a 501(c)4 organization are not tax deductible.

Name: _____

Mailing Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Phone: _____ Email: _____

BENNETT_0092

Fair Districts = Fair Elections



yesforissue1.org

Issue 1 will:

- Establish clear rules for creating fair districts.
- Require transparency and public input.
- Create a bipartisan process that requires both parties to work together.

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Fair Districts = Fair Elections



yesforissue1.org

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yesforissue1.org

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Fair Districts = Fair Elections



yesforissue1.org

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Paid for by the League of Women Voters of Ohio

	<p>Check & update your voter registration, look up your polling place, request an absentee ballot, and more at www.MyOhioVote.com</p>
<p>2015 Ohio Election Dates</p> <p>Oct. 5 - Voter registration deadline</p> <p>Oct. 6 - Start of absentee & early in-person voting</p> <p>Oct. 31 - 12noon deadline for absentee ballot requests</p> <p>Nov. 2 - Deadline to postmark mailed absentee ballots</p> <p>Nov. 3 - Election Day! Polls are open 6:30am to 7:30pm;</p> <p>7:30pm deadline to drop off absentee ballots at Board of Elections</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <i>Visit the League of Women Voters of Ohio at www.lwvohio.org</i> <i>follow us on</i>  @lwvohio or  Facebook </p>	

	<p>Check & update your voter registration, look up your polling place, request an absentee ballot, and more at www.MyOhioVote.com</p>
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Primary Election Systems 101 (Fact Sheet #1)

By Lynda Mayer and Dianne Herman, Co-Chairs, PES Study Committee

Our new LWVO Study Committee for Primary Election Systems has been off and running since mid-Summer. Our study does not address presidential primaries, but focuses only on state, local and Congressional primaries. So far, we have tracked down and digested over 40 sources, read relevant Ohio statutes, and interviewed experts at the Secretary of State's office plus top people at over 10 county Boards of Elections and 20 city halls. Here's some of what we've learned so far:

History of Primaries in the U.S. -- Before the Progressive Era in the very early 1900's, candidates were chosen at party conventions and caucuses, controlled by small numbers of party leaders and interest groups. Starting with Wisconsin in 1904, individual states began to democratize the process, with 44 states enacting laws by 1910 to turn nominations over to voters in primary elections. The direct primary was considered a major reform, introducing competitiveness and opening up the political process to rank-and-file party members.

Types of Primaries Nationwide. -- State primary election systems in the United States come in two main varieties -- *Closed* and *Open*. By *Closed*, we mean that the only voters permitted to vote in one party's primary are registered members of that political party. The National Conference of State Legislators lists only 11 states with closed primaries. *Open* primaries, on the other hand, come in several varieties, from open partisan primaries where voters can easily cross-over (11 states), to "*Top-Two*" *nonpartisan* primaries (4 states), to *hybrid* systems (24 states). Details and even terminology vary. All *open* primaries permit unaffiliated voters to participate.

Ohio's Statewide & Congressional Primaries. -- The Ohio Constitution (§5.07) says that "all nominations for elective state, district, county and municipal offices shall be made at direct primary elections...." No jurisdictions of less than 2000 population have primaries unless their electors petition for that right. The Ohio Revised Code contains many statutes (§3513), beginning with this key one: "Primary elections shall be held for the purpose of nominating persons as candidates *of political parties*." An official at the Secretary of State's office explained that Ohio has essentially a *closed* primary system, because *only* members of a party may vote in that party's primary. An unaffiliated voter may select a partisan ballot, but by doing so automatically becomes a member of that party. State Law spells out a process whereby election officials may challenge a voter affiliated with one party who requests the ballot of another. Surprisingly, the challenge law is enforced in some counties but not in others. Nevertheless, the law exists, and therefore Ohio's statewide system must be said to be virtually *closed*. Municipal and other primaries, however, will be addressed in our next article.

Our committee of eight has much more work to do, including interviewing county and local officials, academic experts and persons in other cities and states which have primary systems different from Ohio's. We could use more help, so please let the state League know if you would like to join the Study Committee. And stay tuned for the next Ohio Voter.

New Ohio Voter Service Listserv! What can we do about candidates who refuse to participate in the voter guide or candidate forums? Is there any way around the "empty chair" debate rule? Every League wrestles with voter services questions, and it's time we had a place to discuss these and other questions. That is why we are happy to announce the new Ohio League voter service email listserv. We hope that the list will serve as a helpful forum to share questions, advice and best practices with one another.

We need your help identifying who to include on this list. There is no limit to how many people from each League can be on the list. It's up to you. Some Leagues have just one voter service person who miraculously does all voter service related work, and other Leagues have a team of people who cover everything from the voter guide or Vote411 to voter registration to candidate forums. Please email the name and preferred email address of anyone who should be added to the list to lwvoinfo@lwvohio.org.

Making THE ASK at Your League's Election Events

By Meg Flack and Pat Simons, MLD Co-Coordiators

With election-season upon us, Leagues have many great opportunities to *intentionally* reach out to potential new members. By consistently and intentionally asking potential members to join in our work, our Leagues can grow and become more effective in our communities. Here are some suggestions from the Membership and Leadership Development (MLD) program for "making THE ASK":

IN PUBLICATIONS

Remind potential members they are invited and welcome to join the League by using the following language in Voters, at the bottom of press releases, in fliers for League events, and other publications:

"The League of Women Voters is where hands-on work to safeguard democracy leads to civic improvement. Join LWV and be directly involved in shaping the important issues to keep our community strong, safe and vibrant. As an LWV member, you are a part of an organization where smart, active leaders work to create change in their communities. To join us please visit: PROVIDE YOUR LEAGUE'S CONTACT INFO/WEBSITE HERE"

Leagues can even use this text as a membership ad in your Voter's Guide. However, in a Voter's Guide this must be paid for with your League's operating funds; NOT education fund monies.

AT A CANDIDATES' FORUM

From the podium, the moderator can include the following message in his/her opening remarks –

"The League of Women Voters is a trusted, nonpartisan political organization. Our members do the hands-on work to safeguard democracy. While we never endorse a candidate, we are directly involved in shaping the important issues to keep our community strong. As an LWV member, I have the opportunity to contribute in a leadership role (such as this one) that has a great impact on local, state and even national issues. If you are interested in learning about how you can make a similar impact, I would encourage you to pick up some of the League's information available here tonight or visit our web site at XXX."

AT AN ISSUES FORUM

From the podium, the moderator could include the following message in his/her opening remarks –

"The League of Women Voters is a trusted, nonpartisan political organization. Our members do the hands-on work that safeguard democracy and lead to civic improvement. As an LWV member, I have the opportunity to contribute in a leadership role (such as this one) that has a great impact on local, state and even national issues. If you are interested in learning about how you can make a similar impact, I would encourage you to pick up some of the League's information available here tonight or visit our web site at XXX."

AT ANY EVENT

We can make it easy to join by using the following techniques to attract new members at any and every League event.

- Have League materials (such as membership brochures and copies of the Voter) available.
- Wear a League button and prominently display the League logo on podium signs, etc. to remind attendees that the League is hosting the event.
- Engage individuals with your own personal League success story.
- Have membership ambassadors at the doors greeting attendees and letting them know they can join the League.
- Ask individuals to sign a sign-in sheet, providing their name, phone number, and email address. After the event, follow-up with non-members to see if they enjoyed the event and if they'd like to join the League. Let them know about upcoming events to attend, too. If they aren't ready to join the League now, they still may join later.
- Most importantly, make sure to remember to ASK people to join the League.

From the Co-Presidents' Desk

Education & Advocacy: Hand in Hand for Voter Empowerment

This is preaching to the choir, of course, but listen again to what Carrie Chapman Catt said in 1920 (noted by Mary Kirtz Van Nortwick elsewhere in this issue):

*“Political parties worked to get their own women to register and vote the straight ticket; the **League of Women Voters** worked to get all women to register, regardless of political faith, and urged them to choose their own party affiliations **with the aid of reason.**”* [emphasis mine]

Here we see the abiding premise of LWV: informed citizens are empowered to act and think for themselves, and may affiliate (or not) with a political party that best represents their ideals and concerns, without pressure from the League to choose any specific candidate or party. True representative democracy cannot thrive without a widely engaged and educated citizenry. Education – and advocacy to inform and advise – is the foundation of being political but not partisan.

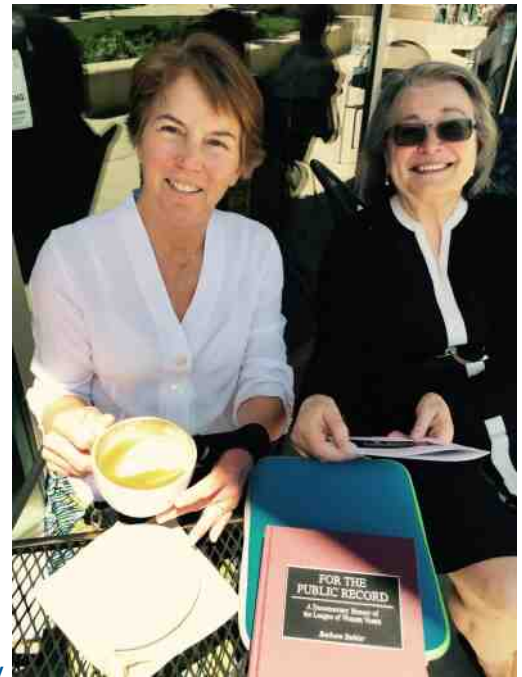
Even with an informed populace, democracy is all but lost when partisanship becomes so deeply entrenched that politicians choose their voters – rather than voters choosing politicians – through gerrymandering. This is why LWVO is advocating on behalf of Issue 1, alongside other groups, officials and legislators backing **Fair Districts for Ohio**. The list of endorsements for Issue 1 is updated regularly by Common Cause: tinyurl.com/Issue1Endorsements.

Reforming redistricting has been the work of LWV Ohio for decades. The League's most recent report, **Predictable Results II**, has received excellent media coverage, including a LWVUS guest blog by our own Carrie Davis. Please share this widely: tinyurl.com/PredictableResults.

Each local league leader should have received a note about this LWVUS blog post from your State Board Liaison. We'd love to hear your response! Contact your Liaison anytime and let us know how we can work with you. The Local League Liaison relationship can help strengthen ties across all of the Ohio leagues, and make our common work more effective.

Other state-wide ballot issues are being studied by the State Board. Advice from the Board on Issues 2 and 3 will be sent to local leagues at the conclusion of the Board meeting on September 12. Finally, a round of applause to everyone involved in JudicialVotesCount.org, another essential source of information for all Ohio voters. See more information elsewhere in this issue.

— Alison Ricker and Mary Kirtz Van Nortwick



Executive Director's Column:*Carrie L. Davis***Providing Ohio Voters with one more tool for casting an informed vote**

Have you ever skipped voting for judges on your ballot, because you didn't know enough about them? You're not alone. Every election, up to a quarter of voters skip voting in judicial races.

According to a recent poll conducted in fall 2014, the primary reason Ohio voters skip judicial races is because they don't have enough information to make an informed choice.

Problem solved. JudicialVotesCount.org is a new online voter guide that launched on September 1, 2015.

Judicial Votes Count is a joint project of Ohio Supreme Court Chief Justice Maureen O'Connor; the Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at the University of Akron, which houses the website; the League of Women Voters of Ohio; the Ohio State Bar Association; the Ohio Newspaper Association; and the Ohio Association of Broadcasters.



In addition to candidate profiles, the website features information about what judges do, descriptions about the duties of different courts, and brief videos of former judges explaining how the court system works.

With 2015 being an odd-numbered year, municipal court judges are up for election on Nov. 3 in Ohio. Next year, JudicialVotesCount.org will include information on candidates for the state Supreme Court, appeals courts, common pleas courts, and county courts, as judges for those courts are elected in even-numbered years.

Please help us promote this new resource! Local Leagues and other community groups are encouraged to add a link to Judicial Votes Count to your own websites. Consider reprinting this article or excerpts of it in your local *Voter* newsletter. Local Leagues are also welcome to use the judicial candidate profiles and questionnaire responses in your local Voters' Guides or Vote411. Contact the state office for details.



**To Get More
From LWV OHIO
in 2015**

1.

**CHECK OUT THE MEMBER AREA OF
www.lwvohio.org**

You will find recent Ohio League Leader Updates and important information for local Leagues and members.

2.

JOIN THE CONVERSATION

The first Tuesday of every month at noon, join us for an all-member conference call to discuss an issue of importance to the League with members across the state. Topics have included redistricting, money in politics and education funding.

3.

**BE ON THE LOOKOUT FOR ACTION
ALERTS AND E-NEWS UPDATES!**

All League members receive E-News updates to keep them connected to the work of LWV Ohio. Periodically, when legislation or policy is on the move, LWV Ohio will reach out to you and your local League to take action. We count on you to amplify the voice of LWV Ohio with your phone calls, emails and letters.

4.

**SIGN UP FOR THE LEAGUE LEADER
UPDATES**

The League Leader Updates, LWVO's monthly e-newsletter filled with updates on everything from membership to advocacy to finance/grant opportunities to voters' service to upcoming events, is now accessible to **all** League members. Simply email lwvoinfo@lwvohio.org or call 614-469-1505 to subscribe.

5.

**LIKE US ON FACEBOOK AND
FOLLOW US ON TWITTER**

LWV Ohio posts breaking news and member updates on Facebook and Twitter regularly. Get news quickly and easily share it with your friends and network.

Thank You to All of Our Donors!

The League of Women Voters of Ohio/Education Fund thanks all of the individuals who donated so far to our 2015 Women's Equality Day Campaign. The generous support of our donors helps us continue our critical voter education and advocacy work.

The League of Women Voters of Ohio/Education Fund also offers thanks to the many donors who wish to remain anonymous for their generous support.

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Doris Strauss
Martha and John Taylor
Nancy Treichler
Mary Kirtz Van Nortwick
Catharine Warmbrod
Mary Warren
Kenneth Wolfe

It is not too late to participate in our Women's Equality Day Campaign!

Donations will be gratefully accepted through October.

You can make a gift online at lwvohio.org (click donate)

or mail a check to the state League office.

Thank you!

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

For membership information,
call (614) 469-1505,
email lwvinfo@lwvohio.org, or visit us online
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MEMBERSHIP FORM



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of Ohio!**

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E-mail _____

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Columbus, Ohio 43215

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Ohio Redistricting Commission Announces Dates for Regional Public Hearings

August 13, 2021



Today, state Senator Vernon Sykes (D-Akron) and Ohio House Speaker Bob Cupp (R-Lima), co-chairs of the Ohio Redistricting Commission ("Commission"), announced the schedule for upcoming regional public hearings. The hearings, which will take place throughout the state from Monday, August 23 through Friday, August 27, will provide Ohioans the opportunity to contribute their ideas on the future of Ohio's state legislative districts by offering public testimony and submitting map proposals.

"The makeup of our state legislative districts will have an impact on Ohio's state and local governments for the next ten years. This is why it's important for Ohioans to have a say in the redistricting process," Sykes said. "Ohioans played a crucial role in increasing transparency when they voted in 2015 and 2018 to reform the way we draw our statewide maps. I look forward to hearing what Ohioans have to say during our hearings and taking their input into consideration when creating maps that best represent voters' preferences."

The hearings will take place on the following days:

- Monday, August 23 from 9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.: Cleveland
- Monday, August 23 from 2:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.: Youngstown
- Tuesday, August 24 from 9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.: Dayton
- Tuesday, August 24 from 2:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.: Cincinnati
- Wednesday, August 25 from 9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.: Zanesville
- Wednesday, August 25 from 2:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.: Rio Grande
- Thursday, August 26 from 9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.: Lima
- Thursday, August 26 from 2:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.: Toledo
- Friday, August 27 from 9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.: Akron
- Friday, August 27 from 2:30 - 5:30 p.m.: Mansfield

The full list of dates, times and locations for the hearings can be found [here](#). Hearings will also be broadcast live, and more information will be made available about how the public can tune in closer to the hearing dates.

"Ohio's process to create fair and reasonable state legislative and congressional districts includes the opportunity for the people of Ohio to be heard on the matter," Speaker Cupp said. "As a co-chair of the commission, I believe it's

important to open the process for input from Ohio's citizens. The information and ideas gathered will be helpful to our important constitutional task."

These public hearings are just the beginning of the redistricting process for state legislative districts. More hearings will be scheduled once a map has been proposed by the Commission. The Ohio Redistricting Commission is responsible for drawing legislative maps and may also have a role in the drawing of congressional maps. It is composed of Senator Sykes, Speaker Cupp, House Minority Leader Emilia Sykes (D-Akron), Senate President Matt Huffman (R-Lima), Governor Mike DeWine, Auditor Keith Faber and Secretary of State Frank LaRose.

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'People are fed up': Toledoans demand end to gerrymandering

Ohio Redistricting Commission gathers public input in Toledo

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By [Josh Croup](#)
Published: Aug. 26, 2021 at 11:57 PM EDT
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TOLEDO, Ohio (WTVG) - Ohioans want fair [maps](#). That was the consistent message the public delivered Thursday to Ohio’s Redistricting Commission in Toledo.

The group of seven elected [officials](#) -- five Republicans and two Democrats -- ended its fourth day of a five-day tour around the state to gather public feedback on how they should draw the next General Assembly maps.

“People are fed up and tired of gerrymandering,” said Sen. Vernon Skyes (D-Akron), the commission’s co-chair.

He’s the only member who has sat on the commission for each of the first eight public hearings. Senate Minority Leader Kenny Yuko (D-Richmond Heights) [appointed](#) Skyes to serve on the commission.

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Commission members have the option to appoint a designee to fill their seats. DeWine has sent his chief legal counsel, Matthew Donahue, to take his place at each meeting. Some people took to the microphone Thursday in front of the commission to express their frustrations with not having DeWine in attendance, including his decision earlier this week to visit a Cincinnati Bengals practice at the same time of the public hearing.

His spokesperson told [Cincinnati.com](#) said the meetings were “staff-level listening tour stops” and that the visit to Bengals practice was pre-scheduled. Sykes said it’s important for DeWine to know what Ohioans want in the process, but didn’t say it was necessary for him to attend the public meetings.

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“I think it’s important that, particularly when we have some key votes, that he is informed about what goes on,” Sykes said. “That’s why we have this recorded and broadcast so people can get access to the information.”

State Auditor Keith Faber attended Thursday afternoon’s hearing. House Minority Leader Emilia Strong Sykes (D-Akron) had Rep. Paula Hicks Hudson (D-Toledo) sit in for her, but she was still in attendance.

All other members of the commission weren’t present.

Sen. Sykes said the members who haven’t attended many of the hearings have given other elected officials the chance to sit in their place and give them some information they will need to make upcoming decisions about the redistricting process.

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Sen. Theresa Gavarone (R-Bowling Green) took the seat of Senate President Matt Huffman of Lima on Thursday night in Toledo. She’s filled in for him at one other public hearing.

Senate District 2, which she represents, could change significantly with the new maps. It stretches across Erie, Ottawa, and Wood counties, while covering parts of Fulton and Lucas counties.

“We’ll certainly be looking at those census numbers and making sure we’re doing whatever we can to draw lines that are fair so we can best serve the people we represent,” Gavarone said.

Republicans have been in the minority at these public hearings. They hold supermajorities in both chambers of the General Assembly. Democratic voters have called on the commission repeatedly to give both parties a fair chance when redrawing the maps. Gavarone said she’s enjoyed hearing from people of different backgrounds.

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“We can listen to people and get a deeper understanding of what their thoughts are and concerns and use that information going forward,” she said.

Because of the public interest shown at initial meetings, organizers moved Toledo’s meeting to the main library to allow more people to attend. Few chairs were empty throughout the session that lasted nearly two-and-a-half hours.

“People all over the state want fair maps,” said Ohio League of Women Voters President Jen Miller. “They want a process that’s open and transparent with a lot of public dialogue that ultimately ends up in maps that benefit the people of Ohio, rather than being mathematically and surgically rigged to benefit partisan candidates and parties.”

She said she’s been pleased with the turnout across the state so far, despite the short notice provided to the public for the meeting times, which have only been during regular business hours. The commission was just formed earlier this month.

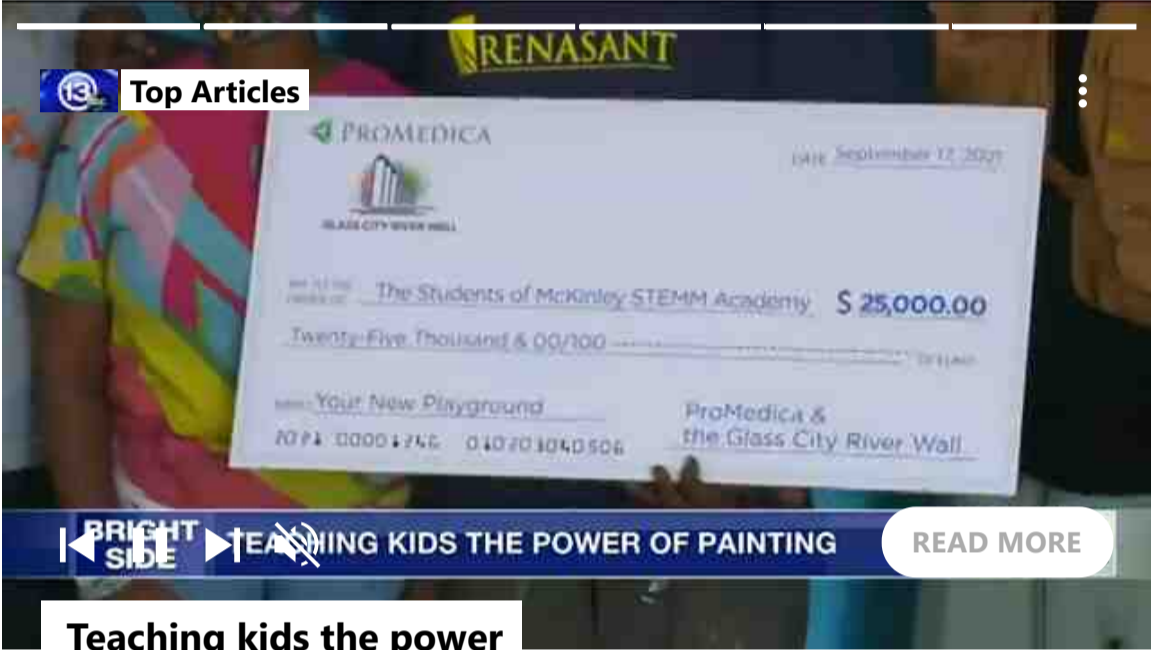
That’s something that hasn’t sat well with Trevor Martin. He has lived throughout northwest Ohio but currently calls Columbus home. There are no hearings scheduled for the state’s capital city. Martin also is working with Common Cause Ohio and Ohio Fair Districts.

He’s been training people since May on how to design legislative maps, something that isn’t explained on the official Ohio redistricting [website](#).

“They don’t have to teach the software, but they at least have to let folks know where they can learn the software and how to create a map that will be useful in this process.”

See a spelling or grammar error in our story? Please include the title when you [click here](#) to report it.

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Teaching kids the power
of painting

Around The Web

[Pics] Mom opens backpack, finds note from bus driver

Top 5

The Columbus Dispatch

POLITICS

'An insult to democracy': Ohio Republicans' redistricting plan panned soon after release

Jessie Balmert The Columbus Dispatch

Published 9:36 a.m. ET Sept. 9, 2021 | Updated 5:52 a.m. ET Sept. 11, 2021

With less than a week to hammer out a final map for state House and Senate districts, Republican lawmakers presented a map that would allow the GOP to retain a veto-proof majority.

Republicans could hold 67 of 99 seats in the Ohio House and 25 of 33 seats in the Ohio Senate, according to an analysis by Dave's Redistricting App, a commonly used redistricting website that assigns partisan designations based on recent election results. Based on that website's analysis, 16.5% of House districts and 19.8% of Senate districts would be competitive — defined as a partisan lean between 45% and 55%.

Republicans currently hold 64 of the 99 seats in the Ohio House of Representatives and 25 of the 33 seats in the Ohio Senate.

Voter-approved changes to the Ohio Constitution added guardrails to how mapmakers draw districts for the Ohio House and Senate. The commission must try to draw a map that does not primarily favor a political party, is compact and corresponds to the statewide breakdown of Democratic and Republican votes.

Yet Republican leaders say they never analyzed the partisan balance of their proposed maps for House and Senate districts. Ohio Redistricting Commission Co-chair Vernon Sykes, a Democratic senator from Akron, said he doesn't believe them.

"I don't blame the speaker of the House or a president of the Senate for using the rules the best they can to craft the districts to help their cause," Sykes said. "To present a map before this commission and say they aren't aware of what it is and didn't consider it at all, I think is disingenuous."

BENNETT_0106

More: What U.S. Census data tell us about how Ohio's congressional, Statehouse maps will be drawn

Over the past 10 years, the statewide total of votes has split, on average, with about 55% of votes for Republican candidates and 45% of votes to Democratic candidates. Former President Barack Obama's victory in 2012 was a good year for Democrats while 2014 was a great year for Republican candidates.

Senate President Matt Huffman, R-Lima, said drawing a map with that split would amount to gerrymandering.

"The definition of gerrymandering is designing districts to benefit a particular political party so if we simply say we must design this so that 55%, 55 seats in the Ohio House of Representatives are Republican, that's gerrymandering," Huffman said.

House Speaker Bob Cupp, R-Lima, said the portion of the Ohio Constitution looking at how maps line up with recent statewide results is an "aspirational goal."

"There's a difference of opinion as to whether that is aspirational goal or a required goal if you don't meet all the other criteria," said Cupp, a co-chair of the commission.

Looking at race

Republican mapmakers didn't consider racial or demographic data when putting their maps together, said Ray DiRossi, the Senate Republicans' finance director. He said GOP mapmakers were directed by legislative leaders not to consider racial or demographic data.

"It's illegal to use race in drawing districts," Huffman said later. "That's a violation of federal law."

House Minority Leader Emilia Sykes, D-Akron, questioned how the proposed map could comply with the Voting Rights Act without considering race.

"You can actually look at race as a criteria. It just cannot be the only criteria," said Deidra Reese with the Ohio Unity Coalition. Reese said not considering race made her feel invisible and unheard. "If you cannot use race to crack a district apart to diminish the ability of a community of color to be able to have influence, how can you not look at race?"

Ohioans who testified Thursday morning expressed frustration with both the GOP map and the secretive process that led to it. They called the mapmaking process a "sham," "an insult to democracy" and "more fascist than democratic."

Ohio Democratic Party Chairwoman Liz Walters blasted the GOP-made maps.

"These maps are not only unacceptable, they're offensive to Ohioans who voted overwhelmingly twice for fair representation," Walters said in a statement. "Ohioans are tired of politicians choosing their voters rather than the other way around."

What comes next?

Scroll down to see the proposed maps

The seven-member Ohio Redistricting Commission is on a tight timeline to approve a map for those who represent residents at the Ohio Statehouse in Columbus. The commission accepted the GOP-made map as a working draft in a 5-2 vote along partisan lines.

More: Ohio is using a new process to draw state, congressional districts. Here's how it works

The commission must allow the public to comment on the map at hearings across the state. The commission plans to meet in the coming days:

4 p.m. Sunday at Washington Township Recreation Center, 895 Miamisburg Centerville Road, Dayton

4 p.m. Monday at Corporate College East, 4400 Richmond Road, Warrensville Heights
10 a.m. Tuesday at the Ohio Statehouse's Senate Finance Hearing Room (Room 313) and remote testimony from Washington State Community College, 710 Colegate Drive, Marietta

To approve a 10-year map, the commission needs "yes" votes from four of the seven members, including both Democrats on the commission. If they can't reach a compromise, four members could approve a map that lasts for four years.

The commission missed its first deadline to present a map and is barreling toward its final deadline to approve a map: Sept. 15.

More: Ohio Redistricting Commission, set to miss first deadline, can't agree on who draws maps

Meanwhile, Ohio lawmakers have until Sept. 30 to approve a 10-year map for congressional districts. Voters approved changes to prevent gerrymandered districts like the so-called "snake on the lake," which stretches from Toledo to Cleveland.

Proposed House map

Proposed Senate map

Jessie Balmert is a reporter for the USA TODAY Network Ohio Bureau, which serves the Akron Beacon Journal, Cincinnati Enquirer, Columbus Dispatch and 18 other affiliated news organizations across Ohio.

Redistricting talks go into the last minute



Jim Provance, The Blade, Toledo, Ohio

September 15, 2021 · 4 min read



Sep. 15—COLUMBUS — Last-minute talks in hopes of getting bipartisan agreement on maps for state legislative districts continued into Wednesday's constitutional deadline for a vote.

The 5-2 Republican-majority Ohio Redistricting Commission recessed its meeting until 3 p.m. while Republicans met behind closed doors. A second GOP-drawn map offered Tuesday was a "non-starter," said one of the Democratic commissioners, House Minority Leader Emilia Sykes, of Akron.

Ms. Sykes said she had not been invited to participate in Wednesday's talks.

"I do think there are some things that (Republicans) need to work out amongst themselves for sure," she said. "We attempted late into yesterday evening to find a pathway forward, and ultimately we asked the Republicans to meet amongst themselves because that seemed to be the biggest sticking point."

The commission met briefly Wednesday morning before recessing. It consists of Gov. Mike DeWine, Secretary of State Frank LaRose, Auditor Keith Faber, Senate President Matt Huffman (R., Lima), and House Speaker Bob Cupp (R., Lima), all Republicans, and Ms. Sykes and her father, Sen. Vernon Sykes, both Democrats.

"We will be recessing so that we can continue some consultations that are going on, some work that is being done on the map...", Mr. Cupp said.

Under a constitutional amendment adopted by voters in 2015, the commission has until midnight to adopt a map that has the backing of both Democrats on the panel that would last the full 10 years until after the next U.S. Census in 2030. Failing that, the commission could pass a map along party lines that would last just four years before the process would have to start over again.

Republicans currently hold veto-proof majorities of 64-39 and 25-8 in the House and Senate, respectively. The only official proposal on the table that was submitted by Republicans less than a week ago would be expected to lock in GOP super-majorities for the next decade.

The two Democrats have talked with Mr. Faber and Mr. LaRose, who've expressed some interest in aspects of Democratic proposed maps.

"We left it yesterday with a request to Auditor Faber and Secretary LaRose to convene with the Republican members, come up with a consensus because we're not seeing consensus on their side, and then come to us and figure out how we can move forward," Ms. Sykes said.

That GOP proposal largely maintains the partisan makeup of northwest Ohio, keeping three Democratic-held House districts and one Senate seat centered on the city of Toledo while the rest of the largely suburban and rural region would lean or be reliably Republican.

It would move the district now held by Rep. Lisa Sobecki (D., Toledo) westward enough to shift her Point Place home into the eastern Lucas County district now held by Rep. Mike Sheehy (D., Oregon). Mr. Sheehy is term-limited, so Ms. Sobecki could run as the incumbent in that district if she chooses not to physically relocate.

Because of its population growth over the last decade, Wood County, currently a stand-alone House district, would split nearly down the middle the two districts currently held by Reps. Haraz Ghanbari (R., Perrysburg) and Derek Merrin (R., Monclova Township). A proposal from commission Democrats also would have split the county in half.

In addition to Lucas and Wood, the House proposal would divide Hancock, Defiance, and Wyandot counties between districts.

Allen County no longer has enough population to warrant a stand-alone House district, the one currently held by term-limited Speaker Bob Cupp (R., Lima). That district would pick up Auglaize County territory to meet its population target of roughly 120,000 under the GOP proposal.

The Senate map also sets up a potential Republican primary election showdown in 2024 in the revised 26th District between Sens. Bill Reineke (R., Tiffin) and Mark Romanchuk (R., Mansfield). The largely rural district would still hold Sandusky, Seneca, and all or part of three more counties now represented by Mr. Reineke but would also pick up Mr. Romanchuk's home county of Richland.

In addition to adjusting for population shifts over the last decade, the new constitutional rules require the commission to draw districts that are geographically compact, split fewer counties and other political subdivisions, and generally reflect the political preferences of the state as a whole.

First Published September 15, 2021, 12:01pm

When is the commission going to take this process seriously? As a concerned Ohioan, I am reaching out today to urge you to vote against the state legislative maps proposed and passed for consideration on a party line vote by Ohio Republicans. This is a joke and a fraud. The Ohio Constitution has already been violated with the improper scheduling of citizen feedback. That in itself makes anything the commission does invalid.

I have several other significant concerns about these maps. These maps are more gerrymandered than the previous. First, in their testimony to the Commission, the Republicans' mappers admitted that their leadership instructed them to ignore demographic and racial data. Ohio's map drawers are obligated to ensure that communities of color have adequate and real pathways to political representation -- yet it appears that the Republicans on the Commission are not even going to try to meet this obligation. This violates the Civil Rights Act.

Second, these maps would give Republicans a supermajority in the House and Senate -- with as many as 66% of the districts drawn to favor Republicans. This does not reflect our electorate. In recent statewide elections, only 55% of Ohioan voters supported Republicans. A fair map would show a 55-45 split amongst districts.

Additionally, these maps carve up communities of interest -- dividing our neighborhoods and pulling together parts of the state that don't belong in the same districts. Notably, these maps crack and pack Ohio's communities of color.

These proposed maps -- and the process to date - fail to meet the promise of our reform measures passed by Ohio's voters and the demands of our constitution.

I urge you to please vote NO on these proposed legislative maps.

The Ohio Redistricting Committee

Testimony of Richard D. Topper

Columbus, OH 9/14/2021

Good morning, Members of the Ohio Redistricting Committee. My name is Richard Topper and I am presenting testimony for fair and credible districts.

I am a lawyer as many of you are. When we were sworn in by the Chief Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court, we agreed to support the US and Ohio Constitutions. Not just to aspire, not just to follow, but to support the Constitution. This includes the 15th, 19th, and 26th Amendments which command that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on the basis of race or color, sex and to anyone over the age of 18. For the lawyers on the Commission, I trust that you will support the US and Ohio Constitution and for those of you on this Commission who are not lawyers but whom I know to be extremely well-educated and respected, I also trust that you will protect the rights to vote of all Ohioans and not be driven by what your parties may dictate.

The map submitted by my colleague Senator Huffman gives one party the advantage over another. In no way does it support the US or Ohio Constitution and our citizens' right to vote, nor would it be a map that this esteemed committee should adopt or come close to emulating.

Although the Supreme Court refused to address partisan gerrymandering in *Rucho vs. Common Cause*, Justice Roberts condemned partisan district maps. He went on to say, “Excessive partisanship in districting leads to results that reasonably seem unjust.”

Ohio has adopted a plan which Justice Roberts commends. As you are aware, Article 11, Section 6 states specifically that “no General Assembly district plan shall be drawn to favor or disfavor a political party.” The Ohio Constitution not just “aspirational” as Republican party leaders stated to Columbus Dispatch reporters. This is a requirement.

Since 2004, I’ve been volunteering in voter protection. I’ve spent countless hours at the Franklin County early vote center and voting locations on primary and general election days. The four words I’ve heard voters speak that distress me more than any others are, “My vote doesn’t count.” If you adopt the Republican map, I guarantee you that you will hear that over and over again.

Everyone in this room knows that Ohio statewide and federal elections since 2006 have been won by Republicans, by Democrats, and that they have been close. The people of this state deserve maps that reflect this. That was not the case in 2011 when 75% of Ohio state senators and representatives and 65% of Ohio state

representatives are Republican. These numbers are a direct result of partisan redistricting. Ohio voters would never accept such a result from this Commission.

Let me tell you how the Republican map effects my neighbors and me personally. The neighborhood I live in now and the neighborhood my wife and I raised our two children are located in the City of Columbus right off of Olentangy River Road north of the Ohio State Campus by about 5 miles. On the Republican map, our neighborhoods occupy a tiny peninsula in the Ohio 16th Senate District. The map splits our precinct, Columbus 60-F, in half. The Republican map puts our our neighbors to the north, south and east with whom we share parks, roads, schools, schools and facilities and Next-Door app in the 25th Senate District. Not only that, the entirety of Union County is in our district. We know why the 16th was drawn this way. Union County residents voted 2-1 Republican in 2020 and the map would give the Republicans a 12-point swing in a previously competitive district. Both the citizens of Union County and our neighborhood deserve better from you.

The 2011 districts gave our neighborhoods Congressman Troy Balderson. His district, the Ohio 12th, also includes 5 smaller Republican voting counties. This prompted then-Congressional candidate, Troy Balderson to tell folks in Muskingum County, “We don’t want someone from Franklin County representing us.” This is despite the fact that 34.5% of his constituency is in Franklin County.

Candidate Balderson's statement and his election margin were not only an indictment of the 2011 redistricting process, it showed that the Zanesville voter would feel disconnected to a Congressional rep from Columbus. People in Zanesville, Mt Gilead, Mount Vernon, Delaware, Newark, and Columbus deserved better, and they certainly are not getting it with the Republican drawn maps.

The 2011 Districts leave many Ohioans feeling that their rights and interests are not being protected by the majority of state law makers. With regard to health care. With the response to Covid. With women's rights and LBGT equality. With other social and environmental issues.

Ninety percent of Ohioans believe in reasonable firearm registration laws, but we have yet to pass Governor DeWine's gun-control legislation despite the mass shooting and murder in the city of Dayton. If you adopt the Republican map or anything close to it, the only conclusion to be drawn is that you do not want a debate on issues that affect everyday Ohioans, that you don't care about Democrats, Independents and socially liberal Republicans, and that you would rather Ohioans accept the ultraconservative views of a minority.

As a member of the 2021 Ohio Redistricting Commission and as lawyers, you have a great opportunity and a responsibility to show Ohioans that we can draw fair boundaries to protect voting rights and to support the US and Ohio

Constitution. It is your job to pay attention to what the voters asked you in 2015 and 2018 to accomplish and bring back faith, credibility and fairness to our government, so we never again hear those four words, “My Vote Doesn’t Count.” I have faith that you can rise to this task and accomplish this.

Thank you for your time and I’d be happy to answer any questions.

TESTIMONY OF:

Zaiba Malik
7836 Spring Garden Ct
West Chester, OH 45069

IN OPPOSITION OF:

Proposed State Legislative Maps
Ohio Redistricting Commission

West Chester, OH, 09/14/2021

Dear Commission,

I submitted testimony last month describing my community and how it has been impacted by gerrymandering. Today, I am writing to oppose the proposed state legislative maps.

I am a resident of Butler County for the past 16 years and choose to live in West Chester to be close to my extended family and the Muslim community. In addition, I own two businesses in West Chester. I define my community as the schools, shopping, and cultural centers near and around me. These are the people I share coffee with, my kids go to school and play sports with, and go to the mosque with. I am disappointed to see how my current districts do not include my next-door communities that I share life experiences with.

Gerrymandering has disenfranchised our community from seeing an impact of our vote for local elections as well as community funding. As I wrote (along with many others who spoke to the Commission in person) in my previous testimony: We need fair redistricting to encourage everyone to have a voice and to ensure politicians are actually representing and speaking for the districts they are elected to.

However, the proposed state House and Senate district maps do not deliver on this. These maps are unfair and unacceptable, especially in light of the constitutional reforms for redistricting Ohioans overwhelmingly voted for. We the voters passed these reforms because we were tired of gerrymandering, but map drawers have used the same strategies once again.

These constitutional reforms direct you to draw districts that “correspond closely to the statewide preferences of the voters.” Yet, the proposed maps do not reflect Ohio voting preferences, which are around 55 percent Republican and 45 percent Democrat.

The proposed maps were clearly drawn to ensure the power of one political party over the next for the next decade, which goes against constitutional requirements. They split communities of color, dividing Ohio neighborhoods and connecting together parts of our state that simply don't belong in the same districts.

I oppose these proposed maps and instead support maps that reflect the voting preferences of Ohioans, comply with the Voting Rights Act, and keep minority and marginalized communities together.

Additionally, citizens can hardly tell where exactly we fall within these proposed districts because the Commission has not made clear, detailed versions of these maps available to the public. The process itself must be fair and transparent to ensure fair maps.

Thank you for your time and counting my voice in the process for fair district maps that actually represent the people.

Sincerely,

Zaiba Malik, M.D.

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

Bria Bennett, *et al.*,

Relators,

v.

Ohio Redistricting Commission, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Case No. 2021-1198

Original Action Filed Pursuant to Ohio
Constitution, Article XI, Section 9(A)

[Apportionment Case Pursuant to S. Ct.
Prac. R. 14.03]

AFFIDAVIT OF BRIA BENNETT

Trumbull County

/ss

State of Ohio

I, Bria Bennett, having been duly sworn and cautioned according to law, hereby state that I am over the age of eighteen years and am competent to testify to the facts set forth below based on my personal knowledge, and further state as follows:

1. I am a citizen of the United States and a qualified elector in the State of Ohio.
2. I am registered to vote and regularly request a Democratic ballot in partisan primary elections. I have consistently voted for Democratic General Assembly candidates.
3. I reside at 795 Lane West Rd. SW, Warren, OH 44481, which is in Ohio House District 65 and Ohio Senate District 32 in the 2021 Commission Plan.
4. My address is in Ohio House District 64 and Ohio Senate District 32 in the current Plan that was adopted in 2011.



Bria Bennett

Sworn to before me this 21st day of October, 2021.



Notary Public

My commission expires 12/26/2024



LESLI J ROBERTS
Notary Public, State of Ohio
My Commission Expires:
December 26, 2024

BENNETT_0120

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

Bria Bennett, *et al.*,

Relators,

v.

Ohio Redistricting Commission, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Case No. 2021-1198

Original Action Filed Pursuant to Ohio
Constitution, Article XI, Section 9(A)

[Apportionment Case Pursuant to S. Ct.
Prac. R. 14.03]

AFFIDAVIT OF REGINA C. ADAMS

I, Regina C. Adams, having been duly sworn and cautioned according to law, hereby state that I am over the age of eighteen years and am competent to testify to the facts set forth below based on my personal knowledge, and further state as follows:

1. I am a citizen of the United States and a qualified elector in the State of Ohio.
2. I am registered to vote and regularly request a Democratic ballot in partisan primary elections. I have consistently voted for Democratic General Assembly candidates.
3. I reside at 14360 Rockside Rd., Maple Heights, OH 44137, which is in Ohio House District 22 and Ohio Senate District 21 in the 2021 Commission Plan.
4. My address is in Ohio House District 12 and Ohio Senate District 25 in the current Plan that was adopted in 2011.

Regina C Adams

Regina C. Adams

STATE OF FLORIDA COUNTY OF PASCO

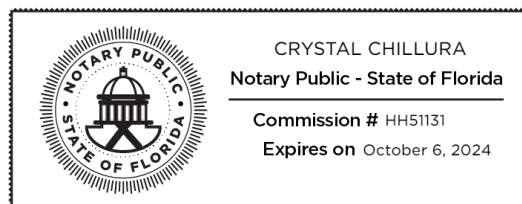
Sworn to before me this 19th day of October, 2021.

Regina C Adams

ID Provided Ohio Driver's License

Crystal Chillura

Notary Public Crystal Chillura



My commission expires 10/06/2024

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BENNETT_0121

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

Bria Bennett, *et al.*,

Relators,

v.

Ohio Redistricting Commission, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Case No. 2021-1198

Original Action Filed Pursuant to Ohio
Constitution, Article XI, Section 9(A)

[Apportionment Case Pursuant to S. Ct.
Prac. R. 14.03]

AFFIDAVIT OF KATHLEEN M. BRINKMAN

Hamilton County

/ss



State of Ohio

I, Kathleen M. Brinkman, having been duly sworn and cautioned according to law, hereby state that I am over the age of eighteen years and am competent to testify to the facts set forth below based on my personal knowledge, and further state as follows:

1. I am a citizen of the United States and a qualified elector in the State of Ohio.
2. I am registered to vote and regularly request a Democratic ballot in partisan primary elections. I have consistently voted for Democratic General Assembly candidates.
3. I reside at 400 Pike St. Unit 809 Cincinnati, OH 45202, which is in Ohio House District 24 and Ohio Senate District 9 in the 2021 Commission Plan.
4. My address is in Ohio House District 32 and Ohio Senate District 9 in the current Plan that was adopted in 2011.


Kathleen M. Brinkman

Sworn to before me this 19th day of October, 2021.


Notary Public

CAROLYN A. TAGGART
Attorney at Law
Notary Public, State of Ohio
My Commission Has No Expiration
Date, Section 147.03 O.R.C.

BENNETT_0123

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

Bria Bennett, *et al.*,

Relators,

v.

Ohio Redistricting Commission, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Case No. 2021-1198

Original Action Filed Pursuant to Ohio
Constitution, Article XI, Section 9(A)

[Apportionment Case Pursuant to S. Ct.
Prac. R. 14.03]

AFFIDAVIT OF MARTHA CLARK

Montgomery County

/ss

State of Ohio

I, Martha Clark, having been duly sworn and cautioned according to law, hereby state that I am over the age of eighteen years and am competent to testify to the facts set forth below based on my personal knowledge, and further state as follows:

1. I am a citizen of the United States and a qualified elector in the State of Ohio.
2. I am registered to vote and regularly request a Democratic ballot in partisan primary elections. I have consistently voted for Democratic General Assembly candidates.
3. I reside at 4439 Filbrun Ln., Trotwood, OH 45426, which is in Ohio House District 39 and Ohio Senate District 5 in the 2021 Commission Plan.
4. My address is in Ohio House District 43 and Ohio Senate District 5 in the current Plan that was adopted in 2011.


Martha Clark

Sworn to before me this 19th day of October, 2021.


Notary Public



JACOB MUNN
Notary Public
State of Ohio
My Comm. Expires
November 14, 2024

My commission expires 11-14-2024

BENNETT_0124

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

Bria Bennett, *et al.*,

Relators,

v.

Ohio Redistricting Commission, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Case No. 2021-1198

Original Action Filed Pursuant to Ohio
Constitution, Article XI, Section 9(A)

[Apportionment Case Pursuant to S. Ct.
Prac. R. 14.03]

AFFIDAVIT OF SUSANNE L. DYKE

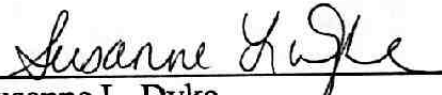
Cuyahoga County

/ss

State of Ohio

I, Susanne L. Dyke, having been duly sworn and cautioned according to law, hereby state that I am over the age of eighteen years and am competent to testify to the facts set forth below based on my personal knowledge, and further state as follows:

1. I am a citizen of the United States and a qualified elector in the State of Ohio.
2. I am registered to vote and regularly request a Democratic ballot in partisan primary elections. I have consistently voted for Democratic General Assembly candidates.
3. I reside at 2558 Guilford Rd., Cleveland Heights, OH, which is in Ohio House District 21 and Ohio Senate District 21 in the 2021 Commission Plan.
4. My address is in Ohio House District 9 and Ohio Senate District 21 in the current Plan that was adopted in 2011.


Susanne L. Dyke

Sworn to before me this 20th day of October, 2021.


Notary Public

My commission expires February 28, 2023
GARY A. BENJAMIN
NOTARY PUBLIC, STATE OF OHIO
My Commission Expires February 28, 2023

Voter Profile Page

Name: CARRIE I KUBICKI

Address: 13201 VERMILION RD
AMHERST OH 44001

Polling Location: HENRIETTA TOWNSHIP HALL
11970 VERMILION RD.
OBERLIN OH OH 44074
([Get Directions](#)) *

Precinct: PRECINCT HENRIETTA TWP #2

US Congressional District: 4

Senate District: 13

State Rep. District: 56

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

Bria Bennett, *et al.*,

Relators,

v.

Ohio Redistricting Commission, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Case No. 2021-1198

Original Action Filed Pursuant to Ohio
Constitution, Article XI, Section 9(A)

*[Apportionment Case Pursuant to S. Ct.
Prac. R. 14.03]*

AFFIDAVIT OF MERYL NEIMAN

I, Meryl Neiman, having been duly sworn and cautioned according to law, hereby state that I am over the age of eighteen years and am competent to testify to the facts set forth below based on my personal knowledge, and further state as follows:

1. I am a citizen of the United States and a qualified elector in the State of Ohio.
2. I am registered to vote and regularly request a Democratic ballot in partisan primary elections. I have consistently voted for Democratic General Assembly candidates.
3. I reside at 2115 Clifton Ave., Columbus, OH 43209, which is in Ohio House District 1 and Ohio Senate District 15 in the 2021 Commission Plan.
4. My address is in Ohio House District 18 and Ohio Senate District 15 in the current Plan that was adopted in 2011.

Meryl Jean Neiman

Meryl Neiman

Commonwealth of Virginia, County of Hanover

Sworn to before me this 20th day of October, 2021.

Andrew Ray Yon

Notary Public



Notarized online using audio-video communication

Executed in Hanover County, VA

My commission expires 08/31/2022

BENNETT_0127

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

Bria Bennett, *et al.*,

Relators,

v.

Ohio Redistricting Commission, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Case No. 2021-1198

Original Action Filed Pursuant to Ohio
Constitution, Article XI, Section 9(A)

[Apportionment Case Pursuant to S. Ct.
Prac. R. 14.03]

AFFIDAVIT OF HOLLY OYSTER

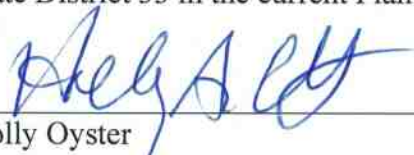
Mahoning County

/ss

State of Ohio

I, Holly Oyster, having been duly sworn and cautioned according to law, hereby state that I am over the age of eighteen years and am competent to testify to the facts set forth below based on my personal knowledge, and further state as follows:

1. I am a citizen of the United States and a qualified elector in the State of Ohio.
2. I am registered to vote and regularly request a Democratic ballot in partisan primary elections. I have consistently voted for Democratic General Assembly candidates.
3. I reside at 21370 Harrisburg Westville Rd., Alliance, OH 44601, which is in Ohio House District 59 and Ohio Senate District 33 in the 2021 Commission Plan.
4. My address is in Ohio House District 59 and Ohio Senate District 33 in the current Plan that was adopted in 2011.


Holly Oyster

Sworn to before me this 20 day of October, 2021.



Notary Public



STACEY SHANK
Notary Public, State of Ohio
My Commission Expires:
12/03/2024

My commission expires 12/3/24

BENNETT_0129

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

Bria Bennett, *et al.*,

Relators,

v.

Ohio Redistricting Commission, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Case No. 2021-1198

Original Action Filed Pursuant to Ohio
Constitution, Article XI, Section 9(A)

*[Apportionment Case Pursuant to S. Ct.
Prac. R. 14.03]*

AFFIDAVIT OF CONSTANCE RUBIN

I, Constance Rubin, having been duly sworn and cautioned according to law, hereby state that I am over the age of eighteen years and am competent to testify to the facts set forth below based on my personal knowledge, and further state as follows:

1. I am a citizen of the United States and a qualified elector in the State of Ohio.
2. I am registered to vote and regularly request a Democratic ballot in partisan primary elections. I have consistently voted for Democratic General Assembly candidates.
3. I reside at 3088 Whitewood St. NW, North Canton, OH 44720, which is in Ohio House District 48 and Ohio Senate District 29 in the 2021 Commission Plan.
4. My address is in Ohio House District 50 and Ohio Senate District 29 in the current Plan that was adopted in 2011.

Constance G Rubin

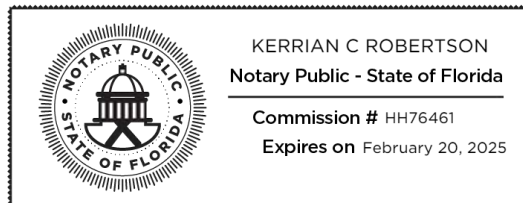
Constance G. Rubin 10/19/2021
Constance Rubin

Broward County, FL
Jurat

Sworn to before me this 19th day of October, 2021.

Constance G Rubin DRIVER LICENSE

Kerrian C Robertson
Kerrian C Robertson
Notary Public



My commission expires 02/20/2025

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BENNETT_0130

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

Bria Bennett, *et al.*,

Relators,

v.

Ohio Redistricting Commission, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Case No. 2021-1198

Original Action Filed Pursuant to Ohio
Constitution, Article XI, Section 9(A)

[Apportionment Case Pursuant to S. Ct.
Prac. R. 14.03]

AFFIDAVIT OF EVERETT TOTTY

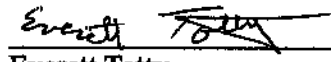
Lucas County

/ss

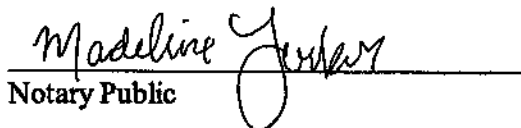
State of Ohio

I, Everett Totty, having been duly sworn and cautioned according to law, hereby state that I am over the age of eighteen years and am competent to testify to the facts set forth below based on my personal knowledge, and further state as follows:

1. I am a citizen of the United States and a qualified elector in the State of Ohio.
2. I am registered to vote and regularly request a Democratic ballot in partisan primary elections. I have consistently voted for Democratic General Assembly candidates.
3. I reside at 145 S. St. Clair St. Unit 28, Toledo, OH 43604, which is in Ohio House District 41 and Ohio Senate District 11 in the 2021 Commission Plan.
4. My address is in Ohio House District 44 and Ohio Senate District 11 in the current Plan that was adopted in 2011.


Everett Totty

Sworn to before me this 21 day of October, 2021.


Notary Public



MADELINE TUCKER
Notary Public, State of Ohio
My Comm. Expires Dec. 14, 2025

My commission expires 12-14-25