



Testimony before the Ohio Redistricting Commission
Kathleen Clyde & Greg Moore, Co-Chairs
Ohio Citizens Redistricting Commission
September 26, 2023

Co-Chair Antonio, Co-Chair Faber, and members of the Ohio Redistricting Commission, I am Greg Moore and this is Kathleen Clyde, and we serve as Co-Chairs of the Ohio Citizens Redistricting Commission. Our Ohio Citizens Redistricting Commission was convened by the NAACP of Ohio, the A. Philip Randolph Institute of Ohio, and the Ohio Organizing Collaborative. Our charge was to serve as an independent model citizens commission to gather input through a statewide public process, draw maps based on that public input and on the requirements of the Ohio Constitution, and then submit those maps to this Ohio Redistricting Commission.

Our Citizens Commission is made up of 16 volunteer members, including advocates, political scientists, community leaders, current and former elected officials, attorneys, and more. Members were deliberately selected to reflect the diversity of Ohio, and included persons of color, persons of all ages and backgrounds, persons from the LGBTQ community, and persons from different regions of the state. Some members of the Commission, myself included, helped to craft the constitutional amendments that Ohio voters approved in 2015 and 2018 in an effort to end the partisan gerrymandering that has plagued our state for so long.

Our purpose was to show the members of this Ohio Redistricting Commission that what we contemplated in the 2015 and 2018 redistricting amendments could in fact be done so long as there was the will to do it. Just as the amendments require, our citizens commission had a robust public process and we drew constitutional maps that reflected the political preferences of the voters of our state. Our group of committed volunteers –not supported by taxpayer dollars, not full-time politicians, many of us with day jobs and numerous obligations, but taking time out of our schedules– did this work because of a deep commitment to fairness, the rule of law, and upholding our increasingly fragile democracy. We were able to listen to public input and draw constitutional maps. And it’s just stunning to us and to Ohioans all over our state just how epic the failure has been by this commission to do the same. This commission violated the constitution at every turn. The process was a failure. The maps were a failure. The maps violate the constitutional amendment that 71% of Ohioans approved. This is not what democracy looks like.

We again submitted our constitutional maps to the commission ahead of this hearing. They can also be found in the report we submitted to this commission and on our website, ohioredistrict.org. They ensure equal population, representational fairness, minimal splitting of communities, and fair minority representation.

Having followed the public debate of the Republican working maps being considered by this body, we offer the following feedback:

- 1) The partisan breakdown of these maps very clearly violates the Ohio Constitution. That is unacceptable. Averaging the last ten years of data in statewide races, as the Constitution requires, would produce maps that create 56 Republican leaning house districts, 43 Democratic leaning house districts, 19 Republican leaning Senate districts and 14 Democratic leaning Senate districts. Instead of this 56 to 43 and 19 to 14 partisan breakdown, the Republican working maps have a 62



Republican to 37 Democratic seat breakdown in the House, and a 23 Republican to 10 Democratic seat partisan breakdown in the Senate. These maps heavily favor Republicans with no connection to the partisan choices of Ohio voters. The maps are an obvious violation of the constitution and a slap in the face to the overwhelming majority of Ohioans who voted for a new way, for fair maps that are easily achievable. It was central to that reform that our maps would have partisanship that mirrored the state of Ohio. After five unconstitutional maps, this partisan commission still refuses to comply with that critically important democratic principle.

- 2) Desiring to create proportionality within counties instead of proportionality across the state is something that Republicans have offered as a defense to their working maps. Representative Seitz has said that Hamilton County seats should be drawn based on the partisanship within Hamilton County, rather than reflective of the state. First of all, the absurd concept of proportionality within counties is not in the Ohio Constitution. County proportionality is not required, full stop. And if Republicans want to make that point, it's absurd, because there are many many more counties where there are tens of thousands of Democratic voters and zero Democratic leaning seats. The Republicans are just trying to deflect from their unconstitutional maps with nonsensical arguments that have nothing to do with the actual law. We cannot allow ourselves to be distracted by that tactic. We deserve constitutional maps. These are not constitutional maps.
- 3) Republicans are making bad faith arguments about competitiveness as part of their defense of these unconstitutional working maps. First of all, competitiveness is not required by the Constitution. Competitiveness as a criteria was discussed thoroughly during the drafting of the constitutional amendments, and it was not included. Republicans like Senator Matt Huffman were in fact the biggest opponents of competitiveness. Second of all, the competitiveness of so many Democratic-leaning districts compared to one or two marginally competitive Republican-leaning districts violates multiple court orders and the Ohio Constitution, which requires true partisan fairness. Again, the Republicans are trying to distract and deflect criticism of their blatantly unconstitutional maps by pretending competitiveness is a required criteria.

In conclusion, our Ohio Citizens Redistricting Commission showed you how it should be done. But like the will of so many Ohioans who worked on and passed constitutional amendments demanding fair districts, our voices were ignored. But despite all the efforts in Ohio to erode it, this is still a democracy. These working maps and this commission so far has been a sham. This is not what democracy looks like. Please do better and give Ohioans the fair districts they deserve. And if you do not, the people will fix it. This American experiment in democracy, government for the people by the people, is not over.

Thank you.



On January 12, 2022, the Ohio Supreme Court invalidated the general assembly district plan previously submitted by the Ohio Redistricting Commission because it failed to comply with Article XI, Section 6 of the Ohio Constitution. Section 6 requires that a general assembly district plan should not unduly favor or disfavor a political party and should reflect the statewide partisan preferences of the voters over the last decade.

The Ohio Citizens Redistricting Commission wants to submit for your consideration an amended state legislative district plan that complies with Section 6 and with all the technical line drawing requirements of the Ohio Constitution. Our Citizens Commission district plan was developed through a citizen-led public input process modeled after the requirements in the Ohio Constitution and is fully consistent with the Supreme Court's January 12, 2022 opinion.

The Citizens Commission also opposes recent suggestions that redistricting be accomplished region by region starting with Hamilton and Franklin counties, without considering the net effect on the entire state. Regionalizing the redistricting process is inconsistent with the constitutional requirement that the redistricting process consider the state as a whole and reflect the statewide preferences of the voters.

Submitted by:

Kathleen Clyde, Co-Chair

Greg Moore, Co-Chair

Jeniece Brock, Vice Chair

Enclosures:

–August 2021 Official Report

–Updated districts maps with minor technical changes



OHIO CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION



OFFICIAL REPORT TO THE OHIO REDISTRICTING COMMISSION

AUGUST 2021

E-Mail: info@commissionocrc.org
Web: www.ohredistrict.org

ABOUT

THE OHIO CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION

The Ohio Citizens Redistricting Commission (OCRC) is sponsored by the Ohio Organizing Collaborative (OOC), Ohio State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI) of Ohio. The OCRC worked in partnership with the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at The Ohio State University, More Equitable Democracy, Skylight and MGGG Redistricting Lab at Tufts University.

RESEARCH PARTNERS



COMMUNITY SPONSORS





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ABOUT THE COMMISSION

OVERVIEW

The Ohio Citizens Redistricting Commission (OCRC) is an independent, diverse, non-partisan commission made up of 16 volunteer members, including interested citizens, academics, community leaders, current and former elected officials, attorneys, and more. Members were deliberately chosen to reflect the diversity of Ohio, and include persons of color, persons of all ages and backgrounds, persons from the LGBTQ community, and persons from different regions of the state.

GOALS OF THE COMMISSION

The OCRC has three main goals:

- *Model a thorough and robust engagement process for developing legislative districts, including reaching out specifically to minority and underrepresented communities,*
- *Develop and demonstrate citizen-derived principles of redistricting, and*
- *Draw “unity maps”, meaning maps based on constitutional requirements, citizen-derived principles of redistricting, and an aggregation of a wide variety of preferences that came out of public input.*

PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

The OCRC developed this report summarizing how these goals were achieved to submit as public testimony to the Ohio Redistricting Commission.

COMMISSION MEMBERS

Some members of the Commission helped to write the constitutional amendment that Ohio voters approved in 2015 and that spells out the criteria upon which the Commission’s unity maps are based. Commission members were invited to apply by representatives of the OCRC sponsor organizations the Ohio Organizing Collaborative, Ohio State Conference of the NAACP, and APRI of Ohio. The following members were selected and serve on the commission.

OHIO CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION MEMBERS



Alan Bannister

Vice President, Remington Road Group, Former Director, Manager, & Executive Assistant for 5 Toledo Mayors



Amina Barhumi

Outreach Director, Council of American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) Ohio



Jeremy Blake

Newark City Councilman, Equality Ohio Board Member



Jeniece Brock
OCRC Vice Chair

Health Scientist, Policy and Advocacy Director, Ohio Organizing Collaborative



Dr. Ellen Greene Bush

Clinical Psychologist, Citizen Leader of American Promise Ohio



Akii Butler

Student Organizer
Ohio Student Association



Kathleen Clyde
OCRC Co-Chair

Former Ohio House Representative, former Candidate for Secretary of State



Samuel Gresham Jr.
Chair

Common Cause Ohio

OHIO CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION MEMBERS



Dr. Richard Gunther
Professor Emeritus
Ohio State University



Gregory Moore
OCRC Co-Chair
President & CEO Promise for
Democracy, Executive Director
of the Ohio Voter Fund



Dr. Lis Regula
Lecturer
University of Dayton



Tom Roberts
President, NAACP Ohio State
Conference, Former Ohio State
Senator



Katy Shanahan
Ohio State Director
All On The Line



Barbara A. Sykes
President & CEO
Ohio Legislative Black Caucus
Foundation



Chris Tavenor
Staff Attorney,
Ohio Environmental Council
Law Center



André Washington
President of APRI Ohio Chapter,
Field Rep & Special Projects Coord.
Ohio Association of Public School
Employees, Central OH Region

COMMISSION PARTNERS



The OCRC partnered with the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at The Ohio State University and MGGG Redistricting Lab at Tufts University for data collection, analysis, and community mapping, with More Equitable Democracy for district mapping and analysis, and with Skylight for web-based community engagement. The following individuals participated in this work:

Mapping & Data Analysis Team Members

- **Dr. Ranthony Edmonds**, Department of Mathematics, Ohio State -- Data Analysis
- **Dr. Matthew Kahle**, Department of Mathematics, Ohio State -- Data Analysis
- **Dr. Vladimir Kogan**, Political Science, Ohio State -- Politics/Policy
- **Michael Outrich**, Kirwan Institute, Ohio State -- Ohio Community Mapping
- **Dr. Glennon Sweeney**, Kirwan Institute, Ohio State -- Ohio Community Mapping
- **Dr. Moon Duchin**, MGGG Redistricting Lab, Tufts University -- Project Manager
- **Elizabeth Kopecky**, MGGG Redistricting Lab, Tufts University -- Project Manager
- **Derrick Smith**, Applied Statistics, Ohio Organizing Collaborative -- Data Analysis
- **Colin Cole**, More Equitable Democracy -- District Mapping and Analysis
- **Bill Baugh**, More Equitable Democracy -- District Mapping and Analysis
- **Louis Libert**, Skylight -- Digital Designer & User Experience Lead

COMMISSION PROCESS AND TIMELINE

Commission Announced

On Wednesday, May 12, 2021, the formation and membership of the OCRC was announced to the general public via statewide media release and on social media. The public was encouraged to become involved in the work of the OCRC and to watch for further updates and developments.

Public Engagement and Hearings

Public hearings were held virtually throughout the state with a quorum of OCRC members present to give an overview of the amendments to the Ohio Constitution for 2021 regarding the redistricting process, to encourage attendees to participate in the community mapping project, and to receive feedback about what they would like to see happen in the 2021 redistricting process as it relates to their communities or region of the state. The OCRC was also interested to hear how communities, and particularly minority and underrepresented communities, have been impacted in the last decade under gerrymandered districts, and to hear feedback about what specifically witnesses would recommend moving forward to have better political and community representation.

Each public hearing featured a few guest speakers, like a prominent local elected official or community leader, and then the meeting was opened up for citizen witnesses to testify. **A total of 494 Ohio citizens registered to attend these public hearings.** Many of these citizens came representing large subgroups and/or membership lists of other citizens. Recordings of all public hearings can be viewed on our OCRC website at www.ohredistrict.org/past-hearings.

The OCRC held all public hearings after business hours to optimize accessibility, and virtually to ensure safe participation. Hearings were held on the following dates and times:

- May 13, 2021 at 6pm for an organizational meeting and redistricting briefing.
- May 27, 2021 at 6pm for Northwest Ohio (Toledo and Lima).
- June 10, 2021 at 6pm for Greater Cleveland (Cleveland, Lorain, Euclid, Parma).
- June 24, 2021 at 6pm for Northeast Ohio (Akron, Canton, Youngstown).
- July 8, 2021 at 6pm for Southeast Ohio (Athens, Portsmouth, East Liverpool, Chillicothe).
- July 22, 2021 at 6pm for Southwest Ohio (Cincinnati, Dayton).
- August 12, 2021 at 6pm for Central Ohio (Columbus, Marion, Mansfield, Newark, Lancaster).
- August 26, 2021 at 5:30pm for a presentation on our proposed unity maps and to receive feedback and questions.
- August 27, 2021 at 5:30pm for a presentation on our proposed unity maps and to receive feedback and questions.

Commission Work Sessions and Work Groups

The first organizational meeting of the commission took place on May 13, 2021 at 6pm. Members received a briefing about the commission’s objectives and about the guidelines laid out in the Ohio Constitution for drawing state legislative and congressional districts.

Commission work sessions took place virtually via Zoom on the following dates:

- May 27, 2021 following the completion of the public hearing.
- June 10, 2021 following the completion of the public hearing.
- June 24, 2021 following the completion of the public hearing.
- July 8, 2021 following the completion of the public hearing.
- July 22, 2021 following the completion of the public hearing.
- July 29, 2021 to discuss and adopt mapping criteria framework.
- August 12, 2021 following the completion of the public hearing.
- August 20, 2021 to discuss draft unity maps.
- August 22, 2021 to discuss draft unity maps. The OCRC voted unanimously to propose draft unity maps to the public.
- August 29, 2021 to discuss proposed unity maps, feedback on proposed maps, and the draft report to be submitted to the Ohio Redistricting Commission. The OCRC voted unanimously to adopt the final commission report and unity maps.

Commission officers met weekly on Mondays beginning on May 3rd.

The OCRC established four workgroups to facilitate the work of the commission and report back to the full commission. All workgroups met as needed and workgroup leads would report in at full commission work sessions. The working groups are:



Public Relations

Purpose: To represent the goals of the commission with the media, and to guide the commission’s public communications.


Members: Alan Bannister (Lead), Amina Barhumi, Jeremy Blake and Chris Tavenor



Minority Representation

Purpose: To ensure that communities of color are treated fairly in the redistricting process and can meaningfully influence elections under the maps enacted.

Members: Barbara Sykes (Lead), Jeniece Brock, Greg Moore, Tom Roberts, and Katy Shanahan



Mapping Criteria

Purpose: To develop community driven principles and priorities for mapping and to ensure unity maps represent the input of community members and commissioners.

Members: Dr. Richard Gunther (Lead), Kathleen Clyde, Sam Gresham, Greg Moore and Katy Shanahan.



Community Engagement

Community Engagement & Outreach: To engage at the grassroots level in communities around the state and to ensure input from diverse communities.

Members: Dr. Ellen Greene Bush (Lead), Akii Butler, Dr. Lis Regula, and Andre Washington.

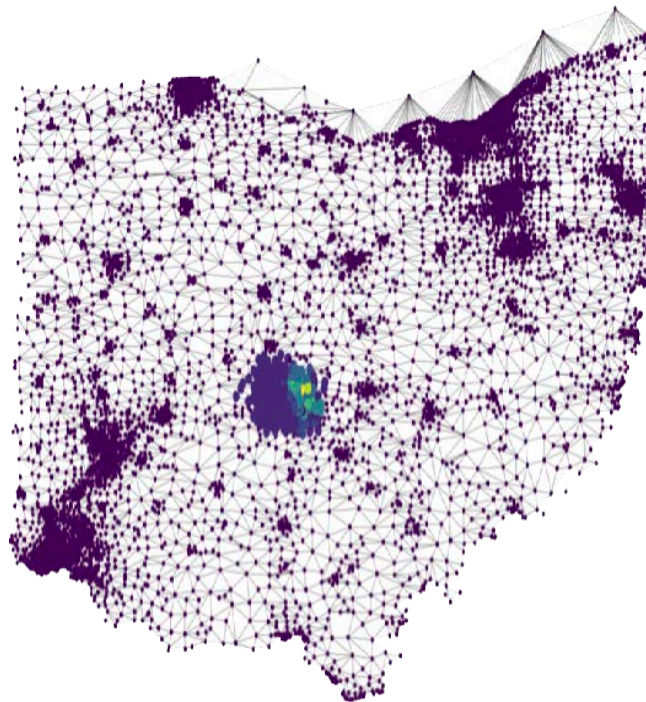
Community Mapping Project

The MGGG Redistricting Lab built a project team based at The Ohio State University and supported by a network of grassroots organizations to collect and synthesize Community of Interest (COI) input for the OCRC. One of the major guiding principles of this team was to ensure that narratives, needs, and concerns from a diverse range of Ohioans were included in the process. They emphasized concerted outreach to minority and underrepresented communities in their approach.

This team used Districtr, a free community web tool developed by MGGG to enable users to create both COI regions and “points of interest” paired with narratives about community issues and needs. **There were 2,350 submissions received through the Districtr portal.**

Prioritizing Communities of Interest is generally considered to be essential to drawing fair districts, but in practice, it is prohibitively difficult to implement without local community knowledge. This community mapping project collected spatialized testimony from the public, which featured not only narrative descriptions of the communities, but mapping describing their geography.

Districtr users could work remotely or join video conference-based workshops led by members of our outreach partner organizations. The Commission received public input in many modalities: collection at in-person meetings when possible, in virtual public meetings, submitted through Districtr.org, OCRC website and email or even via social media.



OCRC DistrictR Community of Interest heat map clusters from East Columbus, Reynoldsburg, Gahanna and Westerville prepared by MGGG.

Proposed Unity Maps Introduced to the Public

On August 25, the OCRC released proposed unity maps for the Ohio House and Ohio Senate via statewide media and social media for public comment and input. The unity maps were based on constitutional requirements, citizen-derived principles of redistricting, and an aggregation of a wide variety of preferences that came out of public input. These unity maps incorporated the 2020 Census data released two weeks earlier on August 12. Input was requested at two scheduled public hearings or via email to the commission.

Final Report and Unity Maps Submitted to Ohio Redistricting Commission

The OCRC submitted their final report and unity maps to the Ohio Redistricting Commission on September 1, 2021.



OHIO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITY MAP

OHIO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITY MAP

The OCRC adopted this Ohio House of Representatives Unity Map based on constitutional requirements, citizen-derived principles of redistricting, and an aggregation of a wide variety of preferences that came out of public input. There are also additional considerations that the OCRC used to better understand how best to deliver real pathways to representation through new district lines for all of Ohio's communities.

EQUAL POPULATION

Under Article XI, Section 3(A) of the Ohio Constitution, the population of Ohio house and senate districts cannot vary more than $\pm 5\%$ of what is called a 'ratio of representation,' which is calculated by taking the whole population of the state and dividing it by the number of districts in the house. Districts must be drawn using the whole population of the state as determined by the most recent census – that is, every person who lives in Ohio must be used to determine the size of each district, not just adults, voters, or citizens. The 2020 Census whole population of Ohio is 11,808,848. Thus each of Ohio's 99 house districts must contain between 113,317 and 125,245 persons.

See Exhibit A for a listing of the population of each district on the proposed map. All districts have between 113,317 and 125,245 persons as required by the Ohio Constitution.

REPRESENTATIONAL FAIRNESS

Article XI, Section 6 of the Ohio Constitution states that, "No General Assembly district plan shall be drawn primarily to favor or disfavor a political party." Further, "The statewide proportion of districts whose voters, based on statewide state and federal partisan general election results during the last ten years, favor each political party shall correspond closely to the statewide preferences of the voters of Ohio."

In the five general elections that have taken place over the past decade, Republican candidates for President, U.S. Senator, Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Attorney General and Treasurer have received 54.3% of the votes cast by Ohio voters, while Democratic candidates for those offices have received 45.7% of the votes cast. To ensure that one political party is not unduly favored over another, the partisan make-up of Ohio's districts should mirror the partisan make-up of Ohio's voters.

Exhibit C contains a memo from OCRC member Dr. Richard Gunther displaying these calculations using official results from the Ohio Secretary of State from 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020.

Our proposed map has 55 districts (55.56% of the districts) that lean over 50% Republican and 44 districts (44.44% of districts) that lean over 50% Democratic.

This 56% Republican/44% Democratic ratio closely aligns with the 54%/46% representational fairness ratio required by the Ohio Constitution.

KEEPING COMMUNITIES TOGETHER

State house districts were drawn to protect Ohio's communities by keeping them together as much as practically possible and in line with the constitutional requirements to minimize the splitting of counties, townships, and cities. These requirements are as follows:

- Proceeding in succession from the largest to the smallest, each county must be drawn with as many whole districts within county boundaries as can be drawn. Any remaining fraction of the county's population must be part of only one adjoining house district. [Ohio Constitution Article XI, Section 3(C)(1)]
 - Franklin, Cuyahoga, Hamilton, Summit, Montgomery, Lucas, Butler, Stark, Lorain, Mahoning, Lake, Warren, Clermont, Trumbull, Delaware, Medina, Licking, Greene, Portage, Fairfield, Clark, and Wood counties trigger this requirement. Our proposed map complies with this requirement.
- Counties with a population between 113,317 and 125,245 must be drawn as whole house districts and cannot be split apart. [Ohio Constitution Article XI, Section 3(C)(2)]
 - Richland and Wayne counties trigger this requirement. Our proposed map complies with this requirement.
- The remaining portions of the state must be joined together in house districts and, where possible, counties should not be split more than once when drawing house districts. [Ohio Constitution Article XI, Section 3(C)(3)]
 - Our proposed map complies with this requirement.
- If a municipality or township has territory in more than one county, the portion of that municipality or township shall be considered a separate municipality or township for the purposes of these sections. [Ohio Constitution, Article XI, Section 3(D)(1)(b).]
 - Our proposed map adopts this assumption where applicable.
- If a municipality or township within one county has a population of more than one house district, the split portions are considered separately and not splits. [Ohio Constitution, Article XI, Section 3(D)(1)(c).]
 - Columbus, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, Dayton, and Akron trigger this requirement. Our map minimizes these splits and complies with this requirement.
- House districts must be drawn by splitting as few cities and townships whose contiguous portions have a population of 59,641 to 119,281.[3(D)(2)]
 - The cities of Parma, Canton, Youngstown, Lorain, and Hamilton trigger this requirement. Our proposed map does not split any of these cities and therefore complies with the requirement.

- If the above splitting rules cannot be met when drawing a house district by including whole cities or townships, the district cannot split more than one city or township. [3(D)(3)]
 - Our proposed map complies with this requirement.

Using qualitative community of interest data collected by the OCRC and compiled by MGGG, the number of communities of interest kept together within district boundaries were maximized.

ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

INCUMBENCY PROTECTION

Incumbency protection as a criterion for state legislative districts, formerly Article XI, Section 7(D), was removed from the Ohio Constitution by overwhelming majorities in both houses of the legislature and ratified by over 70 percent of the voters in 2015. The removal of that criterion was an important priority to reformers for any agreement on state legislative redistricting, since preservation of the previous district boundaries was tantamount to making inevitable the preservation of the previous gerrymander.

MINORITY REPRESENTATION

Districts were reviewed to understand the extent to which minority voters can meaningfully influence elections. Following county and political subdivision split rules allowed communities of color to be drawn into compact districts and at the same time avoided packing and cracking. Minority vote dilution by packing or cracking was avoided. Packing is when minority voters are artificially concentrated into a small number of districts so that their overall electoral influence is weakened. Cracking splits minority communities and spreads minority voters thinly into many districts in which they have little or no electoral influence.

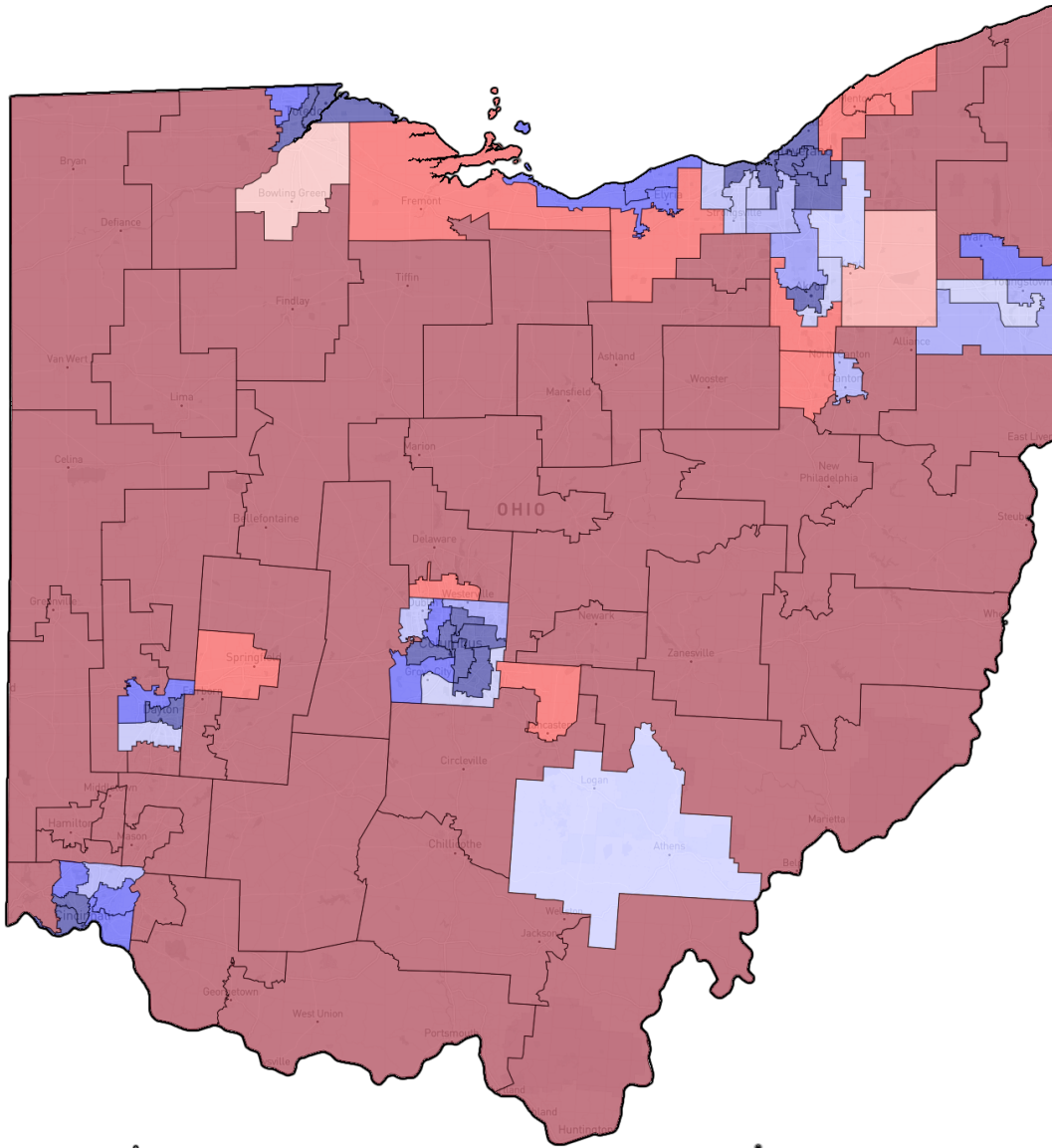
The Commission reviewed proposed maps to ensure that minority voters were fairly represented. The proposed map has 15 districts with a substantial opportunity for Black voters to be represented electorally. Exhibit B provides Black Voting Age Population (BVAP) numbers for those 15 districts and shows their location on relevant maps.



PROPOSED STATE LEGISLATIVE UNITY MAPS

OHIO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The following map meets all of the relevant constitutional requirements. Those requirements include provisions that dictate how or if a political subdivision (including counties, townships, and municipalities) is allowed to be split apart and that require representational fairness in the proportion of seats likely to go to each major political party based on statewide state and federal partisan elections in the last decade.



Key	
Dark Blue	Likely Democratic (60% +)
Light Blue	Lean Democratic (53-59%)
Pale Blue	Democratic Tossup (50-52%)
Pale Red	Republican Tossup (50-52%)
Light Red	Lean Republican (53-59%)
Dark Red	Likely Republican (60%+)

OHIO STATE SENATE UNITY MAP

OHIO SENATE UNITY MAP

The OCRC adopted this Ohio Senate Unity Map based on constitutional requirements, citizen-derived principles of redistricting, and an aggregation of a wide variety of preferences that came out of public input. There are also additional considerations that the OCRC used to better understand how best to deliver real pathways to representation through new district lines for all of Ohio's communities.

EQUAL POPULATION

Under Article XI, Section 3(A) of the Ohio Constitution, the population of Ohio House and Senate districts cannot vary more than $\pm 5\%$ of what is called a 'ratio of representation,' which is calculated by taking the whole population of the state and dividing it by the number of districts in the senate. Districts must be drawn using the whole population of the state as determined by the most recent census – that is, every person who lives in Ohio must be used to determine the size of each district, not just adults, voters, or citizens. The 2020 Census whole population of Ohio is 11,808,848. Thus each of Ohio's 33 senate districts must contain between 339,951 and 375,735 persons.

See Exhibit A for a listing of the population of each district on the proposed map. All districts have between 339,951 and 375,735 persons as required by the Ohio Constitution.

REPRESENTATIONAL FAIRNESS

Article XI, Section 6 of the Ohio Constitution states that, "No General Assembly district plan shall be drawn primarily to favor or disfavor a political party." Further, "The statewide proportion of districts whose voters, based on statewide state and federal partisan general election results during the last ten years, favor each political party shall correspond closely to the statewide preferences of the voters of Ohio."

In the five general elections that have taken place over the past decade, Republican candidates for President, U.S. Senator, Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Attorney General and Treasurer have received 54.3% of the votes cast by Ohio voters, while Democratic candidates for those offices have received 45.7% of the votes cast. To ensure that one political party is not unduly favored over another, the partisan make-up of Ohio's districts should mirror the partisan make-up of Ohio's voters.

Exhibit C contains a memo from OCRC member Dr. Richard Gunther displaying these calculations using official results from the Ohio Secretary of State from 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020.

Our proposed map has 18 districts (54.54% of the districts) that lean over 50% Republican and 15 districts (45.46% of districts) that lean over 50% Democratic.

This 55% Republican/45% Democratic ratio closely aligns with the 54%/46% representational fairness ratio required by the Ohio Constitution.

KEEPING COMMUNITIES TOGETHER

State senate districts were drawn to protect Ohio's communities by keeping them together as much as practically possible and in line with the constitutional requirements to minimize the splitting of counties, townships, and cities. These requirements are as follows:

- Senate districts shall be composed of three contiguous house of representatives districts. [Ohio Constitution Article XI, Section 4(A)]
 - Our proposed map complies with this requirement.
- Each county must be drawn with as many whole senate districts within county boundaries as can be drawn. Any remaining fraction of the county's population that exceeds 375,735 must be part of only one adjoining senate district. [Ohio Constitution Article XI, Section 4(B)(1)]
 - Franklin, Cuyahoga, Hamilton, Summit, Montgomery, Lucas, Butler, and Stark counties trigger this requirement. These counties in our proposed map all have at least one senate district wholly within the county and only one adjoining district with the remainder of the population in that county. Therefore our map complies with this constitutional requirement.
- Counties not large enough to contain one whole senate district but that have at least one house district shall be part of only one senate district [Ohio Constitution Article XI, Section 4(B)(2)]
 - Lorain, Mahoning, Lake, Warren, Clermont, Trumbull, Delaware, Medina, Licking, Greene, Portage, Fairfield, Clark, Wood, and Richland counties trigger this requirement. These counties in our proposed map are each contained within one senate district. Therefore our map complies with the constitutional requirement.

Using qualitative community of interest data collected by the OCRC and compiled by MGGG, the number of communities of interest kept together within district boundaries were maximized.

ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

INCUMBENCY PROTECTION

Incumbency protection as a criterion for state legislative districts, formerly Article XI, Section 7(D), was removed from the Ohio Constitution by overwhelming majorities in both houses of the legislature and ratified by over 70 percent of the voters in 2015. The removal of that criterion was an important priority to reformers for any agreement on state legislative redistricting, since preservation of the previous district boundaries was tantamount to making inevitable the preservation of the previous gerrymander.

MINORITY REPRESENTATION

Districts were reviewed to understand the extent to which minority voters can meaningfully influence elections. Following county and political subdivision split rules allowed communities of color to be drawn into compact districts and at the same time avoided packing and cracking. Minority vote dilution by packing or cracking was avoided. Packing is when minority voters are artificially concentrated into a small number of districts so that their overall electoral influence is weakened. Cracking splits minority communities and spreads minority voters thinly into many districts in which they have little or no electoral influence.

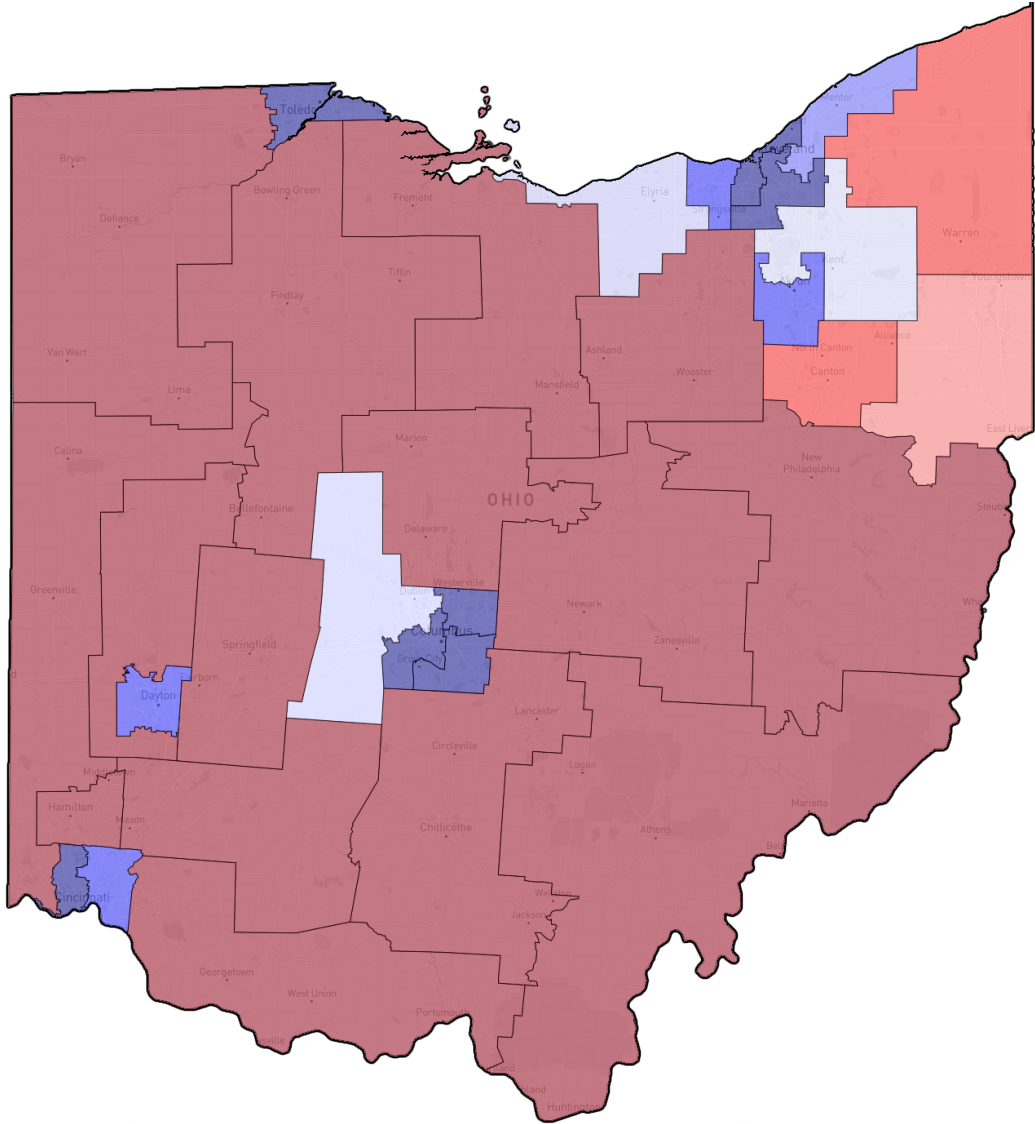
The Commission reviewed proposed maps to ensure that minority voters were fairly represented. The proposed map has six districts where Black voters have a substantial opportunity to be represented electorally. Exhibit B provides Black Voting Age Population (BVAP) numbers for those 6 districts and shows their location on relevant maps.



PROPOSED STATE LEGISLATIVE UNITY MAPS

OHIO STATE SENATE

The following map meets all of the relevant constitutional requirements. Those requirements include provisions that dictate how or if a political subdivision (including counties, townships, and municipalities) is allowed to be split apart and that require representational fairness in the proportion of seats likely to go to each major political party based on statewide state and federal partisan elections in the last decade.



Key	
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Dark Red	Likely Republican (60%+)

EXHIBIT A: POPULATION COUNTS

OHIO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITY MAP DISTRICTS

House District Population Counts					
District Region	Total Population	Deviation	District Region	Total Population	Deviation
Allen_Putnam_VanWert	122,106	2.4%	Highland_Clinton_Fayette	114,286	-4.1%
Ashtabula_Geauga	125,022	4.9%	Lake_A	124,908	4.8%
Athens_Perry_Hocking	113,391	-4.9%	Lawrence_Jackson_Gallia	116,593	-2.2%
Belmont_Guernsey_Noble	115,375	-3.2%	Licking_A	113,494	-4.8%
Butler_A	113,579	-4.7%	Licking_Knox_Holmes	114,070	-4.3%
Butler_B	113,453	-4.8%	Lorain_A	123,543	3.7%
Butler_C	115,685	-2.9%	Lorain_B	113,276	-5.0%
Butler_Darke_Preble	117,398	-1.5%	Lorain_Erie	123,988	4.0%
Clark_A	113,562	-4.7%	Lucas_A	123,848	3.9%
Clermont_A	122,488	2.8%	Lucas_B	125,100	5.0%
Clermont_Brown	114,614	-3.8%	Lucas_C	125,085	4.9%
Columbiana_Carroll	115,728	-2.9%	Lucas_Fulton_Henry	122,840	3.1%
Cuyahoga_A	124,826	4.7%	Mahoning_A	113,818	-4.5%
Cuyahoga_B	125,140	5.0%	Mahoning_B	114,796	-3.7%
Cuyahoga_C	124,968	4.9%	Marion_Knox_Morrow	113,629	-4.7%
Cuyahoga_D	125,024	4.9%	Medina_A	120,308	0.9%
Cuyahoga_E	124,611	4.6%	Medina_Ashland	114,609	-3.8%
Cuyahoga_F	124,637	4.6%	Miami_Shelby_Logan	114,538	-3.9%
Cuyahoga_G	124,790	4.7%	Montgomery_A	121,041	1.6%
Cuyahoga_H	124,936	4.8%	Montgomery_B	114,535	-3.9%
Cuyahoga_I	124,466	4.4%	Montgomery_C	120,078	0.7%
Cuyahoga_J	124,364	4.3%	Montgomery_D	122,332	2.6%
Cuyahoga_Lake	124,750	4.7%	Montgomery_Miami	114,430	-4.0%
Darke_Auglaize_Mercer	121,417	1.9%	Muskingum_Coshocton	113,586	-4.7%
Delaware_A	114,457	-4.0%	Portage_A	124,923	4.8%
Delaware_Marion	113,840	-4.5%	Richland_A	124,936	4.8%
Erie_Sandusky_Ottawa	113,928	-4.4%	Ross_Jackson_Pike	116,665	-2.1%
Fairfield_A	116,348	-2.4%	Sandusky_Huron_Crawford	113,701	-4.6%
Fairfield_Ross_Pickaway	114,358	-4.1%	Scioto_Brown_Adams	116,660	-2.1%
Franklin_A	116,195	-2.5%	Seneca_Logan_Hardin	121,281	1.8%
Franklin_B	117,795	-1.2%	Stark_A	119,639	0.4%
Franklin_C	114,715	-3.8%	Stark_B	123,441	3.6%
Franklin_D	113,852	-4.5%	Stark_C	124,655	4.6%
Franklin_E	124,669	4.6%	Summit_A	117,262	-1.6%
Franklin_F	115,611	-3.0%	Summit_B	122,161	2.5%
Franklin_G	116,226	-2.5%	Summit_C	113,869	-4.5%
Franklin_H	122,253	2.6%	Summit_D	123,343	3.5%
Franklin_I	117,162	-1.7%	Summit_Portage_Gauga	124,037	4.1%
Franklin_J	124,414	4.4%	Trumbull_A	121,935	2.3%
Franklin_K	124,449	4.4%	Trumbull_Ashtabula	124,615	4.6%
Franklin_Union_Madison	123,074	3.3%	Tuscarawas_Holmes	121,163	1.7%
Fulton_Defiance_Williams	122,667	2.9%	Tuscarawas_Jefferson_Guernsey	113,824	-4.5%
Greene_A	113,413	-4.8%	Warren_A	123,512	3.6%
Greene_Clark_Champaign	115,706	-2.9%	Warren_B	118,825	-0.3%
Hamilton_A	124,421	4.4%	Washington_Perry_Noble	113,769	-4.5%
Hamilton_B	124,842	4.7%	Wayne_A	116,894	-1.9%
Hamilton_C	121,704	2.1%	Wood_A	113,541	-4.7%
Hamilton_D	115,205	-3.3%	Wood_Hancock_Putnam	123,965	4.0%
Hamilton_E	116,284	-2.4%			
Hamilton_F	113,410	-4.8%			
Hamilton_G	114,773	-3.7%			

EXHIBIT A: POPULATION COUNTS

OHIO STATE SENATE UNITY MAP DISTRICTS

District Region	Total Population	Deviation
Athens_Washington_Lawrence	343,753	-3.9%
Butler_A	342,717	-4.2%
Clermont_Scioto_Brown	353,762	-1.1%
Cuyahoga_A	374,934	4.9%
Cuyahoga_B	374,272	4.7%
Cuyahoga_C	374,192	4.7%
Cuyahoga_Lake	374,022	4.6%
Delaware_Marion_Knox	341,926	-4.4%
Fairfield_Ross_Pickaway	347,371	-2.8%
Franklin_A	348,705	-2.5%
Franklin_B	354,132	-1.0%
Franklin_C	355,641	-0.5%
Franklin_Union_Madison	371,937	4.0%
Greene_Clark_Champaign	342,681	-4.2%
Hamilton_A	370,967	3.7%
Hamilton_B	344,899	-3.5%
Hamilton_Butler_Darke	353,588	-1.1%
Licking_Muskingum_Knox	341,150	-4.6%
Lorain_Erie	360,807	0.9%
Lucas_A	374,033	4.6%
Lucas_Allen_Fulton	367,613	2.8%
Mahoning_Columbiana_Carroll	344,342	-3.7%
Medina_Wayne_Ashland	351,811	-1.6%
Montgomery_A	355,654	-0.5%
Montgomery_Miami_Shelby	351,300	-1.8%
Richland_Erie_Sandusky	352,565	-1.4%
Stark_A	367,735	2.8%
Stark_Tuscarawas_Belmont	350,362	-2.0%
Summit_A	353,292	-1.2%
Summit_Portage_Gauga	372,303	4.1%
Trumbull_Ashtabula_Gauga	371,572	3.9%
Warren_Highland_Clinton	356,623	-0.3%
Wood_Hancock_Seneca	358,787	0.3%

EXHIBIT B: MINORITY REPRESENTATION OHIO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITY MAP DISTRICTS

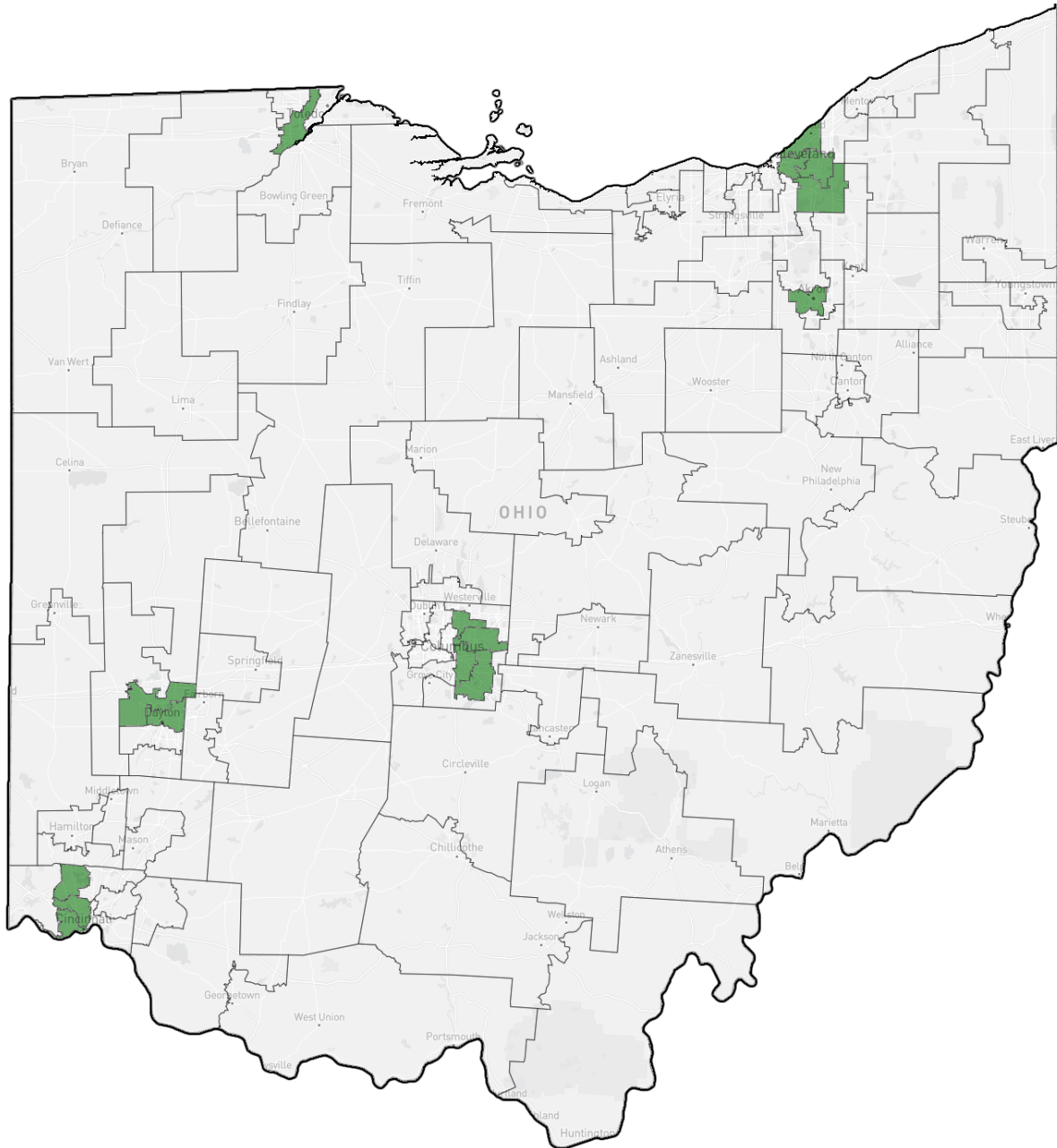
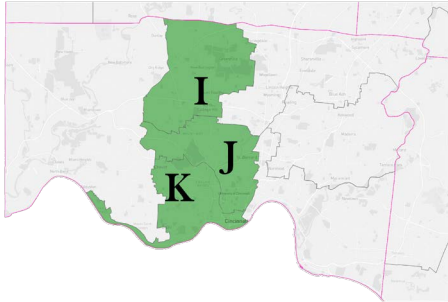


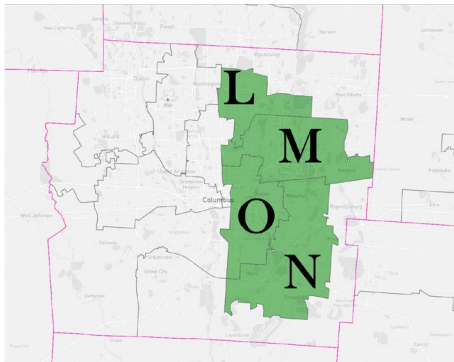
EXHIBIT B: MINORITY REPRESENTATION

OHIO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITY MAP DISTRICTS

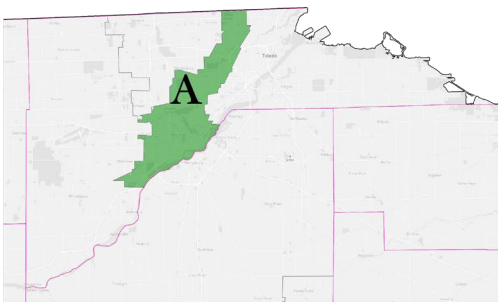
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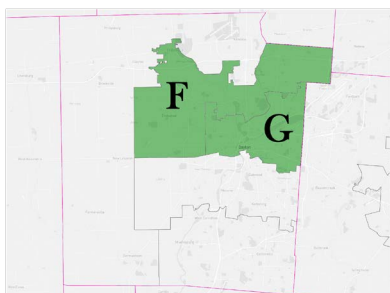
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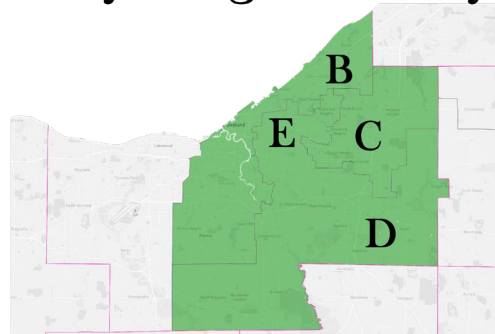
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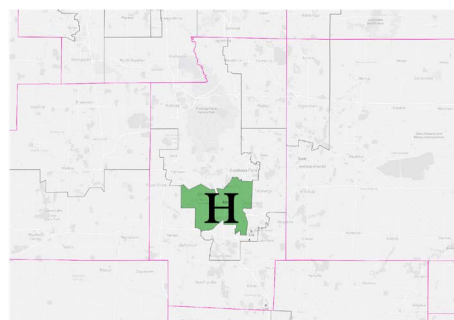
Montgomery County



Cuyahoga County



Summit County



House Minority Representation		
Letter	BVAP	POC Total Population
A	30.02%	43.77%
B	73.19%	79.70%
C	28.19%	40.24%
D	59.75%	68.50%
E	65.99%	77.18%
F	37.54%	46.93%
G	33.82%	47.63%
H	41.86%	58.75%
I	37.03%	51.78%
J	38.87%	53.18%
K	38.40%	53.56%
L	39.39%	63.14%
M	39.36%	56.75%
N	45.84%	61.81%
O	50.22%	61.98%

EXHIBIT B: MINORITY REPRESENTATION OHIO STATE SENATE UNITY MAP DISTRICTS

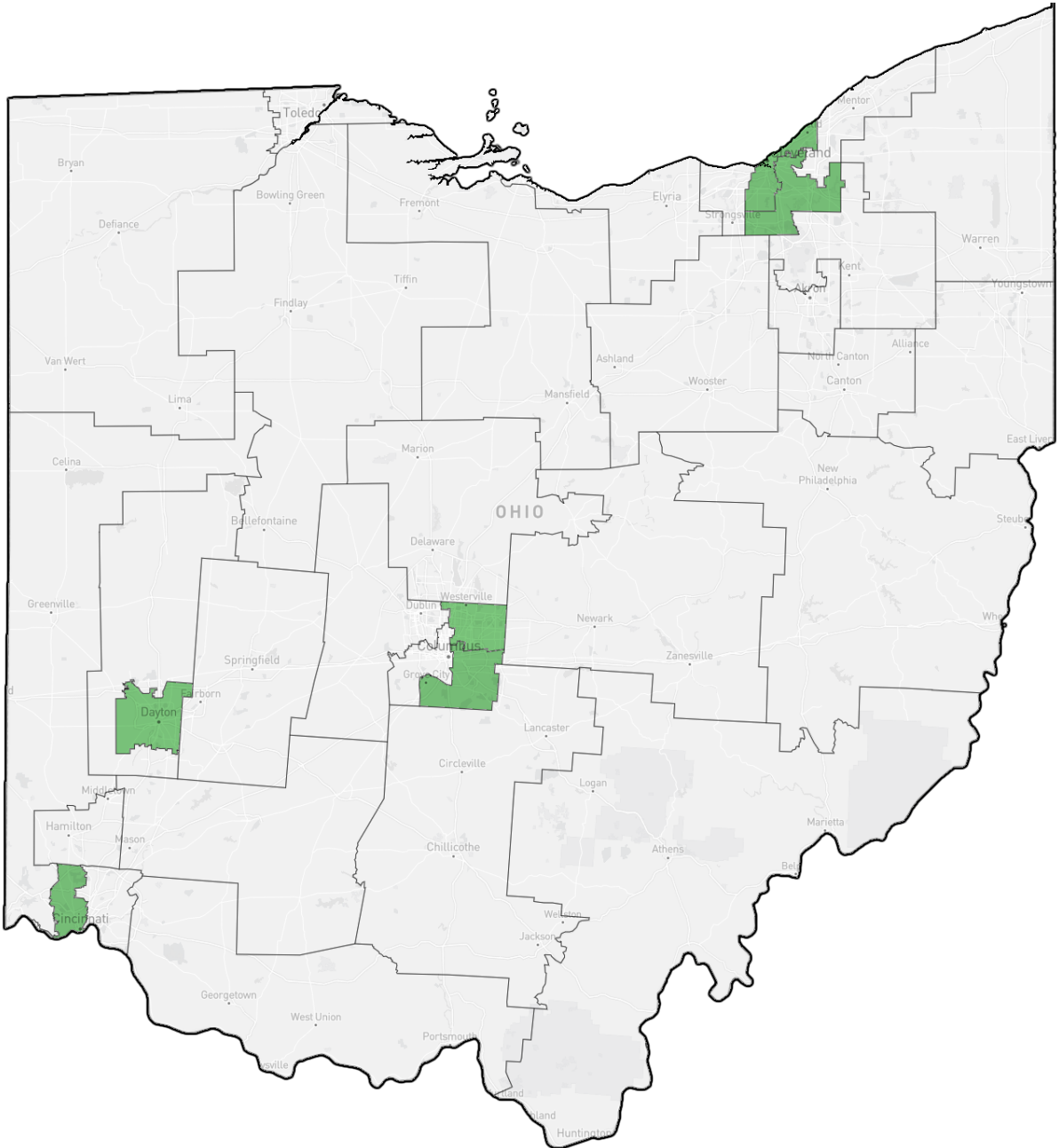
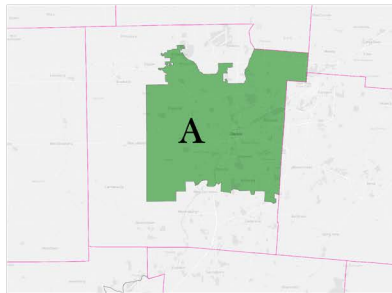
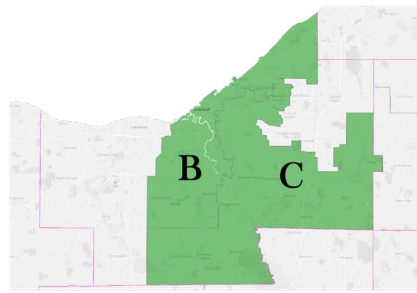


EXHIBIT B: MINORITY REPRESENTATION OHIO STATE SENATE UNITY MAP DISTRICTS

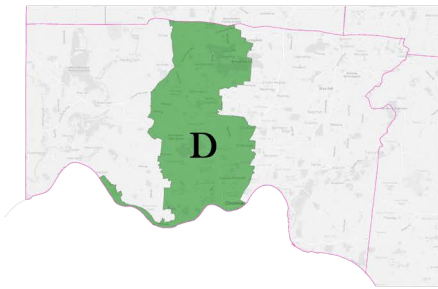
Montgomery County



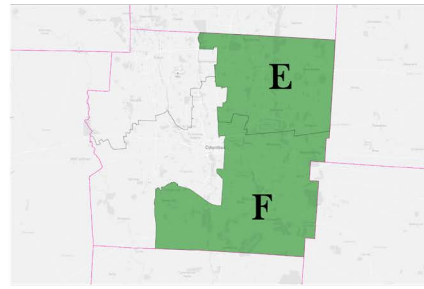
Cuyahoga County



Hamilton County



Franklin County



<u>Senate Minority Representation</u>		
Letter	BVAP	POC Total Population
A	29.27%	40.87%
B	32.70%	50.19%
C	49.76%	60.24%
D	38.11%	52.83%
E	29.93%	49.41%
F	39.05%	53.19%

EXHIBIT C: REPRESENTATIONAL FAIRNESS MEMO

Oral Presentation of Article XI, Section 6(B)

“The statewide proportion of districts whose voters, based on statewide state and federal partisan general election results during the last ten years, favor each political party shall correspond closely to the statewide preferences of the voters of Ohio.”

How Section 6(B) is Intended to Work

The first step is to calculate the statewide preferences of the voters of Ohio as reflected in ballots cast for the candidates of each major party for President, United States Senator, Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General, Auditor and Treasurer over the past decade. That calculation (based on the official election results as published by the Ohio Secretary of State) is presented in the following table.

Votes for Statewide Offices over the Past Decade

Democratic Candidates	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020
President	2,697,260		2,394,164		2,679,165
Senator	2,645,901		1,996,908		
Governor		1,009,359		2,067,847	
Sec of State		1,074,475		2,049,944	
Attorney General		1,178,426		2,084,593	
Auditor		1,149,305		2,006,204	
Treasurer		1,323,325		2,022,016	

GRAND TOTAL of votes cast for Democratic candidates 2012-2020: **28,378,892**

Republican Candidates	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020
President	2,593,779		2,841,005		3,154,834
Senator	2,371,230		3,118,567		
Governor		1,944,848		2,231,917	
Sec. of State		1,811,020		2,210,356	
Attorney General		1,882,048		2,272,440	
Auditor		1,149,305		2,152,769	
Treasurer		1,724,060		2,304,444	

GRAND TOTAL of votes cast for Republican candidates 2012-2020: **33,759,622**

Democratic share of votes cast for statewide offices $(28,378,892 \div 62,141,514) = 45.7\%$

Republican share of votes cast for statewide offices $(33,762,622 \div 62,141,514) = 54.3\%$

EXHIBIT C: REPRESENTATIONAL FAIRNESS MEMO

Thus, the grand total of votes for Republican and Democratic candidates for statewide offices over the past decade indicates that Ohio voters supported Republican candidates over Democratic candidates by a margin of 54.3% vs. 45.7%.

Accordingly, for the map to be representationally fair, that is, not gerrymandered, the share of Ohio House of Representatives districts whose voters lean toward Republican candidates should be as close to 54.3% as possible, while 45.7% of these districts should lean toward Democratic candidates.

The second step is to create a partisan index for each of the districts that have been drawn based on the same statewide election results. This involves aggregating those same data for each of the districts in the map. This step determines the likely partisan lean in each district.

This seems like a lot of work, but computer programs used to draw district maps can easily accomplish this task.

Then simply count the number of districts that lean toward one party or the other.

After this has been done, it will be easily possible to determine which maps most closely correspond to the partisan preferences of Ohio's voters over the previous decade.

Using these data, the goal should be to create a map in which 54% of the districts have a pro-Republican partisan index and 45.7% have a pro-Democratic partisan index based on the last decade's election results.

Note that Section 6(B) of Article XI does not imply that each individual district should internally mirror this statewide ratio, which cannot occur because of how Republican and Democratic voters are unevenly distributed across the state.

Instead, it is the *statewide* share of districts leaning toward one party or another (based upon previous voting behavior over the previous decade) that should correspond to this statewide pattern of partisan preferences.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



Thank you to all of our partners, contributors and every fellow Ohioan who lifted their voice in this process. Democracy is a practice that requires all of us.

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"Nothing can stop the power of a committed and determined people to make a difference in our society."

Congressman John Lewis