# Making Safe Seats Safer 

 How Big Money in Politics Compounds Gerrymandering to Lock Up Election Results

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## Executive Summary

Large campaign contributions allow wealthy donors to unduly influence who can run for office and who wins elections in Ohio. This analysis examines the role of campaign contributions in in uencing the outcome of Ohio elections.

The candidate who raised the most money won $95 \%$ of the time.

- Big money won 18 of 18 congressional races, 16 of 16 state senate races, and 92 of 99 state house races.


## Winning candidates significantly

 outraised their opponents.- In congressional races, winners raised five times as much as their opponents and had a total cash advantage of $\$ 15$ million.
- In state senate races, winners raised twelve times as much as their opponents and had total a cash advantage of \$9.7 million.
- In state house races, winners raised four times as much as their opponents and had a total cash advantage of $\$ 11$ million.


## Slanted districts are even worse.

Fundraising discrepancies are even larger in districts that are slanted heavily toward one party as a result of gerrymandering in the redistricting process. Excluding uncontested races:

- In safe congressional seats, winners raised 11 times as much as their opponents. In less safe seats, winners raised 2.4 times as much.

■ In safe state senate seats, winners raised 37 times as much as their opponents. In less safe senate seats, winners raised

For Non-Competitive* Districts

|  | Financial <br> Advantage | District <br> Advantage | \# of Candidates <br> who Overcame Both <br> Disadvantages |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Congressional | $14 / 14$ | $14 / 14$ | 0 |
| State Senate | $13 / 13$ | $13 / 13$ | 0 |
| State House | $80 / 84$ | $77 / 84$ | 2 |
|  |  |  |  |

This chart shows the number of times that a candidate prevailed who held either a financial advantage in campaign contributions or a district advantage due to running in a seat that was tilted toward their party. The final column is the number of candidates who prevailed against both of these disadvantages.
seven times as much as their opponents.
In safe house seats, winners raised five times as much as their opponents. In less safe seats, winners raised 2.6 times as much as their opponents.

## Dual disadvantages.

Campaign fundraising and gerrymandering both tilt the playing field in favor of some candidates and against others. Our final analysis looked out how these forces work in tandem.

- For 14 congressional and 13 state senate races, the dual advantages predicted $100 \%$ of the results for noncompetitive districts.
- In the 84 non-competitive state house districts, only seven candidates overcame the district advantage. Five of those seven did so by dramatically outspending their opponents.

■ In only 2 of 111 non-competitive districts did a candidate beat the odds by winning in a district where the partisan makeup disadvantaged them while also facing an opponent who raised more money.

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## Introduction

Imagine that you decided to run for office in Ohio. Among other challenges, you would immediately confront two powerful forces that would determine the likelihood that you could win: 1) how much money you could raise in comparison to your opponents, and 2) whether the district you are running in was drawn to favor your political party.

Current campaign finance laws in Ohio allow large donors to unduly determine which candidates run for office, which of these candidates win, what issues dominate political discourse, and ultimately the disposition of those issues. This analysis examines the role of campaign contributions in in uencing the outcome of Ohio elections. While big money plays a pernicious role at the early stages of the election cycle, when potential candidates are deciding whether they can make a viable run for office and when party primaries narrow the field of candidates, this analysis focuses solely on the role of money in general elections.

Political scandals have plagued Ohio in recent years. In 2004, Speaker Larry Householder shelved his statewide political ambitions when consultants linked to Householder were caught strong-arming lobbyists for campaign contributions. In the spring of 2005, federal investigators found that a coincollector named Thomas Noe had squandered or stolen millions of dollars from a state workers compensation fund. Noe was a prodigious campaign donor, having contributed to most Republican officeholders in the state of Ohio and some beyond Ohio. Governor Bob Taft pled no contest in August to charges that he failed to report gifts he had received from lobbyists, including a golf outing paid for by Mr. Noe. In October 2005, federal prosecutors indicted Mr. Noe for laundering illegal campaign
contributions into President George W. Bush's 2004 presidential campaign. Other recent allegations have included the charge that Attorney General Jim Petro gave out contracts to law firms who contributed heavily to his campaign and other Republican causes.

The endless grind of scandals suggests to Ohio voters that their elected officials simply operate as a cash register - taking campaign contributions or gifts in and giving out government favors and contracts. While there may be some truth to this story, it ignores a larger systemic problem: big donors are able to influence elections outcomes with large, legal contributions. This enables them to avoid making explicit bribes or quid pro quo arrangements in exchange for political favors. Rather, big donors can ensure that politicians who are well known to the donor community and who share their self-serving politics can defeat more civic-minded opponents who share the values and interests of Ohio's families and ordinary citizens. Once in office, big money's elected officials know to scratch the backs of those private interests who put them into power and what is necessary to stay there.

But money in politics is not the only influence on election outcomes. Our previous analysis, Safe Seats, Dangerous Democracy, found that politicians draw political boundaries in the redistricting process that intentionally skew representation by packing like-minded voters into safe seats that are all but assured to elect a candidate of one party. Out of 150 congressional, state senate, and state house races, we found that 126 of them were rigged to be safe or to lean heavily toward one party. Of those 126 seats, the party favored by the gerrymander won 117 , or 93 percent. Of those 126 seats. 111 were up for election
in 2004, the remaining 15 are state senate seats that will be elected in 2006.

While it is not necessarily detrimental to democracy for like-minded voters to safely elect representatives who share their values, when this happens as the intentional result of political gerrymandering it distorts the representative process to underrepresent moderates and other interests.

This analysis examines how frequently these twin forces of campaign contributions and gerrymandering compound each other to lock out meaningful challengers who might otherwise truly represent the interests of Ohio's communities. More often then not, campaign contributions further tilt an already un-level playing field by giving the candidate who is advantaged by a gerrymandered district an even greater advantage in campaign fundraising. Who, after all, wants to waste their campaign contributions on a candidate who is running in a district that was engineered to assure the success of the opposing party?

In December 2004, Governor Taft called a special session of the Ohio legislature to address campaign financing. The legislature passed HB1, championed by Rep. Dewine and Sen. Jacobson, which improved some disclosure of campaign contributions while dramatically increasing the amount that large donors can contribute to candidates from $\$ 2,500$ to $\$ 10,000$. The data we analyzed in this report is from the 2004 election cycle, and represents contributions given before the higher limits of HB1 were enacted. The disparity in fundraising between winning candidates and their opponents will only grow larger should contribution limits remain at the level prescribed in HB1.

## Congressional Races

In 2004, 18 candidates were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Ohio. None of the races were particularly competitive:

- Candidates who raised the most money won 100 percent of the time;

100 percent of the winners were incumbents;

- The smallest margin of victory was 17 percentage points, and the largest was 100;
- Two races were uncontested in the general election (Stephanie Tubbs-Jones D, OH-11; and Ted Strickland-D, OH$6)$.

One candidate reported no fundraising - Mark P. Brown, defeated by Deborah Pryce-R, OH-15.

Excluding the uncontested races:

- The average margin of victory was 33 percentage points;

Overall, winners raised 4.7 times more than their opponents and held a cash advantage of \$14 million;

- On average, winners held a cash advantage of $\$ 880,000$;


## Slanted Districts

However, the districts set up to be uncompetitive by redistricting were also the least competitive financially:
[The following excludes the two uncontested seats: District 6 was ranked "competitive" and District 11 was ranked "Safe D."]

- Overall, safe seats were 4.6 times less financially competitive.
- Winners in "safe seat" races raised 11 times as much money as their opponents,
while in less safe seats winners had a 2.4fold fundraising advantage.
- In Democratic safe seats, winners raised more than four times more money than their opponents and won with an average margin of 36 percentage points.
- In Republican safe seats, winners raised 23 times more money than their opponents and won with an average margin of 38 percentage points.

■ In "swing" seats, incumbents raised more than 24 times more money than their opponents and won with a margin of 22 percentage points.

■ One competitive seat was uncontested (Strickland-D raised \$512,410). In another (15), Mark Brown did not file any contribution reports with the FEC.

- In seats leaning Republican, incumbents outraised their opponents by only 1.4 times, but secured an average


## Congressional Results by Seat Safety

| Legislative <br> District <br> \# of races) | Average <br> Margin of <br> Victory | Fundraising <br> Advantage $\$$ | Fundraising <br> Advantage <br> (Ratio) | Democratic <br> Victory | Republican <br> Victory | Average Total <br> Money in Race |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Safe R (6) | 38.3 | $\$ 8,112,234$ | 22.9 | 0 | 6 | $\$ 1,475,256$ |
| Lean R (3) | 27.7 | $\$ 1,066,404$ | 1.4 | 0 | 3 | $\$ 2,117,713$ |
| Swing (4) | 51.3 | $\$ 3,333,176$ | 28.8 | 1 | 3 | $\$ 893,142$ |
| Lean D (0) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Safe D (5) | 49.2 | $\$ 2,687,331$ | 5.2 | 5 | 0 | $\$ 790,994$ |

## Congressional Results by Seat Safety (excluding uncontested races)

| Legislative <br> District | Average Margin <br> of Victory | Fundraising <br> Advantage $\$$ | Fundraising <br> Advantage <br> (Ratio) | Democratic <br> Victory | Republican <br> Victory | Average Total <br> Money in Race |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Safe R (6) | 38.3 | $\$ 8,112,234$ | 22.9 | 0 | 6 | $\$ 1,475,256$ |
| Lean R (3) | 27.7 | $\$ 1,066,404$ | 1.4 | 0 | 3 | $\$ 2,117,713$ |
| Swing (4) | 22.0 | $\$ 1,805,404$ | 24.6 | 0 | 2 | $\$ 1,022,397$ |
| Lean D (0) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Safe D (5) | 36.5 | $\$ 2,085,293$ | 4.3 | 4 | 0 | $\$ 838,233$ |

margin of victory of 28 percentage points.

Overall, more competitive races saw greater amounts of money invested (excluding uncontested races):

- Overall, 1.4 times more money was invested in leaning and competitive seats than safe seats.

Seats leaning R were the most heavily invested in.

Safe D seats were the least invested in.

## Dual Disadvantages

No congressional candidate won in 2004 in a non-competitive district that favored the opposing party. No candidate won who was outraised.

## Definition of a "Safe" Seat

We defined safe seats based on presidential voting results in 2004. In safe seats, voters chose either Kerry or Bush by a margin of more than 10 percentage points. We further categorized districts as follows:

- Safe $\mathrm{D}=$ going for Kerry with a margin of 10 percent of the vote or more.
- Safe $\mathrm{R}=$ going for Bush with a margin of 10 percent of the vote or more.
- Lean $\mathrm{D}=$ going for Kerry with a margin of five percent or greater but less than 10 percent of the vote.
- Lean $\mathrm{R}=$ going for Bush with a margin of five percent or greater but less than 10 percent
- $\operatorname{Swing}=$ The presidential race was won by fewer than five percentage points.


## State Senate Races

In 2004, 16 of the 33 Ohio senate seats were up for election. Overall, none of these races were particularly competitive:

- Candidates who raised the most money won 100 percent of the time;
- The smallest margin of victory was seven percentage points, and the largest was 100 ;
- Two races were uncontested (Districts 22 and 26);
- The average margin of victory was 37 percentage points;

■ Overall, winners raised 12 times more money than their opponents and held a cash advantage of $\$ 9.7$ million;

On average, winners held a fundraising advantage of $\$ 604,000$.

Excluding the uncontested races:

The average margin of victory was over 28 percentage points;

- Overall, winners raised 11 times more money than their opponents and held a cash advantage of $\$ 8.8$ million;
- On average, winners held a funding advantage of $\$ 629,000$.


## Slanted Districts

The least competitive districts tended to have the largest fundraising gaps:
[The following excludes the two uncontested seats, both of which were "Safe R."]

- Overall, safe seat races were 5.3 times less financially competitive.
- Winners of safe seats had a 37fold fundraising advantage over their opponents. In less safe seats, winners raised seven times as much as their
opponents.
- In Democratic safe seats, winners raised nearly eight times more money than their opponents, and won with an average margin of 31 percentage points.
- In Republican safe seats, winners raised over 73 times more money than their opponents and won with an average margin of 35 percentage points.

■ In Republican leaning seats, winners raised more than four times the money of their opponents, and won by an average margin of 14 percentage points.

- Republicans won $2 / 3$ of the swing seats.

■ On average, swing seat winners raised more than 130 times more money than their opponents, and won by more than 27 percentage points.

More competitive races saw greater amounts of money invested: (excluding uncontested races)

## State Senate Results by Seat Safety

| Legislative <br> District <br> \# of races) | Average <br> Margin of <br> Victory | Fundraising <br> Advantage $\$$ | Fundraising <br> Advantage <br> (Ratio) | Democratic <br> Victory | Republican <br> Victory | Average Total <br> Money in Race |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Safe R (8) | 51.1 | $\$ 4,624,665$ | 90.4 | 0 | 8 | $\$ 591,010$ |
| Lean R (3) | 13.9 | $\$ 2,416,187$ | 4.3 | 0 | 3 | $\$ 1,296,456$ |
| Swing (3) | 27.8 | $\$ 2,201,449$ | 132.6 | 1 | 2 | $\$ 744,969$ |
| Lean D (0) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Safe D (2) | 31.5 | $\$ 420,444$ | 7.8 | 2 | 0 | $\$ 272,376$ |

## State Senate Results by Seat Safety (excluding uncontested races)

| Legislative <br> District <br> (\# of races) | Average Margin <br> of Victory | Fundraising <br> Advantage $\$$ | Fundraising <br> Advantage <br> (Ratio) | Democratic <br> Victory | Republican <br> Victory | Average Total <br> Money in Race |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Safe R (8) | 34.8 | $\$ 3,729,818$ | 73.1 | 0 | 6 | $\$ 638,872$ |
| Lean R (3) | 13.9 | $\$ 2,416,187$ | 4.3 | 0 | 3 | $\$ 1,296,456$ |
| Swing (3) | 27.8 | $\$ 2,201,449$ | 132.6 | 1 | 2 | $\$ 744,969$ |
| Lean D (0) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Safe D (2) | 31.5 | $\$ 420,444$ | 7.8 | 2 | 0 | $\$ 272,376$ |

Overall, 1.9 times more money was invested in leaning and competitive seats than safe seats.

- Seats leaning R were the most heavily invested in.

■ Safe D seats were the least invested in.

## Dual Disadvantages

In 2004 no senate candidate won in a non-competitive district that favored the opposing party. No candidate won who was outraised.

## State House Races

All 99 Ohio state house seats were up for election in 2004. While there were a few races where candidates at a financial disadvantage managed to win by slim margins, most races were landslides.

■ Candidates who raised the most money won 93 percent of the time;

- The smallest margin of victory was 0.4 percentage points, and the largest was 100 ;
- 22 seats were uncontested (more than 20 percent of all races);

■ In an additional five seats, the losing candidate did not report any contributions;

Excluding uncontested seats:

- The average margin of victory was 27 percentage points;

■ Overall, winners raised 3.7 times more money than their opponents and held a cash advantage of $\$ 9.3$ million;

- On average, winners raised $\$ 121,000$
more than their opponents;


## Slanted Districts

Seats most likely to be uncompetitive by design also had less competitive fundraising-however, the difference was smaller than in the state senate or congressional races.
[The following excludes uncontested seats: 10 Safe R, 10 Safe D, 1 Lean R, 1 Competitive]

- The funding gap between winners and losers in safe districts was two times larger than in more competitive districts.
- Overall, winners of safe seats raised five times as much as their competition, while winners in less-safe districts raised 2.6 times more than their opponents.

■ In Democratic safe seats, winners raised 3.6 times more money than their opponents, and won with an average margin of 42 percentage points.

■ In Republican safe seats, winners
raised nearly six times more money than their opponents and won with an average margin of 26 percentage points.

- In Democratic leaning seats, winners raised more than five times the money of their opponents and won by an average of 31 percentage points.
- In Republican leaning seats, winners raised more than eight times the money of their opponents, and won by an average margin of 22 percentage points.
- Republicans won $2 / 3$ of the competitive seats (including one uncontested race).

■ On average, competitive seat winners raised twice the money of their opponents, and won by 11 percentage points.

Overall, more competitive races saw greater amounts of money invested: (excluding uncontested races)

■ Overall, 1.5 times more money was invested in leaning and competitive seats than safe seats;

- Leaning and Safe D seats were the


## State House Results by Seat Safety

| Legislative <br> District <br> (\# of races) | Average <br> Margin of <br> Victory | Fundraising <br> Advantage $\$$ | Fundraising <br> Advantage <br> (Ratio) | Democratic <br> Victory | Republican <br> Victory | Average Total <br> Money in Race |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Safe R (45) | 42.8 | $\$ 6,608,139$ | 6.8 | 4 | 41 | $\$ 197,436$ |
| Lean R (7) | 33.1 | $\$ 1,030,143$ | 9.2 | 1 | 6 | $\$ 183,123$ |
| Swing (15) | 16.7 | $\$ 1,950,583$ | 2.2 | 5 | 10 | $\$ 350,560$ |
| Lean D (5) | 31.2 | $\$ 375,956$ | 5.6 | 4 | 1 | $\$ 107,992$ |
| Safe D (27) | 63.6 | $\$ 1,372,992$ | 4.6 | 26 | 1 | $\$ 79,468$ |

## State House Results by Seat Safety (excluding uncontested races)

| Legislative <br> District | Average <br> Margin of <br> Victory | Fundraising <br> Advantage $\$$ | Fundraising <br> Advantage <br> (Ratio) | Democratic <br> Victory | Republican <br> Victory | Average Total <br> Money in Race |
| ---: | :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Safe R (1) | 26.5 | $\$ 5,321,952$ | 5.7 | 2 | 33 | $\$ 217,098$ |
| Lean R (2) | 21.9 | $\$ 956,525$ | 8.6 | 1 | 5 | $\$ 201$ |
| Swing (3) | 10.7 | $\$ 1,663,897$ | 2 | 4 | 10 | $\$ 355,123$ |
| Lean D (4) | 31.2 | $\$ 375,956$ | 5.6 | 16 | 1 | 107,992 |
| Safe D (5) | 42.3 | $\$ 987,626$ | 3.6 | 1 | $\$ 103,545$ |  |

## least invested in.

Leaning and Safe R seats attracted twice the funding as equivalent D seats.
Overcoming the $\quad$ Financial
Disadvantage

Of the seven candidates who defeated a candidate who raised more money, two were Democrats running in safe Republican districts where Bush beat Kerry by more than $10 \%$, Jennifer Garrison and Nancy Hollister. Three were Democrats running in swing districts, one was a Democrat running in a district that leaned Democrat, and one was a Republican who was only disadvantaged by $\$ 200$ running in a safe Republican district.

## Overcoming the District Disadvantage

Of the seven non-competitive house districts won by the candidate disadvantaged by the district design:

- Two were Democrats running in uncontested in safe Republican districts. One became a Republican after the election.
- One was a Democrat who won in a district that leaned Republican by outraising his opponent by a factor of twenty.
- One was a Republican who won in a district that leaned Democrat who raised more than five times more than his opponent.
- One was a Republican who won in a safe Democratic district who raised four times more than his opponent.

Two were Democrats who beat opponents in safe Republican districts despite being considerably outspent. These two, Jennifer Garrison and Nancy Hollister, are the only two candidates in Ohio who won with both gerrymandering and campaign financing stacked against them. Both of these candidates raised
more in direct contributions than their opponents, but when in-kind contributions are included were outraised. Both of these candidates are from eastern Ohio and represent districts filled with Reagan Democrats who tend to vote Republican in presidential races but Democrat in state races. Both of these candidates who overcame dual disadvantages were women. Many female candidates do not beat these odds. Only $22 \%$ of the Ohio House, $15 \%$ of the Ohio Senate, and $16 \%$ of the Ohio congressional delegation are women.

## Dual Disadvantages

In 82 of the 84 House districts that were either safe seats or tilted toward one party, the candidate who raised the most or who was favored by the district, or both, won. These two forces delivered $97 \%$ of house victories in non-competitiive districts.

## Summary

## Dual disadvantages.

Campaign fundraising and gerrymandering both serve to tilt the playing field in favor of some candidates and against others. Our final analysis looked out how these forces work in tandem with each other.

- In only two of 111 non-competitive districts did a candidate beat the odds by winning in a district where the partisan makeup disadvantaged them while also facing a candidate who raise more money.
- In 98 percent of these non-competitive districts, one or more of the dual advantages of campaign financing or district gerrymandering prevailed.

In the relatively small number of Ohio districts that were drawn to be more competitive, the fundraising discrepancies were lower. While campaign fundraising was still a dominant factor, it was slightly less determinative in these districts.

In 22 districts that were drawn to be competitive, three candidates won after being outraised in a district that only slightly favored the opposing party's presidential candidate.

In these 22 competitive races, fundraising determined the outcome of the race 86 percent of the time compared to 96 percent of the time in noncompetitive districts.

## For Non-Competitive Districts

|  | Financial <br> Advantage | District <br> Advantage | \# of Candidates <br> who Overcame Both <br> Disadvantages |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Congressional | $14 / 14$ | $14 / 14$ | 0 |
| State Senate | $13 / 13$ | $13 / 13$ | 0 |
| State House | $80 / 84$ | $77 / 84$ | 2 |
|  |  |  |  |

This chart shows the number of times that a candidate prevailed who held either a financial advantage in campaign contributions or a district advantage due to running in a seat that was tilted toward their party. The final column is the number of candidates who prevailed against both of these disadvantages.

## Methodology

## Data Sources

For congressional races, campaign finance data was obtained from the Federal Elections Commission. The data contained fundraising totals and election results for the 2004 election cycle, and required no further processing before analysis.

For state legislative races, the Ohio Secretary of State's Office provided campaign finance data, including separate files identifying:

1) The results of 2004 elections for Congress and the state Legislature;
2) Candidate committees and the name of the candidate running for office; and
candidates, including in-kind contributions, compiled from reports filed with the Secretary of State, covering the period from 2000 through mid-2005.

We summed the total raised by each candidate committee within the election cycle, defined as the day after the previous general election until November 2, 2004. We then linked the district, candidate name, and election results to the name of the relevant candidate committee. This step allowed a link to be made to fundraising totals for the election cycle and the data to be compiled in one file. In a handful of cases, candidate committee names did not match between the two files. We confirmed that the alternate names referred to the correct candidate and correct race with calls to the
3) Contribution records for all Secretary of State's office, and corrected
the files.
Analysis of the 2004 presidential election by congressional, state senate and state house district was purchased from David Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections.

## Analysis

We categorized districts as safe, leaning, or swing using the definitions listed in the Summary on page four and the results of the 2004 presidential election by district. We then compiled the fundraising totals for winners and losers, plus the average margin of victory trends based on the district ranking using database software. Further analysis produced ratios of fundraising advantage for winners vs. losers in each type of district.

## Appendix A: Congressional races

| District | Rank | Winner | Party | Margin of <br> Victory | Fundraising <br> Advantage \$ | Fundraising <br> Advantage <br> (Ratio) |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: | ---: | ---: | :---: |
| 1 | 3 | CHABOT, STEVE | R | 21 | $\$ 519,917$ | 6.8 |
| 2 | 1 | PORTMAN, ROBERT J | R | 43 | $\$ 1,492,481$ | 73.3 |
| 3 | 2 | TURNER, MIKE | R | 25 | $\$ 516,695$ | 1.9 |
| 4 | 1 | OXLEY, MICHAEL G | R | 17 | $\$ 1,604,477$ | 9.7 |
| 5 | 1 | GILLMOR, PAUL E | R | 67 | $\$ 361,412$ | 5.6 |
| 6 | 3 | STRICKLAND, TED | D | 99 | $\$ 512,410$ | $* *$ |
| 7 | 1 | HOBSON, DAVID LEE | R | 31 | $\$ 1,725,109$ | 67.4 |
| 8 | 1 | BOEHNER, JOHN A | R | 39 | $\$ 1,502,777$ | 37.2 |
| 9 | 5 | KAPTUR, MARCY | D | 35 | $\$ 402,347$ | 2.6 |
| 10 | 5 | KUCINICH, DENNIS J | D | 21 | $\$ 58,171$ | 1.2 |
| 11 | 5 | JONES, STEPHANIE TUBBS | D | 100 | $\$ 602,038$ | $* *$ |
| 12 | 3 | TIBERI, PATRICK JOSEPH | R | 25 | $\$ 1,285,487$ | 44.5 |
| 13 | 5 | BROWN, SHERROD | D | 35 | $\$ 1,040,015$ | 132.9 |
| 14 | 2 | LATOURETTE, STEVEN C | R | 25 | $\$ 54,256$ | 1.0 |
| 15 | 3 | PRYCE, DEBORAH D | R | 20 | $1,015,362$ | $* *$ |
| 16 | 2 | REGULA, RALPH S | R | 33 | $\$ 495,453$ | 7.5 |
| 17 | 5 | RYAN, TIMOTHY J | D | 55 | $\$ 584,760$ | 54.9 |
| 18 | 1 | NEY, ROBERT W | R | 33 | $\$ 1,425,978$ | 77.9 |

*Rank $1=$ Safe Republican $2=$ Lean Republican $3=$ Swing $4=$ Lean Democrat $5=$ Safe Democrat
** No ratio when there was no opponent or opponent raised no funds

## Appendix B: State senate races

| District | Rank | Winner |  | Party | Margin of Victory | Fundraising Advantage \$ | Fundraising Advantage (Ratio) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | 3 | RANDALL | GARDNER | R | 25.3 | \$764,653 | 198.8 |
| 4 | 1 | GARY | CATES | R | 31.2 | \$488,590 | 30.8 |
| 6 | 1 | JEFF | JACOBSON | R | 28.9 | \$1,228,727 | ** |
| 8 | 1 | PATRICIA | CLANCY | R | 27.3 | \$462,014 | 75.1 |
| 10 | 1 | STEPHAN | AUSTRIA | R | 29.0 | \$944,022 | 369.2 |
| 12 | 1 | JIM | JORDAN | R | 58.5 | \$206,190 | 85.6 |
| 14 | 1 | TOM | NIEHAUS | R | 34.0 | \$400,274 | 17.6 |
| 16 | 2 | STEVE | STIVERS | R | 15.2 | \$1,033,450 | 52.9 |
| 18 | 2 | TIMOTHY | GRENDELL | R | 19.2 | \$485,207 | 4.0 |
| 20 | 2 | JOY | PADGETT | R | 7.4 | \$897,530 | 2.6 |
| 22 | 1 | RON | AMSTUTZ | R | 100.0 | \$657,112 | ** |
| 24 | 3 | ROBERT | SPADA | R | 24.3 | \$1,040,897 | 182.2 |
| 26 | 1 | LARRY | MUMPER | R | 100.0 | \$237,736 | ** |
| 28 | 5 | KIMBERLY | ZURZ | D | 30.8 | \$189,923 | 11.4 |
| 30 | 3 | CHARLIE | WILSON | D | 33.8 | \$395,899 | 56.6 |
| 32 | 5 | MARC | DANN | D | 32.3 | \$230,521 | 6.3 |

[^1]
## Appendix C: State house races

| District | Rank | Winner |  | Party | Margin of Victory | Fundraising Advantage \$ | Fundraising Advantage (Ratio) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 3 | CHARLES | BLASDEL | R | 1.0 | \$261,790 | 10.3 |
| 2 | 1 | JOHN | PETERSON | R | 37.7 | \$131,694 | 10.9 |
| 3 | 1 | JIM | CARMICHAEL | R | 31.1 | \$138,088 | 27.4 |
| 4 | 1 | JOHN | WILLAMOWSKI | R | 100.0 | \$54,799 | ** |
| 5 | 1 | TIM | SCHAFFER | R | 100.0 | \$111,495 | ** |
| 6 | 2 | ROBERT | LATTA | R | 25.0 | \$77,773 | 40.9 |
| 7 | 5 | KENNETH | YUKO | D | 47.4 | \$110,345 | 10.4 |
| 8 | 5 | LANCE | MASON | D | 100.0 | \$48,900 | ** |
| 9 | 5 | CLAUDETTE | WOODARD | D | 100.0 | \$23,059 | ** |
| 10 | 5 | SHIRLEY | SMITH | D | 100.0 | \$37,577 | ** |
| 11 | 5 | ANNIE | KEY | D | 100.0 | \$32,862 | ** |
| 12 | 5 | MICHAEL | DEBOSE | D | 71.9 | \$13,358 | 23.0 |
| 13 | 5 | MICHAEL | SKINDELL | D | 100.0 | \$42,042 | ** |
| 14 | 5 | DALE | MILLER | D | 51.5 | \$135,878 | 192.4 |
| 15 | 5 | TIMOTHY | DEGEETER | D | 35.0 | \$110,283 | 6.3 |
| 16 | 2 | SALLY | KILBANE | R | 17.5 | \$88,153 | 8.1 |
| 17 | 3 | JAMES | TRAKAS | R | 6.4 | \$112,357 | 1.8 |
| 18 | 2 | THOMAS | PATTON | R | 33.2 | \$382,692 | 94.8 |
| 19 | 1 | LARRY | FLOWERS | R | 19.9 | \$145,573 | 154.5 |
| 20 | 3 | JAMES | MCGREGOR | R | 11.1 | \$126,705 | 43.4 |
| 21 | 3 | LINDA | REIDELBACH | R | 5.2 | \$71,683 | 2.8 |
| 22 | 3 | JAMES | HUGHES | R | 21.6 | \$245,121 | 44.6 |
| 23 | 1 | LARRY | WOLPERT | R | 100.0 | \$66,765 | ** |
| 24 | 3 | GEOFFREY | SMITH | R | 12.7 | \$158,577 | 7.4 |
| 25 | 5 | DANIEL | STEWART | D | 9.9 | \$103,448 | 1.5 |
| 26 | 5 | MIKE | MITCHELL | D | 100.0 | \$26,950 | ** |
| 27 | 5 | JOYCE | BEATTY | D | 100.0 | \$68,679 | ** |
| 28 | 2 | JAMES | RAUSSEN | R | 6.3 | \$204,189 | 7.0 |
| 29 | 1 | LOUIS | BLESSING | R | 12.3 | \$42,314 | 6.3 |
| 30 | 1 | WILLIAM | SEITZ | R | 45.8 | \$277,979 | 14.1 |
| 31 | 4 | STEVEN | DRIEHAUS | D | 38.7 | \$100,104 | 14.7 |
| 32 | 5 | CATHERINE | BARRETT | D | 100.0 | \$37,132 | ** |
| 33 | 5 | TYRONE | YATES | D | 47.7 | \$36,956 | 44.0 |
| 34 | 1 | THOMAS | BRINKMAN | R | 20.1 | \$235,952 | 83.6 |
| 35 | 1 | MICHELLE | SCHNEIDER | R | 45.3 | \$116,685 | ** |
| 36 | 1 | ARLENE | SETZER | R | 24.1 | \$103,549 | 3.7 |
| 37 | 1 | JON | HUSTED | R | 30.0 | \$1,143,033 | 83.9 |
| 38 | 1 | JOHN | WHITE | R | 21.3 | \$104,562 | 7.5 |
| 39 | 5 | DIXIE | ALLEN | D | 55.0 | \$28,431 | 5.5 |
| 40 | 5 | FRED | STRAHORN | D | 40.3 | \$69,631 | ** |
| 41 | 3 | BRIAN | WILLIAMS | D | 0.4 | $(\$ 291,312)$ | 0.4 |


| 42 | 3 | JOHN | WIDOWFIELD | R | 13.8 | \$106,015 | 13.0 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 43 | 3 | MARY | TAYLOR | R | 15.2 | \$297,072 | 223.6 |
| 44 | 5 | BARBARA | SYKES | D | 100.0 | \$35,469 | ** |
| 45 | 5 | ROBERT | OTTERMAN | D | 48.2 | \$33,670 | 11.0 |
| 46 | 1 | MARK | WAGONER | R | 24.1 | \$186,477 | 4.0 |
| 47 | 5 | PETER | UJVAGI | D | 42.4 | \$35,556 | 2.4 |
| 48 | 5 | EDNA | BROWN | D | 100.0 | \$32,695 | ** |
| 49 | 5 | JEANINE | PERRY | D | 42.5 | \$4,043 | 1.2 |
| 50 | 2 | JOHN | HAGAN | R | 16.2 | \$92,168 | 2.4 |
| 51 | 2 | SCOTT | OELSLAGER | R | 100.0 | \$73,618 | ** |
| 52 | 5 | WILLIAM | HEALY | D | 42.1 | \$6,371 | 1.5 |
| 53 | 1 | SHAWN | WEBSTER | R | 31.7 | \$117,164 | 75.7 |
| 54 | 1 | COURTNEY | COMBS | R | 100.0 | \$50,160 | ** |
| 55 | 1 | WILLIAM | COLEY | R | 40.2 | \$32,840 | ** |
| 56 | 5 | JOSEPH | KOZIURA | D | 47.7 | \$61,648 | 21.7 |
| 57 | 3 | EARL | MARTIN | R | 4.5 | \$796,943 | 6.8 |
| 58 | 1 | KATHLEEN | WALCHER | R | 8.0 | \$270,044 | 2.7 |
| 59 | 5 | KENNETH | CARANO | D | 23.6 | \$21,209 | 2.9 |
| 60 | 5 | SYLVESTER | PATTON | D | 64.1 | \$51,939 | 9.9 |
| 61 | 3 | JOHN | BOCCIERI | D | 31.1 | \$125,314 | 4.7 |
| 62 | 3 | LORRAINE | FENDE | D | 6.7 | $(\$ 353,859)$ | 0.3 |
| 63 | 3 | TIMOTHY | CASSELL | D | 0.9 | (\$119,255) | 0.4 |
| 64 | 5 | RANDY | LAW | R | 8.0 | \$131,755 | 4.1 |
| 65 | 5 | SANDRA | STABILE HARWOOD | D | 41.3 | \$33,107 | 3.7 |
| 66 | 1 | JOSEPH | UECKER | R | 100.0 | \$108,976 | ** |
| 67 | 1 | THOMAS | RAGA | R | 100.0 | \$512,227 | ** |
| 68 | 4 | KATHLEEN | CHANDLER | D | 27.6 | \$30,313 | 4.9 |
| 69 | 1 | CHARLES | CALVERT | R | 10.7 | \$221,031 | 5.2 |
| 70 | 1 | KEVIN | DEWINE | R | 38.6 | \$539,770 | 1311.1 |
| 71 | 1 | DAVID | EVANS | R | 15.4 | \$95,373 | 8.3 |
| 72 | 3 | MERLE | KEARNS | R | 19.6 | \$126,748 | 10.0 |
| 73 | 1 | BILL | HARTNETT | D | 100.0 | \$91,994 | ** |
| 74 | 1 | STEPHEN | BUEHRER | R | 100.0 | \$181,157 | ** |
| 75 | 1 | JAMES | HOOPS | R | 38.4 | \$227,631 | 18.3 |
| 76 | 1 | MICHAEL | GILB | R | 36.0 | \$52,251 | ** |
| 77 | 1 | KEITH | FABER | R | 39.6 | \$189,600 | 86.6 |
| 78 | 1 | DERRICK | SEAVER | D | 100.0 | \$31,799 | ** |
| 79 | 1 | DIANA | FESSLER | R | 32.3 | \$60,866 | 3.4 |
| 80 | 3 | CHRIS | REDFERN | D | 100.0 | \$286,685 | ** |
| 81 | 1 | JEFFREY | WAGNER | R | 18.6 | \$135,775 | 2.6 |
| 82 | 1 | STEVE | REINHARD | R | 24.0 | \$82,076 | 18.0 |
| 83 | 1 | ANTHONY | CORE | R | 45.4 | \$50,767 | ** |
| 84 | 1 | CHRIS | WIDENER | R | 31.7 | \$169,341 | 19.0 |
| 85 | 1 | JOHN | SCHLICHTER | R | 24.8 | \$100,116 | 96.3 |
| 86 | 1 | DAVID | DANIELS | R | 22.2 | \$62,238 | 3.8 |
| 87 | 1 | CLYDE | EVANS | R | 31.0 | \$114,942 | 18.9 |
| 88 | 1 | DANNY | BUBP | R | 24.8 | \$84,845 | 3.9 |


| 89 | 2 | THOMAS | BOOK | D | 33.4 | $\$ 111,551$ | 20.0 |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | ---: | ---: |
| 90 | 1 | THOM | COLLIER | R | 25.7 | $\$ 41,189$ | 5.6 |
| 91 | 1 | RON | HOOD | R | 5.3 | $(\$ 204)$ | 1.0 |
| 92 | 4 | JIMMY | STEWART | R | 17.2 | $\$ 184,916$ | 5.6 |
| 93 | 1 | JENNIFER | GARRISON | D | 3.3 | $(\$ 85,633)$ | 0.4 |
| 94 | 1 | JAMES | ASLANIDES | R | 100.0 | $\$ 76,815$ | $* *$ |
| 95 | 4 | JOHN | DOMENICK | D | 37.7 | $(\$ 9,604)$ | 0.5 |
| 96 | 1 | ALLAN | SAYRE | D | 8.6 | $(\$ 67,357)$ | 0.7 |
| 97 | 1 | ROBERT | GIBBS | R | 29.6 | $\$ 99,108$ | 92.9 |
| 98 | 1 | MATTHEW | DOLAN | R | 30.4 | $\$ 102,272$ | 8.5 |
| 99 | 4 | L. | DISTEL | D | 34.6 | $\$ 70,227$ | 8.7 |

[^2]
[^0]:    * Non-competitive seats are those that are either safe for one party or leaning toward one party as defined on page 6 .

[^1]:    *Rank $1=$ Safe Republican 2 = Lean Republican $3=$ Swing 4 = Lean Democrat 5 = Safe Democrat
    ** No ratio when there was no opponent or opponent raised no funds

[^2]:    *Rank $1=$ Safe Republican $2=$ Lean Republican $3=$ Swing $4=$ Lean Democrat $5=$ Safe Democrat
    ** No ratio when there was no opponent or opponent raised no funds

