



Election Recap: Up, Down, or Sidewise?

How did the district maps revised in 2023 impact the elections in Georgia?



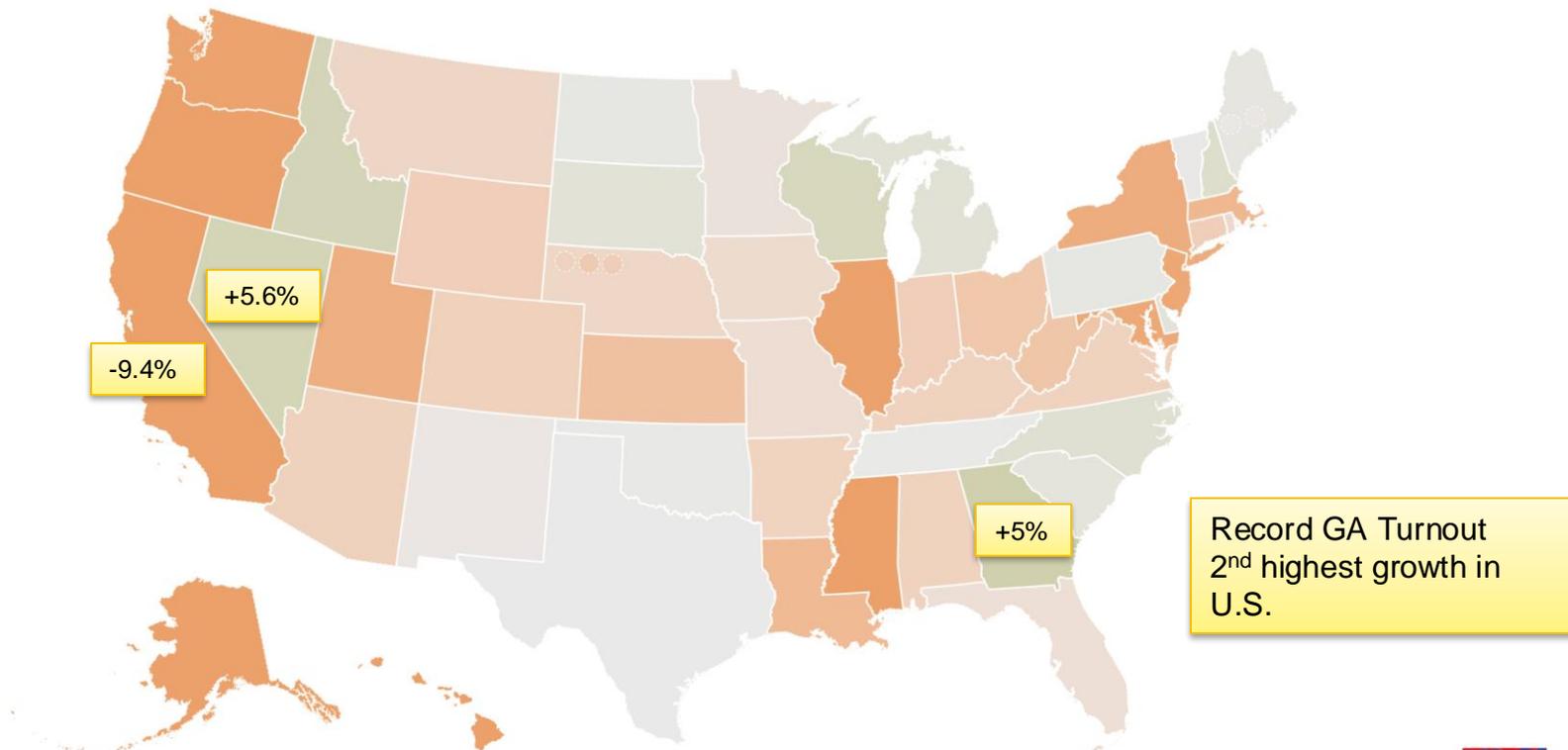
*Featuring Ken Lawler, FDGA Foundation chair
and the FDGA research team*

**Fair Districts GA Town Hall
December 12, 2024**

Nationwide turnout down 2% (3M votes) from 2020

Georgia's record voter turnout increased 2nd most in the U.S.

Turnout change from 2020



Sources:
Cook Political Report. >99% votes counted in all states
Federal Election Commission 2020 final report

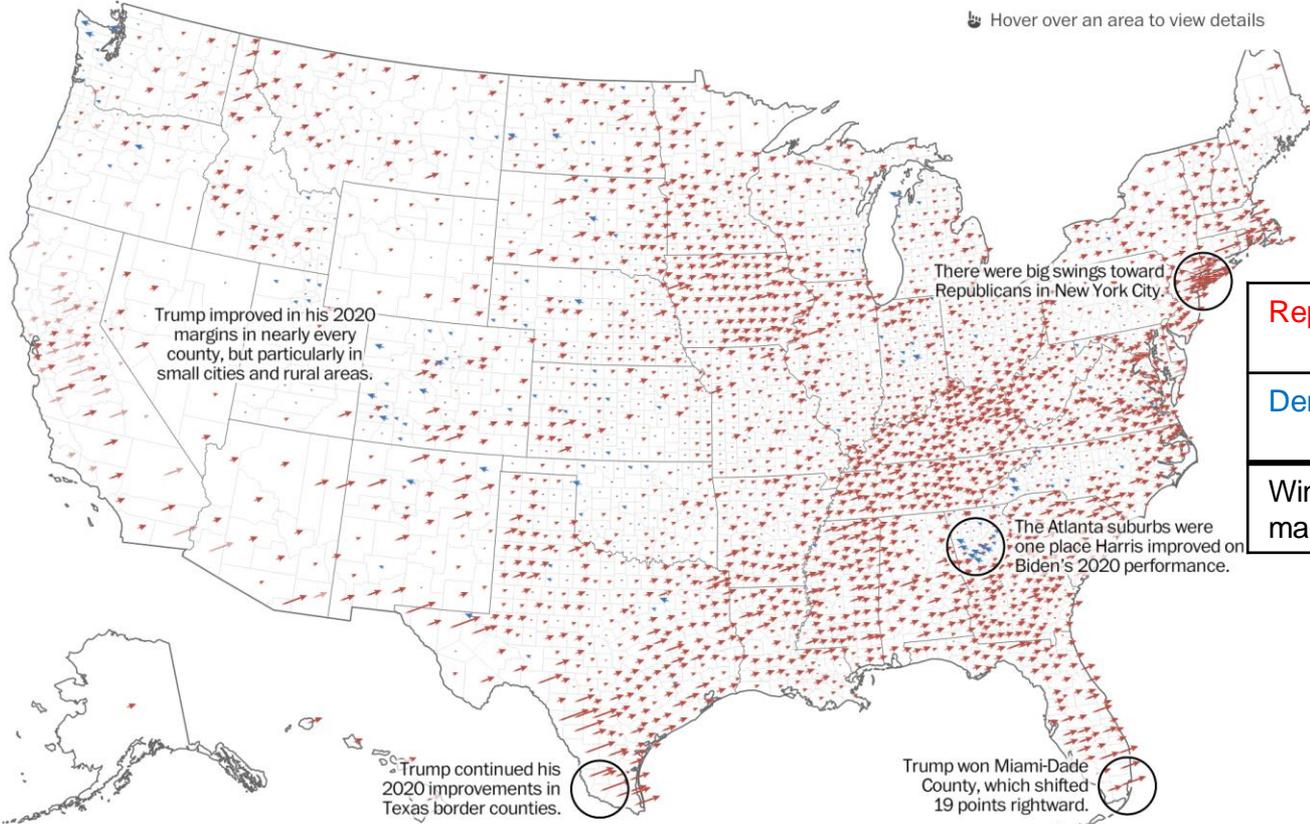
Record GA Turnout
2nd highest growth in
U.S.



12/12/24

Many counties shifted right across the country

Source: Washington Post



Trump improved in his 2020 margins in nearly every county, but particularly in small cities and rural areas.

There were big swings toward Republicans in New York City.

The Atlanta suburbs were one place Harris improved on Biden's 2020 performance.

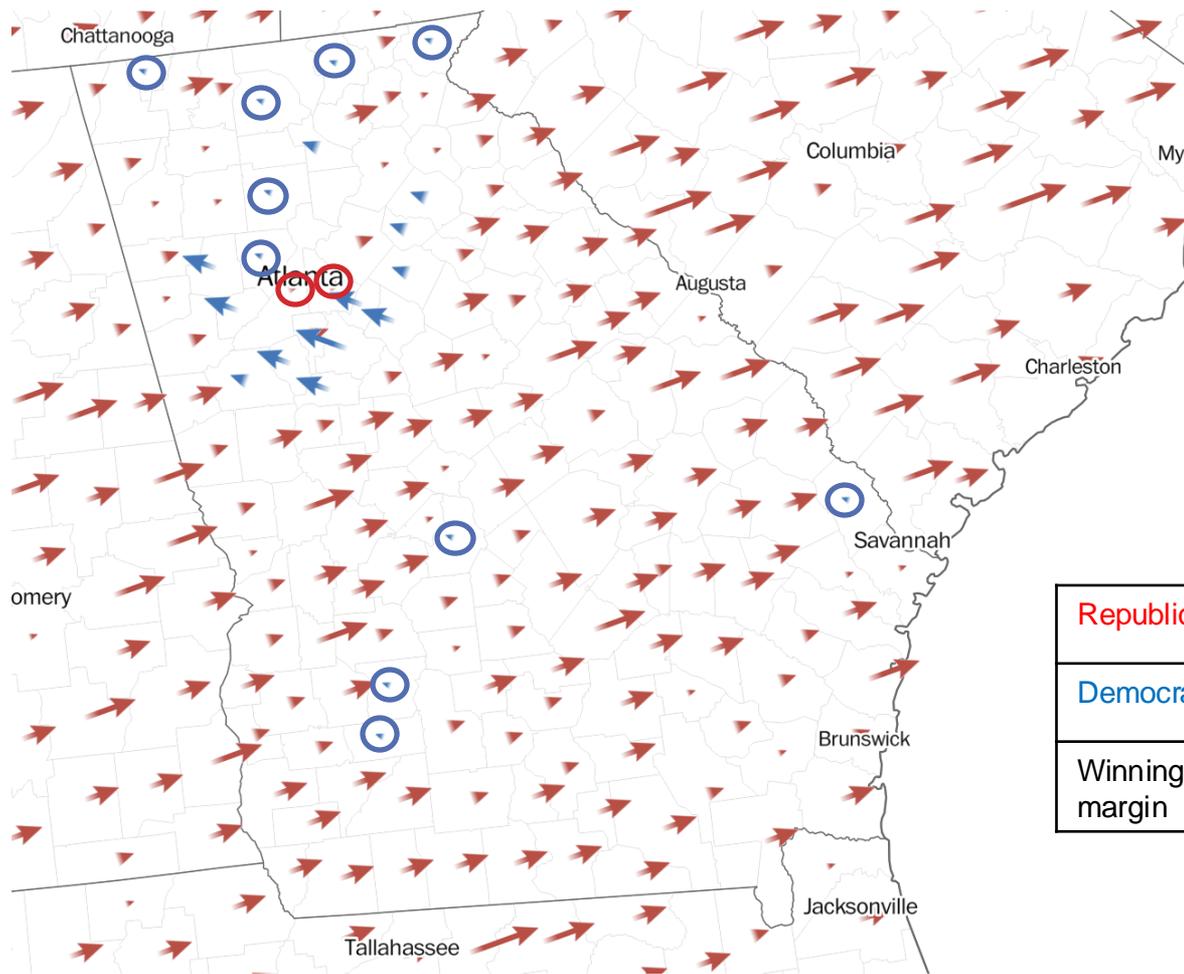
Trump continued his 2020 improvements in Texas border counties.

Trump won Miami-Dade County, which shifted 19 points rightward.

	U.S.		
	2020	2024	Shift
Republican	46.8%	49.81 %	+3.01
Democrat	51.3%	48.33 %	-2.97
Winning margin	4.5 % D	1.48 % R	+5.98 % R



Georgia shifted slightly right overall, but many counties shifted left

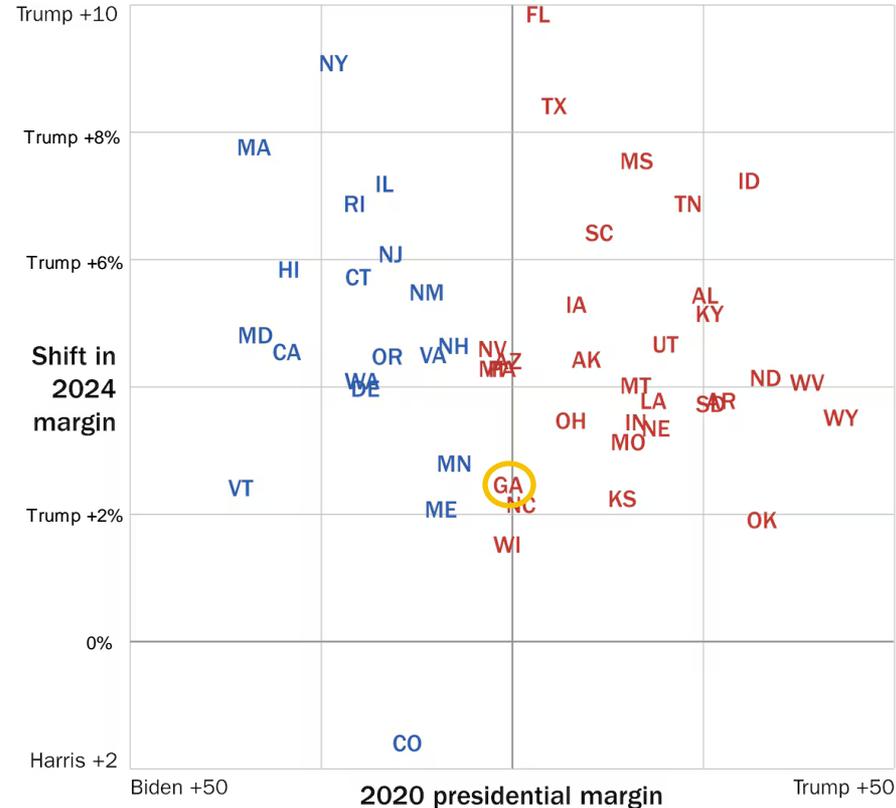


Georgia			
	2020	2024	Shift
Republican	49.3%	50.7%	+1.4%
Democrat	49.5%	48.5%	-1.0%
Winning margin	0.2% D	2.2% R	+2.4% R

Georgia's shift was less than all but 6 states

State shifts relative to 2020 vote

● Won by Harris ● Won by Trump



Sources: U.S. Election Atlas, Post Pulse modeled vote margin

THE WASHINGTON POST

	Georgia			U.S.		
	2020	2024	Shift	2020	2024	Shift
Republican	49.3	50.7	+1.4	46.8	49.81 %	+3.01
Democrat	49.5	48.5	-1.0	51.3	48.33 %	-2.97
Winning margin	0.2 % D	2.2 % R	+2.4 % R	4.5 % D	1.48 % R	+5.98 % R

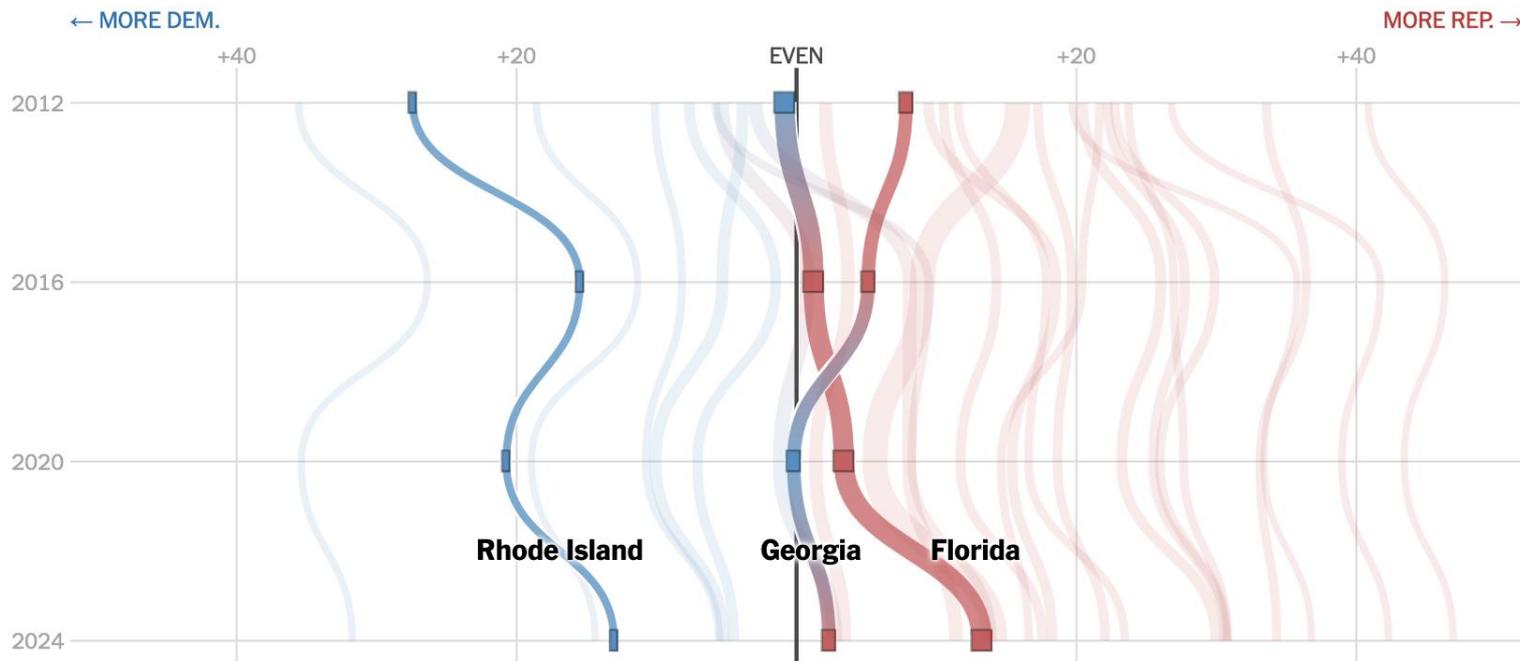
Sources: Washington Post, Cook Political Report. >99% votes counted



Georgia's swing to the right is a small shift in a longer-term pattern

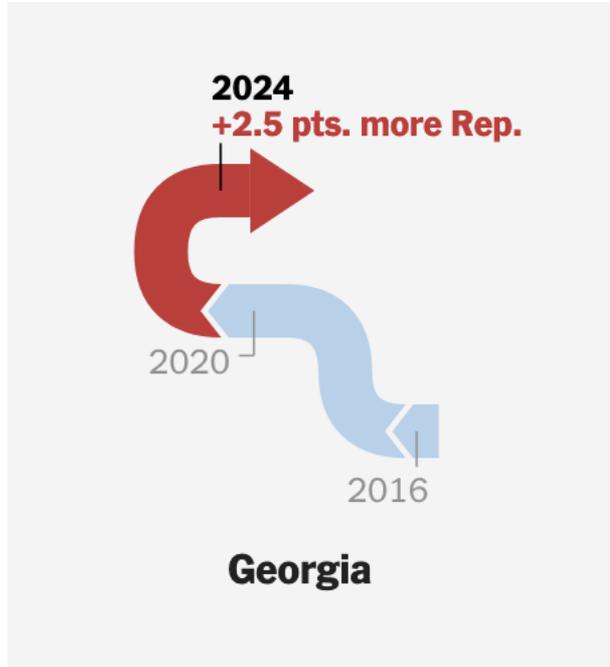
Shifts in margin of victory, by state

Width of lines represent each state's electoral votes.

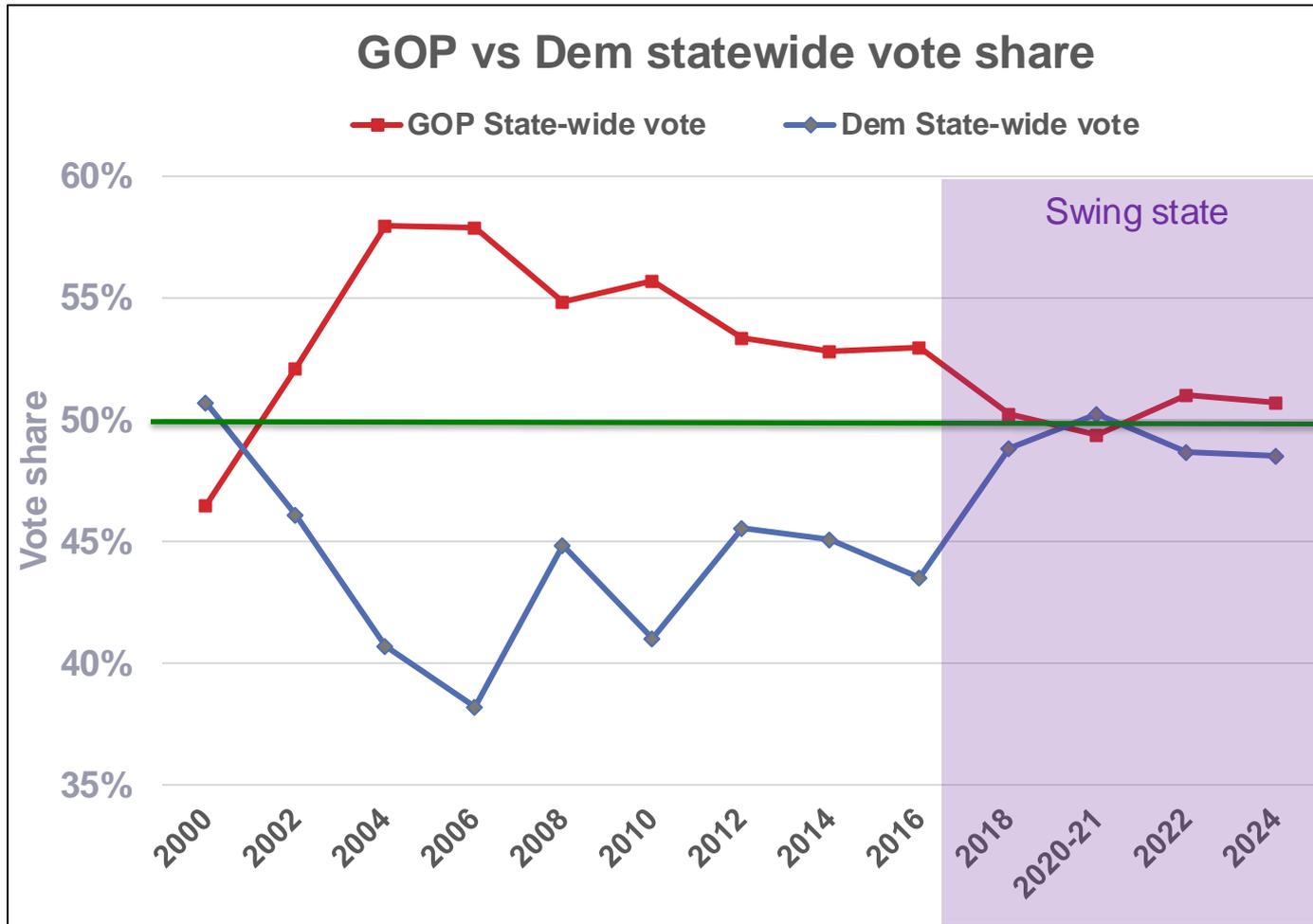


Note: Data as of 4 a.m., Wednesday. Only states with over 95 percent of votes counted are shown. • By The New York Times

Georgia's swing to the right is a small shift in a longer-term pattern



Georgia is still a competitive, swing state for statewide races.



Statewide vote share = avg. of President, Governor, US Senate

Source: FDGA analysis of SoS election data

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Notable election results

- U.S. Senate
 - Republicans flipped 4 seats
- U.S. House (218 required to control)
 - Republicans 220
 - Democrats 215
 - Majority + 2 seats = two less than 2022
- GA Senate
 - 33R – 23D
 - Identical to 2022
- GA House
 - 100R – 80D
 - Democrats gained 2 seats



Impact on Redistricting

- Georgia's math hasn't changed, but the national mood has
- Federal help isn't coming soon



Ohio Voters Had a Chance to Stop Gerrymandering...

- 2015: OH Constitutional Amendment to require fair maps for state legislature, drawn by political commission – 71% voted in favor
- 2018: OH Constitutional Amendment adds Congressional maps to same process – 75% voted in favor
- 2021: Political commission refuses to draw maps complying with OH Constitution
- 2024: Issue 1 on the ballot to replace political commission with independent citizens' commission



...but voters were duped by unfair ballot language!

Issue 1
To create an appointed redistricting commission not elected by or subject to removal by the voters of the state

Proposed Constitutional Amendment

Proposed by Initiative Petition

To repeal Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 of Article XI,
to repeal sections 1, 2 and 3 of Article XII,
and enact Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of Article XX of the Constitution of the State of Ohio

A majority yes vote is necessary for the amendment to pass.

The proposed amendment would:

1. Repeal constitutional protections against gerrymandering approved by nearly three-quarters of Ohio electors participating in the statewide elections of 2015 and 2018, accountable for establishing fair state legislative and congressional districts.
2. Establish a new taxpayer-funded commission of appointees required to gerrymander the boundaries of state legislative and congressional districts to favor either of the two largest political parties in the state of Ohio, according to a formula based on partisan outcomes as the dominant factor, so that:
 - a. contiguous, but state legislative and congressional districts will no longer be required to be compact; and
 - b. Counties, townships and throughout Ohio can be split and divided across multiple districts, and preserving communities of interest will be secondary to the formula that is based on partisan political outcomes.
3. Require that a majority of the partisan commission members belong to the state's two largest political parties.
4. Prevent a commission member from being removed, except by a vote of their fellow commission members, even for incapacity, willful neglect of duty or gross misconduct.
5. Prohibit any citizen from filing a lawsuit challenging a redistricting plan in any court, except if the lawsuit challenges the proportionality standard applied by the commission, requirements pertaining to an incumbent elected official's residence, or the expiration of certain senators' terms, and then only before the Ohio Supreme Court.
6. Create the following process for appointing commission members: Four partisan appointees on the Ohio Ballot Board will choose a panel of 4 partisan retired judges (2 affiliated with the first major political party and 2 affiliated with the second major political party). Provide that the 4 legislative appointees of the Ohio Ballot Board would be responsible for appointing the panel members as follows: the Ballot Board legislative appointees affiliated with the same major political party would select 8 applicants and present those to the Ballot Board legislative appointees affiliated with the other major political party, who would then select 2 persons from the 8 for appointment to the panel, resulting in 4 panel appointees. The panel would then hire a private professional search firm to help them choose 6 of the 15 individuals on the commission. The panel will choose those 6 individuals by initially creating a pool of 90 individuals (30 from the first major political party, 30 from the second major political party, and 30 from neither the first nor second major political parties). The panel of 4 partisan retired judges will create a portal for public comment on the applicants and will conduct and publicly broadcast interviews with each applicant in the pool. The panel will then narrow the pool of 90 individuals down to 45 (15 from the first major political party; 15 from the second major political party; and 15 from neither the first nor second major political parties). Randomly, by draw, the 4 partisan retired judges will then randomly select 8 names out of the pool of 45 to be members of the commission (2 from the first major political party, 2 from the second major political party, and 2 from neither the first nor second major political parties). The 8 randomly drawn individuals will then review the applications of the remaining 30 individuals not randomly drawn and select the final 3 individuals to serve with them on the commission, the majority of which shall be from the first and the second major political parties (3 from the first major political party, 3 from the second major political party, and 3 from neither the first nor second major political parties).
7. Require the affirmative votes of 8 of 15 members of the appointed commission to create legislative and congressional districts. If the commission is not able to determine a plan by September 18, 2025, or July 15 of every year ending in one, the following triplicate procedure will be used: for any plan at an impasse, each commissioner shall have 3 days to submit no more than one proposed redistricting plan to be subject to a commission vote through a ranked-choice selection process, with the goal of having a majority of the commission members rank one of those plans first. If a majority cannot be obtained, the plan with the highest number of points in the ranked-choice process is eliminated, and the process is repeated until a plan receives a majority of first place rankings. If the ranked-choice process ends in a tie for the highest point total, the tie shall be broken through a random process.
8. Limit the right of Ohio citizens to freely express their opinions to members of the commission or to commission staff regarding the redistricting process or proposed redistricting plans, other than through designated meetings, hearings and an online portal, and limit the right of Ohio citizens to contact commission staff outside of those contexts.
9. Require the commission to immediately create new legislative and congressional districts in 2025 to replace the most recent districts adopted by the citizens of Ohio through their elected representatives.
10. Impose new taxpayer-funded costs on the State of Ohio to pay the commission members, the commission staff and appointed social masters, arbitrators, and private consultants that the commission is required to hire; and an unlimited amount for legal expenses incurred by the commission in any related litigation.

If approved, the amendment will be effective 30 days after the election.

	YES	SHALL THE AMENDMENT BE APPROVED?
	NO	

The proposed amendment would:

1. Repeal constitutional protections against gerrymandering approved by nearly three-quarters of Ohio electors...
2. Establish a new taxpayer-funded commission of appointees required to gerrymander the boundaries of state legislative and congressional districts to favor either of the two largest political parties...
8. Limit the right of Ohio citizens to freely express their opinions to members of the commission or to commission staff regarding the redistricting process or proposed redistricting plans...

Issue 1 fails 53.8% - 46.2%

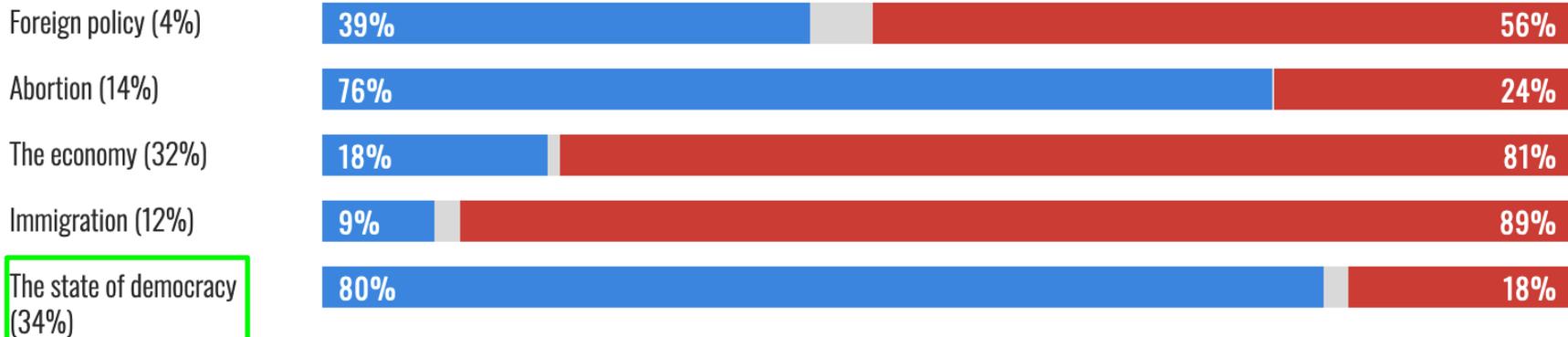
Source: Ohio Secretary of State – actual ballot language



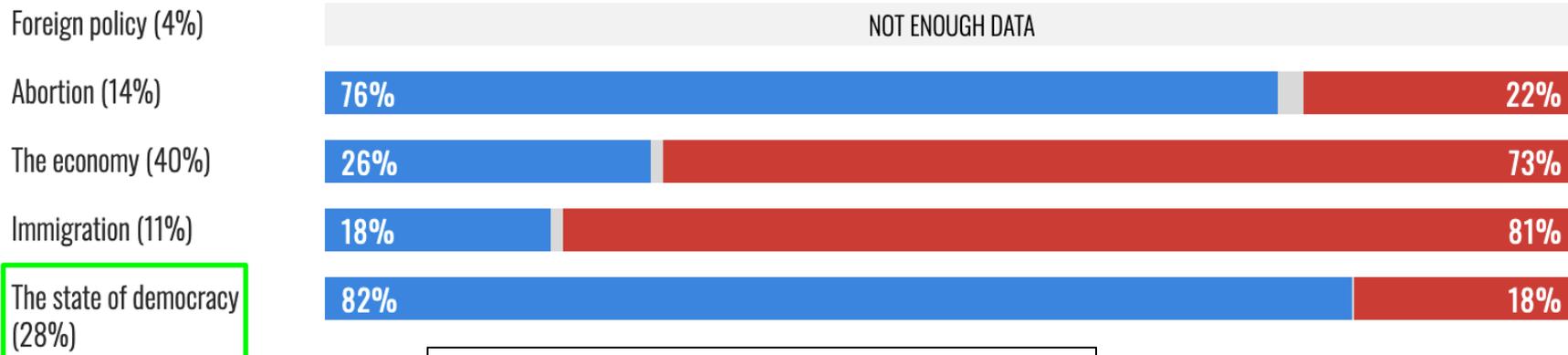
State of Democracy was top issue to many voters, although heavily weighted to Democrats

Which ONE of these five issues mattered most in deciding how you voted for president?

Nationally



Georgia voters



Source: NBC News exit poll of 10 key states, 12/2/24

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How did 2023 maps affect the election?

- Altered districts
- Competitive districts
- Party control



Defining Contested and Competitive Races

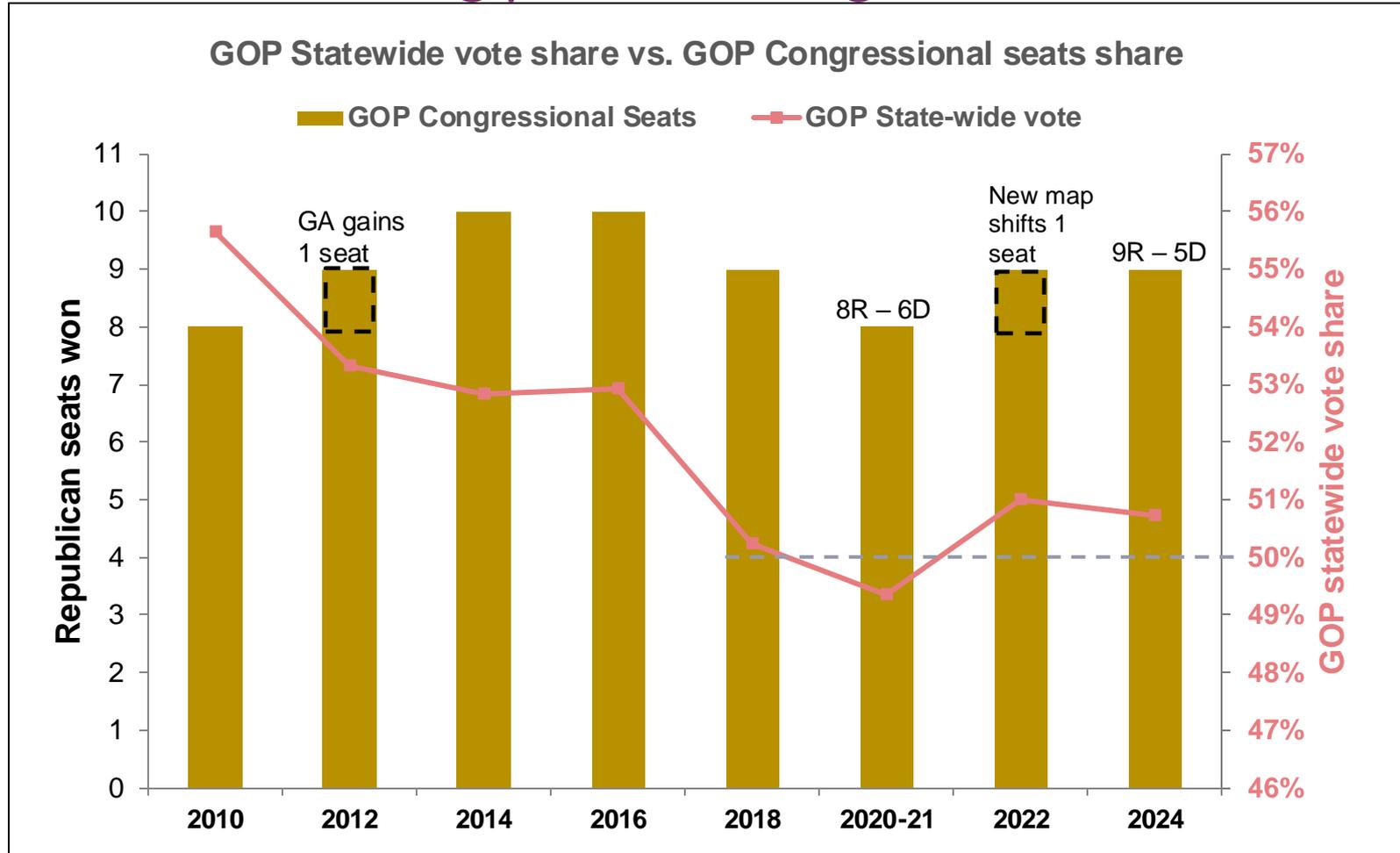
- Contested race:
 - Generally: At least 2 candidates
 - In this presentation: At least 2 candidates in November general election
- Competitive race:
 - Margin of victory $\leq 7\%$
 - Vote totals: winner $\leq 53.5\%$, loser $\geq 46.5\%$



Congressional races swept by incumbents. Redesigned districts performed exactly as planned.

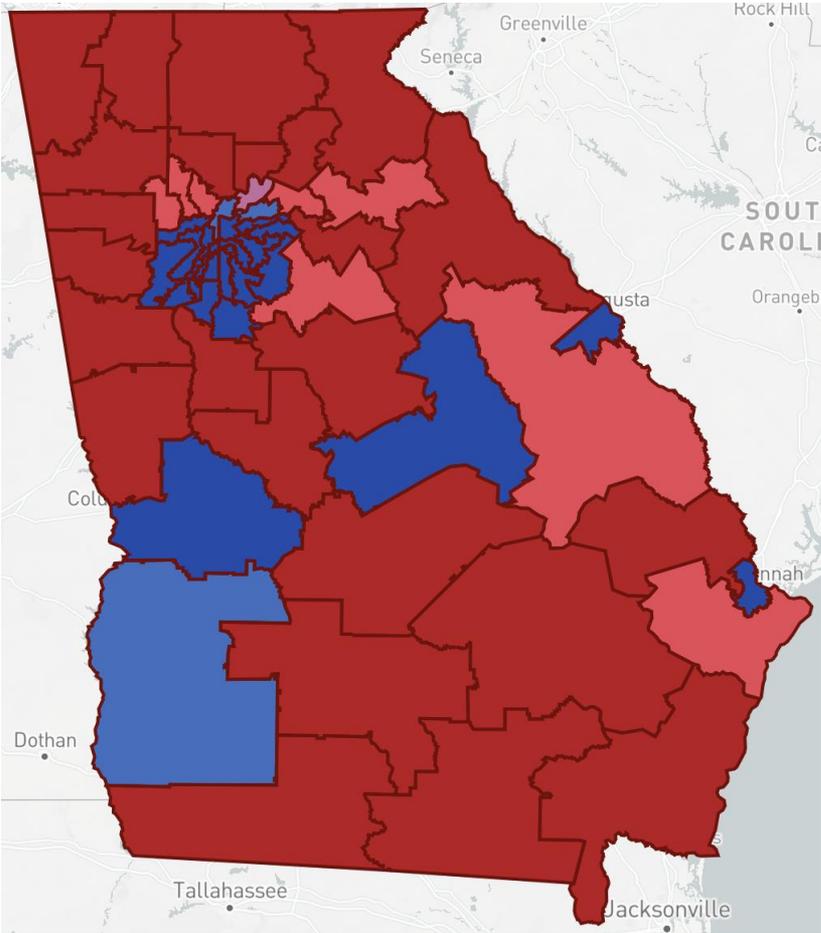
District	Reason for change	Incumbent?	Projected partisan lean ('18-'22)	2024 Election result		Incumbent win?	Competitive?
				% Rep vote	% Dem vote		
GA1		Yes - R	57.4%	62%	38%	Yes	No
GA2		Yes - D	54.8%	43.7%	56.3%	Yes	No
GA3		No	65.9%	66.3%	33.7%	N/A	No
GA4		Yes - D	79.3%	24.4%	75.6%	Yes	No
GA5		Yes - D	87.4%	14.3%	85.7%	Yes	No
GA6	Court-ordered Black district	Yes - D	75.0%	25.3%	74.7%	Yes	No
GA7	Unnecessary partisan take-back	Yes - R	61.8%	64.9%	35.2%	Yes	No
GA8		Yes - R	65.1%	68.9%	31.1%	Yes	No
GA9		Yes - R	68.1%	69%	31%	Yes	No
GA10		Yes - R	61.5%	63.1%	37.0%	Yes	No
GA11		Yes - R	62.3%	67.3%	32.7%	Yes	No
GA12		Yes - R	56.5%	60.3%	39.7%	Yes	No
GA13		Yes - D	71.4%	28.2%	71.8%	Yes	No
GA14		Yes - R	69.7%	64.4%	35.6%	Yes	No

Unfair Congressional advantage maintained despite narrowing partisan margin since 2010



Source: FDGA analysis of SoS election data

Georgia State Senate Results



State Senate map drawers effectively chose their voters while complying with court order.

Altered districts

District	Reason for change	Predicted partisan lean (18-20-21-22)	2024 Election result (% Rep vote)	2024 Election result (% Dem vote)	Winning margin	Comment
SD17	Court-ordered Black districts	74.6%	uncontested	100%		Incumbent (R) won SD42
SD28		75.5%	uncontested	100%		Incumbent (R) won SD6
SD6	Unnecessary partisan take-backs	71.7%	72.3%	27.7%	44.6%	Incumbent (D) won SD35
SD42		58.4%	58.2%	41.8%	16.4%	Incumbent (D) won SD44

"This map is designed to maintain the existing partisan balance."

– Senator Bill Cowser, Committee Secretary, in redistricting hearings November-December 2023

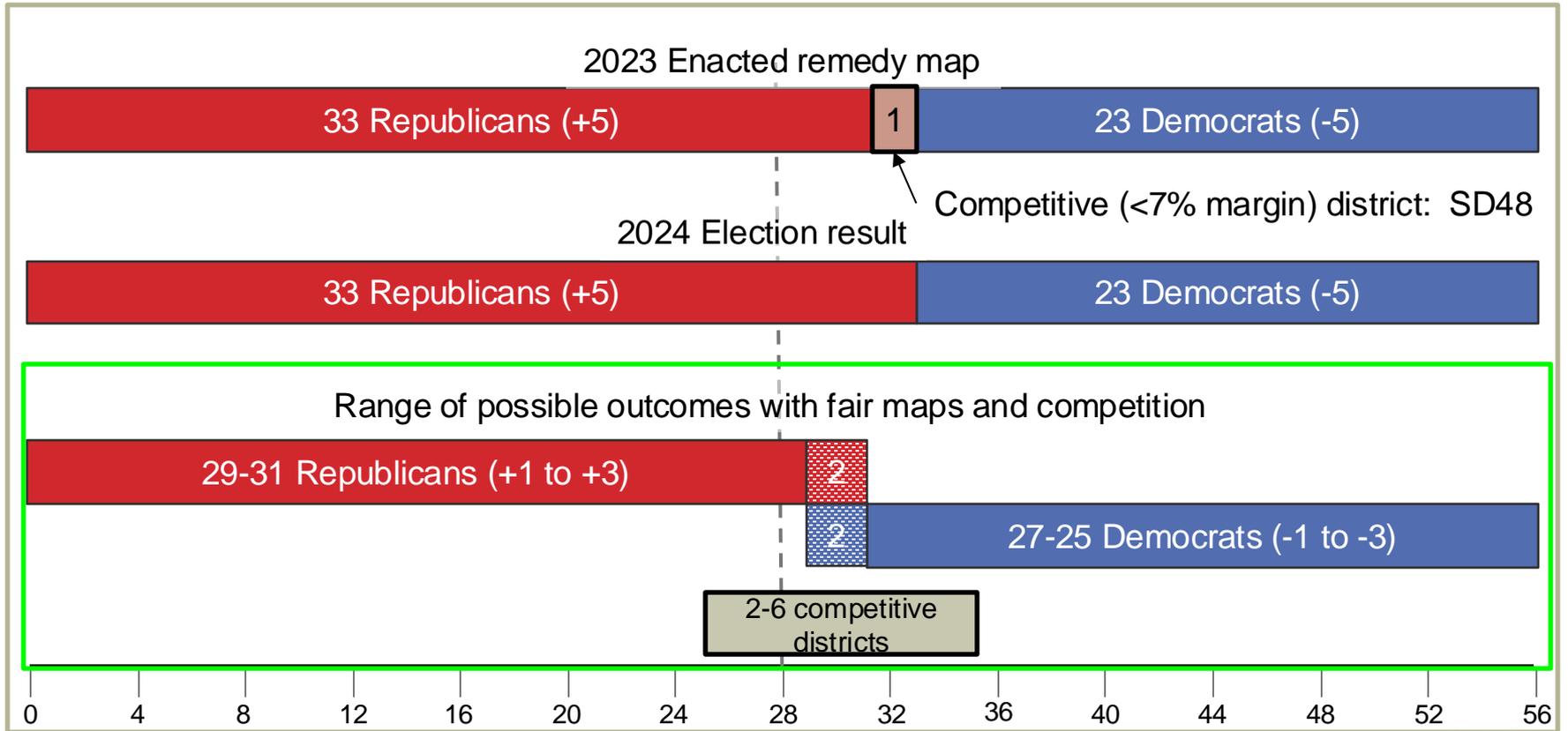


No Senate races were competitive in 2024

District	Incumbent?	Predicted partisan lean (18-20-22)	Predicted competitive?	2024 Election result (% Rep vote)	2024 Election result (% Dem vote)	Winning margin	Comment
SD48	Yes	53.4%	Yes (6.8%)	53.58%	46.42%	7.16%	Just missed 7% competitive range
Next most competitive districts							
SD37	Yes	56.2%	No (12.4%)	57.5%	42.5%	15%	
SD7	Yes	57.5%	No (15%)	45.0%	55.0%	10%	Was competitive in 2022



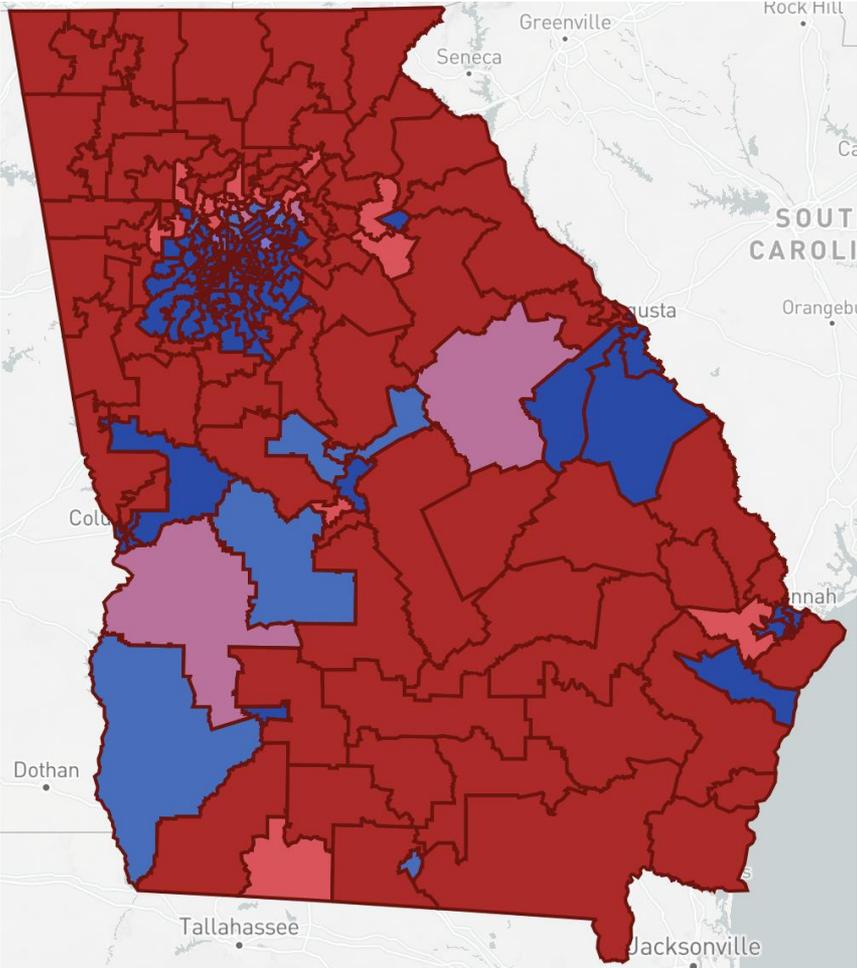
State Senate Map drove the outcome of the election



Sources: FDGA analysis of 2024 election results and enacted maps. Princeton Gerrymandering Project 1M map simulation, 2021

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Georgia State House Results

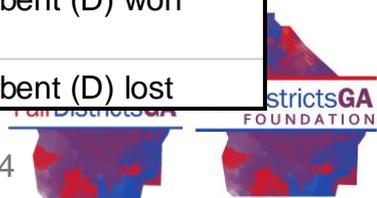


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State House map drawers effectively chose their voters while complying with court order.

Altered districts

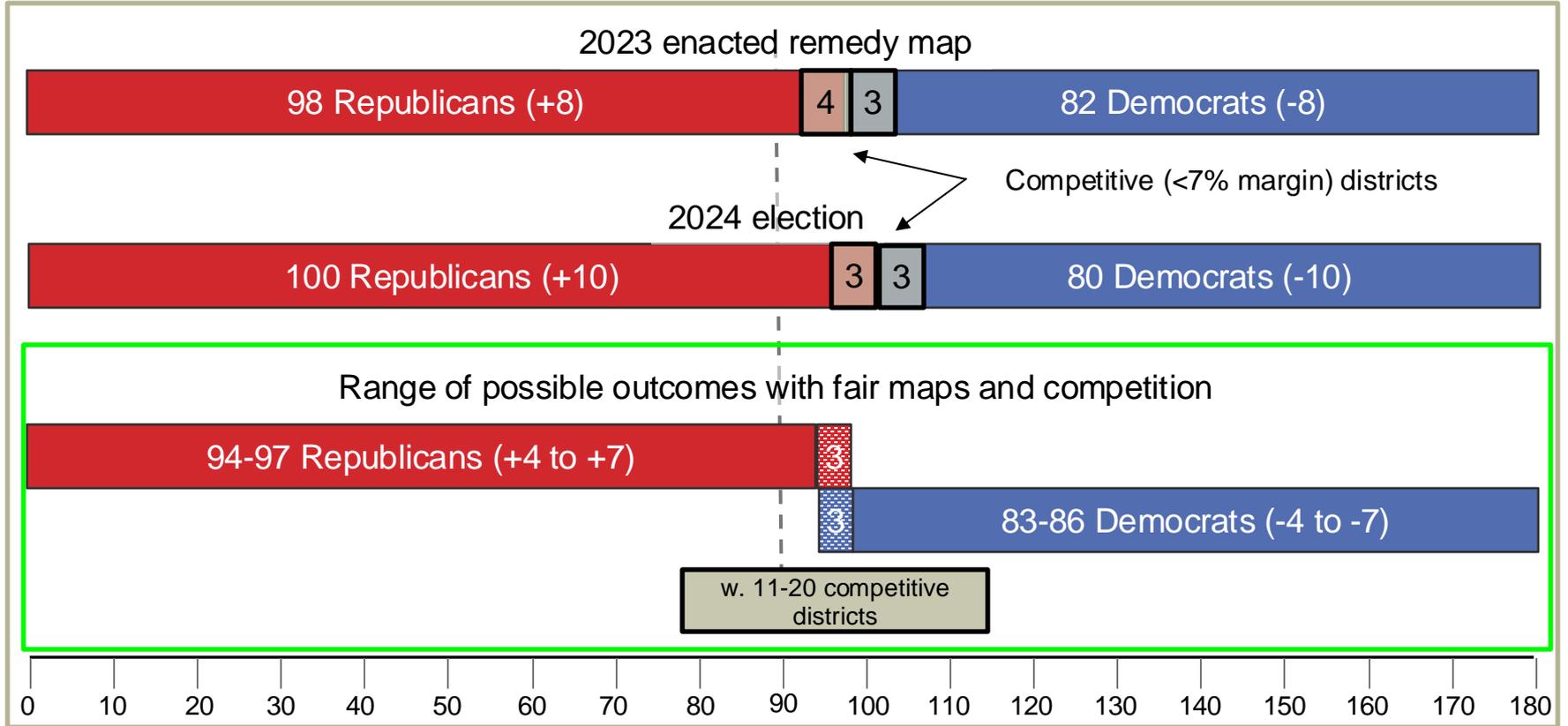
District	Reason for change	Predicted partisan lean (18-20-21-22)	2024 Election result (% Rep vote)	2024 Election result (% Dem vote)	Winning margin	Comment
HD64	Court-ordered Black districts	67.0%	30.8%	69.2%	1.4%	Incumbent (R) won HD40
HD74		78.0%	Uncontested	100%		Incumbent (R) won HD82
HD117		73.3%	Uncontested	100%	1.4%	Incumbent (R) didn't run
HD145		53.7%	49.5%	50.5%	1.0%	Incumbent (R) won HD134
HD149		59.0%	46%	54%	8%	Incumbent (R) won HD133
HD40	Unnecessary partisan take-backs	60.6%	59.4%	40.7%	5.1%	Incumbent (D) won HD41
HD81		63.6%	57.0%	43.0%	14.0%	Incumbent (D) won HD101
HD82		63.7%	63.0%	37.1%	26.0%	Incumbent (D) won HD84
HD105		50.1%	50.1%	49.9%	0.2%	Incumbent (D) lost



State House election had 6 competitive races and 3 unexpected wins

District	Incumbent?	Predicted partisan lean (18-20-21-22)	Predicted competitive?	Actually competitive?	2024 Election result (% Rep vote)	2024 Election result (% Dem vote)	Winning margin	Comment
HD151	Yes - R	51.5%	Yes	No	100%	Uncontested		
HD48	Yes - R	51.4%	Yes	No	54.9%	45.1%	9.8%	Redistricting raised in debate
HD128	Yes - D	50.5%	Yes	Yes	49.91%	50.09%	48 votes out of 27,804	Court challenge filed
HD105	Yes - D	50.1%	Yes	Yes	50.1%	49.9%	0.2%	Partisan take-back district
HD99	Yes - R	51.3%	Yes	Yes	51.1%	48.9%	2.2%	
HD53	Yes - R	51.4%	Yes	Yes	51.9%	48.1%	3.8%	
HD108	Yes - D	52.5%	Yes	No	46.1%	53.9%	7.8%	
HD145	No	53.7%	No	Yes	49.5%	50.5%	1.0%	Court-ordered Black district
HD150	Yes - D	54.0%	No	Yes	46.8%	53.3%	6.5%	

State House Map drove the outcome of the election

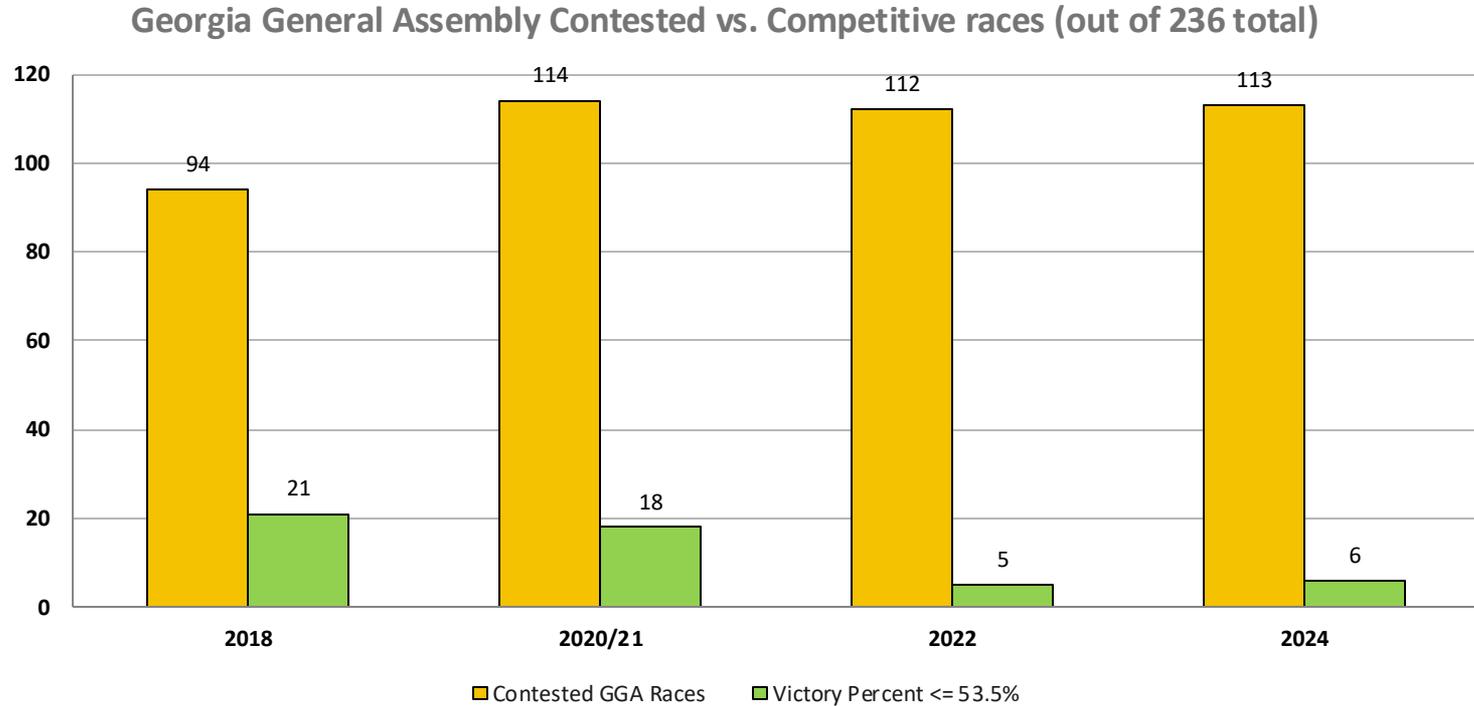


Source: FDGA analysis of 2024 election results and enacted maps.
 Princeton Gerrymandering Project 1M map simulation, 2021
 Note: Excludes vacancies and legislators who switch parties after election.



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Almost no improvement in competition for the General Assembly



Incumbents prevailed

- 91% ran
- 99% of those won
- 9% didn't run resulting in 25 new General Assembly members

Source: FDGA analysis of SoS election data

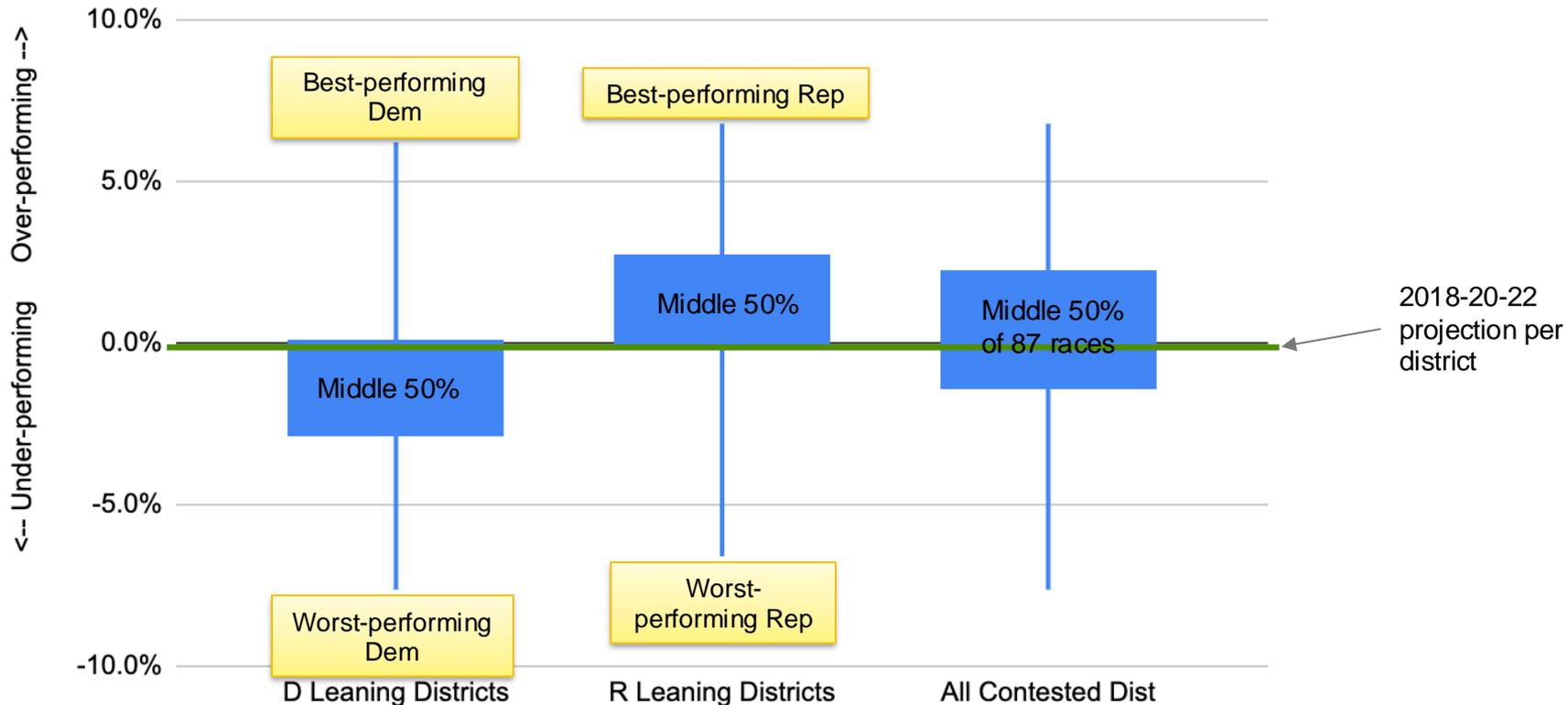
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Among contested State House races, Republicans slightly outperformed Democrats compared to map projection

Election Result compared to District's Partisan Lean Projection

87 Contested State House Districts in 2024 Election- 2018-20-22 Index



Source: FDGA analysis of SoS election data

Conclusions

- Black voters had more districts to elect their representatives
- Legislators gerrymandered other districts to even the score
- Map design drove the outcome of the election and kept party control of the General Assembly
- 97% Safe seats = virtually no competition

Redistricting worked just as GOP designed

Most of newly drawn maps sorted voters into uncompetitive, overwhelmingly Republican districts.

By Mark Niesse
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and Michelle Baruchman
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The election played out just like Georgia Republicans intended when they redistricted the state last year.

With newly drawn districts, Republicans maintained power and held every seat in Congress and the state Senate, while losing only two seats in the state House.

The results of the election were effectively preordained because new Republican-drawn maps sorted voters into the uncompetitive dis-

tricts, making them overwhelmingly Republican or heavily Democratic, with the outcome never in doubt.

Just 10 out of 236 seats in the General Assembly were decided by a margin of 10 percentage points or less. Of those, the parties split their wins – five for Republicans and five for Democrats.

Republican legislators knew what they were doing when they crafted new district boundaries, said Ken Lawler, chair of Fair Districts GA, an organization that advocates for more neutral maps.

“These people aren’t stupid. They have com-

Redistricting continued on R7

AJC – November 17, 2024



Looking ahead

- Free and Fair elections require fair, more competitive maps
- The election doesn't change the path to reforming redistricting in Georgia
- Fair Districts GA will continue the fight to reform redistricting.
- What you can do:
 - Ask legislators to take the Fair Districts pledge
 - Spread the word: invite us to your community, post to your social networks
 - Join us in 2025 for Lobby Day at the capitol



Focus: Mid-cycle Redistricting

- Changes to maps between census cycles for partisan purposes
- Four major waves / 71 districts altered since 2006
- Solution: Pass a law banning mid-cycle redistricting

Date	Circumstance	Districts changed	Motivation
2006	2004 election used court-drawn maps for General Assembly after court overturned 2001 Democratic gerrymander	13 Congressional 11 Assembly	“We’re fixing the Democratic gerrymander.”
2012	Redistricting for 2010 census completed in 2011	23 Assembly	Produced super-majority in 2012 election
2015	Mid-decade adjustments	17 Assembly	“Make districts better for incumbents to get re-elected”
2023	Federal Court orders new Black districts in Congress and General Assembly maps. Legislature evens the score through unnecessary changes	1 Congressional 6 Assembly	“We’re maintaining the existing partisan advantage”

Announcing an exciting new way to support Fair Districts!



- Fair Districts GA Foundation
 - Supports research, education, communication, & community programs
 - Tax-deductible charity 501(c)(3)



- Fair Districts GA
 - Supports legislative advocacy and lobbying
 - Not tax deductible



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All contribution up to \$5000 matched through December 31

Thank you!

Thank you

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Join us for Lobby Day at
the Georgia Capitol

January 2025



Your support made this program possible
– Thank you!



FairDistrictsGA.org/donate



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How did the district maps revised in 2023 impact the elections in Georgia?



*Featuring Ken Lawler, FDGA Foundation chair
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Appendix