



OHIO CONSTITUTIONAL MODERNIZATION COMMISSION

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH AND EXECUTIVE BRANCH COMMITTEE

OHIO CONSTITUTION ARTICLE II, SECTION 2

ELECTION AND TERM OF STATE LEGISLATORS [OPTION ONE]

The Legislative Branch and Executive Branch Committee of the Ohio Constitutional Modernization Commission issues this report and recommendation regarding Article II, Section 2 of the Ohio Constitution concerning the election and term of state legislators. It is issued pursuant to Rule 8.2 of the Ohio Constitutional Modernization Commission's Rules of Procedure and Conduct.

Recommendation

The committee recommends that Article II, Section 2 be amended to add one term to the current limit imposed on state senators, and two terms to the current limit imposed on state representatives. The committee further recommends that Article II, Section 2 be amended to allow legislators holding office at the time of the effective date of the amendment to continue to serve up to a total of 12 consecutive years.

Background

Article II, Section 2, reads as follows:

Representatives shall be elected biennially by the electors of the respective house of representatives districts; their term of office shall commence on the first day of January next thereafter and continue two years.

Senators shall be elected by the electors of the respective senate districts; their terms of office shall commence on the first day of January next after their election. All terms of senators which commence on the first day of January, 1969 shall be four years, and all terms which commence on the first day of January, 1971 shall be four years. Thereafter, except for the filling of vacancies for

unexpired terms, senators shall be elected to and hold office for terms of four years.

No person shall hold the office of State Senator for a period of longer than two successive terms of four years. No person shall hold the office of State Representative for a period longer than four successive terms of two years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years. Only terms beginning on or after January 1, 1993 shall be considered in determining an individual's eligibility to hold office.

In determining the eligibility of an individual to hold office in accordance [with] to this article, (A) time spent in an office in fulfillment of a term to which another person was first elected shall not be considered provided that a period of at least four years passed between the time, if any, [in] which the individual previously held that office, and the time the individual is elected or appointed to fulfill the unexpired term; and (B) a person who is elected to an office in a regularly scheduled general election and resigns prior to the completion of the term for which he or she was elected, shall be considered to have served the full term in that office.

Article II concerns the Legislative Branch, providing the organizational structure and membership requirements of the General Assembly, the governor's veto power, and the procedures for initiative and referendum.

Amendments, Proposed Amendments, and Other Review

The 1802 Constitution provided for terms of only one year for representatives and two years for senators.¹ The 1851 Constitution increased the terms to two years for each. Term lengths of two years for senators remained in place until 1956, when voters approved, by a vote of 57.4 percent to 42.6 percent, an amendment that increased the term of office to four years.² Another amendment in 1967 staggered senate terms, requiring only half of the senate to stand for election at a time.³

In the early 1990s, some 21 states enacted state legislative term limits, responding to public opinion that "career politicians" were to blame for perceived governmental deficiencies.⁴ In line with that trend, Ohio voters adopted an amendment limiting all state legislators to eight consecutive years of service, with the result that senators may only serve two successive terms of four years, and representatives may only serve four successive terms of two years.⁵ Placed on the ballot by initiative petition as Issue 3, the measure was approved on November 3, 1992 by a margin of 2,982,285 to 1,378,009, or 68.4 percent to 31.6 percent.⁶

In the 1970s, the Ohio Constitutional Revision Commission did not review this provision.

Litigation Involving the Provision

Article II, Section 2 has not been the subject of litigation; however, similar state constitutional provisions by which Ohio and other states imposed term limits upon federal congressional offices were rejected in *U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton*, 514 U.S. 779 (1995) (“Allowing individual States to adopt their own qualifications for congressional service would be inconsistent with the Framers' vision of a uniform National Legislature representing the people of the United States.”).

Presentations and Resources Considered

The committee received two presentations from John C. Green, Ph.D., Director of the Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at the University of Akron, and one presentation from Ann Henkener, First Vice President of the League of Women Voters of Ohio on this issue.

First Green Presentation

John C. Green first presented to the committee on April 10, 2014. According to Dr. Green, Ohio’s model, called the “common model,” imposes eight-year consecutive limits in each chamber, while other models include six- or eight-year consecutive limits for the house and senate respectively, twelve-year lifetime limitations in both chambers combined, and twelve-year consecutive limits in each chamber. Dr. Green indicated that, between 1997 and 2012, six states repealed or struck down term limits, while one state enacted term limits. Thus, in 2014, 15 states had legislative term limits.

Describing the impact of legislative term limits, Dr. Green stated that term limits have impeded the development of legislative leaders, reducing leaders’ agenda-setting and coalition-building capabilities. He further indicated that the limits reduce the influence of the legislative branch in state government, instead empowering the executive branch, administrative agencies, nonpartisan staff, and lobbyists. Dr. Green also indicated that term limits increase partisanship and reduce the time legislators have to accomplish legislative goals. He noted that term limits have failed to achieve the goal of increasing the number of “citizen legislators,” as opposed to career legislators. Dr. Green observed that term limits have not increased gender, racial, or ethnic diversity in state legislatures.

Dr. Green stated that term limits have had only a modest impact on the electoral process, with no increase in the overall competitiveness of elections, no decrease in campaign spending, and an increase in the role of party caucuses in legislative campaigns. Dr. Green opined that, despite these drawbacks, term limits will continue to have strong public support. However, he stated that increasing the limits from 8 years to 12 years may alleviate the problem of a diminished role for legislative leadership. He also indicated that allowing former legislators to return to office mitigates some of the impact of term limits.

Second Green Presentation

In his second presentation to the committee, on June 12, 2014, Dr. Green presented polling data related to term limits. Conducted by the Center for Marketing and Opinion Research for the Bliss Institute in April 2014, the “2014 Akron Buckeye Poll” surveyed a random sample of 1,078 registered Ohio voters, including both landline and cell phone users. Participants were asked whether they thought term limits produced poor government or good government and whether the limits have helped or hurt the state. The resulting data, with a margin of error of plus or minus three percentage points, indicates that 57 percent of those polled indicated they thought that term limits have helped the state, with 30 percent stating that the limits hurt the state and 13 percent having no opinion. These figures may be compared with 2005 polling data indicating that 59 percent of voters believed that term limits help the state, with 30 percent saying the limits hurt the state and 11 percent indicating they had no opinion.

Asked whether term limits should be kept at eight years, extended to 12 years, or repealed altogether, 70 percent of those polled favored keeping term limits at eight years, with 13 percent willing to extend the limits to 12 years, 12 percent agreeing that they should be repealed altogether, and five percent having no opinion. Queried as to whether they could accept an increase in the limit to 12 years, 38 percent of participants answered that they were firm on keeping the total number of years served at eight, with 32 percent willing to accept a 12-year limit, 13 percent being firm on a 12-year limit, 12 percent supporting a complete repeal of term limits, and five percent having no opinion.

Asked whether they would support increasing state legislative terms by two years, meaning that representatives would serve a four-year term and senators a six-year term, 61 percent of participants indicated they would support such a measure, with 36 percent indicating they would not and three percent having no opinion.

Sixty-two percent of participants stated that it should take a legislator less than five years to learn the job, while 28 percent said five-to-ten years was appropriate, seven percent identifying more than 10 years as the correct time span, and three percent having no opinion.

Henkener Presentation

Ann Henkener, First Vice President of the League of Women Voters of Ohio (“League”), presented to the committee on July 10, 2014. According to Ms. Henkener, the League’s long opposition to term limits is based upon the rationale that terms are inherently limited to two years for representatives and four years for senators, requiring legislators to seek re-election at the end of those terms. Ms. Henkener asserted that the arguments against term limits as presented by the League to voters in 1992, when the current version of Article II, Section 2 appeared on the ballot, have proved mostly true. As she described them, those arguments are that term limits create more “lame duck” legislators, reduce competition for legislative seats, result in less-experienced legislators, reduce institutional memory, impede long-term thinking about societal problems, and increase the power of staff, bureaucrats, and lobbyists. Ms. Henkener opined that voters continue to support the concept of term limits because they are perceived as a counterbalance to

problems attributed to the redistricting process. She stated that if redistricting reform occurs, allowing for more competitive districts, then voters might look more favorably on extending term limits.

Conclusion

The Legislative Branch and Executive Branch Committee concludes that Article II, Section 2 should be amended to expand term limits for state senators by one term, and for state representatives by two terms. The committee also concludes that these extensions should apply to legislators who are in office at the time of the effective date of an amendment, with the result that senators serving their first term would be eligible to hold office for two more four-year terms, while senators in their second term would be eligible for one additional four-year term. Likewise, representatives in their first term may hold office for five more two-year terms, those in their second term would be permitted four more two-year terms, and so on. The modified provision additionally would allow newly-elected legislators to be eligible to serve twelve consecutive years in their respective houses.

The committee also recommends that Article II, Section 2 be reorganized to first describe the length of term and term limits for state senators, followed by a description of the length of term and term limits for state representatives. This reorganization does not substantially change the meaning of the provision but is intended to assist the reader's comprehension of the meaning of the section. These proposed changes bring the format of the section in line with the structure of other sections in Article II.

Thus, the committee recommends Section 2 be amended as shown in Attachment A, which provides a marked-up version of the provision. Attachment B provides a clean version of Section 2, if the proposed amendment is adopted.

Date Adopted

After formal consideration by the Legislative Branch and Executive Branch Committee on March 12, 2015, and April 9, 2015, the committee voted to adopt this report and recommendation on _____.

Endnotes

¹ Steven H. Steinglass & Gino J. Scarselli, *The Ohio State Constitution* (2nd prtg. 2011), p. 140.

² Michael F. Curtin, *Ohio Politics Almanac* (Kent: Kent State UP, 2d Ed., 2006), p. 83.

³ Steinglass & Scarselli, *supra*.

⁴ Steven F. Huefner, *Term Limits in State Legislative Elections: Less Value for More Money?*, 79 *Ind. L.J.* 427, 428 (2004).

⁵ Steinglass & Scarselli, *supra*, p. 141.

⁶ *Id.*, Appendix B.

Option One - Attachment A

Article II, Section 2

~~Representatives shall be elected biennially by the electors of the respective House of Representative districts; their term of office shall commence on the first day of January next thereafter and continue two years.~~

Senators shall be elected by the electors of the respective Senate districts; ~~their~~ The term of office of a senator shall commence on the first day of January ~~next after their~~ following the election. All terms of senators which commence on the first day of January, 1969 shall be four years, and all terms which commence on the first day of January, 1971 shall be four years. Thereafter, except for the filling of vacancies for unexpired terms, senators shall be elected to and hold office for terms of four years. No person shall hold the office of senator for a period longer than three successive terms of four years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years.

Representatives shall be elected biennially by the electors of the respective House of Representative districts. The term of office of a representative shall commence on the first day of January following the election and continue two years. No person shall hold the office of representative for a period longer than six successive terms of two years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years.

~~No person shall hold the office of State Senator for a period of longer than two successive terms of four years. No person shall hold the office of State Representative for a period longer than four six successive terms of two years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years. Only terms beginning on or after January 1, 1993 shall be considered in determining an individual's eligibility to hold office.~~

In determining the eligibility of an individual to hold office in accordance ~~to~~ with this article, (A) time spent in an office in fulfillment of a term to which another person was first elected shall not be considered provided that a period of at least four years passed between the time, if any, in which the individual previously held that office, and the time the individual is elected or appointed to fulfill the unexpired term; and (B) a person who is elected to an office in a regularly scheduled general election and resigns prior to the completion of the term for which he or she was elected, shall be considered to have served the full term in that office.

Option One - Attachment B*Article II, Section 2*

Senators shall be elected by the electors of the respective Senate districts. The term of office of a senator shall commence on the first day of January following the election. All terms of senators which commence on the first day of January 1969 shall be four years, and all terms which commence on the first day of January 1971 shall be four years. Thereafter, except for the filling of vacancies for unexpired terms, senators shall be elected to and hold office for terms of four years. No person shall hold the office of senator for a period longer than three successive terms of four years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years.

Representatives shall be elected biennially by the electors of the respective House of Representatives districts. The term of office of a representative shall commence on the first day of January following the election and continue two years. No person shall hold the office of representative for a period longer than six successive terms of two years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years.

In determining the eligibility of an individual to hold office in accordance with this article, (A) time spent in an office in fulfillment of a term to which another person was first elected shall not be considered provided that a period of at least four years passed between the time, if any, in which the individual previously held that office, and the time the individual is elected or appointed to fulfill the unexpired term; and (B) a person who is elected to an office in a regularly scheduled general election and resigns prior to the completion of the term for which he or she was elected, shall be considered to have served the full term in that office.



OHIO CONSTITUTIONAL MODERNIZATION COMMISSION

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH AND EXECUTIVE BRANCH COMMITTEE

OHIO CONSTITUTION ARTICLE II, SECTION 2

ELECTION AND TERM OF STATE LEGISLATORS [OPTION TWO]

The Legislative Branch and Executive Branch Committee of the Ohio Constitutional Modernization Commission issues this report and recommendation regarding Article II, Section 2 of the Ohio Constitution concerning the election and term of state legislators. It is issued pursuant to Rule 8.2 of the Ohio Constitutional Modernization Commission's Rules of Procedure and Conduct.

Recommendation

The committee recommends that Article II, Section 2 be amended to allow all newly-elected state legislators to serve a total of twelve consecutive years, consisting of three four-year terms for senators and six two-year terms for representatives. The committee also recommends that this expansion of the current eight-year limit on consecutive terms of legislative service not apply to current members of the General Assembly, with the result that all members already in office at the time of the effective date of the amendment would be limited to eight years consecutive service.

Background

Article II, Section 2, reads as follows:

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1971 shall be four years. Thereafter, except for the filling of vacancies for unexpired terms, senators shall be elected to and hold office for terms of four years.

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Amendments, Proposed Amendments, and Other Review

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In the early 1990s, some 21 states enacted state legislative term limits, responding to public opinion that "career politicians" were to blame for perceived governmental deficiencies.⁴ In line with that trend, Ohio voters adopted an amendment limiting all state legislators to eight consecutive years of service, with the result that senators may only serve two successive terms of four years, and representatives may only serve four successive terms of two years.⁵ Placed on the ballot by initiative petition as Issue 3, the measure was approved on November 3, 1992 by a margin of 2,982,285 to 1,378,009, or 68.4 percent to 31.6 percent.⁶

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Dr. Green stated that term limits have had only a modest impact on the electoral process, with no increase in the overall competitiveness of elections, no decrease in campaign spending, and an increase in the role of party caucuses in legislative campaigns. Dr. Green opined that, despite these drawbacks, term limits will continue to have strong public support. However, he stated that increasing the limits from 8 years to 12 years may alleviate the problem of a diminished role for legislative leadership. He also indicated that allowing former legislators to return to office mitigates some of the impact of term limits.

Second Green Presentation

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Sixty-two percent of participants stated that it should take a legislator less than five years to learn the job, while 28 percent said five-to-ten years was appropriate, seven percent identifying more than 10 years as the correct time span, and three percent having no opinion.

Henkener Presentation

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continue to support the concept of term limits because they are perceived as a counterbalance to problems attributed to the redistricting process. She stated that if redistricting reform occurs, allowing for more competitive districts, then voters might look more favorably on extending term limits.

Conclusion

The Legislative Branch and Executive Branch Committee concludes that Article II, Section 2 should be amended to expand term limits for newly-elected state senators by one term, and for state representatives by two terms. The committee does not recommend extending term limits for current members of the General Assembly, who would be limited to eight consecutive years of service in their respective houses.

The committee also recommends that Article II, Section 2 be reorganized to first describe the length of term and term limits for state senators, followed by a description of the length of term and term limits for state representatives. This reorganization is intended to assist the reader's comprehension of the meaning of the section. The committee further recommends that the provision be reorganized to include a supplemental paragraph entitled "Effective Date and Repeal," consisting of a description of when the provision, if adopted, would take effect. The committee also recommends the inclusion of "Schedule 1," consisting of an explanation that the extended term limits contained in the revised provision will only apply to newly appointed or elected legislators. These proposed changes bring the format of the section in line with the structure of other sections in Article II.

Therefore, the committee recommends Section 2 be amended as shown in Attachment A, which provides a marked-up version of the provision. Attachment B provides a clean version of Section 2, if the proposed amendment is adopted.

Date Adopted

After formal consideration by the Legislative Branch and Executive Branch Committee on March 12, 2015, and April 9, 2015, the committee voted to adopt this report and recommendation on _____.

Endnotes

¹ Steven H. Steinglass & Gino J. Scarselli, *The Ohio State Constitution* (2nd prtg. 2011), p. 140.

² Michael F. Curtin, *Ohio Politics Almanac* (Kent: Kent State UP, 2d Ed., 2006), p. 83.

³ Steinglass & Scarselli, *supra*.

⁴ Steven F. Huefner, *Term Limits in State Legislative Elections: Less Value for More Money?*, 79 *Ind. L.J.* 427, 428 (2004).

⁵ Steinglass & Scarselli, *supra*, p. 141.

⁶ *Id.*, Appendix B.

Option Two - Attachment A

Article II, Section 2

~~Representatives shall be elected biennially by the electors of the respective House of Representatives districts; their term of office shall commence on the first day of January next thereafter and continue two years.~~

Senators shall be elected by the electors of the respective Senate districts; ~~their~~. The terms term of office of a senator shall commence on the first day of January next after their following the election. All terms of senators which commence on the first day of January, 1969 shall be four years, and all terms which commence on the first day of January, 1971 shall be four years. Thereafter, except for the filling of vacancies for unexpired terms, senators shall be elected to and hold office for terms of four years. No person shall hold the office of senator for a period longer than three successive terms of four years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years.

Representatives shall be elected biennially by the electors of the respective House of Representative districts. The term of office of a representative shall commence on the first day of January following the election and continue two years. No person shall hold the office of representative for a period longer than six successive terms of two years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years.

~~No person shall hold the office of State Senator for a period of longer than two successive terms of four years. No person shall hold the office of State Representative for a period longer than four successive terms of two years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years. Only terms beginning on or after January 1, 1993 shall be considered in determining an individual's eligibility to hold office.~~

In determining the eligibility of an individual to hold office in accordance with this article, (A) time spent in an office in fulfillment of a term to which another person was first elected shall not be considered provided that a period of at least four years passed between the time, if any, in which the individual previously held that office, and the time the individual is elected or appointed to fulfill the unexpired term; and (B) a person who is elected to an office in a regularly scheduled general election and resigns prior to the completion of the term for which he or she was elected, shall be considered to have served the full term in that office.

Option Two - Attachment B

Article II, Section 2

Senators shall be elected by the electors of the respective Senate districts. The term of office of a senator shall commence on the first day of January following the election. All terms of senators which commence on the first day of January 1969 shall be four years, and all terms which commence on the first day of January 1971 shall be four years. Thereafter, except for the filling of vacancies for unexpired terms, senators shall be elected to and hold office for terms of four years. No person shall hold the office of senator for a period longer than three successive terms of four years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years.

Representatives shall be elected biennially by the electors of the respective House of Representatives districts. The term of office of a representative shall commence on the first day of January following the election and continue two years. No person shall hold the office of representative for a period longer than six successive terms of two years. Terms shall be considered successive unless separated by a period of four or more years.

In determining the eligibility of an individual to hold office in accordance with this article, (A) time spent in an office in fulfillment of a term to which another person was first elected shall not be considered provided that a period of at least four years passed between the time, if any, in which the individual previously held that office, and the time the individual is elected or appointed to fulfill the unexpired term; and (B) a person who is elected to an office in a regularly scheduled general election and resigns prior to the completion of the term for which he or she was elected, shall be considered to have served the full term in that office.

EFFECTIVE DATE AND REPEAL

If adopted by a majority of the electors voting on this proposal, Section 2 of Article II as amended by this proposal shall take effect on January 1, 2016, and existing Section 2 of Article II shall be repealed effective January 1, 2016.

SCHEDULE 1

The version of Section 2 of Article II in effect on December 31, 2015 shall apply to senators and representatives who are in office on that date.

The version of Section 2 of Article II as amended by this proposal shall first apply to senators and representatives who are appointed or elected after the effective date of this amendment and who are not in office on December 31, 2015.