



**Highlights from the 135<sup>th</sup> Ohio General Assembly Legislative Effectiveness Scores**

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**Executive Summary**

The Center for Effective Lawmaking (CEL) is pleased to announce the release of the State Legislative Effectiveness Scores (SLES) for the 135<sup>th</sup> Ohio General Assembly (2023-2024). This report offers highlights from our initial analyses of these scores, including:

- We identify the top-10 most effective legislators in the majority party in both chambers, the top-10 most effective minority-party lawmakers in the House of Representatives, and the top-3 most effective minority-party lawmakers in the Senate. Many legislators continued their patterns of highly effective lawmaking from the previous legislative session.
- We identify those lawmakers with the longest streaks of being in our prestigious “Above Expectations” category, as well as first-term lawmakers in this category.
- We find that, consistent with our published research findings, there is an overall lawmaking benefit from being in the majority party. This pattern is clearly on display in Ohio. Across the 2023–2024 legislative term, majority-party Republicans consistently outperformed minority-party Democrats in State Legislative Effectiveness Scores (SLES) and bill outcomes. Out of the 61 laws produced during the 2023-2024 sessions, only 6 were sponsored by Democrats. Furthermore, in the Senate, not a single bill sponsored by Democrats became law during this legislative term. These differences highlight the clear institutional advantages of majority-party association in Ohio.
- Serving as a committee chair is related to greater lawmaking effectiveness. This phenomenon is highlighted during the 135<sup>th</sup> Ohio General Assembly legislative sessions where many of the most effective majority-party lawmakers across both chambers held committee chair positions.
- In addition, our findings indicate that effective lawmakers in one legislative session are likely to remain effective lawmakers across sessions, as several legislators appear among the lists of most effective lawmakers in both the 2023-2024 and 2021-2022 legislative sessions.

## **Introduction and Methodology**

The State Legislative Effectiveness Scores discussed here are based on the combination of fifteen metrics capturing the bills that each member of each state legislature sponsors, how far their bills move through the lawmaking process, and how substantial their policy proposals are. The scores are normalized to an average value of 1.0 in both the House of Representatives and the State Senate in each legislative session. While the scores capture how successful an individual member of the Ohio House or Senate is at advancing her sponsored bills, compared to all of members of her chamber (in a legislative term), it's important to be cognizant of the fact that the State Legislative Effectiveness Scores do not capture lawmaking activities that occur behind the scenes, such as legislators advocating for the passage of bills that they haven't sponsored. The scores also don't capture how effective individual members of the House or Senate are at blocking the advancement of other legislators' sponsored bills. To the extent that we are interested in identifying who is most successful at advancing their sponsored legislation through the different stages of the lawmaking process (and why), however, the State Legislative Effectiveness Scores provide us with an objective indicator of legislators' efforts. More on our [methodology](#) and [scores](#) can be found at our website.

For each member of the House of Representatives and State Senate, we also identify a Benchmark Score, based on the average lawmaking effectiveness of legislators who share that legislator's majority- or minority-party status, level of seniority, and chair position on a committee. Controlling for these considerations is important in order to describe legislators on a more level playing field. For example, in the 135<sup>th</sup> Ohio House of Representatives, minority-party lawmakers had an average SLES of 0.58 compared to 1.21 for majority-party members, while committee chairs had an average SLES of 1.54. In the State Senate, those averages were 0.32 in the minority party, 1.17 in the majority party, and 1.36 among committee chairs.

We then label each lawmaker as "Above Expectations" for those outperforming their benchmark scores by 50% or more, "Below Expectations" for those below 50% of their benchmark, and "Meeting Expectations" for all other legislators.

Finally, within each party, we rank each member according to their SLES. This ranking is used to generate the lists of top performers highlighted in the tables below. Given the substantial lawmaking benefit that follows from being in the majority party, ranking the entire Ohio General Assembly together would be inappropriate, but these comparisons within each party are quite informative.

### **Highly Effective Republican Lawmakers in the 135<sup>th</sup> Ohio House of Representatives**

The following table identifies the ten highest-scoring Republicans in the 2023-2024 House of Representatives. Five of the top ten were committee chairs.

**Top Ten List—House Republicans (2023-2024 Legislative Sessions)**

	<u>Name</u>	<u>LES</u>	<u>Committee Chair</u>
<b>1.</b>	<b>Jay Edwards (District 94)</b>	5.58	Chair
<b>2.</b>	<b>William “Bill” J. Seitz (District 30)</b>	5.05	None
<b>3.</b>	<b>Adam Mathews (District 56)</b>	4.68	Chair
<b>4.</b>	<b>Sarah Fowler Arthur (District 99)</b>	4.02	None
<b>5.</b>	<b>Thomas Hall (District 46)</b>	3.97	Chair
<b>6.</b>	<b>Douglas “D.J.” Swearingen (District 89)</b>	3.75	Chair
<b>7.</b>	<b>Andrea White (District 36)</b>	3.42	None
<b>8.</b>	<b>Monica Robb Blasdel (District 79)</b>	2.53	None
<b>9.</b>	<b>Gary Click (District 88)</b>	2.45	None
<b>10.</b>	<b>Alessandro Cutrona (District 58)</b>	2.34	Chair

At the top of the list is Representative Jay Edwards from District 94 (Washington, Meigs, and Athens counties) with a score of 5.58. In the 2023-2024 legislative sessions, he introduced 11 bills, 6 of which received action in committee and action beyond committee, 5 of which passed the House, and 4 of which became law.

Rep. Edwards joined the House in 2017 and served until 2025. While in the House, Rep. Edwards served as the House Majority Whip from 2019-2020. He holds a B.S. in mathematics from Ohio University. In the community, he is a member of the Farm Bureau, Athens Area Chamber of Commerce, Nelsonville Chamber of Commerce, Nelsonville Rotary, and the Athens County Central Committee. As of 2026, Rep. Edwards is a candidate for Ohio Treasurer.

Two Republican Representatives on our current list were also among the top-10 highest scorers in the 2021-2022 legislative sessions: Rep. Thomas Hall (District 46) and Rep. Alessandro Cutrona (District 58).

**Highly Effective Democratic Lawmakers in the 135<sup>th</sup> Ohio House of Representatives**

The following table identifies the top ten highest scorers in the 2023-2024 House of Representatives among minority-party Democrats.

**Top Ten List—House Democrats (2023-2024 Legislative Sessions)**

	<u>Name</u>	<u>LES</u>	<u>Seniority</u>
<b>1.</b>	<b>Jessica Miranda (District 28)</b>	3.89	3
<b>2.</b>	<b>Latyna Humphrey (District 2)</b>	3.62	2
<b>3.</b>	<b>Richard Brown (District 5)</b>	2.84	4

4.	<b>Dontavius Jarrells (District 1)</b>	1.34	2
5.	<b>Sean Brennan (District 14)</b>	0.99	1
6.	<b>Michele Grim (District 43)</b>	0.72	1
7.	<b>Joe Miller (District 53)</b>	0.71	3
8.	<b>Rachel Baker (District 27)</b>	0.58	1
9.	<b>Casey Weinstein (District 34)</b>	0.47	3
10.	<b>Daniel Troy (District 23)</b>	0.46	2

Topping our list is Representative Jessica Miranda of District 28 (Hamilton County) with a State Legislative Effectiveness Score of 3.89. She introduced 9 bills in the 2023-2024 legislative sessions, 3 of which received action in committee, action beyond committee, and passed the House, and 2 of which became law.

Rep. Miranda joined the House in 2019 and left office in 2024 when she was appointed as the Hamilton County Auditor. Before joining the House, Rep. Miranda was the President of the Winton Woods City School Board. She is a small business owner, a certified Licensed Property & Casualty Insurance Broker, holds numerous IRS certifications, and provides tax and insurance services to Ohio families. In 2015, she received the Forest Park Business Recognition Award for her community service.

Representative Richard Brown (District 5) was the only Democratic Representative on our list to rank among the top-10 highest scorers in both the 2021-2022 and 2023-2024 legislative sessions.

### **Highly Effective Republican Lawmakers in the 135<sup>th</sup> Ohio State Senate**

The following table identifies the ten highest-scoring Republicans in the 2023-2024 State Senate. Nine of the top ten were committee chairs.

#### **Top Ten List—Senate Republicans (2023-2024 Legislative Sessions)**

	<b><u>Name</u></b>	<b><u>LES</u></b>	<b><u>Committee Chair</u></b>
1.	<b>Kristina Roegner (District 27)</b>	4.50	Chair
2.	<b>Michele Reynolds (District 3)</b>	2.46	None
3.	<b>George Lang (District 4)</b>	2.13	Chair
4.	<b>Tim Schaffer (District 20)</b>	2.11	Chair
5.	<b>Andrew Brenner (District 19)</b>	1.99	Chair
6.	<b>Steve Wilson (District 7)</b>	1.98	Chair
7.	<b>Jerry Cirino (District 18)</b>	1.80	Chair
8.	<b>Michael Rulli (District 33)</b>	1.74	Chair
9.	<b>Louis W. Blessing III (District 8)</b>	1.72	Chair

<b>10.</b>	<b>Mark Romanchuk (District 22)</b>	1.58	Chair
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Among Republicans in the Senate, Senator Kristina Roegner of District 27 (Portage, Summit, and Geauga counties) ranked first with a SLES of 4.50. In the 2023-2024 sessions, she introduced 16 bills; 12 received action in committee, action beyond committee, and passed the Senate; and 5 became law.

Sen. Roegner assumed office in 2019 and is currently serving her final term in the Senate. Before serving in the Senate, Sen. Roegner represented the 37th District in the Ohio State House from 2011-2018 and served on the Hudson City Council from 2005-2010. She holds a B.S. in mechanical engineering from Tufts University and an M.B.A. from the Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania. Before public office, she worked as a management consultant at McKinsey & Company and as a field engineer for Westinghouse Power Generation Service Division. In 2026, she announced her candidacy for Ohio Treasurer.

Four legislators on the list were among the top 10 highest-scoring Republicans in the 2021-2022 legislative sessions: Sen. Kristina Roegner (District 27), Sen. Tim Schaffer (District 20), Sen. Steve Wilson (District 7), and Sen. Louis W. Blessing III (District 8).

### **Highly Effective Democratic Lawmakers in the 135<sup>th</sup> Ohio State Senate**

The following table identifies the three highest-scoring Democrats in the 2023-2024 State Senate.

#### **Top Three List- Senate Democrats (2023-2024 Legislative Sessions)**

	<u><b>Name</b></u>	<u><b>LES</b></u>	<u><b>Seniority</b></u>
<b>1.</b>	<b>William DeMora (District 25)</b>	0.61	1
<b>2.</b>	<b>Vernon Sykes (District 28)</b>	0.57	4
<b>3.</b>	<b>Kent Smith (District 21)</b>	0.31	1

Senator William DeMora of District 25 (Franklin County) had the highest SLES for Senate Democrats in the 2023-2024 legislative sessions with a score of 0.61. During the 2023-2024 legislative sessions, he introduced 14 bills: 2 received action in committee and action beyond committee and 1 passed the Senate.

Sen. DeMora assumed office in 2023. He attended the Ohio State University, serving as President of the Ohio State College Democrats and the Ohio College Democrats while there. Before joining the legislature, Sen. DeMora was the Executive Director of the Ohio Democratic Party and the Executive Director of the Ohio League of Conservation Voters. In addition, he has served as a director of the Ohio Delegation for the Democratic National Convention. Today, he works as a Senior Consultant and Parliamentarian for the Ohio Democratic Party and continues working on statewide and local elections.

Sen. Vernon Sykes (District 28) was the only Democratic Senator to rank among the top-3 most effective Democratic lawmakers in the Senate during the 2021-2022 and 2023-2024 legislative sessions.

**Lawmakers with Long-Standing Patterns of “Above Expectations”**

Those who significantly exceed their benchmark score, which is calculated based on their seniority and status as a majority-party member and/or committee chairperson, are identified as being in our “Above Expectations” category. The lists below identify the Representatives and Senators with the longest active streaks of exceeding expectations in consecutive sessions continuing through (and including) the 2023-2024 legislative sessions.

**State Representative with Longest Streak of “Above Expectations”  
(through the 2023-2024 Legislative Sessions)**

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Streak</u>	<u>SLES (2023-2024)</u>	<u>Seniority</u>
1.	<b>Phil Plummer Jr. (R-39)</b>	3 Legislative Sessions	1.68	3 Legislative Sessions

Representative Phil Plummer Jr. (R) of District 39 (Montgomery County) had the longest streak of "Above Expectations" with 3 legislative sessions and a SLES of 1.68 in the 2023-2024 legislative sessions. During the 2023-2024 legislative sessions, Rep. Plummer Jr. introduced 1 bill, which received action in committee, action beyond committee, passed the House, and ultimately became law.

Rep. Plummer is serving his fourth term in the State House and is the current Assistant Speaker Pro Tempore. Before joining the House, Rep. Plummer was the Montgomery County Sheriff. He began his career as a corrections officer with the Montgomery County Sheriff’s Office and rose through the ranks, serving as a Deputy Sheriff, Major, and Command of the Operations Division before assuming the role of Sheriff in 2008. Rep. Plummer holds an associate’s degree in criminal justice from the University of Toledo and a B.S. in business management from the University of Phoenix.

**State Senator with Longest Streak of “Above Expectations”  
(through the 2023-2024 Legislative Sessions)**

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Streak</u>	<u>SLES (2023-2024)</u>	<u>Seniority</u>
1.	<b>Kristina Roegner (R-27)</b>	3 Legislative Sessions	4.50	3 Legislative Sessions
2.	<b>Tim Schaffer (R-20)</b>	3 Legislative Sessions	2.11	3 Legislative Sessions

Senator Kristina Roegner of District 27 (Portage, Summit, and Geauga counties) had the longest streak of "Above Expectations" with 3 legislative sessions and a SLES of 4.50 in the 2023-2024 legislative sessions. Sen. Roegner has consistently ranked among the top-2 most effective Republican lawmakers in the Ohio Senate since 2019.

### High-Performing Freshmen

One way to identify future legislative leaders is to identify freshmen Representatives and Senators who earned an “Above Expectations” rating in their first term. Freshman legislators’ initial scores are compared to benchmarks for newcomers—so when a freshman outperforms their cohort, it can reveal strong political acumen, the ability to navigate legislative procedures quickly, and skill in coalition-building or policy entrepreneurship. These traits often correlate with future leadership roles: our research on the U.S. Congress suggests that legislators who perform well early on are more likely to be selected for committee chairs or leadership positions and to influence major legislation in subsequent terms. Hence, identifying high-performing freshmen can offer early signals of who might rise through the ranks.

### Freshmen Representatives “Above Expectations” (2023-2024 Legislative Sessions)

	<u>Name</u>	<u>SLES (2023-2024)</u>
1.	<b>Adam Mathews (R-56)</b>	4.68
2.	<b>Monica Robb Blasdel (R-79)</b>	2.53
3.	<b>Nick Santucci (R-64)</b>	1.69
4.	<b>Sean Brennan (D-14)</b>	0.99

Rep. Adam Mathews of District 56 (Warren County) had the highest SLES and was “Above Expectations” in lawmaking effectiveness during his freshman term, with a SLES of 4.68. During the 2023-2024 legislative sessions, Rep. Mathews introduced 20 bills: 10 received action in committee and action beyond committee, 5 passed the House, and 1 became law. He was also ranked as the third highest-scoring Republican Representative during the 2023-2024 legislative sessions.

Before joining the House, Rep. Mathews served as the Vice Mayor of Lebanon. During his early career, he worked as a civilian engineer for the Naval Nuclear Propulsion Program. He later received a J.D. from Notre Dame, became an intellectual property attorney, and is licensed to appear before the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court of the United States. In the community, Rep. Mathews is a member of the Board of Directors of the Cincinnati Federal

Society, a member of the Kiwanis of Lebanon Club, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Lebanon Area Chamber of Commerce.

### **Freshmen Senators “Above Expectations” (2023-2024 Legislative Sessions)**

	<b><u>Name</u></b>	<b><u>SLES (2023-2024)</u></b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>Michele Reynolds (R-3)</b>	2.46
<b>2.</b>	<b>William DeMora (D-25)</b>	0.61

Republican Senator Michele Reynolds of District 3 (Madison and Pickaway counties) had the highest SLES and was “Above Expectations” during her freshman term, with an SLES of 2.46. During the 2023-2024 legislative sessions, Sen. Reynolds introduced 20 bills, 5 of which received action in committee, action beyond committee, and passed the Senate, and 1 of which became law.

Before joining the Senate, Sen. Reynolds was a member of the Madison Township Board of Trustees. She holds a B.S. in criminal justice from the University of Cincinnati, an M.A. in public administration and urban studies from the University of Akron, and a J.D. from the University of Dayton School of Law. She has worked in various positions in City and County Government, as a licensed realtor, as a small business owner, and as a nonprofit CEO. In the community, she is a member of the Jo Ann Davidson Ohio Leadership Institute, the Columbus NAACP chapter, and the National Association of Blacks in Criminal Justice – Ohio Chapter. In 2018, she was recognized with President Barack Obama's Presidential Lifetime Achievement Award.

### **Other Findings**

In terms of broader patterns, consistent with a majority-party advantage in most states, this pattern is clearly on display in Ohio. While the SLES of minority-party lawmakers across the country on the whole averages about 0.6, the average scores for minority-party Democrats in Ohio are a bit lower than that in the House of Representatives at 0.58 and substantially lower in the Senate at a value of 0.32.

These differences translate into a gap in the number of laws produced by Republicans relative to Democrats. Of the 61 laws produced in the 2023-24 term, only 6 were sponsored by Democrats. This was also the first term when not a single bill sponsored by a Democratic Senator became law across our data going back to the mid-1990s. Given that Democrats held about a third of the seats in the House, this nearly 10:1 ratio in laws sponsored by Republicans versus Democrats is notably out of proportion with their relative seat shares.

## **Conclusion**

The 135<sup>th</sup> Ohio General Assembly demonstrated consistent patterns in legislative effectiveness, with experienced legislators, committee chairs, and majority-party members continuing to hold a distinct advantage in advancing their policy agendas. Across both chambers, many of the most effective lawmakers continued their high performance from previous sessions, indicating a durable capacity for lawmaking among key figures. These findings underscore the importance of institutional positions and experiences in shaping legislative outcomes in Ohio.