

**Voting Rights Project: Georgia Preliminary Findings**

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## **I. Introduction**

Elections in Georgia receive national attention. Whether it's their swing state stature, with deeply entrenched support for both parties, or their closely-watched runoffs, Georgian elections have significant national significance. Georgia is also a median state in terms of their position on the Cost of Voting Index, meaning that they serve as a good benchmark for the midpoint cost of voting in the United States.<sup>1</sup> However, Georgia has recently come under the national spotlight for anti-voter legislation that increases the cost of voting—adding barriers to registration, removing voters from rolls, and limiting drop box hours and locations—which have resulted in numerous lawsuits and outcries. With Georgia's significance nationally, coupled with its racial and socioeconomic diversity, examining the impact of voting laws in this state is important in more fully understanding the national, racial, and economic consequences of voting/election laws.

## **II. Background**

In recent history, Georgia has come under scrutiny for various controversial pieces of legislation that affect, and in many cases restrict, voting access. For instance, many voting rights advocacy groups criticized Georgia's voter registration deadline requirements in 2018, expressing concern over the fact that 87,000 voters could not cast their ballots because they missed the registration deadline, 29 days before the actual election.<sup>2</sup> Further legislation passed in 2017, which like HB 268 restricted voting access by suspending a person's voting status if any information they provide during registration

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<sup>1</sup> Cost of Voting Index. "Cost of Voting Index." Accessed August 10, 2023. <https://costofvotingindex.com/>.

<sup>2</sup> Kauffman, Johnny, Angela Caputo, and Geoff Hing. "Done in by a Deadline." Accessed August 10, 2023. <https://www.apmreports.org/story/2019/10/28/georgia-voting-deadlines-2020-election>.

does not match their driver's license or Social Security records.<sup>3</sup> This exact match policy led to 670,000 canceled registrations in 2017 and placed 53,000 in "pending status" in 2018, meaning that voters were not able to vote until discrepancies were resolved.<sup>4</sup> 80% of these 53,000 were people of color, raising added concerns about this law's disproportionate effects on marginalized communities.

Georgia has also come under scrutiny over voter purges. In 2017, then Secretary of State Brian Kemp removed 560,000 inactive voters from the rolls, 107,000 of which would have been eligible to vote.<sup>5</sup> Voters were removed on the basis of "inactivity", with election officials claiming that the voters they removed had most likely moved or died.<sup>6</sup> However, their methodology was found to be flawed, resulting in eligible voters being removed simply for not voting frequently.<sup>7</sup> What was dubbed a "use-it-or-lose-it" voting policy was continued into 2019, with 287,000 voters purged ahead of the 2020 election.<sup>8</sup> But unlike 2018, lawsuits and public outcry forced Secretary of State Raffensperger to admit to 22,000 errors in the removal system, and reinstate those wrongly-removed voters.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Ax, Joseph. "Georgia Lawsuit Is Latest Blow in U.S. Fight over Voting Rights." *Reuters*, October 12, 2018, sec. U.S. Legal News. <https://www.reuters.com/article/usa-election-registrations-idUSKCN1ML333>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Kauffman, Johnny, Angela Caputo, and Geoff Hing. "After the Purge: How a Massive Voter Purge in Georgia Affected the 2018 Election." Accessed August 10, 2023.

<https://www.apmreports.org/story/2019/10/29/georgia-voting-registration-records-removed>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Fair Fight. "Fair Fight Action Launches Digital Tool to Combat Georgia Voter Purge," June 29, 2021.

<https://fairfight.com/fair-fight-action-launches-digital-tool-to-combat-georgia-voter-purge/>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Criticisms and restrictive voting legislation continued after the 2020 election. While the Covid-19 pandemic brought new voting practices like drop boxes and more prevalent absentee voting, Georgian legislators attempted to roll back many of these new practices in 2021. Chief among these efforts was SB 202, dubbed the “Election Integrity Act of 2021.” While this legislation made thorough and comprehensive changes to the voting process, there are several provisions that drew increased attention for their negative impacts on voters. First, the state cut off the ability for voters to apply for an absentee ballot, by requiring citizens to apply 11 days before the election, without any provisions for emergencies such as the need to quarantine for Covid.<sup>10</sup> Governor Kemp applied for an absentee ballot the Friday before the 2020 November election and used a drop box for this very reason,<sup>11</sup> but this new provision eliminates this option for Georgia voters, forcing them to choose between not casting a ballot or vote in person if they miss this 11-day deadline. The state also reduced the number of drop boxes in the state and restricted drop-off hours to normal business hours.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, it empowers states to jail citizens who offer food or water to voters standing in line.<sup>13</sup> These provisions will be especially important to keep in mind when evaluating 2022 turnout, and as we evaluate the voting landscape post-Covid 19.

### III. Methodology & Data

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<sup>10</sup> ACLU of Georgia. “Voter Rights,” August 31, 2021. <https://www.acluga.org/en/issues/voter-rights>.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Burns, Max, Cecil Miller, Mike Dugan, Frank Ginn, and Lee Anderson. Election Integrity Act of 2021, S.B. 202 (2021). <https://www.legis.ga.gov/api/legislation/document/20212022/201498>.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

In examining the effects of voting legislation on turnout, we utilized data directly available from the Georgia Secretary of State, including the number of voters and turnout percentages from 2018-2022. Additionally, we utilized in-depth demographic data pegged to voters from Catalist from 2016-2020, which will lay the groundwork and provide a baseline for evaluating demographic shifts in voter turnout in the 2022 midterms. The totals of voter turnout, in terms of numbers of voters and turnout percentages, were compared year by year on a county basis and demographic basis.

ADD IN CHART HERE FROM TURNOUT AMONG BIGGEST COUNTIES

Table illustrates demographic voting data (gender and race) for the 2016, 2018, and 2020 elections:

Election Year	2016	2018	2020
Asian Women (65+)	4742	5466	10281
Asian Women (25-64)	31688	31247	55008
Asian Women (18-24)	4838	5283	10498
<b>Asian Women Total</b>	<b>41268</b>	<b>41996</b>	<b>75787</b>
Asian Men (65+)	5010	5811	9832
Asian Men (25-64)	27341	27310	46916
Asian Men (18-24)	3743	3825	8297
<b>Asian Men Total</b>	<b>36094</b>	<b>36946</b>	<b>65045</b>
Black Women (65+)	117633	131896	160321
Black Women (25-64)	581700	569768	651263
Black Women (18-24)	66217	59427	81254
<b>Black Women Total</b>	<b>765550</b>	<b>761091</b>	<b>892838</b>
Black Men (65+)	71056	80815	100196
Black Men (25-64)	331432	334264	410086
Black Men (18-24)	39126	39940	59929
<b>Black Men Total</b>	<b>441614</b>	<b>455019</b>	<b>570211</b>
Hispanic Women (65+)	4358	4765	7687
Hispanic Women (25-64)	44862	43542	66905

Hispanic Women (18-24)	11265	12171	21783
<b>Hispanic Women Total</b>	<b>60485</b>	<b>60478</b>	<b>21783</b>
Hispanic Men (65+)	3696	4118	6295
Hispanic Men (25-64)	33332	32479	51374
Hispanic Men (18-24)	7658	8105	15495
<b>Hispanic Men Total</b>	<b>44686</b>	<b>44702</b>	<b>73164</b>
White Women (65+)	365067	372083	452934
White Women (25-64)	987031	877334	1068509
White Women (18-24)	101678	83331	136659
<b>White Women Total</b>	<b>1453776</b>	<b>1332748</b>	<b>1658102</b>
White Men (65+)	319060	332489	387689
White Men (25-64)	874009	803414	971263
White Men (18-24)	87640	74949	124220
<b>White Men Total</b>	<b>1280709</b>	<b>1210852</b>	<b>1483172</b>

#### IV. Results

Observing county-level turnout data, we see that the midterm elections (2018 and 2022) both have lower turnouts than the 2020 presidential election, with 61.44% of registered voters casting a ballot in 2018, 71.53% in 2020, and 57.02% in 2022. However, these percentages do not account for eligible voters, only registered ones, which leads to a higher percentage than other figures estimate. While many factors could have contributed to the lower turnout in 2022 relative to 2018, the mere fact that turnout was lower means that SB 202 could conceivably have a negative effect on 2022 turnout.

Pairing down county data to some of the most populous counties we find the below:

Year	2018	2020	2022 (General)
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Cobb	486696	312488	64.21 %	537611	396517	73.76 %	508145	313116	61.62 %
DeKalb	494731	313552	63.38 %	546711	373370	68.29 %	507689	299412	58.98 %
Fulton	703177	425139	60.46 %	806451	527925	65.46 %	752646	421396	55.99 %
Gwinnett	525568	315815	60.09 %	581467	416457	71.62 %	556398	300402	53.99 %

In these large counties we have similar results to aggregate turnout data, with a decrease between 2018 and 2022.

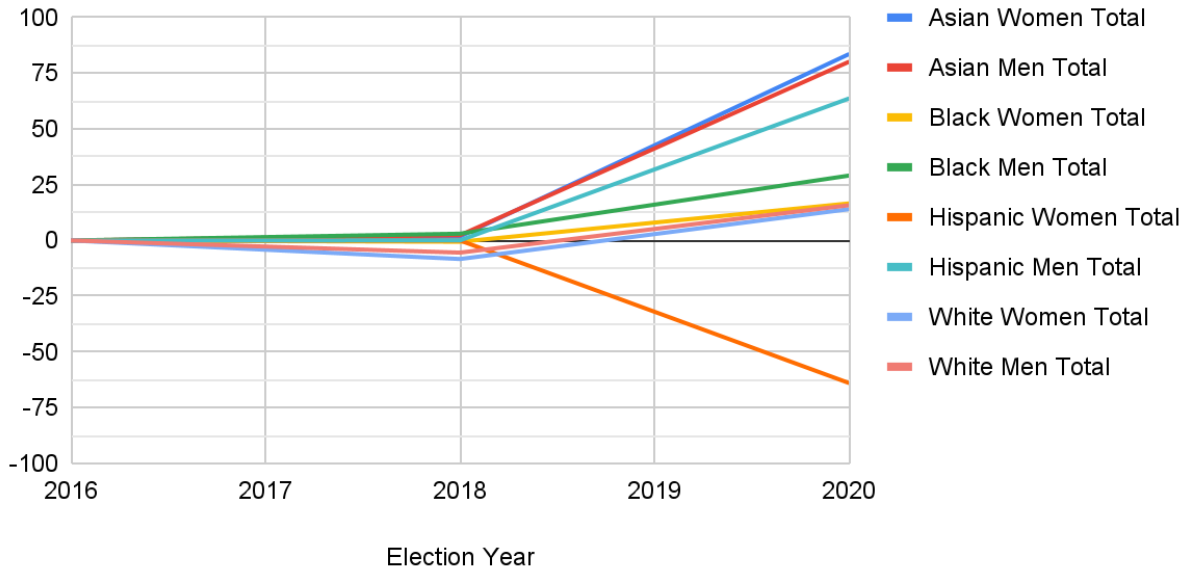
Demographic shifts are presently more difficult to measure, as demographic data around the 2022 election is not presently readily available. However, comparing the presidential elections of 2016 and 2020, we can see the effects that more accessible voting (like drop boxes and more widespread absentee voting) in 2020 shaped turnout for different groups of voters.

The chart below illustrates the percentage change in number of votes cast by group<sup>14</sup>:

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<sup>14</sup> Source: author generated.

## Percentage Change in Number of Voters by Demographic Group



From the above, we see that turnout between 2018 and 2016 was roughly the same, which is unsurprising given that 2018 was a midterm election with a historically high turnout. Interestingly, white voters saw the largest decrease between 2016 and 2018, with all other groups increasing or remaining roughly the same. However, this merely accounts for the number of votes cast, and is not indicative of turnout of eligible voters within groups. Accounting for demographic shifts in eligible voters (unfortunately, this data is not accessible), would help determine why this might be the case. Further, it is difficult to surmise the effect of anti-voter legislation, because each election may have a variety of different factors that lead one group to turn out relatively more or less than in previous years compared to other groups. But it is certainly possible that had purges not occurred in 2018, the percentage change in turnout from 2016-2018 could have been even higher among those groups disproportionately affected by them.



Finally, the effect of 2022 laws is not understandable as of yet, since demographic data on this election is unavailable. Nevertheless, 2020 saw massive increases in turnout, possibly as a result of increased accessibility measures (like 24/7 drop boxes, more accessible absentee ballots, etc), particularly among historically marginalized racial groups that nearly uniformly saw higher increases in turnout than white voters (with the exception of Hispanic women, who voted significantly less in 2020). It will be important to examine whether anti-voter laws in 2022 eroded these higher increases in ballots cast by voters of color.

## V. Discussion

In general, our findings echo existing literature on this subject. Other literature finds that the gap between white and non-white turnout decreased from 2016-2018,<sup>15</sup> which is mirrored in our results that show voters of color increasing at a higher relative percentage than white voters. Further, the turnout gap between people of color and white people increased from 2018-2020, but remained slightly lower in 2016, as large demographic groups like black voters converged in their growth with white voters and Hispanic women significantly decreased from 2018-2020, which tracks with other literature, like the Brennan Center study.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Loving, Sara, and Kevin Morris. "Georgia's Racial Turnout Gap Grew in 2022." Brennan Center for Justice. Accessed August 10, 2023.

<https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/georgias-racial-turnout-gap-grew-2022>.

<sup>16</sup> Loving, Sara, and Kevin Morris. "Georgia's Racial Turnout Gap Grew in 2022." Brennan Center for Justice. Accessed August 10, 2023.

<https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/georgias-racial-turnout-gap-grew-2022>.

It will be incredibly important to examine demographic data and turnout in the 2022 midterm, as studies have shown that the racial turnout gap has widened to a historic high in Georgia during the 2022 election.<sup>17</sup> But as was the case with our research, because so many factors can contribute to changes in turnout, the Brennan Center was unable to definitively say whether or not SB 202 was a result of the increase in the turnout gap. Further, our county-level research agrees with other studies that have examined turnout across midterm elections. An NPR study explained that Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton, and Gwinnett — where about 50% of the voters are people of color—saw the number of drop boxes fall from 107 to 25 from 2020 to 2022.<sup>18</sup> A quarter of state voters saw an increase in travel time to drop box locations, and 90% of those voters likely lean Democratic and skew towards people of color.<sup>19</sup> These increased costs in voting, seen in increased travel time and more restricted drop box hours, could account for the decrease in turnout from 2018 to 2022.

Moving forward, it will be important to examine demographic turnout data for 2022. Additionally, it will also be important to investigate not only the number of voters within a given demographic, but will also help determine turnout percentages and the number of registered voters relative to the eligible population. Finally, it will also be important to examine party-based differences coupled with other demographic information.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Fowler, Stephen, Sam Gringlas, and Huo Jingnan. “A New Georgia Voting Law Reduced Ballot Drop Box Access in Places That Used Them Most.” *NPR*, July 27, 2022, sec. Investigations. <https://www.npr.org/2022/07/27/1112487312/georgia-voting-law-ballot-drop-box-access>.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

## VI. Conclusion

In short, the central findings thus far in our research process are as follows:

- Turnout among people of color increased at a higher relative rate than turnout among white people from 2016-2020, reflecting the slight decrease in the racial turnout gap in Georgia.
- Decreased turnout from 2018 to 2022 midterms could be a result of anti-voter legislation and/or a combination of other factors
- Anti-voter legislation like SB 202 has raised the cost of voting, especially for people with disabilities, people of color, and other historically marginalized groups, but these legislation's impacts on turnout are difficult to measure, as it would require knowing what turnout would have looked like otherwise, or would require controlling for a wide array of variables.
- The hard-to-measure effects of anti-voter legislation are a key part of what makes them so harmful because they undeniably make voting more challenging while simultaneously making it difficult to precisely quantify how they affect turnout and the outcomes of elections.
- Demographic data surrounding the 2022 midterms will need to be compared to existing data around previous midterm elections in the future, along with a more holistic examination of ballots cast relative to the pool of both registered and eligible voters.

Appendix

Below is a table illustrating county-level turnout data in Georgia in 2018, 2020, and 2022:

Year	2018			2020			2022 (General)		
County	Registered Voters	Ballots Cast	Voter Turnout	Registered Voters	Ballots Cast	Voter Turnout	Registered Voters	Ballots Cast	Voter Turnout
Appling	10613	6827	64.33 %	11399	8414	73.81 %	11278	6721	59.59 %
Atkinson	4252	2527	59.43 %	4799	3172	66.10 %	4481	2257	50.37 %
Bacon	6010	3836	63.83 %	6720	4680	69.64 %	6338	3739	58.99 %

Baker	2232	1297	58.11 %	2258	1559	69.04 %	2107	1265	60.04 %
Baldwin	23399	15690	67.05 %	26721	18353	68.68 %	25991	15055	57.92 %
Banks	10807	6867	63.54 %	12898	8830	68.46 %	13370	7352	54.99 %
Barrow	47514	27459	57.79 %	55605	38071	68.47 %	55349	29494	53.29 %
Bartow	64074	37441	58.43 %	74409	50675	68.10 %	74946	40086	53.49 %
Ben Hill	9258	5565	60.11 %	9854	6594	66.92 %	9346	5132	54.91 %
Berrien	10247	6265	61.14 %	11275	7766	68.88 %	10779	6033	55.97 %
Bibb	99934	60867	60.91 %	107979	71088	65.84 %	105277	54355	51.63 %
Bleckley	6944	4872	70.16 %	7516	5732	76.26 %	7651	4822	63.02 %
Brantley	9984	5711	57.20 %	11888	7768	65.34 %	10870	5880	54.09 %
Brooks	9911	5749	58.01 %	11154	7129	63.91 %	10647	5659	53.15 %
Bryan	25712	15019	58.41 %	30608	21407	69.94 %	30745	17039	55.42 %
Bulloch	39983	23746	59.39 %	44738	30235	67.58 %	44948	23648	52.61 %
Burke	14449	8758	60.61 %	16556	10756	64.97 %	15994	8499	53.14 %
Butts	15280	8892	58.19 %	17154	11830	68.96 %	16915	9720	57.46 %
Calhoun	2982	1912	64.12 %	3184	2208	69.35 %	2857	1719	60.17 %
Camden	31632	17119	54.12 %	34950	23780	68.04 %	35245	17979	51.01 %
Candler	5572	3549	63.69 %	6300	4444	70.54 %	6427	3571	55.56 %
Carroll	72908	41959	57.55 %	83847	54689	65.22 %	83277	43804	52.60 %
Catoosa	40513	23836	58.84 %	45715	32756	71.65 %	44935	24628	54.81 %
Charlton	6072	3391	55.85 %	6552	4576	69.84 %	6136	3421	55.75 %
Chatham	188315	103841	55.14 %	200388	134203	66.97 %	198440	106679	53.76 %
Chattahoochee	3132	1107	35.34 %	0	1593	0.00 %	3263	1025	31.41 %
Chattooga	11099	7464	67.25 %	14143	10104	71.44 %	14216	7742	54.46 %
Cherokee	165612	106632	64.39 %	190531	145544	76.39 %	191394	120624	63.02 %
Clarke	70597	43450	61.55 %	76504	51785	67.69 %	68411	40457	59.14 %
Clay	1856	1191	64.17 %	2053	1444	70.34 %	1972	1130	57.30 %
Clayton	169574	92403	54.49 %	193326	112986	58.44 %	178028	84402	47.41 %
Clinch	3884	2268	58.39 %	4345	2875	66.17 %	4134	2126	51.43 %
Cobb	486696	312488	64.21 %	537611	396517	73.76 %	508145	313116	61.62 %
Coffee	21900	12669	57.85 %	25114	15277	60.83 %	22070	11940	54.10 %

Colquitt	21948	13001	59.24 %	25054	16141	64.42 %	24715	12622	51.07 %
Columbia	95779	61779	64.50 %	107380	80973	75.41 %	103396	64709	62.58 %
Cook	9423	5816	61.72 %	10632	7058	66.38 %	10101	5585	55.29 %
Coweta	91585	58194	63.54 %	102110	77182	75.59 %	104027	63866	61.39 %
Crawford	7459	4953	66.40 %	8512	6128	71.99 %	8267	4847	58.63 %
Crisp	11674	7082	60.66 %	12554	8073	64.31 %	12477	6356	50.94 %
Dade	10496	5478	52.19 %	11660	7479	64.14 %	11051	5871	53.13 %
Dawson	18278	11606	63.50 %	21529	16146	75.00 %	21960	14013	63.81 %
Decatur	15201	9172	60.34 %	16618	11669	70.22 %	15590	8912	57.16 %
DeKalb	494731	313552	63.38 %	546711	373370	68.29 %	507689	299412	58.98 %
Dodge	11055	7079	64.03 %	11439	8098	70.79 %	11363	6649	58.51 %
Dooly	5669	3811	67.23 %	5949	4125	69.34 %	5814	3301	56.78 %
Dougherty	57817	31537	54.55 %	61172	35487	58.01 %	57389	26814	46.72 %
Douglas	89305	55358	61.99 %	102540	69455	67.73 %	96443	53044	55.00 %
Early	6992	4159	59.48 %	7320	5216	71.26 %	6761	3921	57.99 %
Echols	1929	1146	59.41 %	2156	1449	67.21 %	2062	1067	51.75 %
Effingham	38132	23426	61.43 %	44273	31677	71.55 %	43720	25447	58.20 %
Elbert	11123	7418	66.69 %	12305	9218	74.91 %	12167	7344	60.36 %
Emanuel	12343	7751	62.80 %	13715	9556	69.68 %	13719	7588	55.31 %
Evans	5569	3461	62.15 %	6135	4261	69.45 %	6127	3372	55.04 %
Fannin	17200	11250	65.41 %	20399	14899	73.04 %	20106	12683	63.08 %
Fayette	83763	58118	69.38 %	92307	72423	78.46 %	87628	60488	69.03 %
Floyd	52469	30440	58.02 %	60650	41573	68.55 %	60052	32149	53.54 %
Forsyth	143680	93526	65.09 %	163984	129947	79.24 %	162143	102668	63.32 %
Franklin	13069	8171	62.52 %	15146	10815	71.40 %	15070	8765	58.16 %
Fulton	703177	425139	60.46 %	806451	527925	65.46 %	752646	421396	55.99 %
Gilmer	19069	12554	65.83 %	22264	16575	74.45 %	22447	14122	62.91 %
Glascocock	1837	1304	70.99 %	2039	1571	77.05 %	1997	1309	65.55 %
Glynn	54274	32767	60.37 %	61952	42197	68.11 %	58486	33366	57.05 %
Gordon	30086	17858	59.36 %	36429	24122	66.22 %	36811	18959	51.50 %
Grady	13546	8398	62.00 %	15442	10741	69.56 %	14695	8370	56.96 %
Greene	12081	9025	74.70 %	14171	11315	79.85 %	14728	10542	71.58 %

Gwinnett	525568	315815	60.09 %	581467	416457	71.62 %	556398	300402	53.99 %
Habersham	24707	15540	62.90 %	28264	20516	72.59 %	28245	17028	60.29 %
Hall	114817	67582	58.86 %	0	91035	0.00 %	132325	73697	55.69 %
Hancock	5601	3554	63.45 %	5827	4171	71.58 %	5734	3416	59.57 %
Haralson	17923	10612	59.21 %	20667	14295	69.17 %	21000	11677	55.60 %
Harris	22877	16019	70.02 %	25626	20110	78.47 %	25919	17060	65.82 %
Hart	14706	9666	65.73 %	16929	12788	75.54 %	17091	10595	61.99 %
Heard	6678	4065	60.87 %	7762	5411	69.71 %	7704	4474	58.07 %
Henry	154376	98743	63.96 %	171905	123632	71.92 %	168797	95780	56.74 %
Houston	93924	59370	63.21 %	105315	75187	71.39 %	103246	59321	57.46 %
Irwin	5277	3569	67.63 %	6113	4189	68.53 %	5875	3425	58.30 %
Jackson	42272	26950	63.75 %	51951	37830	72.82 %	53793	31954	59.40 %
Jasper	9030	5949	65.88 %	10432	7669	73.51 %	10884	6590	60.55 %
Jeff Davis	7556	4830	63.92 %	8478	5788	68.27 %	8130	4558	56.06 %
Jefferson	10349	6789	65.60 %	11334	7681	67.77 %	10999	6302	57.30 %
Jenkins	4677	2889	61.77 %	5066	3461	68.32 %	4890	2781	56.87 %
Johnson	5060	3489	68.95 %	5611	4114	73.32 %	5460	3390	62.09 %
Jones	18194	12469	68.53 %	0	14998	0.00 %	20288	12339	60.82 %
Lamar	11288	7373	65.32 %	12839	9083	70.75 %	13350	7775	58.24 %
Lanier	5034	2689	53.42 %	5462	3591	65.75 %	5408	2650	49.00 %
Laurens	28805	18998	65.95 %	32837	22823	69.50 %	31884	18605	58.35 %
Lee	21012	13571	64.59 %	22897	16769	73.24 %	22516	13612	60.45 %
Liberty	31051	15404	49.61 %	35582	21480	60.37 %	31693	15467	48.80 %
Lincoln	5748	3983	69.29 %	6176	4657	75.40 %	6105	3994	65.42 %
Long	7606	4007	52.68 %	10470	5675	54.20 %	9279	4438	47.83 %
Lowndes	67459	35817	53.09 %	75356	46543	61.76 %	67537	34838	51.58 %
Lumpkin	19567	11587	59.22 %	22407	15605	69.64 %	22370	12765	57.06 %
Macon	6569	4244	64.61 %	6991	4683	66.99 %	6877	3801	55.27 %
Madison	18018	11724	65.07 %	20720	14993	72.36 %	20819	12592	60.48 %
Marion	4468	2935	65.69 %	4913	3646	74.21 %	4751	2854	60.07 %
McDuffie	13587	8819	64.91 %	15033	10509	69.91 %	15026	8342	55.52 %
McIntosh	8962	5425	60.53 %	9292	6725	72.37 %	8824	5539	62.77 %

Meriwether	13710	8678	63.30 %	15337	10924	71.23 %	14935	8945	59.89 %
Miller	3814	2322	60.88 %	3912	2852	72.90 %	3720	2168	58.28 %
Mitchell	13324	7470	56.06 %	13474	8990	66.72 %	12913	7064	54.70 %
Monroe	18724	12987	69.36 %	21138	15652	74.05 %	21294	13755	64.60 %
Montgomery	5145	3535	68.71 %	5463	3982	72.89 %	5385	3239	60.15 %
Morgan	13100	9580	73.13 %	14824	11765	79.36 %	14925	10358	69.40 %
Murray	19170	11114	57.98 %	22284	15439	69.28 %	23018	11567	50.25 %
Muscogee	112540	63451	56.38 %	130878	80944	61.85 %	121373	59632	49.13 %
Newton	69805	43213	61.91 %	78994	54507	69.00 %	76671	42982	56.06 %
Oconee	27538	20796	75.52 %	30071	25399	84.46 %	30234	22525	74.50 %
Oglethorpe	9473	6500	68.62 %	10844	8168	75.32 %	10628	6821	64.18 %
Paulding	98948	61399	62.05 %	114945	85709	74.57 %	114644	67146	58.57 %
Peach	16632	10472	62.96 %	17996	12577	69.89 %	17403	10077	57.90 %
Pickens	21151	13394	63.33 %	23766	17226	72.48 %	23511	15114	64.28 %
Pierce	10855	6897	63.54 %	12717	9070	71.32 %	12455	7200	57.81 %
Pike	12212	8561	70.10 %	0	10753	0.00 %	14254	9448	66.28 %
Polk	20970	12901	61.52 %	24189	17445	72.12 %	24671	13667	55.40 %
Pulaski	5293	3635	68.68 %	5687	4094	71.99 %	5596	3385	60.49 %
Putnam	13578	9363	68.96 %	16003	11917	74.47 %	15861	10260	64.69 %
Quitman	1519	951	62.61 %	1547	1116	72.14 %	1492	909	60.92 %
Rabun	11513	7605	66.06 %	13072	9632	73.68 %	12563	8292	66.00 %
Randolph	4154	2805	67.53 %	4341	3086	71.09 %	4228	2581	61.05 %
Richmond	122747	70360	57.32 %	134749	87530	64.96 %	124208	64335	51.80 %
Rockdale	58299	36731	63.00 %	65505	44938	68.60 %	58852	34982	59.44 %
Schley	2645	1937	73.23 %	2882	2284	79.25 %	2887	1884	65.26 %
Screven	8594	5438	63.28 %	0	6659	0.00 %	9590	5322	55.50 %
Seminole	5341	3248	60.81 %	5936	3904	65.77 %	5691	3059	53.75 %
Spalding	41325	24471	59.22 %	45985	30347	65.99 %	45017	24465	54.35 %
Stephens	17058	9118	53.45 %	0	11940	0.00 %	17977	9430	52.46 %
Stewart	2917	1829	62.70 %	2893	2006	69.34 %	2741	1584	57.79 %
Sumter	16395	10594	64.62 %	17800	12175	68.40 %	17483	9629	55.08 %
Talbot	4334	2962	68.34 %	4563	3544	77.67 %	4504	2878	63.90 %



Taliaferro	1211	938	77.46 %	1245	934	75.02 %	1227	816	66.50 %
Tattnall	11036	6663	60.38 %	12184	8211	67.39 %	11178	6550	58.60 %
Taylor	5068	3301	65.13 %	5400	3860	71.48 %	5603	3230	57.65 %
Telfair	5525	3650	66.06 %	6032	4354	72.18 %	5788	3429	59.24 %
Terrell	6366	3951	62.06 %	6594	4437	67.29 %	6473	3669	56.68 %
Thomas	27686	17297	62.48 %	30028	21969	73.16 %	29169	17332	59.42 %
Tift	22064	13702	62.10 %	24449	16351	66.88 %	24416	13075	53.55 %
Toombs	15700	8887	56.61 %	16134	10963	67.95 %	15976	8512	53.28 %
Towns	9386	6167	65.70 %	10693	8016	74.96 %	10351	7205	69.61 %
Treutlen	4025	2621	65.12 %	4223	3095	73.29 %	4037	2458	60.89 %
Troup	38876	23977	61.68 %	42964	30184	70.25 %	41053	23314	56.79 %
Turner	5126	3285	64.09 %	5582	3808	68.22 %	5547	3114	56.14 %
Twiggs	5849	3807	65.09 %	6304	4458	70.72 %	5962	3557	59.66 %
Union	17800	11912	66.92 %	19201	15644	81.47 %	20273	14362	70.84 %
Upson	15930	10602	66.55 %	18175	12949	71.25 %	18248	10156	55.66 %
Walker	38613	21574	55.87 %	42924	29514	68.76 %	42468	22186	52.24 %
Walton	61655	38771	62.88 %	70006	51289	73.26 %	70116	42542	60.67 %
Ware	18506	11064	59.79 %	21994	14253	64.80 %	19181	10787	56.24 %
Warren	3519	2273	64.59 %	3785	2663	70.36 %	3741	2166	57.90 %
Washington	11988	8200	68.40 %	12990	9525	73.33 %	12816	7831	61.10 %
Wayne	15675	10158	64.80 %	18104	12810	70.76 %	17371	10051	57.86 %
Webster	1493	1102	73.81 %	1705	1400	82.11 %	1691	1138	67.30 %
Wheeler	2751	1942	70.59 %	3161	2298	72.70 %	3119	1829	58.64 %
White	18137	11479	63.29 %	20622	14897	72.24 %	20968	12763	60.87 %
Whitfield	46058	27432	59.56 %	54749	36957	67.50 %	54940	27107	49.34 %
Wilcox	4237	2824	66.65 %	4661	3292	70.63 %	4296	2634	61.31 %
Wilkes	6345	4394	69.25 %	6819	5054	74.12 %	6546	4173	63.75 %
Wilkinson	6016	4276	71.08 %	6470	4791	74.05 %	6457	4078	63.16 %
Worth	12645	7867	62.21 %	14469	9315	64.38 %	12946	7422	57.33 %
Total:	6428581	3949905	61.44 %	7026276	5025683	71.53 %	6953527	3964926	57.02 %

