

10-2018

Race and a Southern Governorship. Can Stacy Abrams Make History in Georgia? An Examination of Georgia Voter Registration Lists, Voting Participation Rates, Race, and Age

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Recommended Citation

Bergad, L. W. (2018). Race and a Southern Governorship. Can Stacy Abrams Make History in Georgia? An Examination of Georgia Voter Registration Lists, Voting Participation Rates, Race, and Age. New York, NY: Center for Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies at the CUNY Graduate Center.

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Center for Latin American, Caribbean & Latino Studies

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CITY UNIVERSITY
OF NEW YORK

Race and a Southern Governorship

Can Stacy Abrams Make History in Georgia?

An Examination of Georgia Voter
Registration Lists, Voting Participation
Rates, Race, and Age

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The Center for Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies is a research institute that works for the advancement of the study of Latin America, the Caribbean, and Latinos in the United States in the doctoral programs at the CUNY Graduate Center. One of its major priorities is to provide funding and research opportunities to Latino students at the Ph.D. level.

The Center established and helps administer an interdisciplinary specialization in Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies in the Masters of Arts in Liberal Studies program.

The Latino Data Project was developed with the goal of making information available on the dynamically growing Latino population of the United States and especially New York City through the analysis of extant data available from a variety of sources such as the U.S. Census Bureau, the National Institute for Health, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and state and local-level data sources.

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Executive Summary

The nomination by Democratic voters of Stacy Abrams, an African-American woman, to run for governor of Georgia puts the state in the front lines of a possible new approach to elections by progressive Democrats across the nation. She will face the current Secretary of State, Brian Kemp who was nominated by Republican voters after using the same anti-immigrant dog whistle strategy adopted by his mentor in the White House who supported his candidacy. Among minority communities in Georgia Kemp is well-known for his voter suppression efforts aimed specifically at African-American voters.¹

Does a black woman in a former slave state have a real chance at winning in November 2018? This report examines the actual voter registration rolls of the state of Georgia current as of August 1, 2018 and parses the Georgia electorate by race, age, and sex to assess whether Abrams has a realistic chance of winning. The answer is yes, but only under particular circumstances which may not be too far-fetched.

Abrams recognizes that in Georgia the politics of race will be front and center in this election and that it will be nearly impossible for her to attract the votes of older, rural, predominantly white Georgians who voted heavily for the current president of the United States in 2016, 75% of them according to exit polls.

However, the Georgia electorate is changing rapidly and current voter registration data indicate that 54% of all registered voters in the state are white, 30% African Americans and the remainder are mixed race, Latinos and Asians. These latter groups are the core Democratic constituency. They supported Clinton in 2016 and it is highly likely that they will strongly support Abrams in November 2018. The other Democratic constituency is young people of all races, voters between the ages of 18 and 29 years of age who heavily voted for the democratic candidate in 2016.

The major challenge that Abrams faces in this election is making certain that the demographic groups most likely to support her turn out to vote on election day. This is no small task because African Americans, Latinos, Asians and young people have the absolutely lowest voter registration and voting rates in the state. Older white voters have very high registration and voting rates. These are analyzed in detail in this report.

If the Abrams campaign and the Georgia Democratic party can increase registration rates among their constituents in the state before the October 9, 2018 deadline for registration, only a month away, she has a chance of winning. There are enough progressive whites in the state, 25% voted Democratic in 2016, so that a coalition of voters may come together to make history in Georgia, but only if they go to the polls in greater numbers than in November 2016, which is not what usually happens in mid-term elections.

¹ A recent example of voter suppression effort is Kemp's attempt, as Secretary of State, to close 2/3 of all polling stations in Randolph County to the south of Atlanta where 55% of registered voters are African American and where there is no viable public transportation system to get voters to the polls. The purported reason: "the sites were not compliant with the Americans With Disabilities Act and there was not time to fix them before the Nov. 6 general election." See Vanessa Williams, *The Washington Post*, August 18, 2018 "Georgia voting rights activists move to block a plan to close two-thirds of polling places in a majority black county." At one of the polling places slated for closure in Randolph County 96% of registered voters were African American.

Introduction

The gubernatorial elections in the southern states of Florida and Georgia are perhaps the most interesting in the nation in this polarized and divisive era of U.S. political history. The Republican Party has nominated two Trump clones as candidates in both states: Ron DeSantis, infamous for his racist, anti-immigrant histrionics which he calculates can propel him to the governorship by mobilizing older white, predominantly suburban and rural voters in Florida; and Georgia's extant Secretary of State Brian Kemp whose virulent anti-immigrant emulation of the current president is accompanied by his well-publicized efforts at voter suppression in Georgia through purges of voter rolls and closing of polling stations that have been aimed primarily at African-American voters.² Kemp's strategy mirrors the Republican Party's strategy throughout the nation and certainly in neighboring Florida: turn out these same older white voters by promoting divisive rhetoric invoking racism, anti-immigrant biases, and a nationalistic "America First" posture which was successful in 2016 for the current occupant of the White House.

Andrew Gillum, an African-American mayor of Tallahassee was nominated by the Democratic Party in Florida. His approach to the election is to mobilize Democratic constituencies: progressive whites, African Americans, Latinos, young people, and women tired of the normalization of misogyny at the highest office in the U.S. He has written off any effort at appealing to older, rural and suburban white voters who are viewed as unreachable because of cult-like support for the current president and his Florida clone, DeSantis.

Stacy Abrams, who won the Democratic primary for governor in Georgia, will face Kemp in November 2018. She is the first African-American woman nominated for governor of a southern state. A graduate of Yale Law school, Abrams she has been a member of the Georgia state assembly since 2007 and served as minority leader of the state's House of Representatives between 2011 and 2017. Like Gillum in Florida Abrams has forsaken any appeal to the older, white, rural/suburban Republican Party base which will inevitably support her opponent. The demographics of Georgia has changed radically in the past twenty years and white voters have shrunken as an overall share of the electorate. Abrams will appeal to the same constituencies that Gillum will focus on in Florida. There is little question that race will be one front and center issue in both gubernatorial campaigns precisely because of the candidates' race.

There is also little doubt that as is the case in Florida, the Georgia race will be decided by voter turnout. Abrams has a real possibility of victory but only if her constituencies register and turn out to vote. Unfortunately, young voters, African Americans, Latinos, and Asians have significantly lower voter registration and turn-out rates than for non-Hispanic whites. The office of the Georgia secretary of state provides a complete quantitative profile of all registered voters by county, race, sex, and age in data files which are available on-line. Unlike the data from

² On DeSantis see Caroline Kenny "Florida's GOP gubernatorial nominee says a vote for his black opponent would 'monkey this up'" CNN August 3, 2018 <https://www.cnn.com/2018/08/29/politics/ron-desantis-andrew-gillum-attack/index.html>. DeSantis was also one of the administrators of an extremist, highly racist Facebook page "Tea Party." See the Miami New Times, Tim Elfrink "Ron DeSantis Was Reportedly an Admin of Racist Facebook Page" August 30, 2018 <https://www.miaminewtimes.com/news/ron-desantis-outed-as-administrator-of-racist-conspiracy-sharing-facebook-page-10682854>

On Kemp's extensive campaign at voter suppression in Georgia as Secretary of State see Carol Anderson, "Brian Kemp, Enemy of Democracy: An expert on voter suppression, he will help keep Georgia red" New York Times, August 11, 2018 <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/11/opinion/sunday/brian-kemp-enemy-of-democracy.html>

Florida, these do not include party affiliation. However, it is possible to know exactly ‘who’ the voters are from race, sex, and age perspectives with quantitative precision. These data will be analyzed and presented in this report.

Registered Voters in Georgia by Sex, Race, and Age as of August 1, 2018

The bastion of Republican support in Georgia, non-Hispanic white voters, are currently 54.1% of all registered voters in the state following by African Americans at 30.1%. The Hispanic population of Georgia has grown significantly in the past ten years and comprise 10% of the state’s population, but most Latinos in Georgia are not yet citizens and don’t have voting rights.³ Only 2.8% of all registered voters are Latino but they could possibly play a decisive role in a tight state election. Asians represent 2.1% of all voters; mixed-race people and American Indians account for the remaining 10.9%. (See table 1).⁴

Table 1
Registered Voters In Georgia by Sex and Race, August 1, 2018

	Male	Female	Unknown	Total	%
Non-Hispanic White	1,579,295	1,757,548	2,265	3,339,108	54.1%
African American	779,828	1,073,395	1,795	1,855,018	30.1%
Mixed	331,936	332,792	4,497	669,225	10.8%
Hispanic	78,643	93,574	324	172,541	2.8%
Asian	61,556	67,715	330	129,601	2.1%
American Indian	3,291	3,558	18	6,867	0.1%
Total	2,834,549	3,328,582	9,229	6,172,360	100.0%

Perhaps the most extraordinary aspect of the registered voting population of Georgia is the overwhelming predominance of women in every single large race group except for mixed races. Nearly 54% of all registered voters in the state are women. The greatest imbalance in registered voters by sex is among African Americans of whom 58% are women. Even among non-Hispanic whites 52.6% of registered voters were women. (See table 2).

This could be a major potential source of support for Abrams given the highly publicized, and seemingly never-ending, misogyny of the current president, the virulent anti-‘right to choose’ stance of the Republican party across the nation, and the clear identification of Brian Kemp with the White House. In 2016 women voters chose the Democratic candidate by 54% to 43% for the Republican winner of the state according to exit polls.

³ There were 968,048 Latinos in Georgia according to the 2016 American Community Survey raw data files, 9.4% of the total population. If the Latino population 18 years of age and older is examined only 51% were citizens and eligible to vote and this is the reason why Hispanics are a much smaller percentage of registered voters in the state than their portion of the population in the state.

⁴ All tables on registered voters in Georgia were derived from the Georgia Secretary of State, Voter Registration Statistics, Active Voters by Race and Gender as of August 1, 2018.

However, this also highlights something perhaps even more important for the Democratic Party of Georgia: the need to register more African American, Latino, and mixed race men to vote if Abrams is going to have a real possibility of winning. This is particularly important because 70% of white women voted for the current president in 2016 and 80% of white men. By way of contrast 94% of African-American women voted Democratic in 2016 as well as 83% of white men. The sex of the voter may be important in Georgia with respect to voting patterns; race is even more important.

Table 2
Registered Voters by Sex and Race, August 1, 2018
(in percentages of total)

	Male	Female	Unknown
Non-Hispanic White	47.3%	52.6%	0.1%
African American	42.0%	57.9%	0.1%
Mixed	49.6%	49.7%	0.7%
Hispanic	45.6%	54.2%	0.2%
Asian	47.5%	52.2%	0.3%
American Indian	47.9%	51.8%	0.3%
Total	45.9%	53.9%	0.1%

Registration and Voting Rates by Race and Sex in Georgia in the Presidential Election 2016

There is little question that race will be front and center in this election because Stacy Abrams is a black woman. In the 2016 presidential election 75% of Georgia's white population voted for the current president according to exit polls.⁵ It was estimated that non-Hispanic whites made up 60% of all voters in 2016. That has fallen to 54% according to registration data. It is significant that 25% of Georgia's white population voted for the Democratic candidate in 2016. These are the white progressive voters who will also in all likelihood support Abrams in November 2018 and there is no way to determine if this percentage will increase or not.

However, there is little probability that Kemp will garner many votes from the Georgia African-American community. In 2016 89% of African Americans in the state voted Democratic according to exit polls. With an African-American candidate this percentage may increase in the November 2018 election. It was estimated that African Americans comprised 30% of all voters in 2016, about the same indicated by the registration data for August 1, 2018.

The critical question which may determine the outcome of the November 2018 election revolves around registration and voting rates by race and this is not just a black/white issue. In 2016 73.1% of all eligible white voters in the state were registered to vote and 63.8% of eligible white voters cast ballots. This compares with

⁵ See CNN exit polls from the state of Georgia at: <https://www.cnn.com/election/2016/results/exit-polls/georgia/president>

68.8% of eligible African-American voters who were registered and 59.7% who voted, significantly lower rates than found among whites. Latinos, who comprised 4% of all voters in 2016, and who voted 75% Democratic, had dreadfully lower registration (50.2%) and voting (47.9%) rates. (See table 3). Corresponding rates were much lower in the 2014 mid-term election as indicated in table 4.

Table 3
Registration and Voting Rates by Race in
Georgia, Presidential Election 2016

Race	Registration Rates	Voting Rates
Non Hispanic White	73.1%	63.8%
African-American	68.8%	59.7%
Hispanic	50.2%	47.9%
Asian	44.9%	31.3%

Note: These percentages are of eligible voters; citizens 18 Years of age and older.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016

Table 4
Registration and Voting Rates by Race in
Georgia, Mid-Term Election 2014

Race	Rates	Rates
Non Hispanic White	66.1%	44.8%
African-American	62.3%	43.0%
Hispanic	48.1%	29.8%
Asian	44.5%	25.7%

Note: These percentages are of eligible voters; citizens 18 Years of age and older.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2014

To use the vernacular, this should not be nuclear rocket science to the Abrams campaign nor to the Democratic Party in Georgia. For Abrams to win, more African-American voters need to be registered and this is an especially acute challenge among Georgia's African-American males with their low registration rate indicated previously. For victory in November not only do registration rates need to rise, but turnout rates must increase as well since they lagged behind whites in 2016 by four percentage points. If this occurs, it is conceivable that African Americans can become a greater percentage of the overall vote than was the case in 2016 and this would clearly favor Abrams.

And then there is the 'sleeping giant' as the Latino vote is described nationally. Latinos are a small percentage of currently registered voters in Georgia (2.9%) but the real issue is the cataclysmically low registration rate (50.2%) among eligible Latino voters and a dreadful turnout rate of 47.9% in 2016. In the mosaic of 'keys' for Abrams to win this election the small Latino vote must grow by raising registration and voting rates in Latino communities throughout the state. Three-quarters of Georgia Latinos voted Democratic in November 2016 according to exit polls, and Kemp offers this community nothing but the racist anti-immigrant declarations and policies of his mentor in the White House. Regardless of how many Latinos vote in November 2018 they will vote overwhelmingly for Abrams. The questions are how many will register and how many will vote?

If the Latino voting population can be increased through innovative voter registration drives, they could be a critical swing vote which could tip the election to Abrams. It should be noted that well-publicized registration efforts among Latinos using the same tired strategies election cycle after election cycle, have been a dismal failure nationally. Since the 1988 presidential election the Latino voter registration rate has not increased one iota remaining at about 57%. The Latino voter participation rate has not budged from 48% over the same period. To be clear this is among eligible voters, citizens 18 years of age and older. Perhaps the Georgia Democratic Party and the Abrams campaign can address this issue with the development of new strategies for voter registration in the small Latino communities throughout the state which could be decisive in November 2018.

Another important factor in voting is age. Younger voters demonstrate three tendencies. First, they overwhelmingly support Democratic candidates. In 2016 18 to 29 year-old voters in Georgia voted Democratic by a margin of 63% to 33%. Second, young voters have the lowest turnout rate of any age category. In November 2016 only 43.5% turned out to vote, compared with voters at the other extreme, those 65 years of age and older of whom 72.4% voted. Third, and herein lies the rub in Georgia. Voters 65 years of age and older account for an astounding 19% and all registered voters and 24.3% of non-Hispanic white voters. If non-Hispanic white voters are isolated, 61% are 45 years of age and older. Among this age cohort 57% of voters between 45 and 64 years of age in 2016 supported the Republican winner of the state and 67% of voters over 65 years old did as well according to exit polls. (See tables 5 through 7).

Given these data it is no wonder that Abrams has all but written off white, rural Georgians who are overwhelmingly older, more conservative, and are supporters of the current president and surely his Georgia clone, Kemp. If one of the challenges that the Abrams campaign faces is to register more African Americans and Latinos and get them out to vote, the other is to get young people of all races to register and vote. Even white younger voters heavily favored the Democratic candidate in 2016.

Table 5
Registration and Voting Rates by Age
Category in Georgia, Presidential Election, 2016

Age Category	Registration Rates	Voting Rates
18 to 24	55.4%	43.5%
25 to 34	63.6%	54.4%
35 to 44	65.3%	55.5%
45 to 64	73.3%	64.9%
65+	80.4%	72.4%

Note: These percentages are of eligible voters; citizens 18 Years of age and older.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016

Table 6
Age Structure Total Georgia
Registered Voters by Sex
August 1, 2018

	Male	Female	Total
18-24	12.4%	11.1%	11.8%
25-29	9.5%	9.4%	9.4%
30-34	8.4%	8.6%	8.5%
35-39	8.1%	8.6%	8.4%
40-44	7.9%	8.2%	8.0%
45-49	9.1%	8.9%	9.0%
50-54	9.1%	8.8%	8.9%
55-59	9.0%	8.8%	8.9%
60-64	7.9%	7.9%	7.9%
65+	18.5%	19.7%	19.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7
Age Structure Non-Hispanic White
Georgia Registered Voters by Sex
August 1, 2018

	Male	Female	Total
18-24	9.2%	8.6%	8.9%
25-29	7.8%	7.7%	7.8%
30-34	7.5%	7.5%	7.5%
35-39	7.4%	7.5%	7.5%
40-44	7.4%	7.4%	7.4%
45-49	9.0%	8.7%	8.8%
50-54	9.4%	9.0%	9.2%
55-59	9.8%	9.5%	9.7%
60-64	9.0%	9.0%	9.0%
65+	23.5%	25.1%	24.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

African-American voters are much younger but age is not a factor as all age groups supported the Democratic candidate in 2016 and certainly will vote heavily for Abrams in November 2018. (See table 8).

Table 8
Age Structure Non-Hispanic Black
Georgia Registered Voters by Sex
August 1, 2018

	Male	Female	Total
18-24	14.1%	11.8%	12.8%
25-29	11.2%	10.8%	11.0%
30-34	9.5%	9.7%	9.6%
35-39	9.2%	9.8%	9.5%
40-44	8.6%	9.1%	8.9%
45-49	9.4%	9.4%	9.4%
50-54	9.2%	9.1%	9.1%
55-59	8.7%	8.6%	8.6%
60-64	7.3%	7.2%	7.2%
65+	12.8%	14.6%	13.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Latinos are the absolutely youngest registered voters in the state and that poses a double challenge for the Abrams campaign. Latinos have low registrations among all age cohorts and since 25% of registered Latinos are between 18 and 24 years of age it is going to be a struggle to get them to register and turn out on election day.

Table 9
Age Structure Hispanic
Georgia Registered Voters by Sex
August 1, 2018

	Male	Female	Total
18-24	25.9%	24.2%	25.0%
25-29	13.9%	14.7%	14.3%
30-34	9.8%	10.9%	10.4%
35-39	8.4%	9.9%	9.2%
40-44	8.0%	9.1%	8.6%
45-49	8.5%	8.3%	8.4%
50-54	8.2%	7.0%	7.5%
55-59	6.3%	5.5%	5.9%
60-64	4.4%	3.9%	4.2%
65+	6.6%	6.5%	6.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

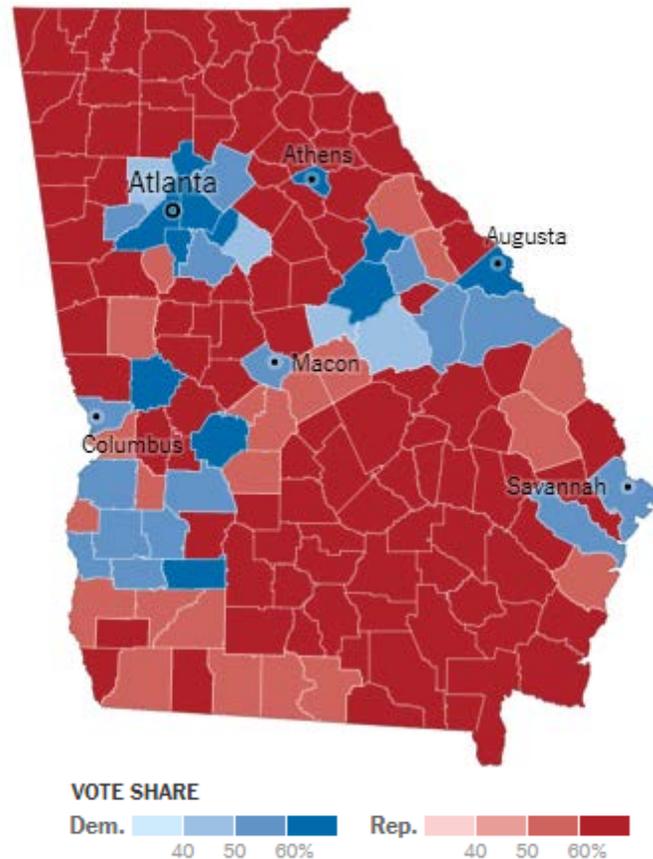
The Geography of Voting

The final variable which intersects with race and age is the geography of voting in Georgia. The current occupant of the White House carried Georgia by 5.1% of the popular vote, 50.4% to 45.3% for the Democratic candidate. This was considerably less than the 8% margin won by Mitt Romney in 2012 who garnered 53.4% of the popular vote to Barack Obama's 45.4%. This is significant for the Abrams campaign since assuming that Kemp's popularity in the state will parallel that of the current president, it is a margin that is statistically capable of overcoming if the state's Democratic constituents register and turn out to vote in larger numbers. The latest state opinion poll in early July 2018 by Morning Consult indicates that 50% of that state's voters approve of the president's performance compared with 46% which disapprove.⁶

⁶ See the data from Morning Consult at: <https://morningconsult.com/tracking-trump/> The University of Georgia's School of Public Affairs Survey Research Center found that only 36.7% of registered Georgia voters approved of the president's performance in January 2018. See <https://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/ajc-poll-trump-approval-ratings-georgia-erode/W4yIQDaAlxFbYmBG9LBTRM/>

A county by county examination of the popular vote is a guide for Abrams voter mobilization efforts, although certainly she will find a level of support even in the nearly all white counties which voted for the current president in 2016. Map 1 indicates the county results of 2016. The Democratic counties surrounded Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon, and Savannah regions with more racially diversified populations.

Map 1
The Geography of Voting in Georgia
Presidential Election, 2016



In the 2016 presidential election the Democratic candidate received 71.5% of her total votes in Georgia from the counties depicted in blue, and 28.5% from the red counties.⁷ The Republican winner of the state won 63.7% of his total votes from the red counties in map 1 and 36.3% from the blue counties. (See table 10).

⁷ This based on the county by county voting tabulations of the Georgia secretary of state found at <http://results.enr.clarityelections.com/GA/63991/184321/en/reports.html>

Table 10
Percentage of Votes Won by Each Candidate
in November 2016 by Winner of County

	Counties Carried by Clinton in 2016	Counties Carried by Trump in 2016
Votes for Clinton	71.5%	28.5%
Votes For Trump	36.3%	63.7%

Note: Counties carried by Clinton are blue counties in map 1, while counties carried by Trump are red counties

It is clear that there was a very significant level of support for the Democratic candidate in the predominantly white rural and suburban counties of the state and it is certain that the Abrams campaign will try to encourage voters in these regions to rethink their support of the Republican party. Nearly 29% of her total votes came from these counties. Especially critical will be the ability to register younger voters in these 'red' counties who are more likely to vote for her.

However, a key challenge will be to increase the absolute number and percentage of votes in the counties which voted Democratic in 2016. To reiterate from above, if the registration and voting rates among younger voters, African Americans, and Latinos in these 2016 blue counties can be raised, Abrams will have a real chance of winning this election. For Abrams, and for other Democratic candidates for governorships, national, or state-level office, this election is going to be all about registration and voter turnout among Democratic constituencies which have in Georgia and elsewhere lagged significantly behind Republican constituencies. In states with large older white rural and suburban voters this is especially crucial.

Conclusion

For Stacy Abrams to make history by becoming the first female African-American governor in the nation in the November 2018 Georgia gubernatorial election a mosaic of factors must be addressed and resolved.

First, is the overwhelming presence in Georgia of the guiding spirit that has taken over the Republican Party and all of its candidates across America: a racist, bigot, misogynist, hater, narcissist who continues to enjoy the support of a numerically significant swath of white America or what has been termed 'the base.' Brian Kemp, the candidate Abrams faces in November, won the Republican primary in Georgia by running a divisive campaign which made the manufactured non-issue of 'illegal immigration' a center of his appeal to Republicans

in Georgia.⁸ Since his victory, and unlike his extremist neighbor in Florida, Ron DeSantis the Republican candidate for governor there, Kemp is now moderating, or perhaps hiding, his extremist views in an attempt to attract more moderate voters.⁹ One question then is to what extent will ‘the base’ turn out and vote for Kemp.

The second factor revolves around the demography of Georgian voters, or the issue of race. Kemp has little chance of attracting African American or other minority voters in the state and if he is to win, his victory will be determined by how large a share of white Georgia voters turn out to vote and back him. To a certain extent this is part of the dilemma faced by Abrams. She cannot win the election without the support of a sector of Georgia’s white voters and 21% of them voted for Clinton in 2016 according to exit polls. She has to do better if she is to be victorious.

But for her to win the mosaic of factors is a bit more complex than those facing Kemp. The core issue is the low registration and turnout rates among the demographic groups which tend to overwhelmingly back Democratic candidates in Georgia and across the nation: African Americans, Latinos, and younger voters. They will vote for Abrams by large margins. But the absolute number of votes which will decide the election will be determined in the next two months by voter registration campaigns across the state among young people regardless of race, and in minority communities concentrated in core urban areas of Georgia and their suburbs.

Women of all races may be added to this mix of possible support for Abrams and this is especially important in Georgia because 54% of all registered voters are female. Yet, if 2016 provides a clue to voting by women in the state only 26% of white women voted Democratic compared with 16% of white males. How many white women may vote for Abrams because of the Georgia Republican Party’s close identification with a transparently misogynistic president and the shadow he casts in Georgia, is unknown.

If the Abrams campaign and the Georgia Democratic Party can successfully incorporate large numbers of potential voters from demographic groups who have sat out in the past, she has a real mathematical possibility of making history. It remains to be seen whether the appeal of the Abrams campaign as a counterweight to that of the disgraceful cretin that occupies the White House and Kemp, his Georgia clone, is a motivating factor in getting Democratic constituencies in Georgia to register, turn out to vote, and to rewrite the history of this former slave state. If this shall come to pass it may offer hope for 2020 to progressive peoples of all races throughout the United States.

⁸ The absolute number of undocumented people in the United States peaked in 2009 at about 11.9 million and has declined since to about 11.6 million in 2015 according to a 2017 study by the Pew Research Center found at <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/05/03/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/>. The number of Asian immigrants, legal and undocumented, arriving in the U.S. surpassed Hispanic migrants in 2009 even though the anti-immigrant obsession of the Republican Party and its candidates across the U.S. has been directed at Mexicans whose arrivals in the U.S. have steadily declined since the first years of the Obama presidency.

Georgia is estimated to have approximately 400,000 undocumented persons out of a total population of over 10 million or about 4% of all Georgians. About 72% are of Latino origin with Mexicans as the largest group. See the study by the Migration Policy Institute at <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/authorized-immigrant-population/state/GA>

⁹ See Richard Fausset, “After a Primary on the Fringe, Georgia Republican Tacks Toward the Center” New York Times, September 2, 2018.