**Supplementary Indices**

**Supplementary Index A: Organizations Started by Stacey Abrams, or Receiving Contributions from the Abrams Constellation of Organizations**

**Organizations Started by Stacey Abrams**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *Organization* | *Dates active* | *Type and tax status* | *Goals and activities* | *Scope* | *Election cycles active* | *Key leaders* | *Notes* |
| Third Sector Development | 1998–2019 | Nonprofit (501c3 by 2013) | Consulting; incubating organizations | N/A | 2014–2018 | Stacey Abrams, CEO | Abrams founded as law student; no tax returns available until 2013 |
| GeorgiaNEXT | 2011–2020 | PAC (527) | Recruiting candidates; educating voters | Statewide | 2014–2018 | Ashley Robinson, CEO | Abrams listed as advisor |
| New Georgia Project | 2017–present | Nonprofit (501c3 and 501c4) | Registering and educating voters | Statewide | 2013–present | Nsé Ufot, CEO | Also New Georgia Project Action (Fund). Subset of Third Sector, 2013–2017 |
| Voter Access Institute | 2014–2018 | Nonprofit (501c4) | Registering and educating voters | Statewide | 2014–2018 | Stacey Abrams, CEO and president; Lauren Groh-Wargo, CFO | Included “Advocates for Change Institute” to train young people as campaign professionals |
| Fair Fight | 2018–present | Hybrid PAC | Registering and educating voters | National | 2020–present | Stacey Abrams, founder and board chair; Lauren Groh-Wargo, CEO | Formerly Voter Access Institute. Subsections: Fair Fight U (campus chapters), Fair Fight Inc. (accepts federal PAC money); Fair Fight PAC/Fair Fight 2020, Fair Fight Action |
| Fair Count | 2019–present | Nonprofit (501c3) | Coordinating civic networks | National | 2020–present | Rebecca DeHart, CEO; Dr. Jeanie Abrams McLean, VP. Board includes DuBose Porter; Rep. Carolyn Hughes | Began doing Census outreach, then transitioned to Covid outreach |
| Southern Economic Advancement Project | 2019–present | Nonprofit (501c3) | Conducting policy research | National | 2020–present | Stacey Abrams, Executive Director; Sarah Beth Gehl, Research Director | Sponsored by the Roosevelt Institute |

Note: PAC = political action committee.

**Organizations Receiving Funds from Abrams Constellation of Organizations**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *Organization* | *Approx. founding date* | *Type and tax status* | *Goals and activities* | *Scope* | *Recent election cycles active* | *Affiliate network?* | *Notes* |
| Georgia Democratic Party |  | State party | Registering, educating, and mobilizing voters | Statewide | 2014–present | Democratic Party | Received millions from Fair Fight in 2020 |
| ProGeorgia | 2012 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Educating and mobilizing voters, coordinating civic networks, advocating for policy | Statewide | 2014– present | Network of 30– 40 organizations | Received funds from NGP in 2017. Founded by small group of nonprofits that worked together on 2010 elections |
| Georgia NAACP | 1917 | Nonprofit (501c3 and 501c4) | Coordinating civic networks | Statewide |  | ProGeorgia network | Received funds from TSD in 2014 and 2015 |
| Georgia WAND (Women’s Action for New Directions) | 1982 | Nonprofit (501c3 and 501c4) | Coordinating civic networks, advocating for policy | Statewide | 2014– present | ProGeorgia network | Received funds from TSD in 2014 |
| Coalition for the People’s Agenda | 1998 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Registering, educating, and mobilizing voters, advocating for policy | Statewide | 2014– present | ProGeorgia network | Received funds from TSD in 2014 |
| Equality Foundation of Georgia | 1999 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Registering and educating voters, advocating for policy | Statewide | 2014– present | ProGeorgia network; Democracy Alliance state infrastructure | Received funds from TSD in 2014 |
| GALEO – Georgia Association of Latino Elected Officials | 2004 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Coordinating civic networks | Statewide | 2014– present | ProGeorgia network | Received funds from TSD in 2014 and from Fair Fight in 2020 |
| Georgia Stand Up | 2005 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Coordinating civic networks, educating voters, advocating for policy | Statewide | 2014– present | ProGeorgia network | Received funds from TSD in 2014 |
| Asian American Advocacy Fund/Asian Americans Advancing Justice – Atlanta | 2010 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Advocating for policy, coordinating civic networks, providing legal services, educating voters | Atlanta region | 2014– present | ProGeorgia network | Received funds from TSD in 2014 and from Fair Fight in 2020 |
| Columbus NAACP | 1918 | Nonprofit (501c4) | Coordinating civic networks | Columbus region | 2014– present |  | Received funds from TSD in 2014 |
| Voter Empowerment Collaborative | 1981 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Coordinating civic networks, educating, registering, and mobilizing voters | Statewide | 2014– present |  | Received funds from TSD in 2014 |
| Southerners on New Ground (SONG and SONG Power) | 1999 | Nonprofit (501c3 and 501c4) | Coordinating civic networks, educating voters, advocating for policy | Regional | 2014– present |  | Received Fair Fight grant in 2020 |
| Georgia Latino Alliance for Human Rights/GLAHR Action Network | 2001 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Coordinating civic networks, educating voters, advocating for policy | Statewide | 2014– present |  | Received Fair Fight grant in 2020 |
| Women on the Rise | 2013 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Coordinating civic networks, advocating for policy | Atlanta region | 2014– present |  | Received Fair Fight grant in 2020 |
| Mijente | 2016 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Educating and mobilizing voters | National | 2016– present |  | Received Fair Fight grant in 2020 |
| Black Voters Matter | 2018 | Nonprofit (501c3) | Registering, educating, and mobilizing voters | National | 2018– present |  | Received Fair Fight grant in 2020 |

*Note:* TSD = Third Sector Development; NGP = New Georgia Project.

**Supplementary Index B: Georgia and North Carolina Black Voter Turnout Trends in Metropolitan, Secondary City, and Small City or Town Counties, 2008–2021**



*Note:* We define Georgia metropolitan counties as those composing Atlanta and its suburbs: Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Douglas, Fulton, Gwinnett, Henry, Newton, and Rockdale. North Carolina metropolitan counties are Cabarrus, Gaston, and Mecklenburg (Charlotte area); Davidson, Forsyth, Guilford, and Randolph (Piedmont Triad area); and Durham, Orange, and Wake (Research Triangle).

*Sources:* Turnout figures by race and county are drawn from the North Carolina State Board of Elections and the Georgia Secretary of State. Citizen Voting Age Population estimates by race and county were calculated from 2009 to 2019 by the Census using U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey (ACS) five-year estimates. Estimates for 2008 were accordingly drawn from 2009; estimates for 2020 and 2021 were drawn from 2019.



*Note:* We define medium city counties as counties containing a city with more than 50,000 residents. Georgia medium city counties are Bibb, Chatham, Clarke, Dougherty, Houston, Lowndes, Muscogee, Peach, and Richmond. North Carolina medium city counties are Alamance, Buncombe, Cumberland, Edgecombe, Nash, New Hanover, Onslow, and Pitt.

*Sources:* Turnout figures by race and county are drawn from the North Carolina State Board of Elections and the Georgia Secretary of State. Citizen Voting Age Population estimates by race and county were calculated from 2009 to 2019 by the Census using ACS five-year estimates. Estimates for 2008 were accordingly drawn from 2009; estimates for 2020 and 2021 were drawn from 2019.



*Note:* This figure includes all Georgia and North Carolina counties beyond metropolitan and secondary city areas.

*Sources:* Turnout figures by race and county are drawn from the North Carolina State Board of Elections and the Georgia Secretary of State. Citizen Voting Age Population estimates by race and county were calculated from 2009 to 2019 by the Census using ACS five-year estimates. Estimates for 2008 were accordingly drawn from 2009; estimates for 2020 and 2021 were drawn from 2019.

**Supplementary Index C: Supplemental regression analyses from North Carolina and Georgia**

Tables SI.C.1 through SI.C.5 present robustness checks for the base North Carolina model (shown in Appendix A). Tables SI.C.1 through SI.C.3 show that the results of this base model are robust to excluding secondary city counties, using unweighted ordinary least squares specifications, and examining changes between the midterm elections of 2010 and 2014. Tables SI.C.4 and SI.C.5 show that we do not find statistically significant associations between Barber organizing and long-term changes in Black turnout or Democratic margins between 2012 and either 2016 or 2020.

Tables SI.C.6 through SI.C.8 present robustness checks for the base Georgia model (shown in Table 2), which explores associations between organizing measures and changes in Black turnout and Democratic margins between the 2020 general and 2021 runoff elections. Table SI.C.6 shows that the base model is robust to considering changes in Democratic margins between Biden 2020 and Ossoff 2021 instead of between Biden 2020 and Warnock 2021. Table SI.C.7 and SI.C.8 show that the base model is robust to excluding secondary city counties and using unweighted ordinary least squares specifications, respectively.

**Table SI.C.1. Outreach in Rural North Carolina Counties and Changes in Black Turnout and Democratic Margins, 2012–2014**



*Note:* Models present weighted least squares regressions investigating associations between organizing activity in North Carolina counties beyond major metropolitan areas and secondary cities and two dependent variables: percent changes in Black turnout and changes in Democratic margins between 2012 and 2014. One North Carolina county is excluded from the first model because it had no Black voters in 2012. Organizing measures come from authors’ searches of web pages related to Historic Thousands on Jones Street People’s Assembly (HKonJ). County-level data on Black turnout and Democratic margins are from the North Carolina State Board of Elections and Dave Leip’s Detailed General Election Data, respectively. The variance of observations is weighted by log county population from five-year ACS estimates in 2012. Measures of population density per square mile, median household income, higher education shares, and Black population shares are also from five-year ACS estimates in 2012. \**p* < 0.1; \*\**p* < 0.05; \*\*\**p* < 0.01.

**Table SI.C.2. Outreach Beyond North Carolina Metropolitan Areas and Changes in Black Turnout and Democratic Margins, 2012–2014 (unweighted ordinary least squares [OLS] Models)**

****

*Note:* Models present ordinary least squares regressions investigating associations between organizing activity in North Carolina counties beyond major metropolitan areas and secondary cities and two dependent variables: percent changes in Black turnout and changes in Democratic margins between 2012 and 2014. One North Carolina county is excluded from the first model because it had no Black voters in 2012. Organizing measures come from authors’ searches of web pages related to HKonJ. County-level data on Black turnout and Democratic margins are from the North Carolina State Board of Elections and Dave Leip’s Detailed General Election Data, respectively. Measures of population density per square mile, median household income, higher education shares, and Black population shares are from five-year ACS estimates in 2012. \**p* < 0.1; \*\**p* < 0.05; \*\*\**p* < 0.01.

**Table SI.C.3. Outreach Beyond North Carolina Metropolitan Areas and Changes in Black Turnout and Democratic Margins, 2010–2014**



*Note:* Models present weighted least squares regressions investigating associations between organizing activity in North Carolina counties beyond Charlotte, the Research Triangle, and the Piedmont Triad and two dependent variables: percent changes in Black turnout and changes in Democratic margins between 2010 and 2014. One North Carolina county is excluded from the first model because it had no Black voters in 2010. Organizing measures come from authors’ searches of web pages related to HKonJ. County-level data on Black turnout and Democratic margins are from the North Carolina State Board of Elections and Dave Leip’s Detailed General Election Data, respectively. The variance of observations is weighted by log county population from five-year ACS estimates in 2010. Measures of population density per square mile, median household income, higher education shares, and Black population shares are also from five-year ACS estimates in 2010. \**p* < 0.1; \*\**p* < 0.05; \*\*\**p* < 0.01.

**Table SI.C.4. Outreach Beyond North Carolina Metropolitan Areas and Changes in Black Turnout and Democratic Margins, 2012–2016**



*Note:* Models present weighted least squares regressions investigating associations between organizing activity in North Carolina counties beyond Charlotte, the Research Triangle, and the Piedmont Triad and two dependent variables: percent changes in Black turnout and changes in Democratic margins between 2012 and 2016. One North Carolina county was excluded from the first model because it had no Black voters in 2012. Organizing measures come from authors’ searches of web pages related to HKonJ. County-level data on Black turnout and Democratic margins are from the North Carolina State Board of Elections and Dave Leip’s Detailed General Election Data, respectively. The variance of observations is weighted by log county population from five-year ACS estimates in 2012. Measures of population density per square mile, median household income, higher education shares, and Black population shares are also from five-year ACS estimates in 2012. \**p* < 0.1; \*\**p* < 0.05; \*\*\**p* < 0.01.

**Table SI.C.5. Outreach Beyond North Carolina Metropolitan Areas and Changes in Black Turnout and Democratic Margins, 2012–2020**



*Note:* Models present weighted least squares regressions investigating associations between organizing activity in North Carolina counties beyond Charlotte, the Research Triangle, and the Piedmont Triad and two dependent variables: percent changes in Black turnout and changes in Democratic margins between 2012 and 2020. One North Carolina county is excluded from the first model because it had no Black voters in 2012. Organizing measures come from authors’ searches of web pages related to HKonJ. County-level data on Black turnout and Democratic margins are from the North Carolina State Board of Elections and Dave Leip’s Detailed General Election Data, respectively. The variance of observations is weighted by log county population from five-year ACS estimates in 2012. Measures of population density per square mile, median household income, higher education shares, and Black population shares are also from five-year ACS estimates in 2012. \**p* < 0.1; \*\**p* < 0.05; \*\*\**p* < 0.01.

**Table SI.C.6. Outreach Beyond Atlanta and Changes in Democratic Margins between Biden 2020 and Ossoff 2021 and between Biden 2020 and Warnock 2021**

****

*Note:* Models present weighted least squares regressions investigating associations between organizing activity in Georgia counties beyond the Atlanta metroplex and two dependent variables: changes in Democratic margins between Biden’s presidential race and Warnock’s senatorial runoff and between Biden’s presidential race and Ossoff’s senatorial runoff. Organizing measures come from authors’ searches of web pages related to the New Georgia Project and the Democratic Party of Georgia. County-level data on Democratic vote share are from the Georgia Secretary of State. The variance of observations is weighted by log county population from five-year ACS estimates in 2019. Data on population density per square mile, median household income, higher education shares, and Black population shares are from five-year ACS estimates in 2019, the most proximate year with data availability. \**p* < 0.1; \*\**p* < 0.05; \*\*\**p* < 0.01.

**Table SI.C.7. Outreach in Rural Georgia Counties and Changes in Black Turnout and Democratic Margins in the 2021 Georgia Senate Runoffs**



*Note:* Models present weighted least squares regressions investigating associations between organizing activity in Georgia counties beyond Atlanta and the state’s nine secondary cities and two dependent variables: percent changes in Black turnout between the 2020 general and 2021 runoff elections, and changes in Democratic margins between Biden's presidential race and Warnock's senatorial runoff. Organizing measures come from authors’ searches of web pages related to the New Georgia Project and the Democratic Party of Georgia. County-level data on Black turnout and Democratic vote share are from the Georgia Secretary of State. The variance of observations is weighted by log county population from five-year ACS estimates in 2019. Data on population density per square mile, median household income, higher education shares, and Black population shares are from five-year ACS estimates in 2019, the most proximate year with data availability. \**p* < 0.1; \*\**p* < 0.05; \*\*\**p* < 0.01.

**Table SI.C.8.** **Outreach Beyond Atlanta and Changes in Black Turnout and Democratic Margins in the 2021 Georgia Senate Runoffs (unweighted OLS models)**

****

*Note:* Models present ordinary least squares regressions investigating associations between organizing activity in Georgia counties beyond the Atlanta metroplex and two dependent variables: percent changes in Black turnout between the 2020 general and 2021 runoff elections, and changes in Democratic margins between Biden's presidential race and Warnock's senatorial runoff. Organizing measures come from authors’ searches of web pages related to the New Georgia Project and the Democratic Party of Georgia. County-level data on Black turnout and Democratic vote share are from the Georgia Secretary of State. Data on population density per square mile, median household income, higher education shares, and Black population shares are from five-year ACS estimates in 2019, the most proximate year with data availability. \**p* < 0.1; \*\**p* < 0.05; \*\*\**p* < 0.01.