





FORMER U.S. SENATOR KELLY LOEFFLER

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In celebrating what the media characterized as a 'mediocre' performance of Republicans across the country in 2022, most headlines glanced over Georgia's success:

Republicans won every statewide office - and defended majorities in both the State House and State Senate - by larger margins than in 2018. Much like the incredible victories themselves, little has been made of the work it took to deliver them or the headwinds Republicans overcame to win.

The journey began during my 2020 campaign, when I saw firsthand the tremendous energy for conservative values across our state and the well-funded, well-organized opposition of the Left. That year, liberal activists took aim at Georgia, building a nearly \$100 million voter mobilization machine funded by out-of-state donors. To complicate matters, new pandemicera changes to our elections undermined voter confidence.

Georgia Republicans had already been facing narrowing margins for a decade, losing 13 seats collectively in the State House and Senate. And, despite broad conservative support, we yielded that margin entirely in 2020 when Left-wing organizations got the upper hand. They went on offense against Georgia's election laws, our infrastructure, and on the ground. When the dust settled, it was clear we needed to recommit to the fundamentals of supporting the grassroots and growing the conservative movement in our dynamic, fast-growing state - or risk nationalizing Georgia's elections as a perpetual battleground.

In 2021, I set out to build the needed infrastructure to grow and diversify Georgia's conservative movement and to protect election integrity. The mission of organizing and defending our values by electing those who will represent them was personal for me - not as a politician, but as a Georgian.

I've lived and worked in blue states - and I've lived, worked, and represented our state. The contrast to the quality of life could not be starker, and it's why I firmly believe that Georgia is a red state. Keeping it that way requires sustained effort, investment, and a shared vision to both hold seats and make gains by amplifying our state's success under Republican leadership.

Within weeks of leaving the Senate, I repurposed my campaign infrastructure to launch Greater Georgia Action - a data-driven, conservative voter mobilization group dedicated to registering voters, protecting election integrity, and engaging with diverse, underrepresented communities. We took a year-round approach, working outside of an election year to grow and diversify the tent. This meant building enduring relationships to expand the movement, not being transactional.

By the 2022 midterm general election, Greater Georgia had registered thousands of new conservative voters. We made millions of voter contacts through phone calls, text messages, targeted digital ads, direct mail, and millions more through television and radio ads. We held over 100 voter registration drives at colleges, churches, grocery stores, gas stations, and community gatherings. We hosted dozens of roundtables, trainings, and outreach events with women, young voters, and the Hispanic, Asian, and Black communities.

We complemented these efforts with the ground game of Citizens for a Greater Georgia, a leadership committee formed to successfully defend Republican majorities in the State Senate. We built an innovative, lean organization, applying the business experience I gained in my career with an outside, results-oriented perspective.

On the federal side, I was proud to support Herschel Walker as Co-Chair of the Women for Herschel Coalition. And although our organizations had no direct involvement in federal elections this cycle, Georgia Republicans held every congressional district and picked up one - nearly two. While the U.S. Senate seat went to a runoff, Georgia's incumbent was the only U.S. Senator who did not win his seat in the November general election, despite raising more money than any other Senate candidate in the country. He ultimately did so by fewer than 100,000 votes - and only after outspending his opponent by more than \$100 million.

Few victories in 2022 would have been possible without donors who understand the stakes and refuse to yield our future to the Left's agenda. To our donors, we hope you find these results to demonstrate careful stewardship of your investment in our work, in stark contrast to larger, better-funded organizations on the Left.

Looking ahead, 2023 is an important year to build.

The endless cable news argument about whether Georgia is still a red state will only increase, but we can't be distracted by labels, lulled into identity politics, or divided. As we head into presidential primaries and an election year in 2024, we'll be in a different environment as national candidates and issues take center stage. We'll build on work started in the midterm elections, especially by acting locally and outworking our opponents on the ground.

Finally, it must be noted that none of these efforts occur in a vacuum. Our own nine-week Senate runoff in '21 was bolstered by grassroots efforts for whom I will always be grateful. In '22, strong Republican campaigns across our state, starting at the top of the ticket with Governor Brian Kemp's, strongly keyed in on voters on the ground - not just on the airwaves - taking a comprehensive approach that echoed his Georgian-centric agenda.

In the aggregate, these types of focused efforts and investment in infrastructure delivered record turnout in the primary and general elections, and vital electoral wins for our state.

A summary of our work in the 2022 election cycle, and our observations, are detailed in this impact report. It is my hope that the concept of Greater Georgia and Citizens for a Greater Georgia can be replicated in other competitive states across the nation, that refuse to yield to the far-Left activism attempting to upend our way of life in America. I hope, too, that with data-driven, targeted mobilization, the conservative movement will continue to grow - and win hearts, minds, and races - because the future of our country depends on it.



**Kelly Loeffler** 





## A STILL-RED STATE AWASH IN BLUE STATE MONEY

While the 2022 midterm election cycle produced significant victories for Georgia conservatives, Election Day results don't tell the full story. Republicans won every statewide office and held both the State House and Senate. Georgia isn't just a red state – it is a red state despite the challenges posed by the Left's massive national funding, organization on the ground, and growing demographic advantages.

Republicans expanded margins of victory over 2018's midterm, reversing a decadeslong erosion of declining margins. But there is work to do. That's why the debate over being a red or purple state is far less important than building the infrastructure to elect leadership that reflects common sense, conservative values in the Peach State.

The Upshot: Georgia Republicans won on November 8, 2022 thanks to a strong slate of candidates, their records on issues that matter to voters, and an increased commitment to the conservative ground game. All of these factors are required to win in a battleground state with a growing group of independent, swing, diverse and young voters.

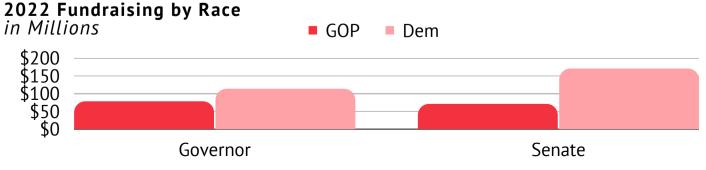
## THE FAR-LEFT WAR CHEST

While funding alone does not decide election outcomes, it certainly influences them. That's why it's worth looking at what has effectively become a structural advantage for Democrats and the results that fundraising produces.

Since 2018, Democrats from across the country have focused almost singularly on funneling resources into Georgia to build infrastructure and win races. Fair Fight Action and its sister group New Georgia Project, the two best-known liberal voter mobilization groups, raised a combined \$88 million in 2019 and 2020 - mostly from out-of-state donors. Though final spending has not yet been reported, for 2022's 4-week Senate runoff, NGP alone publicly pledged to raise and spend \$4 million.

The spending of liberal organizations doesn't include the record-breaking fundraising, primarily from out-of-state donors, of Democrats themselves. As of the latest fundraising reports, Stacey Abrams raised \$113 million to Brian Kemp's \$78 million – and lost. Raphael Warnock, the top U.S. Senate fundraiser in the nation, raised \$170 million to Herschel Walker's \$71 million – yet only produced 35,000 more votes than Walker in the general election. In the Senate runoff, Democrat groups and candidates spent a combined \$270 million to re-elect Warnock and had the funding to knock on more than 2.8 million doors. In fact, they were able to bring out more than 200,000 new voters in the runoff who had not voted in the general election at all.

The Upshot: Despite decisive victories for statewide Republican candidates, the impact of out-of-state money was felt at the federal level. Out-of-state money will continue to be an issue in Georgia heading into the 2024 presidential election cycle, making strategic voter engagement even more important in defending what has been an uneven playing field.



Source: Georgia Campaign Finance Commission; Federal Election Commission

## DEMOCRATS' DREAM ELECTORATE?

A separate but well-documented challenge for Georgia Republicans was our state's changing electorate. In 2018, Georgia had roughly 6.9 million registered voters. Four years later, about 1 million voters had joined the rolls, for 7.8 million registered voters. We'll discuss the electorate here, and later discuss who actually turned out in November.

Georgia's underlying dynamics include ongoing urbanization, with the metro Atlanta DMA growing to represent 68% of the state's electorate. Of Georgia's 159 counties, its five largest are in the Atlanta metro area. Voters are increasingly diverse, with the share of registered White voters declining roughly 2%, to remain a slim majority at 52% of voters. The share of Black registered voters is steady at slightly less than 30%. Meanwhile, the fastest-growing segments of the electorate are Hispanic and Asian voters, who both grew about 1% over 2018.

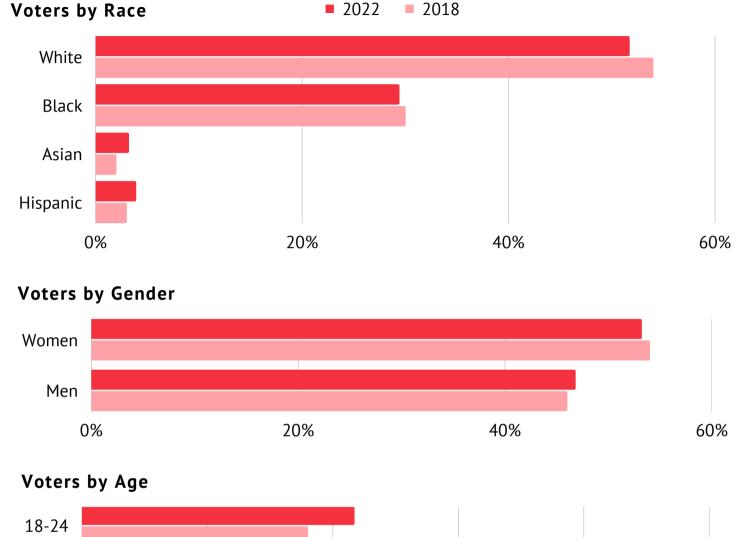
Voters aged 65+ remained the largest group of registered voters, at 20% of the Georgia electorate. The smallest group of voters were those aged 18-24, at about 11%. However, voters under the age of 55 make up a combined 64% of the electorate - compared to 55+ voters, who make up 36% of the electorate. The share of 55+ voters has declined slightly since 2018, when 37% of the electorate was over the age of 55.

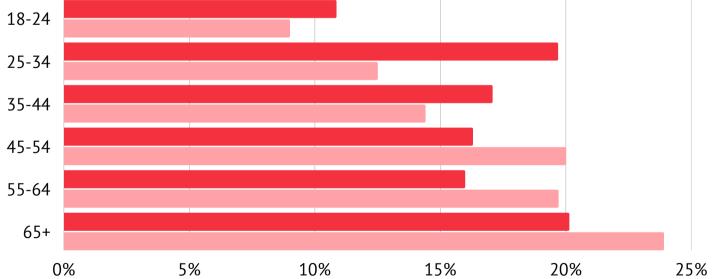
Georgia does not register voters by party affiliation. However, based on Greater Georgia modeling, 39% of Georgians are reliable Republican voters, 33% are reliable Democrat voters, and 28% are swing voters without a clear party affiliation. This represents a significant number of persuadable Georgians, amplifying the importance of the ground game and voter contact.

The Upshot: These demographic trends – an increasingly diverse and younger electorate, as well as an electorate that includes a significant number of unaffiliated (swing/independent) voters – could eventually favor the Left if unaddressed. And yet, despite diverse candidates on the ballot, Georgia Democrats were unable to overcome the Republican advantage at the state level - and only succeeded in one race at the federal level.

#### **REGISTERED VOTERS, 2018 VS. 2022 MIDTERM**

formatted as a percentage of the total electorate





# THE VOTERS BEHIND THE VICTORY

Democrats frequently say that 'demography is destiny' in Georgia - but the results have not moved as quickly as the demographic change - putting that assumption in question. A deeper dive into the general election data helps explain where exactly Democrats fell short in 2022 - and, most importantly, where Republicans stand to gain in future elections.

In the November midterms, Georgians cast a record 3.96 million ballots, slightly ahead of the prior midterm record of 3.95 million votes in 2018. That compares to a record 5 million voters in the 2020 presidential cycle. Let's look at who made up the record 2022 midterm turnout:

- Just under 57% of active voters (and just over 50% of all registered voters) participated in the general election, down compared to 61% of active voters who participated in 2018. Nonetheless, Georgia's turnout exceeded the average turnout across the U.S., counter to claims that Georgia's new election laws would suppress the vote.
- As in 2018, about 55% of voters were women in 2022, counter to the media's claims that women voters would increase their share of the electorate after the Dobbs decision.
- White voters increased their vote share slightly, to about 60%. Compared to the prior midterm, the Black vote shrank by about 3%, while the Hispanic and Asian vote grew slightly.
- Voters aged 65+ remained the majority, growing by just over 4%, while the 18-24 vote shrank by about 3% compared to 2018.

Participation varied dramatically across demographic groups:

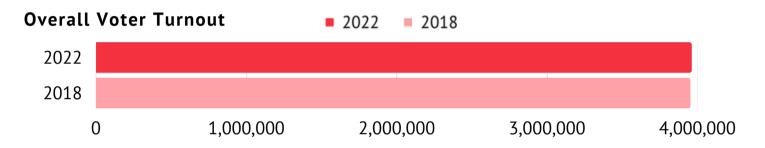
- While more than 71% of registered voters 65+ voted, only 27% of voters aged 18-24 participated.
- Participation by white voters topped 58%, while the Black, Asian, and Hispanic participation rates lagged at 45%, 37%, and 30%, respectively.
- 52% of registered women voted, compared to only 48% of men.

142,000 of the 339,000 "disenfranchised" voters (those who failed to return to vote in the 2021 runoff after voting in the 2020 general election) voted - along with 95,000 newly-registered, first-time voters. Both of these groups remain central to Republicans' turnout strategy.

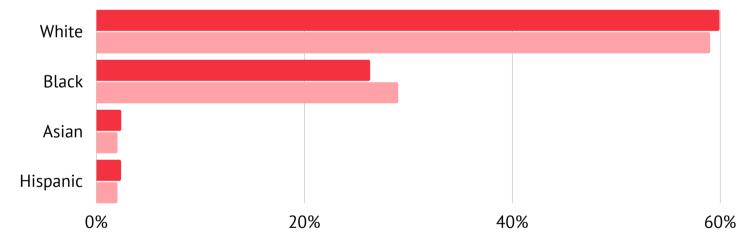
The Upshot: Georgia's 2022 midterm general election saw high turnout, outsized participation by older and white voters, but low participation by diverse, younger groups of voters that represent an important opportunity for conservative mobilization in years to come.

#### **VOTER TURNOUT, 2018 VS. 2022 MIDTERM**

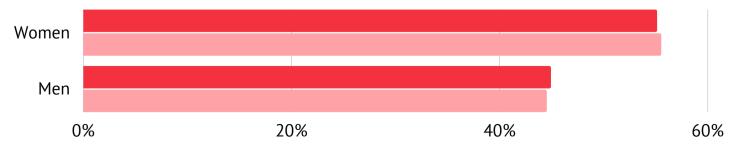
formatted as a percentage of total turnout



#### **Turnout by Race**



#### **Turnout by Gender**



## GEORGIA'S RED WAVE...

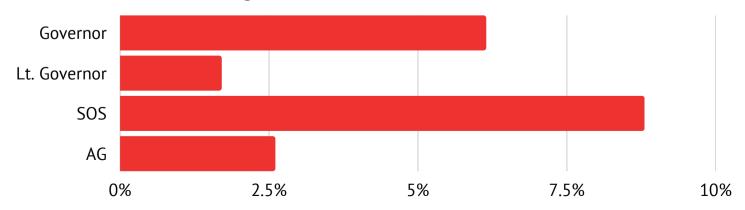
Despite clear advantages in fundraising and within the electorate itself, the November 8th general election was not only a disaster for Georgia Democrats, but it showed that Georgia is, on balance, a red state. That reflects the importance of the candidate quality, effort, and resources necessary to deliver Republican victories.

Republicans swept every state office from the Governor's race on down. Statewide, they increased their margins of victory over 2018 in the Governor's race by 6%; in the Lt. Governor's race by 2%; in the Secretary of State's race by 9%; and in the Attorney General's race by 3%. Every Republican incumbent candidate in the State Senate and State House won re-election.

Even in the state's largest Democratic strongholds, Republicans won significantly larger margins. In Fulton County, Governor Kemp improved over 2018 by about 4%; in Cobb by 3%, and in Gwinnett by 2%. In deep blue DeKalb, Governor Kemp increased his vote share by 3%. While Democrats point to the power of incumbency, the Governor's four-year track record was in stark contrast to a pro-lockdown, antipolice opponent.

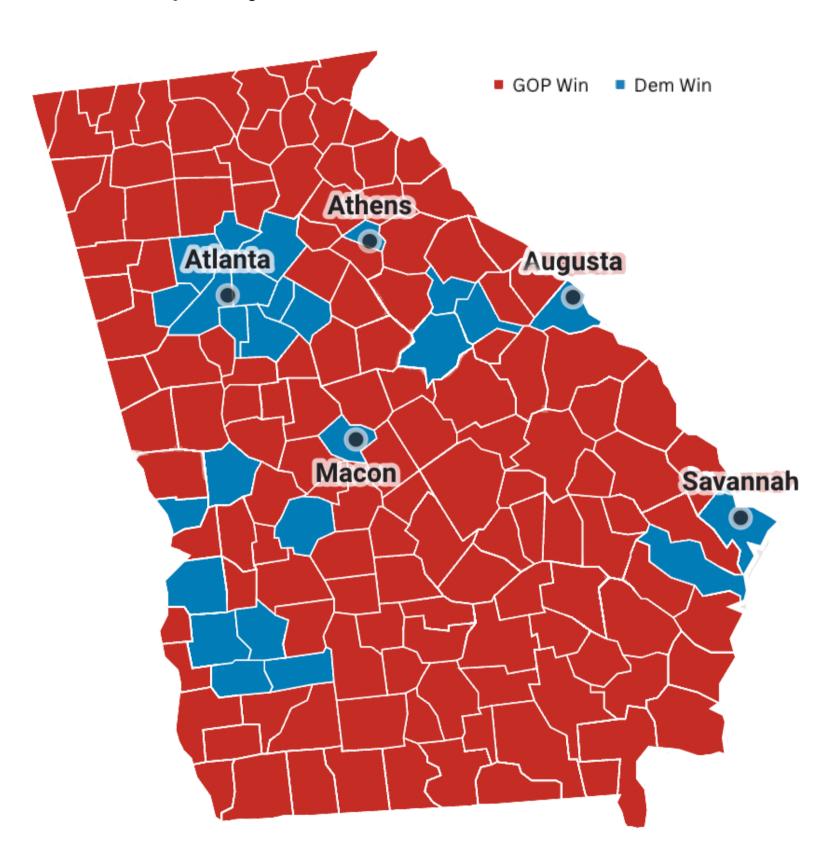
The Upshot: Out of Georgia's 159 counties, Democrats won only 25 counties - 4 fewer than in 2018. The highest percentage any Democratic candidate received in the general election was Attorney General candidate Jen Jordan - who only got as high as 46.6%. Stacey Abrams, by comparison, received only 45.9% of the vote. In future elections, strong leadership at the top of the Republican ticket remains vital.

GOP vs. Democrat % Margin Increase in 2022



#### PARTISAN PERFORMANCE BY COUNTY, 2022 MIDTERM

based on race for Georgia Governor



### ...AND THE TRICKLE-DOWN EFFECT

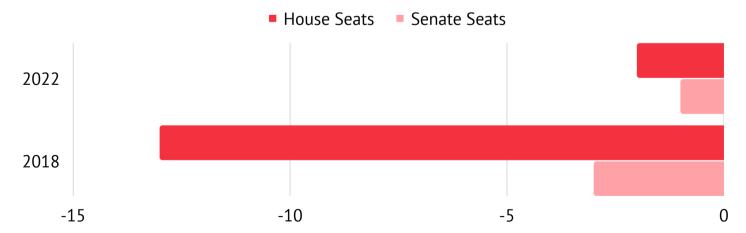
As noted, the GOP's strong performance extended to the local level, where Republicans in the State House and State Senate held their majorities. With more localized ground games, Democrats were forced to defend traditionally safe seats and Republicans expanded their margins of victories in many districts - making them safer for future cycles.

Republicans had lost a net 13 seats in the State House and Senate over the last decade. In the 2018 midterm alone, Republicans lost 13 seats in the State House and 3 seats in the State Senate.

Going into 2022, Republicans held 34 seats in the State Senate and 103 seats in the State House. Redistricting - and the rapid growth of Georgia's population in heavily Democratic areas - all but ensured Republicans would lose seats in the state legislature. The result of the maps produced following redistricting was that 1 seat in the State Senate and 2 seats in the State House were lost.

The Upshot: Election results were, despite the headwinds, the GOP's best midterm performance under the Gold Dome in a decade.

#### Legislative Losses by Midterm



# WHERE THE CONSERVATIVE COMEBACK CAME FROM

The numbers tell a convincing story that:

- 1) A strong Republican ticket is key
- 2) Democrats failed to excite and turn out their base
- **3)** Republicans energized their base and picked up more independents, young and diverse voters than in years past, and
- **4)** New and re-engaged conservatives made a significant difference for candidates up and down the ballot.

The constructive takeaways from this 2022 review are how the conservative comeback came to be - and how lessons of the past were capitalized on to create a new playbook to help conservatives overcome even the greatest advantages of the far-Left.





Greater Georgia, launched in early 2021, is a 501(c4) nonpartisan nonprofit dedicated to growing participation in the democratic process by engaging and empowering voters directly. This means educating and registering voters, engaging with diverse and underrepresented communities, and ensuring election integrity every year, not just in an election year.

To field an effective education and mobilization effort, we started with extensive data analysis to create a full assessment of opportunities for growth and threats for the erosion of the conservative movement. On that basis, we were able to execute robust issue advocacy, conduct voter registration, and employ continuous engagement with a broad coalition of Georgians. By starting outside an election year, we could begin to grow the tent by keeping it up rather than dismantling it after an election. Consistent outreach enabled voters to be ready when the election year arrived. Contributing to this effort was a network of nearly 1,000 grassroots volunteers who helped support our mission.

# REGISTER ENGAGE PROTECT

#### **VOTER EDUCATION**

Our broadest and most foundational mission is to educate voters about the electoral process, as well as issues important to them - whether we're ensuring they know about Georgia's new election laws or about how specific policies impact their pocketbooks, their personal safety, and their kids' futures.



Based on our election data and voter contact models, we knew going into 2022 that 339,000 disenfranchised conservatives stayed home in the 2021 runoff over concerns about election integrity. Our strategy to restore voter confidence among these individuals relied heavily on informing them about the new protections of Senate Bill 202, The Election Integrity Act (SB 202), which passed into Georgia law in March 2021. Importantly, it mandates voter ID, bans electioneering, bans outside money for local election boards, requires monitored absentee ballot drop boxes, requires security paper ballots, and creates a new voter fraud hotline - while expanding voting access.

We launched a separate series of educational campaigns around top issues for Georgia voters to highlight the importance of their general engagement in the democratic process - including high prices, record crime, and historic government overreach in local schools and communities.



#### **VOTER REGISTRATION**

After assembling an experienced team and establishing our data sets and models our first building block was establishing a voter registration machine, to bring more Georgians into the electoral process.



With the understanding that the vast majority of Georgians are already registered - registering incremental new voters requires an outside-the-box approach.

While we deploy a range of targeted digital registration efforts that yield the largest numbers, one of our most visible efforts is our consumer registration drives.

Throughout the year, internal polling showed that inflation was the single top issue for Georgia voters. Greater Georgia held dozens of registration drives at grocery stores, gas stations, and gun stores - highlighting price increases on everyday purchases and linking record inflation to failed progressive spending policies.

Our second area of focus for voter registration is identifying communities with below-average registration rates. Only 38% of voting-age Hispanic citizens are registered in Georgia - compared to White citizens, nearly 70% of whom are registered. Reaching new potential voters requires community-based outreach, which is why we host voter registration drives within Spanish communities with Spanish volunteers and, this year, at supermercados.



We round out our registration efforts with a key group of potential new voters: young people, starting at age 17 ½, who have recently become eligible to register. We also deploy teams to major universities across our state, including the University of Georgia, the University of North Georgia, Kennesaw State, the University of West Georgia, Reinhardt, and Georgia Gwinnett College - and high schools - to engage continuously with young voters.



The registration efforts are omnichannel - in addition to in-person events, we also use text, calls, door-knocking, and digital ads, including the state's first Spanish-language TV ad to promote voter registration.

#### **VOTER ENGAGEMENT**

Our second strategy to grow the conservative movement is to engage with low-propensity voters, and diverse and underrepresented communities - to build lasting relationships with voters who, historically, have not been reached by the traditional political apparatus. Central to this effort is building two-way conversations, trust, and relationships.

Specifically, we've made inroads with diverse coalitions, including the Hispanic, Black, Asian, and Indian American communities - and with suburban women. Each of these groups is important independently and is unique, but we didn't play the Left's identity politics.



Instead, we took a listen-and-learn approach, holding community-specific roundtable discussions where participants shared their perspectives and considered the conservative approach.



#### **ELECTION INTEGRITY**

The final piece in our three-pronged approach is to provide meaningful, hands-on support to ensure election integrity for Georgia voters.

Greater Georgia doesn't just work to educate about the new protections of SB 202; we also put boots on the ground, ensuring secure elections. Ahead of Election Day, our team worked on efforts to update Georgia's voter rolls with Section 229 and Section 230 challenges - reviewing thousands of potentially ineligible voters on our rolls to make them more accurate.

Around special elections, the primary, and general elections, we executed early voting awareness efforts, ballot curing, and ballot chase programs to correct errors on voters' absentee ballots - and remind conservatives to return their ballots on time. And we trained and deployed groups of poll watchers to high-traffic polling locations for the 2022 midterm elections.



# THE GREATER GEORGIA APPROACH



Greater Georgia punched above its weight in 2022 with an agile team and dedicated volunteers. Together we registered more than 36,000 conservatives and held 83 voter registration drives with consumers, under-registered populations, and young people. We held 26 community roundtables and started to build a new coalition of diverse conservatives. We stayed on the ground and engaged daily, just as we did in 2021. This is work that campaigns often need more time, resources, and continuity to carry out year-to-year.

We supplemented these registration, engagement, and education efforts with door-knocking, phone calls, postcards, texts, and digital ads - making more than 2.6 million voter contacts. We ran a statewide radio ad to educate about SB 202 and mobilize "disenfranchised" voters, as well as the state's first Spanish-language television ad to register and mobilize the Hispanic community. We signed up over 1,000 volunteers and partnered with more than a dozen organizations for our registration, engagement, and education efforts.

The discipline of being lean and nimble helped ensure that we focus our resources on the most important areas of impact. Left-leaning groups like New Georgia Project and Fair Fight raised upwards of \$100 million - but overhead expenditures for large organizations mean that it is difficult for donors to track the impact of their investment in key initiatives.

2.6 MILLION

**VOTER CONTACTS** 

109

REGISTRATION DRIVES & EVENTS

36,000

**CONSERVATIVES REGISTERED** 



In June of 2022, a new partnership was created with the Georgia State Senate Majority Caucus to help launch one of their leadership committees, Citizens for a Greater Georgia ("Citizens"). Chaired by Senator John F. Kennedy, the effort was designed to protect the Republican majority in the state legislature, specifically in the Senate chamber. In contrast to Greater Georgia's nonpartisan work, Citizens is a political committee designed to execute a ground game locally - providing voter contact to mobilize Republicans and to win elections.

In the 2022 cycle, the stakes of maintaining a strong Republican majority at the state legislative level were high. With two Democratic senators in Washington, our state legislature stands as a vital bulwark to a progressive agenda at the federal level - and helps the Governor to conduct his own. In the last two years alone, Georgia's Republican lawmakers and Governor cut our state income tax on working families, strengthened election integrity and Second Amendment rights, banned mask mandates, banned boys in girls' sports and divisive concepts in the classroom, and suspended the state's gas tax amid Washington Democrats' refusal to tap America's abundant energy supply.

Under Governor Kemp, Georgia was the first to reopen after the pandemic, achieving record economic development and record low unemployment in the aftermath of the pandemic. These results benefit Georgians of all political persuasions. But over the last decade, Republicans lost a combined 13 seats in the State House and Senate as the trendlines narrowed in statewide races. In recent cycles, outsized spending by Democrats at the top of the ticket has trickled down to make local races competitive, particularly across metro areas like Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, and Savannah.

Finally, it's worth noting that Georgia's leadership committees, which were signed into state law in 2021, were of value to candidates in both parties. While they received initial criticism, they proved to be a more transparent alternative at the state level to vast, dark money networks.



#### A DEDICATED GROUND GAME

Using lessons learned in 2020, Citizens for a Greater Georgia was effective in 2022 at combating the Democrat machine's inroads by building a data-driven field program effort to inform and mobilize voters to vote for Republican candidates.

Anchored by a 24-person field team, Citizens focused primarily on door-to-door voter contact, augmented by coordinated digital, text, mail, and phone campaigns. It was a new approach to bring statewide infrastructure to Republicans in State Senate races - who traditionally don't have access to the same resources as candidates at the statewide and federal levels.

We identified ten State Senate target districts for the 2022 cycle, where - based on polling and modeling - incumbent Republicans would be facing competitive elections, or where Republicans had a path to flipping a Democrat-controlled seat. These seats often overlapped with competitive State House districts as well, so there were important synergies on the ground.



Staffers spent most of their time knocking on doors and making phone calls for Republican State Senate candidates. For each target seat, canvassing efforts were supplemented by comprehensive and individualized direct mail, text, digital ad, and TV ad campaigns to a lesser extent. Donor contributions enabled this effort, completed for about two million dollars, and created tangible value across the ticket relative to candidate-specific television airtime alone.



The scope and scale of this coordinated ground game for the state legislature resulted in more substantial margins of victory, more competitive races, and each incumbent State Senate candidate holding his or her seat.

#### **COALITION BUILDING**

To get out the vote, Citizens launched two distinct coalitions designed to mobilize both Hispanic and women voters within our target districts. These coalitions offered Republican State Senate candidates a platform to connect with these two important demographic groups and encourage them to vote.

The coalition programming in 2022 included roundtables and rallies that featured not only State Senate candidates but also supported Republican candidates up and down the ballot - including Governor Brian Kemp, Lt. Governor candidate Burt Jones, Insurance Commissioner John King, and many Republican State House candidates.



# THE CITIZENS DIFFERENCE



Supplementing the hard work put in by the State Senate campaigns in 2022, Citizens made more than 650,000 one-on-one voter contacts - including 146,000 doors knocked and 507,000 phone calls - on behalf of target Republican State Senate candidates. Including impressions via direct mail, digital ads, and text messages supporting the entire slate of Senate incumbents and candidates across the state - more than 13 million unique voter contacts were made in just over 6 months.

Out of the 10 target seats, representing some of the most competitive races in the state, Citizens contributed to 6 Republican wins - defending the seats of 4 incumbent Senators and helping secure the victories of 2 new Republican Senators. Candidates in 4 out of those 6 top competitive races actually outperformed the top of the ticket in their districts. The importance of a ground game in local races is well documented, but this is just another data point demonstrating the impact.

Traditionally, state legislative candidates have not had time or resources to build out a complete set of campaign tools - including staff, data, polling, doors, digital, mail, phones, and text programs. Particularly in narrow margins of victory, the thousands of conversations at the doors helped boost turnout and secure key victories in competitive seats. And the ground game undoubtedly benefited Republican candidates up and down the ballot, with record turnout and a dedicated mobilization machine.

146,000
DOORS KNOCKED

507,000
PHONE CALLS

13 MILLION
VOTER CONTACTS

## IN SUMMARY: 2022 IMPACT

Voter contact in the millions, tens of thousands of new voters registered, and continuous outreach spurred a more diverse and engaged electorate while bringing more information and confidence to Georgia voters. With strength at the top of the ticket and the work of dozens of campaigns and organizations, Georgia produced sweeping conservative victories up and down the ballot.

- **Greater Georgia:** Delivered issue advocacy to more than 2.5 million voters and directly registered over 36,000 conservatives through more than 100 events. Supplementing those efforts were multiple digital, TV, radio, phone, and text campaigns to educate and register voters, engage a diverse coalition, and protect election integrity. Greater Georgia also worked to support early voting, poll watching, ballot chase, and ballot curing, as well as voter roll accuracy.
- Citizens for a Greater Georgia: Built a ground game to get out the vote in key legislative races across the state in 2022 for our State Senate candidates and Republicans up and down the ballot. With more than 650,000 voter contacts at the phones and doors and a total of 13 million impressions including digital all Republican incumbents for the State Senate were re-elected.
- **The Difference:** Of the 581,000 conservatives in the universe that Citizens targeted, 244,000 came out to vote. Of the 174,000 conservatives that Greater Georgia targeted, over 114,000 voted in November. More than 142,000 disenfranchised voters returned and almost 95,000 newly-registered, first-time voters came out to the polls in November.

With Georgia's Governor's race decided by just under 300,000 votes and the Lt. Governor's race by less than 200,000 votes - the votes of these 300,000-plus Georgians helped support Republican victories up and down the ballot.

## LESSONS LEARNED

Despite the increasing fundraising advantages on the Left, a changing electorate, and the ongoing work to restore trust in elections, Georgia Republicans made substantial gains during the 2022 cycle - starting in 2021 with the passage of SB 202, the creation of leadership committees, and, most importantly, building on a track record that serves Georgians' most pressing needs.

However, with the loss of another U.S. Senate runoff during the 2022 cycle, one thing is clear: Georgia remains a battleground state at the national level, with a growing number of independent and swing voters. As always, there is much to be learned. Here are just three key takeaways:

#### YEAR-ROUND BOOTS ON THE GROUND

Georgia will continue to play host to some of America's most expensive political campaigns. The bulk of out-of-state money goes to Democrat candidates - to produce slick ads and host star-studded events with celebrities from across the country. The Democrat deluge of money and celebrity endorsements had limited appeal when voting on local issues that affect Georgians' lives here at home.

By investing heavily in data-driven field programs, anchored in doors and calls and supported by targeted texts, direct mail, and digital ads, we saw record midterm turnout. Targeted voter contact demonstrated its value as a measurable and cost-effective way to mobilize voters - and voter contact is an increasingly important tool to 'get out the voter' earlier. Republicans will lose before Election Day arrives if we continue to cede ground during early voting.

There is always a battle between spending resources on the airwaves and the ground. But there is a saturation point for advertising, even with an endless budget. The fact is, Republicans can't count on out-raising Democrats and must outwork them. And a data-driven, comprehensive field program is a central part of a winning strategy.

#### BUILDING THE CONSERVATIVE COALITION

Fundraising isn't the only area where Democrats hold an advantage - another risk is the changing electorate, which favors their side if we do not grow the tent. A clear lesson is that Republicans must compete for voters - particularly those who are newly registered, diverse and underrepresented, swing and independent, and in growing voting blocs like women and young voters. If conservatives don't compete with progressives to grow the base year-round, the chances of expanding the movement or sustaining our majorities are slim.

As Greater Georgia prepares for its third year of operation, we'll continue registering new voters and expanding the tent outside its traditional parameters. The work of our volunteers, partners, and staff means new relationships within high schools and universities, underrepresented communities, and among women - the largest part of Georgia's electorate.

Relatively low voting rates among young voters and the Hispanic and Asian communities point to meaningful engagement opportunities. Building on relationships in Georgia's schools and diverse communities is vital to keep the conservative movement growing.

#### LOCAL ELECTIONS MATTER

When voters went to the polls in 2022, they did so during one of the most turbulent times in modern history, particularly at the national level – emerging from two years of pandemic-era mandates with record inflation, rampant crime, government overreach, challenges in the classroom, a border crisis, and single party rule in Washington. Motivating voters to take action should have been a layup. But the divisive, noisy environment meant more work had to be put in from the grassroots to get voters to engage. And effectively making the case for stakes of these elections would not have been possible without strong candidates and campaigns at all levels.

While races like U.S. Senate, Governor, and Lt. Governor tend to define the media coverage, Georgians also want problem-solvers who are accountable locally and keep a sense of community, access, and predictable growth in our state. The impact of strong local candidates who are leaders in their communities – and who can turn out the vote in their districts to benefit the entire ticket – is why investing in local races is critical.

The data bears this out in the margins of victory and stronger performance in Lean-Democrat seats. And local candidates – State Senators, State Representatives, County Commissioners, and more – can help create a solid bench for statewide and federal offices later.

These are a few of the reasons that local campaigns are critical areas for investment and support - and it's also strategically why the party of the Democratic Socialists of America targets local elections; they know they can create energy on the ground that is capable of winning locally and then move that progressive candidate through the ranks of elected office over time.

Notably, a strong record and upholding Georgians' values is a winning strategy. Governor Kemp and those down-ballot ran on the strength of Georgia's economy, keeping the state open during the pandemic, tax relief, and the basic principles of freedom and opportunity. That's the track record our General Assembly ran on. Because Republicans remain solidly in the majority, we can build on that track record to push the trendlines back to wider margins of victory as Georgians experience the results of conservative leadership.



## CONTINUING THE WORK

The endless cable news argument about whether Georgia is still a red state will only increase as we head into a presidential election year in 2024. As a presidential election year, it presents a very different environment from the midterm election cycle, when national candidates and issues take center stage. Elections are about the future, and in the Peach State, now is a crucial moment to set Republicans' sights on the path to victory in cycles to come.

That work starts right away in 2023. Keeping conservative leadership in Georgia requires dedicated work on the ground, a commitment to growing the conservative movement, and proven conservative values and results. The state is changing - economically, demographically, and politically - but that change should be viewed as positive change if conservatives put in the work. It's imperative to adapt now to today's environment and invest throughout 2023 to ensure conservatives have the resources and infrastructure in place to succeed in even greater numbers.

The experiences and observations of Greater Georgia and Citizens for a Greater Georgia are intended to contribute to victories in cycles to come - and help strengthen the conservative movement that will keep Georgia known as the best state in the country to live, work, and enjoy the freedoms of America.

