



**BLACKS & THE
2012 DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL CONVENTION**



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JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES
WASHINGTON, DC

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Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies
805 Fifteenth Street, NW, Second Floor
Washington, DC 20005

www.jointcenter.org

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Printed in the United States of America

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FOREWORD

The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a non-partisan research institution that focuses on issues of concern to African Americans and other people of color, presents its quadrennial publication, *Blacks and the 2012 Democratic National Convention*.

The analysis was completed by the Joint Center's Senior Political Analyst, David A. Bositis, Ph.D., and examines the impact African Americans are likely to have in the November elections. Special attention is paid to trends among African Americans with regard to partisanship, public opinion and voting behavior.

This study is intended to assist African American convention participants in carrying out their responsibilities and to inform ongoing political analysis and partisan activities. The Joint Center has prepared similar volumes for both the Republican and Democratic Conventions since 1972.

Ralph B. Everett
President and CEO
Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

INTRODUCTION

While The 2008 Democratic National Convention represented an historic occasion for African Americans and black politics, when for the first time, an African American was the Democratic Party's nominee for President, 2012 represents a somewhat different but still momentous historic occasion--a black President, Barack Obama, seeking re-election.

The larger narrative of 2012 is the struggling economy and income inequality in the United States. African Americans, as much as or more than other groups have suffered from that poor economy and income inequality. President Obama proposes to continue the roll-out of the Affordable Care Act, to raise taxes on the wealthiest Americans, and to carefully cut spending after the economy has recovered. Mitt Romney and the Republican Party, propose repealing the Affordable Care Act, tax cuts and cutting government spending as their platform. All of these policy prescriptions would harm African Americans. African Americans are three times more likely (36 percent vs. 12 percent) than non-Hispanic whites to lack health insurance. In 1993, President Clinton **raised** taxes and during his time in office, African Americans experienced their greatest increase in income growth in U.S. history. President Bush cut taxes in 2001, and African Americans saw declining incomes. Finally, the reductions in government spending that Mitt Romney proposes--to Medicare and Medicaid, education spending, and government jobs, would all disproportionately impact--in a negative way--African Americans.

The presidential election on November 6, 2012, is likely to be quite different from the Obama-McCain election in 2008. The political climate in 2012 is greatly changed from four years earlier--the Republicans regained control of the U.S. House in 2010, there is substantial national dissatisfaction with the economy and the general direction of the country. In 2008, demographic and political changes, along with the Obama campaign's grassroots and internet organizing, changed the electoral map with Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, several states in the American West, and Florida, North Carolina and Virginia in the South moving from red to blue.

The present contours of the 2012 electoral map suggest President Obama is likely to win all of the states that Massachusetts Senator John Kerry carried in 2004 (246 electoral votes) when he was the Democratic Party's nominee for President. Among the 2008 states that President Obama won but which backed President George W. Bush in 2004, President Obama is, at this time, favored in Iowa (six electoral votes), New Mexico (five), Ohio (18), Colorado (nine), Nevada (six), and Virginia (13), which would give President Obama 303 electoral votes and re-election. While President Obama is favored to win these states, he by no means has a lock on their electoral votes; events--especially negative economic events--could derail him in these states.

In addition to these six states, President Obama is competitive in Florida (29) and North Carolina (15).

While there is little question about the direction of black vote this November, the size of black turnout will be important in determining the outcome of the election. Several of the states that President Obama won in 2008 that now appear to be likely to be more competitive have significant black populations, including the key states of Florida, North Carolina, Ohio and Virginia. The black vote is also important in a few of the states that Senator Kerry won in 2004, such as, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

African American voters have not given much support to Republican presidential candidates since 1960, and Senator John McCain received the lowest black vote ever--only four percent--lower even than the last Arizona nominee, Senator Barry Goldwater, who received six percent of the black vote against President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964. Governor Mitt Romney, the 2012 Republican nominee, is likely to perform poorly among black voters because of his policy proposals, his own political career and lack of experience with them, and his Tea Party-influenced party.

This guide details the range of participation by African Americans in the Democratic Party, the geographical and partisan dimensions of the black vote in recent years, and black voters' attitudes toward many issues that may be significant in the fall campaign. The information will be of interest to political activists and election watchers, as well as to scholars of American politics. Moreover, by better appreciating their own capacity to be influential, black Democrats will be better able to use their influence in pursuit of their public policy interests.

At the 2012 Democratic National Convention in Charlotte, there are 346 more black delegates than in 2008 at the party's convention in Denver. Black delegates number 1,452 this year, 26.2 percent of the total delegates, and 34.6 percent more than four years ago (24.3 percent) (Tables 5 and 6). The number of black delegates and the percentage of the total number of delegates in 2012 both surpassed previous records. Other salient facts:

- Black delegates this year make up 26.2 percent of the delegates total. This compares with 24.3 percent of the total in 2008 and 20.1 in 2004.
- Black alternates this year number 93, down from 136 in 2008 and 105 in 2004.
- Of the black delegates this year, 608 are men (41.9 percent) and 844 are women (58.1 percent).
- There are 39 states with more black delegates than in 2008, five states with fewer and six states whose totals are unchanged; while all of the decreases are minor, several of the states witnessed major gains.

Florida's black delegate total increased by 49 (98 percent), California's by 44 (57.9 percent), and North Carolina's by 30 (61.2 percent).

- All states have at least one black delegate this year compared to two states with no black delegates in 2008 and six states in 2004.
- The state delegations with the largest percentage of African Americans in their make-up are Mississippi, with 73.3 percent, followed by Louisiana (71.8 percent), Alabama (68.1 percent), Georgia (66.9 percent), and North Carolina (50.0 percent).
- African American delegates at this year's Democratic Convention include elected officials, party leaders, and candidates for office, among others. Apart from the party's presidential nominee, President Barack Obama, African Americans playing key roles are AME Bishop Vashti McKenzie, Co-Chair of the Credentials' Committee; Newark Mayor Cory Booker, Co-Chair of the Platform Committee; California Attorney General Kamala Harris, Co-Chair of the Rules and Bylaws Committee; Democratic National Committee Vice-Chair Donna Brazile; and Patrick Gaspard, Executive Director of the Democratic National Committee.
- Membership on the Platform Committee includes 39 African Americans (20.3 percent). There are also 50 African Americans on the Credentials Committee (26 percent) and 42 on the Rules Committee (21.9 percent).

PARTISANSHIP AND VOTING

How African Americans vote and, of much more importance, in what numbers and where, are of great interest to the Democratic Party in 2012. In this section, we review data on the black vote, partisanship, and issue orientation. In addition, we examine the character and extent of black participation in Democratic Party organizations, the number of black elected officials, and black participation at the 2008 convention in Denver.

Partisan Identification

In national surveys conducted by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies since 1980, between 75 percent and 88 percent of African Americans have identified themselves as Democrats² (Figure 1). Compared with the way African Americans vote, this figure actually understates black support for the Democratic Party. This high level of black attachment to the Democratic Party is now four decades old. Prior

to the New Deal era of Franklin D. Roosevelt, a majority of blacks were Republicans. Their support shifted to the Democratic Party during the New Deal, but black Republican identification still remained in the mid-30 percent range into the postwar era (Table 1). Until 1964, almost one in four blacks continued to identify with the Republican Party.

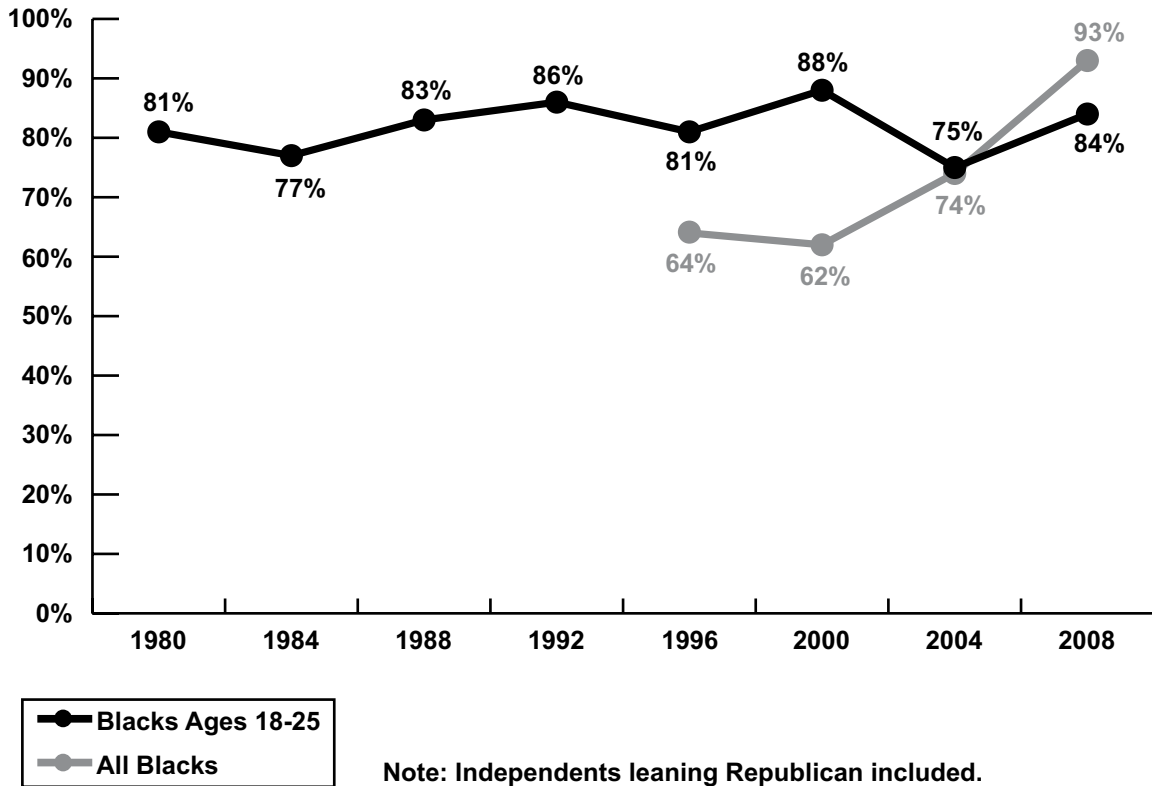
It was the 1964 presidential election that showed a major increase in black support for the Democratic Party. Two factors were associated with that shift: One was the strong support of President Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party for the landmark civil and voting rights legislation of the mid-1960s and the party's continuing pro-civil rights stand. The other was the Republican Party's sharp turn to a more conservative posture, especially in espousing states' rights, a position African Americans associated with southern segregationists. While GOP nominee Barry Goldwater espoused states' rights as a principled federalist in the 1964 campaign, many observers believe that subsequent Republican nominees, including Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, used states' rights and other racially-tinged appeals to court conservative white southerners. Culturally and demographically, the Republican Party has evolved since the 1960s from being a Midwestern and Northeastern party to being a Southern and non-coastal Western party. This evolution has profoundly affected the relationship between African Americans and the GOP.

Young Black Voters

While 84 percent of African Americans identify with the Democratic Party in the Joint Center's 2008 National Opinion Poll, that number is down slightly from the recent high point (2000). Still, there is ample reason for the Democrats to feel confident about their black support (especially with President Barack Obama as their nominee), because the previous decline in Democratic support from young African Americans has been reversed (Figure 1).

Prior to 2004, declines in black Democratic identification had been driven by younger, i.e., 18- to 25-year-old and under 35-year-old, more generally, African Americans. In Joint Center national opinion polls conducted prior to 2004, less than two-thirds of 18- to 25-year-old African Americans identified with the Democrats. However, since the Bush administration launched the Iraq War and, more generally, with the GOP's decisive rightward movement, younger African Americans (like young people generally) have moved decisively leftward, with 75 percent identifying with the Democrats in 2004 and 93 percent identifying with the Democrats in 2008.

FIGURE 1
Democratic Partisanship among All Blacks and Blacks Ages 18-25, 1980-2004



In Joint Center surveys over the last eight years, black identification with the Republican Party has been remarkably stable at 10-15 percent. A low point occurred in 2000, at the end of the Clinton administration, when only four percent of African Americans surveyed by the Joint Center identified themselves as Republicans.

Voting in Presidential Elections

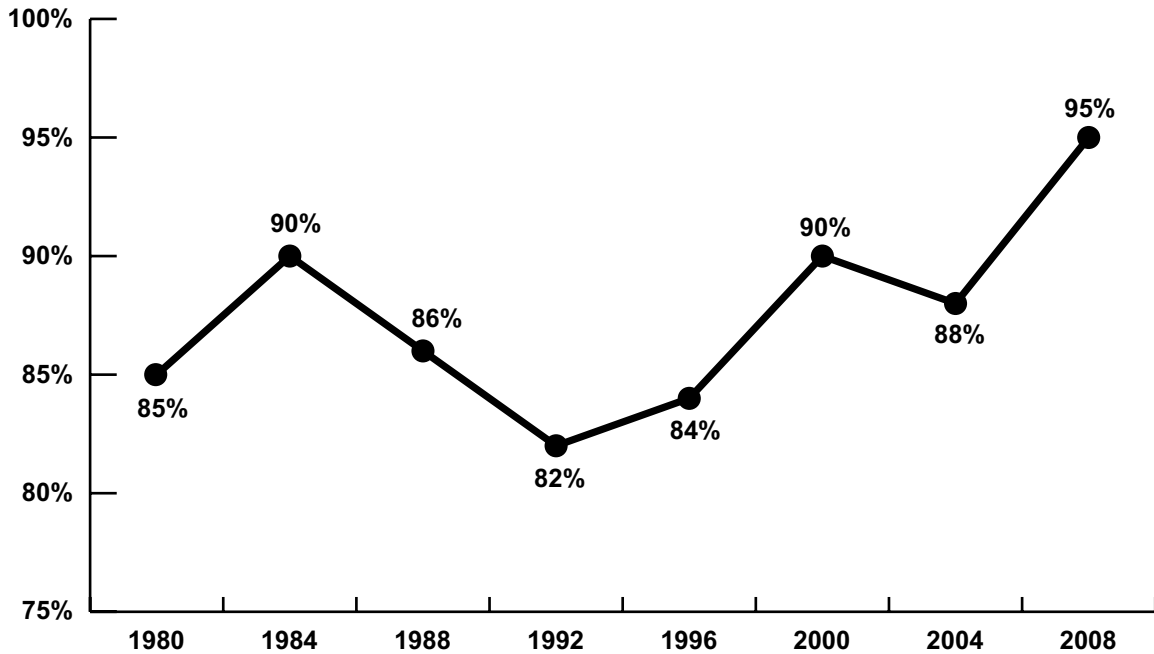
Between the presidential election years of 2000 and 2008, the black Democratic presidential vote dipped slightly from 90 to 88 percent and then hit 95 percent--the all-time high (Figure 2.1). This suggests that the relationship between the Democratic Party and African Americans remained on a very solid footing during those years. There are no realistic prospects for an increase in the black Republican vote in 2012. President Obama remains generally very popular with African Americans and Governor Romney is not perceived as an attractive alternative for most black voters; in the most recent NBC News/Wall Street Journal National Poll, conducted from August 16-20, 2012, Governor Romney received no black support.

The Significance of the Black Vote for the Democratic Party

The significance of the black vote for the Democratic Party cannot be overestimated. In 2008, according to the national exit polls, the black contribution to President Obama’s vote was 23.5 percent. In 2004, the black contribution to Senator Kerry’s vote was 22.1 percent, up from 18.9 percent of former Vice President Albert Gore’s total in 2000 when he was the Democratic nominee for President. This means that approximately one in every 4.25 Obama voters in 2008 were African Americans.

It is sometimes easy to forget that there are actually no national elections in the United States. Given the mediating role of the Electoral College, even the presidential election is a state-level election. Therefore, national voting statistics can be very misleading about the actual constituencies where elections take place. For this reason, it is important to look at statistics for individual states.

FIGURE 2.1
Democrats' Share of Black Vote for President, 1980-2004



Black voters represented a key bloc in many of the states President Obama won in 2008 [Table 2]. These states include many of the key battleground states for 2012—Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia. In Florida, 24 percent of President Obama’s votes were cast by African Americans, as were 44 percent in North Carolina, 21 percent in Ohio, and 35 percent in Virginia.

Black voters are concentrated in about 20 states. There was significant variation in black turnout among states in 2008, with black turnout ranging from lows of 43-50 percent in Arkansas, Florida and New York to a high of about 73 percent in Mississippi, Missouri and South Carolina. According to the Census Bureau’s 2008 Voting and Registration report, black turnout was higher than white turnout in Alabama, California, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia; black and white turnout was the same in Pennsylvania. In a number of states where black turnout was lower than white, the differences were marginal. However, in some states, including battleground states in both 2008 and 2012, black turnout was not only low (but significantly lower than white turnout, e.g., Florida (58.3 vs. 49.5 percent).

Black Voting in Non-Presidential Elections

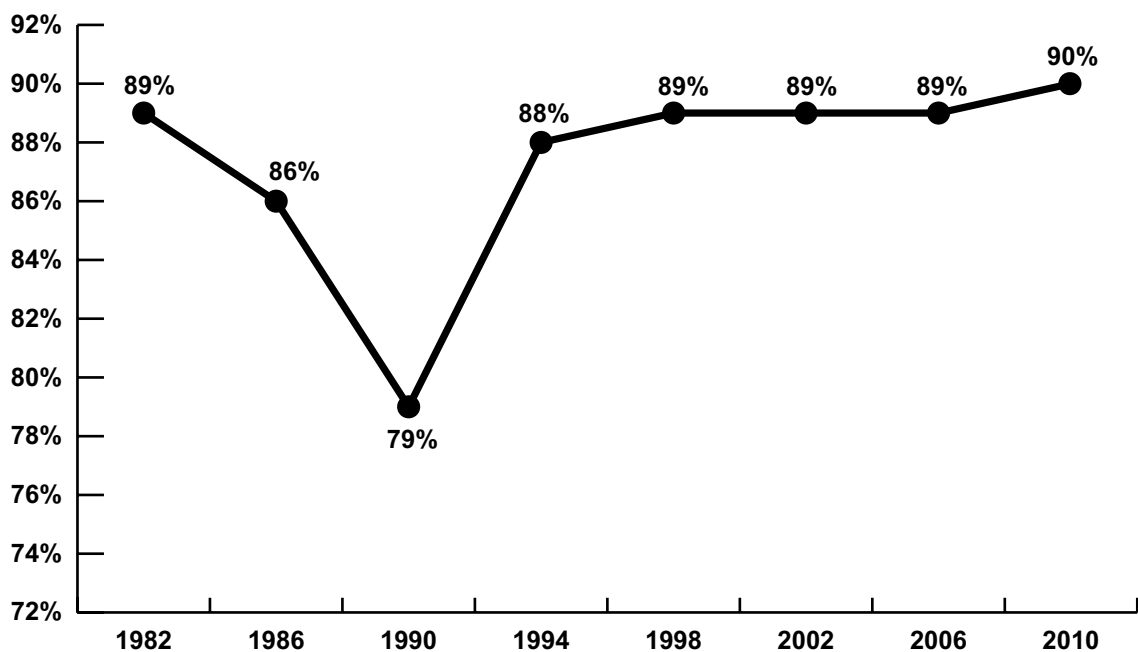
While the black Democratic vote for President has hovered around 90 percent since 1980 (Figure 2.2), there has been much more variability in the black Democratic vote for the U.S. House since 1980, in part because of substantial fluctuations in black turnout. Among black votes cast for Congress, the proportion supporting Democrats has ranged from a low of 79 percent in 1990 to a high of 92 percent in 1984. The low figure for 1990 is largely the result of a very low black voter turnout that year.

The Cook Political Report identifies six competitive U.S. Senate elections in 2012 in states where black voters may be a major factor in determining the outcome [Table 3]. One Republican (appointed) incumbent is seeking re-election (Nevada) along with four Democratic incumbents (Florida, Michigan, Missouri and Ohio). There is an open-seat contest in Virginia. There are also two races for governor where black voters could have a major effect, with a Democratic incumbent seeking re-election in one (Missouri) and open-seat race in North Carolina, now held by a Democrat.

The Issues of 2012

The issues motivating black voters in 2012 are largely the same as those motivating other voters--the economy and jobs, health care reform, and views of President Obama. African Americans have suffered more than any other group in the

FIGURE 2.2
Democrats' Share of Black Vote for House, 1982-2006



down economy, but credit President Obama with trying to improve it. Since African Americans are three times more likely to be uninsured than non-Hispanic whites, they strongly support the Affordable Care Act. Finally, African Americans have very favorable views of President Obama.

President Obama's Record

There is no question that African Americans support President Obama. In the most recent NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* National Poll conducted between August 16-20, 2012, black respondents favored President Obama over Governor Romney, 94 percent to 0 percent. African Americans benefitted from the 2009 Stimulus, they were major beneficiaries of the Affordable Care Act, and they strongly applaud President Obama's efforts on clean energy and climate change and the environment.

President Obama's record on black appointments includes Attorney General Eric Holder, EPA Administrator Lisa Jackson, U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk, and United Nations Ambassador Susan Rice. The number of his cabinet-level appointments is only average compared with his immediate predecessors', and the Obama Administration has not released any statistical information on black appointments, unlike Presidents Bush I and II and President Clinton. 15.0 percent of President Clinton's appointees were African Americans, as compared with 9.5 percent for President George W. Bush.

Registration and Turnout

The citizen black voting-age population of the U.S. is 26,602,000 (2010 U.S. Census Current Population Survey (CPS)) According to U.S. Census November 2008 CPS, 65.3 percent were reported being registered and 60.7 percent reported voting in the 2008 presidential election [Table 4]. This compares to 66.6 percent reported registration and 59.6 percent reported turnout for whites, the first presidential election where black turnout was higher than white. Thus, the participation gap between white and black electorates in the 2008 election was 1.3 percentage points on registration (favoring whites) and 0.9 percentage points on turnout (favoring blacks).

The South is the region with the largest proportion (55 percent) of the black vote. The black voting-age population is at least 20 percent of the total electorate in seven of the 11 states of the Old Confederacy: Mississippi (35 percent), Louisiana (31), Georgia (30), South Carolina (27), Alabama (25), North Carolina (21) and Virginia (20). According to the November 2008 CPS, black voter registration in the South was 68.2 percent and black turnout was 62.5 percent. This compares to white registration of 65.5 percent and white turnout of 54.9 percent, with the gap between black and white electorates being 2.7 percent on registration and 7.6 percent on turnout. The 2008 election represented the first presidential election where black voters clearly outperformed their white counterparts on both registration and turnout.

In 1968, the first presidential election after the passage of the Voting Rights Act (1965), black registration and turnout in the South were 61.6 and 51.6 percent, respectively. White registration and turnout were 70.8 and 61.9 percent. Thus, the gaps between black and white electorates on registration and turnout in 1968 were 9.2 and 10.3 percent, respectively. Between 1968 and 2004, the registration gap decreased from 9.2 (favoring whites) to 2.7 percent (favoring blacks), and on turnout from 10.3 (favoring whites) to 7.6 percent (favoring blacks).

The long-term effect of the Voting Rights Act has been to gradually equalize the voting patterns between blacks and whites in the South. According to U.S. Census figures, black turnout in Alabama (62.5 vs. 60.7 percent), Georgia (65.2 vs. 63.4), Mississippi (73.1 vs. 62.8), South Carolina (71.9 vs. 62.8) and Tennessee (58.3 vs. 55.3 percent) was higher than white turnout in 2000. Black and white turnout was the same in Arkansas in 2008.

According to exit polls, black voters were 12 percent of the national electorate in 2004 and 13 percent in 2008.

Prospects for Black Turnout

Nationally, black turnout increased 4.4 percentage points in 2008 after increasing by three percentage points from 1996 to 2000, and an additional three percentage points from 2000 to 2004 [Table 4]. 2008 was an historical occasion—the first time an African American was a major party nominee for President. 2012 also represents an historic occasion—the first time a black President will be seeking re-election. Given how strong black turnout was in 2008, it is unlikely that there will be much of an increase in 2012, especially with the enactment of government-issued photo identification laws in several states with large black populations. However, given the strong support President Obama enjoys among African Americans as well as the Obama campaign's strong ground operations, there is likely to be a robust black turnout in 2012—comparable to 2008.

Blacks and Democratic Party Organizations

Black representation in Democratic Party organizations at the national, state, and local levels is substantial. There are 101 black members on the Democratic National Committee (DNC), making up 22.6 percent of the committee's membership; in 2008, black members were 21.4 percent of the members. Donna Brazile is a Vice-chair of the DNC and Patrick Gaspard is Executive Director. As noted earlier, black delegates comprise 24.3 percent of the 2008 convention's delegate total.

Black Democrats hold important leadership positions in state parties across the country. There are high-ranking African American officers in most state parties, Washington, D.C., and the Virgin Islands. The officers include three state party chairs and 17 vice or deputy chairs. In nearly all of the largest states, they serve as chairpersons, vice chairpersons, executive directors, treasurers, and executive committee members. (Black state party leaders are also listed on the Joint Center's website.)

Black Democrats are also a major part of the leadership in the U.S. House Democratic Caucus, and all but two of the black members of the U.S. House of Representatives are Democrats. Approximately 21.5 percent of the Democratic U.S. representatives and delegates in the 112th Congress are African Americans. Rep. James Clyburn (SC) is the Assistant Leader, the third-ranking position in the Democratic leadership behind Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (CA) and Minority Whip Steny Hoyer (MD). Several Congressional Black Caucus members serve as ranking Democrats, including Rep. Elijah Cummings (Oversight and Government Reform), John Conyers (Judiciary), Benny Thompson (Homeland Security), and Eddie B. Johnson (Science, Space and Technology).

Finally, Democrats dominate among African Americans serving in the state legislatures. There are 622 black state legislators among whom only nine are Republicans. In state senates, there are 150 black Democrats and two black Republicans. In state houses (and assemblies), there are 463 black Democrats and seven black Republicans.

BLACKS AND THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES: A SUMMARY COMPARISON

A brief review of the two major parties shows quite dramatically that the Democratic Party remains home to African Americans.

Partisanship

African Americans remain Democratic in both their partisan identification (76 to four percent) and in their behavior as voters (95 vs. four percent Republican in the 2008 presidential election).

National Conventions

Black participation in the major parties' national conventions is strongly Democratic. At this year's Republican Convention, there are 47 African American delegates comprising 2.1 percent of the total, compared with 1,452 (26.2 percent) black delegates at this year's Democratic Convention. The Republicans' convention committees had few black members and no leaders, whereas there are black co-chairs of all of the Democrats' convention committees, Credentials, Platform and Rules.

National Committees and State Parties

The Republican National Committee has two black members on a committee of 165 (1.2 percent) which includes two jurisdictions that are majority black--the District of Columbia and the Virgin Islands. The Democratic National Committee has 101 black members (22.6 percent). Most of the black Republicans associated with state Republican parties across the country are in positions related to 'outreach' to minorities, and those positions are reserved for minorities. Black Democrats are in leadership positions in state parties across the United States with 20 state party chairs or vice chairs compared to only three such positions on the Republican side.

Black Officeholders

Finally, of course, blacks holding elected offices today are nearly all Democrats. In the U. S. Congress, there are 41 black Democrats and two black Republicans. Joint Center tallies show that in state legislatures across the country, there are 622 black Democrats and nine black Republicans.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

David A. Bositis, Senior Political Analyst at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, has conducted 35 national surveys of African Americans. Dr. Bositis is the author of numerous books and scholarly articles including most recently *Resegregation in Southern Politics*. He worked with the late A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. in defending majority-minority congressional districts in federal court, and in 1996 his research was cited by U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens in his dissent in *Bush v. Vera*.

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TABLE 1
Presidential Vote and Party Identificaiton of Blacks, 1936-2008

		Democratic	Republican	Other/Independent
1936	Presidential vote	71	28	1
	Party identification	44	37	19
1940	Presidential vote	67	32	—
	Party identification	42	42	16
1944	Presidential vote	68	32	—
	Party identification	40	40	21
1948	Presidential vote	77	23	—
	Party identification	56	25	19
1952	Presidential vote	76	24	—
	Party identification	66	18	16
1956	Presidential vote	61	39	—
	Party identification	56	24	22
1960	Presidential vote	68	32	—
	Party identification	58	22	20
1964	Presidential vote	94	6	—
	Party identification	82	8	10
1968	Presidential vote	85	15	—
	Party identification	92	3	5
1972	Presidential vote	87	13	—
	Party identification	75	5	20
1976	Presidential vote	85	15	—
	Party identification	84	5	11
1980	Presidential vote	86	12	2
	Party identification	81	8	10
1984	Presidential vote	89	9	2
	Party identification	77	5	18
1988	Presidential vote	88	10	2
	Party identification	83	9	8
1992	Presidential vote	82	11	7
	Party identification	86	9	5
1996	Presidential vote	84	12	4
	Party identification	81	9	6
2000	Presidential vote	90	8	2
	Party identification	88	7	5
2004	Presidential vote	88	11	1
	Party identification	74	15	11
2008	Presidential vote	95	4	1
	Party identification	76	4	20

Sources: 1936–56 data from Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., and Charles D. Hadley, *Transformations of the American Party System*; 1960–80 partisan identification data from Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde, *Change and Continuity in the 1984 Elections*; 1960–80 presidential preference data from Gallup Opinion Index 1980; 1984 presidential preference data from CBS/New York Times exit poll, November 1986; 1988 presidential preference data from ABC News/Capital Cities; 1988 party identification data from JCPES Gallup survey; 1992 party identification data from Home Box Office (HBO)/Joint Center Survey; 1992 presidential preference data from Voter Research and Surveys; 1996 vote data from Voter News Service; 1996 party identification data from 1996 JCPES National Opinion Poll; 2000 vote data from Voter News Service; 2000 party identification data from 2000 JCPES National Opinion Poll; 2004 vote data from Edison/Mitofsky National Exit Poll; 2004 party identification data from 2004 JCPES National Opinion Poll; 2008 vote data from National Exit Poll; 2008 party identification data from 2008 JCPES National Opinion Poll.

TABLE 2
States Where Blacks Are An Important Voting Block

	Black Voting-Age Population			2008 Presidential Election			
	Total		Citizen	Black Share of the Total Vote	Obama Share of the Black Vote	Obama Vote	Black Share of the Obama Vote
	(thousands)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Alabama	868	24.6	25.4	29	98	39	73
Arkansas	313	14.6	15.1	12	94	39	29
California*	1,887	6.9	8.0	10	95	61	16
D.C.*	246	50.3	53.2	56	97	93	58
Florida*	2,097	14.7	14.2	13	96	51	24
Georgia	2,100	29.5	30.6	30	98	47	63
Illinois*	1,350	14.0	14.9	17	96	62	26
Louisiana	1,015	30.6	31.4	29	94	40	68
Maryland*	1,237	28.9	28.6	25	94	62	38
Michigan*	1,047	13.9	14.3	12	97	57	20
Mississippi	735	34.8	35.2	33	98	43	75
Missouri	500	11.1	11.1	13	93	49	25
New Jersey*	929	14.1	14.6	12	92	57	19
New York*	2,500	16.7	16.1	17	100	63	27
North Carolina*	1,484	21.2	22.1	23	95	50	44
Ohio*	964	11.2	11.0	11	97	52	21
Pennsylvania*	952	9.9	9.1	13	95	55	22
South Carolina	918	26.6	27.5	25	96	45	53
Tennessee	722	15.2	14.8	12	94	42	27
Texas	2,114	11.8	13.3	13	98	44	29
Virginia*	1,167	19.9	19.9	20	92	53	35

Sources: Information on the black voting-age population is from the U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2010. Information on the black vote in 2008 is from the exit poll consortium (<http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/>). * States won by Senator Obama in 2008.

TABLE 3
Election Statistics, Competitive U.S. Senate/Governor Elections,
States with Significant Black Voting-Age Populations

State	Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	2006 U.S. Senate Vote (%)	2008 Presidential Vote Differential Obama-McCain (%)
U.S. Senate				
Florida	14.7	Nelson	60-38	51-48
Michigan	13.9	Stabenow	57-41	57-41
Missouri	11.1	McCaskill	50-47	49-50
Nevada	8.9	Heller ¹	n/a	55-43
Ohio	11.2	Brown	56-44	52-47
Virginia	19.9	Webb [OPEN]	50-49	53-47
Governor			2008	
Missouri	11.1	Nixon	58-40	49-50
North Carolina	21.2	Purdue [OPEN]	50-47	50-49

Republican incumbent names are in bold. 1 Appointed by Governor Sandoval in 2011

TABLE 4
Reported Registration and Voting Rates by Race and Region: 1964 to 2010

Presidential Elections												
	2008	2004	2000	1996	1992	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
Registered												
United States												
White	66.6	67.9	65.6	67.7	70.1	67.9	69.6	68.4	68.3	73.4	75.4	NA
Black	65.3	64.4	63.6	63.5	63.9	64.5	66.3	60.0	58.5	65.5	66.2	NA
Difference	1.3	3.5	2.0	4.2	6.2	3.4	3.3	8.4	9.8	7.9	9.2	NA
South												
White	65.5	66.7	65.2	67.0	68.5	66.6	67.8	66.2	66.7	69.8	70.8	NA
Black	68.2	65.3	65.2	64.7	64.7	63.3	65.6	59.3	56.4	64.0	61.6	NA
Difference	-2.7	1.4	0.0	2.3	3.8	3.3	2.2	6.9	10.3	5.8	9.2	NA
Voted												
United States												
White	59.6	60.3	56.4	56.0	63.6	59.1	61.4	60.9	60.9	64.5	69.1	70.7
Black	60.7	56.3	53.5	50.6	54.0	51.5	55.8	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	58.5
Difference	-0.9	4.0	2.9	5.4	9.6	7.6	5.6	10.4	12.2	12.4	11.5	12.2
South												
White	54.9	57.6	54.2	53.4	60.8	56.4	58.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.5
Black	62.5	55.9	53.9	50.0	54.3	48.0	53.2	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	44.0
Difference	-7.6	1.7	0.3	3.4	6.5	8.4	4.9	9.2	11.4	9.2	10.3	15.5
Congressional Elections												
	2010	2006	2002	1998	1994	1990	1986	1982	1978	1974	1970	1966
Registered												
United States												
White	61.6	64.0	63.1	63.9	64.6	63.8	65.3	65.6	63.8	63.5	69.1	71.6
Black	58.7	57.4	58.5	60.2	58.5	58.8	64.0	59.1	57.1	54.9	60.8	60.2
Difference	2.9	6.6	4.6	3.7	6.1	5.0	1.3	6.5	6.7	8.6	8.3	11.4
South												
White	59.7	69.3	63.2	63.9	62.6	62.5	63.2	63.2	61.2	61.0	65.1	64.3
Black	58.2	63.2	59.8	61.5	58.8	59.0	64.6	56.9	56.2	55.5	57.5	52.9
Difference	1.5	6.1	3.4	2.4	3.8	3.5	-1.4	6.3	5.0	5.5	7.6	11.4
Voted												
United States												
White	43.4	45.8	44.1	43.3	47.3	46.7	47.0	49.9	47.3	46.3	56.0	57.0
Black	40.5	38.6	39.7	39.6	37.1	39.2	43.2	43.0	37.2	33.8	43.5	41.7
Difference	2.9	7.2	4.4	3.7	10.2	7.5	3.8	6.9	10.1	12.5	12.5	15.3
South												
White	39.2	45.4	42.9	39.2	43.0	43.5	43.5	42.9	41.1	37.4	46.4	45.1
Black	39.2	40.9	39.9	38.9	34.6	39.8	42.5	38.3	33.5	30.0	36.8	32.9
Difference	0.0	4.5	2.9	0.3	8.4	3.7	1.0	4.6	7.6	7.4	9.6	12.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey.

Note: Registration data were not collected in the 1964 Current Population Survey. Prior to 1972, data are for people 21 to 24 years of age with the exception of those aged 18 to 24 in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 to 24 in Alaska, and 20 to 24 in Hawaii.

TABLE 5
Black Delegates at Democratic National Conventions, 1932-2012

Election year	All delegates	Black delegates		Black alternates
	(N)	(N)	(%)	(N)
1932	1,154	0	0	10
1936	1,203	12	0.1	18
1940	1,094	7	0.6	18
1944	1,176	11	0.9	13
1948	1,234	17	1.3	N/A
1952	1,230	33	2.6	N/A
1956	1,372	24	1.7	21
1960	1,521	46	3.0	37
1964	2,316	65	2.8	55
1968	3,084	209	6.7	173
1972	3,103	452	14.6	N/A
1976	3,048	323	10.6	170
1980	3,331	481	14.4	297
1984	3,933	697	17.7	225
1988	4,162	962	23.1	271
1992	4,319	771	17.9	104
1996	4,320	908	21.0	108
2000	4,338	872	20.1	119
2004	4,330	871	20.1	105
2008	4,440	1,079	24.3	136
2012	5,527	1,452	26.3	93

Sources: The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and the Democratic National Committee

TABLE 6
Black Delegates at Democratic National Conventions by State, 2000-2012

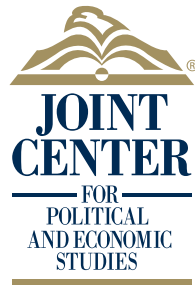
	2012			2008		2004		2000	
	All delegates	Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates	
	(N)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Alabama	69	47	68.1	37	61.7	39	62.9	40	63.5
Alaska	24	3	12.5	3	16.7	0	0	3	15.8
Arizona	79	11	13.9	2	3.0	2	3.1	2	3.6
Arkansas	55	21	38.2	13	27.7	14	29.8	9	19.1
California	610	120	19.7	76	17.2	68	15.4	69	15.9
Colorado	86	16	18.6	12	17.1	7	11.1	7	11.5
Connecticut	88	14	15.9	12	20.0	7	11.3	3	4.5
Delaware	33	10	30.3	7	30.4	6	26.1	5	22.7
District of Columbia	45	26	57.8	24	60.0	19	48.7	22	66.7
Florida	300	99	33.0	50	23.7	43	21.4	47	25.3
Georgia	124	83	66.9	60	58.8	45	44.6	38	41.3
Hawaii	35	2	5.7	1	3.4	1	3.4	1	3.0
Idaho	31	3	9.7	3	13.0	1	4.3	0	0
Illinois	215	58	27.0	48	25.9	47	25.3	50	26.3
Indiana	106	21	19.8	15	17.6	10	12.3	16	18.2
Iowa	65	10	15.4	6	10.5	4	7.0	6	10.5
Kansas	53	11	20.8	7	17.1	3	7.3	4	9.5
Kentucky	73	14	19.2	8	13.3	8	14.0	7	12.1
Louisiana	71	51	71.8	40	59.7	30	41.7	37	50.7
Maine	37	2	5.4	3	9.4	1	2.9	2	6.1
Maryland	123	52	42.3	34	34.0	29	29.3	32	33.7
Massachusetts	136	33	24.3	14	11.6	12	9.9	7	5.9
Michigan	203	65	32.0	52	33.1	53	34.2	47	29.9
Minnesota	107	23	21.5	21	23.9	12	14.0	9	9.9
Mississippi	45	33	73.3	28	68.3	25	61.0	24	50.0
Missouri	102	25	24.5	20	22.7	18	20.5	15	16.3
Montana	31	1	3.2	1	4.0	0	0	0	0
Nebraska	44	9	20.5	6	19.4	2	6.5	2	6.3

BLACKS & THE 2012 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

	2012			2008		2004		2000	
	All delegates	Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates	
	(N)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Nevada	44	11	25.0	9	26.5	4	12.5	2	6.9
New Hampshire	35	2	5.7	3	10.0	1	3.7	1	3.4
New Jersey	171	45	26.3	24	18.9	21	16.4	25	20.2
New Mexico	50	4	8.0	3	7.9	2	5.4	1	2.9
New York	384	56	14.6	90	31.9	76	26.8	69	23.5
North Carolina	158	79	50.0	49	36.6	34	31.8	32	31.1
North Dakota	27	2	7.4	1	4.8	1	4.5	1	4.5
Ohio	191	69	36.1	51	31.5	35	22.0	41	24.3
Oklahoma	50	13	26.0	10	20.8	2	4.3	4	7.7
Oregon	84	15	17.9	6	9.2	5	8.5	4	6.9
Pennsylvania	250	53	21.2	33	17.6	37	20.8	29	15.2
Rhode Island	40	2	5.0	0	0	1	3.1	3	9.1
South Carolina	62	27	43.5	27	50.0	25	45.5	19	36.5
South Dakota	29	1	3.4	1	4.3	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	91	31	34.1	23	27.1	23	27.1	22	27.2
Texas	287	88	30.7	66	29.1	52	22.4	52	22.5
Utah	34	1	2.9	2	6.9	0	0	1	3.4
Vermont	27	2	7.4	2	8.7	1	4.5	0	0
Virginia	123	38	30.9	30	29.7	13	13.4	31	32.6
Washington	121	17	14.0	19	19.6	7	7.4	10	10.6
West Virginia	47	4	8.5	3	7.7	0	0	2	4.8
Wisconsin	111	14	12.6	11	12.0	12	13.8	7	7.6
Wyoming	22	2	9.1	1	5.6	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Virgin Islands	13	10	76.9	11	91.7	11	91.7	11	91.7
Democrats Abroad	19	2	10.5	1	4.5	2	9.1	1	4.5
Total	5,551	1,452	26.2	1,079	24.3	871	20.1	872	20.1

Note: There is also one black delegate (of 12) from Guam.

Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies



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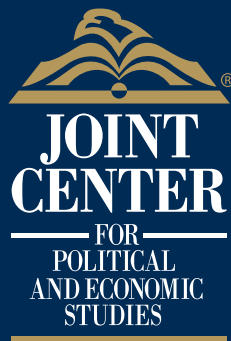
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