



IN ANTICIPATION OF NOVEMBER 2
BLACK VOTERS AND CANDIDATES AND
THE 2010 MIDTERM ELECTIONS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is widespread agreement that the Democrats – after major gains in 2006 and 2008 – are poised to lose a significant number of U.S. House and Senate seats in the 2010 election, largely because of high unemployment and a generally poor economy. It is also widely felt that the extent of those losses will have a major impact on the Obama administration's ability to pursue its goals through 2012.

The outcome is not as certain as many believe it to be. The extent of the Democrats' losses will depend on their ability to turn out their most loyal voters, and no voting bloc will be more important to them than African Americans. If they can mobilize a strong black turnout, the Democrats can significantly reduce their potential losses.

Much of the activity geared toward turning out voters occurs below the radar of the media, so it is difficult to know with certainty what black turnout will be in 2010. However, there are a number of elements to this calculus that should not be overlooked.

First, there are a significant number of black voters in the states and districts where many of the most competitive elections will be held. This is an important factor because greater resources and efforts are expended on competitive elections. The black population is not a nationally distributed one; rather, it is concentrated in less than half of states and in about one-quarter of the U.S. congressional districts in the country. There have been several midterm elections in the past 45 years (since the Voting Rights Act was passed) when there were few competitive elections in the states and districts where African Americans lived.

Historically, blacks have turned out to vote at lower rates than whites, and this was especially true for midterm elections – but that doesn't mean that African Americans as a rule won't turn out for midterm elections. Rather, given the geographic distribution of black voters as noted above, some of those elections with low black voter turnout simply reflected the lack of competitive elections where black voters could play an important role.

There were two midterm elections that are particularly instructive on this point. In 1986, two years after the Reverend Jesse Jackson demonstrated that a strong effort could greatly increase black participation in the electoral process, Operation Big Vote -- a program to register and mobilize black voters for the midterm elections that year -- resulted in a strong black turnout, and the Democrats regained a majority in the U.S. Senate. That gap between black and white turnouts in 1986 was only 3.8 percentage points nationally and only one percentage point in the southern states. In the previous two midterms, the black-white gap was 10.1 and 6.9 percentage points nationally, and 7.6 and 4.6 percentage points in the southern states.

Twelve years later, in 1998, black voters again turned out in strong numbers and had a major impact on the outcome of the midterm elections. That year, black voters were strategically placed relative to the competitive races, and they turned out in a strong showing of support for President Bill Clinton – then tremendously popular with African Americans – who at the time was under attack from congressional Republicans, who would impeach him the month following the election. The gap between white and black turnout that year decreased nationally to 3.7 percentage points (from 10.2 percentage points in 1994) and the gap in the southern states declined from 8.4 percentage points in 1994 to three-tenths of a percentage point. Due to that strong black turnout, 50 years of history was upended when the

president's party **won** five additional seats in the U.S. House in the sixth year of a presidential tenure. The outcome of the 1998 midterms, predicated in significant part by black votes, led to the failure of the Republican's attempt to remove the President from office, and eventually led to the ouster of Newt Gingrich as Speaker.

Intriguingly, there were 12 years between the two previous displays of black voting power in midterm elections, and 2010 is 12 years since the last instance. There are similarities between 2010 and the earlier elections. First, many of the most competitive elections are geographically situated where black voters are most concentrated, as was the case in 1986 and 1998.

Second, there is a president who is very popular with African Americans and who is under attack from congressional Republicans. If anything, President Obama in 2010 is more popular with African Americans than was President Clinton in 1998. Late in 2009, the Joint Center conducted polls of African Americans in four competitive states and President Obama's job approval (about 80 percent) and favorable rating (95 percent) were exceptionally high. A Joint Center survey at a comparable time before the 1998 midterms found President Clinton's job approval at 61 percent among black voters, and favorable rating at 89 percent.

Finally, African Americans are well-positioned to vote. The 2008 presidential election was the first in which black turnout exceeded white turnout. Further, because there are so many competitive elections this year in places where black voters could significantly affect the outcomes, there will certainly be a major effort aimed at mobilizing them to vote. Since African Americans are overwhelmingly Democratic in their partisanship, it will be the Democrats--and of course President Obama--who will be determined to boost black turnout. DNC chairman, Tim Kaine, has said that Democrats are strongly committed to a vigorous "ground game" in this election and announced that two million dollars (much more than ever before) has been allocated by the DNC for mobilizing efforts aimed at black voters. In the states and districts where there are competitive elections, state and local Democratic parties, as well as individual campaigns will also be expending effort and resources to mobilize black voters. President Obama's 'Organize for America' will undoubtedly be doing the same.

The Geography of 2010

There are 20 competitive U.S. House elections where black voters could potentially decide the outcome [Table 1]. Most of these districts are in southern states (15) and only three are held by Republicans. If the Democrats retain half of these seats, it would be difficult for the GOP to gain the 40 seats necessary to regain the majority in the U.S. House. Further, there are two GOP held seats in districts where black voters are a substantial bloc (DE-*al* and LA-2 in New Orleans) and every Democratic pickup will make the GOP's goal of 40 more difficult to attain.

There are 14 competitive U.S. Senate races in 2010 where the black vote could have a major impact [Table 2]. Only four of these contests are in southern states, and eight of the states are currently held by Democrats, while four of the Republican held seats are open seat contests. As with the U.S. House contests identified above, if the Democrats win half of these seats, they most assuredly will maintain majority control in the U.S. Senate.

There are also 14 competitive elections for governor in 2010 where black voters can have a significant impact on the outcome [Table 3]. Currently, these seats are equally split between the Democrats and Republicans, and three of these contests are in southern states. Deval Patrick, one of only two black governors in the country, is among the 14.

Black Candidates in the 2010 Midterms

Statewide Candidates

There are 15 African Americans running for statewide elective office, all but one of whom are Democrats, and four who are incumbents [Table 4]. There are three black candidates running for the U.S. Senate, none of whom is expected to win. There is one (incumbent) black candidate running for governor, Deval Patrick; Patrick is in a tough 3-way race, but definitely a winnable one. There are three black candidates for Lieutenant governor, Anthony Brown (MD) who is the incumbent and favored to win, Jennifer Carroll (R-FL) who is running with Rick Scott in a toss-up race, and Yvette McGee Brown, who is running with Ted Strickland in Ohio in a race also rated as a toss-up; no black Democrat has ever been elected to statewide office in Ohio. Kamala Harris is the first black women nominated by a major party to statewide office in California. She is running to succeed Jerry Brown as Attorney General, and has a good chance to be elected.

Federal Candidates

The 61 black major party federal nominees in 2010 are similar in number to recent election years [Table 5]. There are 58 candidates seeking U.S. House seats and three seeking U.S. Senate seats. The number of black Democratic nominees is at an all time high (48), while the 13 black Republican nominees number slightly more than half their record number (24) which was set in 1994 and 2000. There are 37 black incumbents seeking re-election – all Democrats.

There are two interesting developments with respect to black candidates in the 2010 midterm elections. Dating back to when the Joint Center began tracking black major party nominees for federal office in 1990, there is a record low (3) number of black major party nominees running unopposed; the previous low was four, and in the last three federal election cycles, the average was 16 black candidates running unopposed. Even more noteworthy, two of the black nominees running unopposed are not incumbents, and thus, only one black incumbent member of the U.S. House is running with no major party opposition (Rush IL-1).

Since the number of black Republican nominees is relatively small, this decline in the number of black candidates running unopposed is accounted for in large measure by the record number (42) of federal elections where black candidates are paired against white opponents; the number of black-white pairings in 2010 is 20 percent greater than the previous record of 35 (2002).

There will be several new members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) in the 112th Congress [Table 6]. Terri Sewell will replace Artur Davis in AL-7 and become the first black woman from Alabama to serve in the federal legislature. In California, Karen Bass, former Speaker of the California General Assembly, will replace Diane Watson in CA-33. Frederica Wilson, one of only three black candidates running unopposed, will replace Kendrick Meek in FL-17. In MI-13, Hansen Clarke will be replacing Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick, who he defeated in the Democratic primary. Tim Scott (SC-1) will become the second black U.S. Representative from South Carolina – and the first black Republican

member of congress since J.C. Watts departed in January 2003; Scott is running unopposed. It is unclear whether Scott will become a member of the CBC; only one (Gary Franks) of the two black Republicans to serve in the U.S. House over the past 20 years joined the CBC (J.C. Watts did not).

There are four additional black major party nominees for the U.S. House who may be elected to office; two have a very real chance to emerge victorious and two who have to be considered long shots. First, Cedrick Richmond (D) must be considered a slight favorite to win the New Orleans based U.S. House seat (LA-2). Second, Dan Seals (D) is in a toss-up race in IL-10. While he lost two previous runs for this seat running against the incumbent, who is the Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate in Illinois, both races were decided by very close margins, and this year he is running against a newcomer. Joyce Elliot (D AR-2) and Allen West (R FL-22) are both underdogs, but either, under the right circumstances might eke out a victory. Elliot is the first black major party nominee for the U.S. House in Arkansas. While the district in which she is running is currently represented by a Democrat, given the generally unfavorable environment for Democrats in 2010, she is definitely in an uphill battle; John McCain won the district by 10 points over President Obama. West lost in 2008 to the current Democratic incumbent by almost 10 points, and President Obama narrowly won in the district.

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TABLES 1 - 6

Table 1. Election statistics, Competitive 2010 U.S. House Races in Districts with 10 percent or Greater Black Voting-Age Population

District	Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	Incumbent Vote 2008 (%)	2008 Presidential Performance Index
Alabama 2	27.1	Bright	50.2	R+16
Arkansas 1	14.5	Berry [OPEN]	Unopposed	R+8
Arkansas 2	17.4	Snyder [OPEN]	76.5	R+5
Delaware <i>AL</i>	19.6	Castle [OPEN]	61.1	D+7
Florida 2	21.0	Boyd	61.9	R+6
Georgia 8	30.0	Marshall	57.2	R+10
Louisiana 2	60.0	Cao	49.1	D+25
Louisiana 3	22.3	Melancon [OPEN]	Unopposed	R+12
Maryland 1	10.8	Kratovil	49.1	R+13
Mississippi 1	23.7	Childers	54.5	R+14
North Carolina 8	24.5	Kissell	55.4	R+2
Ohio 1	24.7	Dreihaus	52.2	D+1
Ohio 12	20.0	Tiberi	54.8	D+1
Ohio 13	11.1	Sutton	64.7	D+5
South Carolina 5	30.0	Spratt	61.6	R+7
Tennessee 8	20.0	Tanner	Unopposed	R+6
Texas	10.0	Edwards	53.0	R+20
Virginia 2	19.8	Nye	52.4	R+5
Virginia 5	22.6	Perrielo	50.1	R+5
Virginia 11	9.6	Connolly	54.7	D+2

Key: Republican incumbents' names in boldface. 2008 Presidential Performance Index indicates how much better the presidential nominee did in the district relative to the national average. The Black Voting-Age Population figures are from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Factfinder, 110th Congressional Districts Summary file.

Table 2. Election Statistics, Competitive 2010 U.S. Senate Elections, States with Significant Black Voting-Age Population

Statewide Turnout		State	Black Turnout		Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	2008 Presidential Vote Differential
2006 (%)	2008 (%)		2006 (%)	2008 (%)			
45.4	53.8	Arkansas	34.7	44.5	14.8	Lincoln	-19.9
47.5	63.4	California	38.4	65.1	6.9	Boxer	24.0
54.3	68.4	Colorado	26.1	57.6	4.3	Bennett	9.0
45.6	67.3	Delaware	46.9	65.0	19.6	Kauffman [Open]	25.0
44.2	63.8	Florida	38.7	58.5	14.7	LeMieux [Open]	2.8
47.3	62.6	Illinois	47.6	62.3	13.8	Burris [Open]	25.1
44.3	58.8	Indiana	36.9	60.9	8.1	Bayh [Open]	1.0
49.4	63.1	Kentucky	45.6	65.6	6.8	Bunning [Open]	-16.2
40.0	70.3	Louisiana	36.3	66.6	30.6	Vitter	-18.6
54.0	65.8	Missouri	46.4	74.0	10.4	Bond [Open]	-0.1
42.8	59.9	Nevada	30.8	75.6	8.3	Reid	12.4
37.3	67.5	North Carolina	31.8	68.3	20.1	Burr	0.2
53.0	65.5	Ohio	45.0	70.0	11.4	Voinovich [Open]	1.5
47.6	62.4	Pennsylvania	35.3	64.8	9.6	Specter [Open]	10.3

Key: Republican incumbents' names in boldface. The Senate contests identified are rate as either toss-ups or lean Democratic/Republican according to the Cook Political Report. The Black Voting-Age Population is from the U.S. Census Current Population Survey, November, 2008. The 2008 Presidential Vote Differential figures represent President Obama's margin of victory (+) or loss (-) in each state.

Table 3. Election Statistics, Competitive 2010 Gubernatorial Elections, States with Significant Black Voting-Age Population

Statewide Turnout		State	Black Turnout		Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	2008 Presidential Vote Differential
2006 (%)	2008 (%)		2006 (%)	2008 (%)			
49.7	62.4	Alabama	47.5	62.9	25.5	Riley [Open]	-24.6
47.5	63.4	California	38.4	65.1	6.9	Schwarzenegger [Open]	24.0
49.7	67.2	Connecticut	35.3	54.4	9.7	Rell [Open]	22.4
44.2	63.8	Florida	38.7	58.5	14.7	Crist [Open]	2.8
43.9	62.4	Georgia	40.7	68.1	29.2	Perdue [Open]	-5.2
47.3	62.6	Illinois	47.6	62.3	13.8	Quinn	25.1
56.4	68.3	Maryland	53.1	73.8	27.9	O'Malley	25.0
55.4	67.1	Massachusetts	47.3	64.1	6.5	Patrick	25.8
57.1	67.8	Michigan	57.2	70.8	13.2	Granholm [Open]	16.4
42.8	59.9	Nevada	30.8	75.6	8.3	Gibbons	12.4
53.0	65.5	Ohio	45.0	70.0	11.4	Strickland	1.5
46.2	58.7	Oklahoma	37.0	62.7	7.9	Henry [Open]	-31.1
47.6	65.5	Pennsylvania	35.3	64.8	9.6	Rendell [Open]	10.3
38.4	56.1	Texas	36.6	65.6	11.6	Perry	-11.8

Key: Republican incumbents' names in boldface. The Gubernatorial contests identified are rate as either toss-ups or lean Democratic/Republican according to the Cook Political Report. The Black Voting-Age Population is from the U.S. Census Current Population Survey, November, 2008. The 2008 Presidential Vote Differential figures represent President Obama's margin of victory (+) or loss (-) in each state.

Table 4. Black Major Party Nominees for Statewide Office, 2010

State	BVAP (%)	Office	Black Nominee(s)
AL	25.5	State Auditor	Miranda Joseph (D)
CA	6.9	Attorney General	Kamala Harris (D)
CT	9.7	Treasurer	(x) Denise Nappier (D)
DE	19.6	Treasurer	Chip Flowers (D)
FL	14.7	U.S. Senator Lieutenant Governor ¹	Kendrick Meek (D) Jennifer Carroll (R)
GA	29.2	U.S. Senator Secretary of State	Michael Thurmond (D) Georganna Sinkfield (D)
IL	13.8	Secretary of State	(x) Jesse White (D)
IN	8.1	Secretary of State	Vop Osili (D)
MD	28.6	Lieutenant Governor ¹	(x) Anthony Brown (D)
MA	6.5	Governor	(x) Deval Patrick (D)
OH	11.4	Lieutenant Governor ¹ Treasurer	Yvette McGee Brown (D) Kevin Boyce (D)
SC	26.0	U.S. Senator	Alvin Greene(D)

(x) Incumbent 1. Governor and Lieutenant Governor run together on the same ticket.

Table 5. Statistical Profile of Black Major Party Nominees for Federal Office, 2006-2010

	Democrats			Republicans			Total		
	2006 N %	2008 N %	2010 N %	2006 N %	2008 N %	2010 N %	2006 N %	2008 N %	2010 N %
<i>Total</i>	48 100	47 100	48 100	10 100	10 100	13 100	58 100	57 100	61 100
<i>Incumbents</i>	39 81	41 87	37 77	0 0	0 0	0 0	39 67	41 72	37 61
<i>Challenger Open Seat</i>	9 19	6 13	11 23	10 100	10 100	13 100	19 33	16 28	24 39
<i>Women</i>	17 35	16 34	17 35	4 40	2 20	2 15	21 36	18 32	19 31
<i>Men</i>	31 65	31 66	31 65	6 60	8 80	11 85	37 64	39 68	42 69
<i>Majority-Minority District</i>	37 77	30 64	32 67	3 30	4 40	8 62	40 69	34 60	40 66
<i>Majority-White District</i>	11 23	17 36	16 33	7 70	6 60	5 38	18 31	23 40	21 34
<i>White Opposition</i>	23 48	25 53	37 77	4 40	3 30	5 38	27 47	28 49	42 69
<i>Black Opposition</i>	8 17	7 15	11 19	6 60	7 70	7 54	14 24	14 25	16 26
<i>Unopposed*</i>	17 35	15 32	2 4	0 0	0 0	1 8	17 29	15 26	3 5
<i>House Candidates</i>	46 96	45 96	45 94	9 90	10 100	13 100	55 95	55 96	58 95
<i>Senate Candidates</i>	2 4	2 4	3 6	1 10	0 0	0 0	3 5	2 4	3 5

* Unopposed or no major party opposition in general election.

Table 6. Black Major Party Nominees for Federal Office, November 2010

U.S. House of Representatives

District	BVAP (%)	Democrat	Dem Vote (%)	Rep Vote (%)	Republican
AL 7	57.8	Terri Sewell			<u>Carol Chamberlain</u>
AR 2	17.4	Joyce Elliot			<u>Tim Griffin</u>
CA 9	24.5	Barbara LeeI			<u>Gerald Hashimoto</u>
CA 33	29.6	Karen Bass			<u>James Andion</u>
CA 35	35.0	Maxine WatersI			<u>K. Bruce Borwn</u>
CA 37	24.7	Laura RichardsonI			Star Parker
CO 7	5.4	<u>Ed PerlmutterI</u>			Ryan Frazier
D.C.	55.7	Eleanor Holmes NortonI			<u>Marjorie Reilly Smith</u>
FL 3	45.1	Corrine BrownI			<u>Michael Yost</u>
FL 17	51.3	Frederica Wilson			Unopposed
FL 22	24.6	<u>Ron KleinI</u>			Allen West
FL 23	46.2	Alcee HastingsI			<u>Bernard Sansaricq</u>
GA 2	40.9	Sanford BishopI			<u>Mike Keown</u>
GA 4	48.8	Hank JohnsonI			<u>Lisbeth Carter</u>
GA 5	51.0	John LewisI			<u>Fenn Little</u>
GA 13	37.3	David ScottI			<u>Mike Crane</u>
IL 1	63.2	Bobby RushI			Unopposed
IL 2	59.4	Jesse Jackson, Jr.I			Isaac Hayes
IL 7	55.9	Danny K. DavisI			<u>Mark Weiman</u>
IL 10	6.7	Dan Seals			<u>Bob Dold</u>
IN 7	26.7	Andre CarsonI			Marvin Scott
LA 2	59.3	Cedrick RichmondI			<u>Anh "Ioseph" CaoI</u>
MD 4	55.3	Donna EdwardsI			Robert Broadus
MD 7	57.0	Elijah CummingsI			<u>Frank Mirabile</u>
MI 13	57.9	Hansen Clarke			<u>John Hauler</u>
MI 14	58.9	John ConyersI			<u>Don Ukrainec</u>
MN 5	10.2	Keith EllisonI (DFL)			<u>Joel Demos</u>
MS 2	58.9	Bennie ThompsonI			Bill Marcy
MO 1	45.8	William Clay, Jr.I			<u>Robyn Hamlin</u>
MO 5	21.8	Emanuel CleaverI			<u>Jacob Turk</u>

Table 6. Black Major Party Nominees for Federal Office, November 2010

U.S. House of Representatives

District	BVAP (%)	Democrat	Dem Vote (%)	Rep Vote (%)	Republican
NJ 10	54.3	Donald PayneI			<u>Michael Alonzo</u>
NY 6	51.1	Gregory MeeksI			<u>Asher Taub</u>
NY 10	60.0	Edolphus TownsI			<u>Diana Muniz</u>
NY 11	56.8	Yvette ClarkeI			<u>Hugh Carr</u>
NY 15	30.5	Charles RangelI			Michel Faulkner
NC 1	47.6	George K. Butterfield, Jr.I			<u>Ashley Woolard</u>
NC 12	41.9	Mel WattI			<u>Scott Cumbie</u>
NC 13	25.2	<u>Brad Miller</u>			Bill Randall
OH 11	51.6	Marcia FudgeI			<u>Matt Brakey</u>
PA 2	56.5	Chaka FattahI			<u>Rick Hellberg</u>
SC 1	18.6	Unopposed			Tim Scott
SC 6	53.5	James ClyburnI			<u>Jim Pratt</u>
TN 9	55.1	<u>Steve CohenI</u>			Charlotte Bergmann
TX 9	36.5	Al GreenI			<u>Steve Mueller</u>
TX 18	40.3	Sheila J. LeeI			<u>John Faulk</u>
TX 22	9.1	Kesha Rogers			<u>Pete Olson</u>
TX 30	41.0	Eddie B. JohnsonI			Stephen Broden
VA 3	52.7	Robert ScottI			Chuck Smith
V.I.	61.4	Donna ChristensenI			n/a
WI-4	27.8	Gwen MooreI			<u>Dan Sebring</u>

U.S. Senate

State	Black VAP (%)	Democrat	Independent	Republican
Florida	14.7	Kendrick Meek	<u>Charles Crist</u>	<u>Marco Rubio</u>
Georgia	29.2	Michael Thurmond	n/a	<u>Johnny IsaacsonI</u>
South Carolina	26.0	Alvin Greene	n/a	<u>Jim DeMintI</u>

KEY: Non-African American candidates' names are underlined; I incumbent Unopposed=no major party opposition

ABOUT THE JOINT CENTER

The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is one of the nation's leading research and public policy institutions and the only one whose work focuses primarily on issues of concern to African Americans and other people of color. For nearly 40 years, our research and policy analysis have informed and influenced public opinion and national policy, while contributing to a wider understanding of the role of black civic and political participation in making America a better place for all its citizens.

Ralph B. Everett, Esq., President and Chief Executive Officer

Ralph B. Everett is the president and CEO of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, one of the nation's leading research and public policy institutions and the only one whose work focuses primarily on issues of particular concern to African Americans and other people of color. Prior to this position, he spent 18 years as a specialist in telecommunications and transportation policy at the law firm of Paul, Hastings, Janofsky & Walker LLP, where he became its first African American partner. He had previously worked in the U.S. Senate for more than a decade, including serving as staff director and chief counsel of the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation. He is currently on the boards of Cumulus Media Inc., Connected Nation, the Federal Communications Commission's Advisory Committee on Diversity for Communications in the Digital Age, the National Coalition on Black Civic Participation, Independent Sector, and the Black Leadership Forum. In 1998, President Clinton appointed Mr. Everett as U.S. Ambassador to the International Telecommunications Union's Plenipotentiary Conference. That year, he was also chosen to lead the U.S. Delegation to the Second World Telecommunication Development Conference in Malta, joining participants from more than 190 nations. Mr. Everett was also a team lead for the Obama-Biden Transition Project Agency Review Working Group responsible for overseeing the U.S. Department of Commerce. His past service includes being a member of the boards of the National Urban League, the Center for National Policy, and the President's Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Mr. Everett is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Morehouse College and has a J.D. from Duke University Law School.

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Dr. David A. Bositis is the senior political analyst at the Joint Center and is the author, co-author or editor of six books, thirteen monographs, and numerous scholarly articles, analyses, and reports, most recently "Blacks and the 2008 Democratic National Convention," "Blacks and 2008 Republican National Convention," "The Impact of the Core Voting Rights Act on Voting and Office-holding" in *The Voting Rights Act* (CQ Press), edited by Richard Valelly, and "Black Political Power in the New Century" in *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century* (Rowman and Littlefield), edited by Robert Bullard. Prior to working at the Joint Center, he taught political science and sociology at the George Washington University and at SUNY-Potsdam.

Since 1992, Dr. Bositis has designed and managed 26 national surveys for the Joint Center, which have included over 29,000 respondents. These surveys include studies done for the U.S. Army, HBO, Pfizer, Fortune, AARP, and other U.S. corporations. These surveys have included national surveys of the African American and Hispanic populations and the general population, as well as specialized national surveys of black elected officials, young adults, black churches, minority-owned businesses, black professionals, and social workers. The most recent publications from these surveys are "The Joint Center National Survey of African Americans on Global Warming," "The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies 2007 National Survey of Likely Black Presidential Primary Voters," and "Black Churches and the Faith-Based Initiative."

Dr. Bositis is a voting rights and redistricting expert, who has published widely in this area, and has appeared as an expert witness in both state and federal court. Dr. Bositis worked with the late Judge A. Leon Higginbotham Jr. in defending majority-minority districts following the U.S. Supreme Court's *Shaw v. Reno* decision. Dr. Bositis' research was cited by Justice Stevens in the *Bush v. Vera* case. Dr. Bositis is a graduate of Northwestern University and received a M.A., Ph.D. from Southern Illinois University.