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BLACKS & THE 2008 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

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"I Have A Dream..."

MARTIN LUTHER KING 1963

*"And That Hour is
Almost Upon Us."*

SENATOR BARACK OBAMA 2008

BLACKS & THE 2008 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

DAVID A. BOSITIS

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES
WASHINGTON, DC



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BLACKS AND THE 2008 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

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FOREWORD

The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies (Joint Center) is pleased to publish the 2008 edition of its quadrennial publication, Blacks and the 2008 Democratic National Convention.

The 2008 election is a monumental year for African Americans, the Democratic Party, and the United States. For the first time in United States history, an African American will be the Democratic Party's nominee for President of the United States. The Joint Center is pleased to offer a guide to convention participants that will assist them in carrying out their responsibilities to themselves and to the party.

The analysis was completed by the Joint Center's Senior Research Associate David A. Bositis, Ph.D. and examines the impact African Americans are likely to have in the November elections, with special attention to black trends in partisanship, public opinion, and voting behavior.

Blacks and the 2008 Democratic National Convention is intended to assist African American convention participants and to inform political analysts and partisan activities. The Joint Center has prepared similar volumes for both the Republican and Democratic conventions since 1972.

Also included as a special insert to the convention guide is a comparison summary of both the Republican and Democratic Presidential candidates' positions on expanding health coverage, reforming health care, and addressing health disparities. This special report was developed under the direction of Gina E. Wood, Deputy Director of the Joint Center's Health Policy Institute and authored by Dennis P. Andrulis, Ph.D., MPH, Associate Dean of Research and Director of the Center for Health Equality, Drexel University School of Public Health and his associates David Barton Smith, Ph.D., Lisa Duchon, Ph.D., and Nadia Siddiqui, MPH.

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

INTRODUCTION

The 2008 Democratic National Convention represents a historic occasion for both African Americans and black politics. For the first time in United States history, an African American will be the Democratic Party's nominee for President of the United States. When U.S. Senator Barack Obama accepts the party's nomination on August 28, 2008—45 years after the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his 'I Have a Dream' speech on the National Mall in Washington, D.C.—he will become the first black major party nominee for president. Senator Obama's nomination will also occur 44 years after Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party testified before the 1964 Democratic Convention's Credential Committee, an event that contributed greatly to subsequent reforms of Democratic Party rules that are responsible for the multiracial, multiethnic, and gender-inclusive nature of the party today.

The larger narrative of 2008 is not only that the Democratic Party has changed, but that the United States has changed as well. Senator Obama's nomination is especially momentous not just because of his historic nomination, but more so because he is the favorite to become the forty-fourth president of the United States.

The presidential election on November 4, 2008 is likely to be quite different from the Bush-Kerry election in 2004. The political climate in 2008 is greatly changed from 2004: the Democratic control of the U.S. Congress in 2006, the national dissatisfaction with President Bush, the economy, energy prices, the war in Iraq, and the general direction of the country. Demographic and political changes, along with the Obama campaign's grassroots and internet organizing, are likely to change the electoral map, as Iowa, Ohio, several states in the American west, Indiana, and the Commonwealth of Virginia are trending from red to blue.

The present contours of the 2008 electoral map suggest Senator Obama is likely to win all of the states Senator Kerry carried in 2004—251 electoral votes out of 270 needed for victory. Among the 2004 Bush states, Senator Obama is solidly favored in Iowa (7 electoral votes) and New Mexico (5), and favored in Ohio (20) and Colorado (9), which would give Obama 292 electoral votes and the presidency. In addition to these five states, Obama is solidly competitive in several

additional 2004 Bush states, including: Florida (27), Virginia (13), Indiana (11), Missouri (11), Nevada (5), the Dakotas (6), and Montana (3).

The size of the black turnout and the direction of black votes will be integral in the determination of the new President of the United States. Several of the states that President Bush won in 2004, including Indiana, Ohio, and Virginia, now appear to be favorable opportunities for Senator Obama since they have significant black populations. The black vote is also important in a few of the more competitive states Kerry won in 2004, such as Michigan and Pennsylvania. One of the keys to a Democratic victory in 2008 is a strong black turnout, and judging by black participation in 2008 Democratic presidential primaries, the Democrats' prospects look exceptionally good, as black turnout increased by 115 percent.

African American voters have not given much support to Republican presidential candidates since 1960, and George W. Bush received only 11 percent of the black vote in 2004. The Republican nominee, Arizona Senator John McCain is very likely to receive a historically low share of the black vote—lower even than the last Arizona Presidential nominee, Senator Barry Goldwater, who received only six percent of the black vote against Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964. McCain's likely poor performance among black voters is not attributable to his own political career; he has largely been a stranger to African Americans, coming from a state with a minimal black population. Rather, his lack of support will be a reflection of Senator Obama's historical candidacy, the deep and genuine enthusiasm for him in the black community, and McCain's association with President Bush, an exceptionally unpopular figure among African Americans.

As a historical aside, the new president will be a U.S. Senator, the first since John F. Kennedy in 1960. The last presidential nominee from Illinois, Senator Obama's home state, was Adlai Stevenson in 1956. Stevenson, a liberal icon of that time, lost badly to President Eisenhower. Stevenson carried only seven states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, and North and South Carolina. Needless to say, that election was before the time the Republican Party developed a southern strategy.

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 to pursue their public policy interests. The rosters of black delegates, alternates, and other major black Democratic figures associated with the Democratic Party and the 2008 National Convention, which will be posted on the Joint Center's Web site (jointcenter.org), should help African Americans participate more effectively in party affairs as well as in the forthcoming election.

At the 2008 Democratic National Convention in Denver, there are 208 more black delegates than in 2004 at the party's convention in Boston. The number of delegates is 1,079 this year, 24.3 percent of the total delegates, and 23.9 percent more than four years ago (20.1 percent) (Tables 8 and 9). The number of black delegates and the percentage of the total number of delegates in 2008 both surpassed previous records.

Other salient facts:

- Black delegates this year make up 24.3 percent of the delegate total. This compares with 20.1 percent of the total in 2000 and 2004.
- Black alternates this year number 136, up from 105 in 2004 and 119 in 2000.
- Of the black delegates this year, 485 are men (44.9 percent) and 594 are women (55.1 percent).
- There are 41 states with more black delegates than in 2004, five states with fewer, and seven states whose totals are unchanged. While all of decreases are minor, several of the states witnessed major gains. Virginia's total increased by 17 (58.1 percent), Ohio's by 16 (45.7 percent), Georgia (33.3 percent), North Carolina's by 15 (44.1 percent), Texas (26.9 percent) and New York's (18.4 percent) by 14, Louisiana's by 10 (33.3 percent), Massachusetts' (75 percent) by nine, and Colorado (71.4 percent), Connecticut (71.4 percent, and Indiana (50 percent) by five.
- Only two states this year have no black delegates compared to six states in 2004.

- The state delegations with the largest percentage of African Americans in their make-up are Mississippi, with 68.3 percent, followed by Alabama (61.7 percent), Louisiana (59.7 percent), Georgia (58.8 percent), and South 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, Senator Barack Obama, African Americans playing key roles are Atlanta Mayor Shirley Franklin, Co-Chair of the Convention; Massachusetts' Governor Deval Patrick, Co-Chair of the Platform Committee; Alexis Herman, Co-Chair of the Credentials' Committee, and Democratic National Committee Vice-Chair Lottie Shackelford. Leah D. Daughtry is the CEO of the 2008 DNC Committee.
- Membership on the Platform Committee includes 38 African Americans (20.4 percent of the total). There are also 38 African Americans on the Credentials' Committee (20.4 percent) and 30 on the Rules' Committee (16.1 percent).

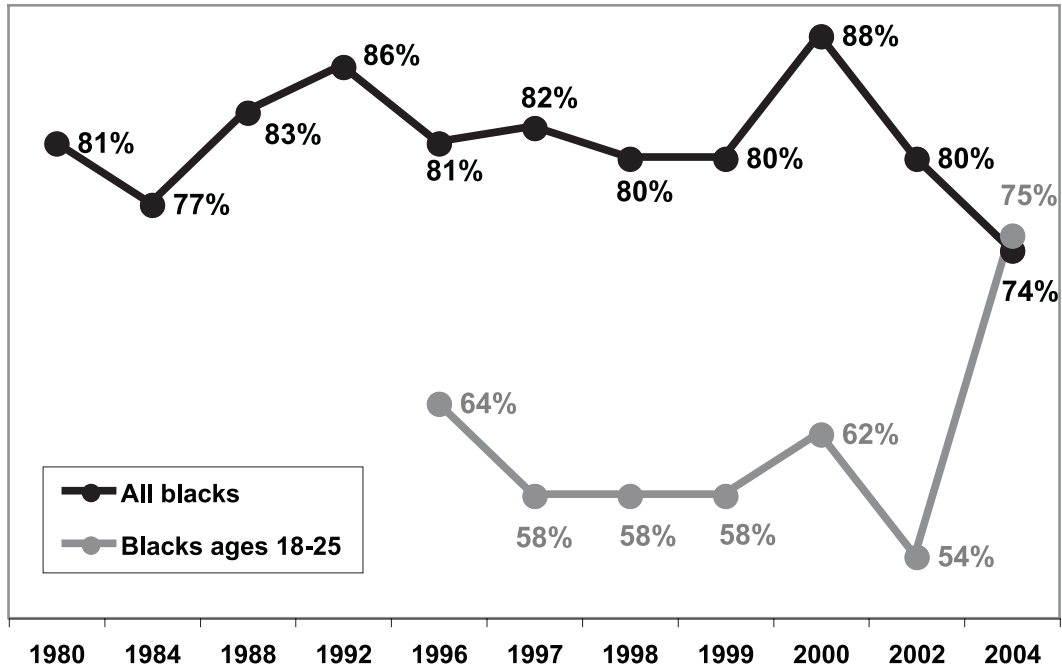
Partisanship and Voting

How African Americans vote and, more importantly, in what numbers and where, will be of great interest to the Democratic Party in 2008. 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, about 80 ± 10 percent of African Americans have identified themselves as Democrats (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

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



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 B. Johnson and the Democratic Party for the landmark civil and voting rights legislation of the mid-1960s and the party’s 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 western

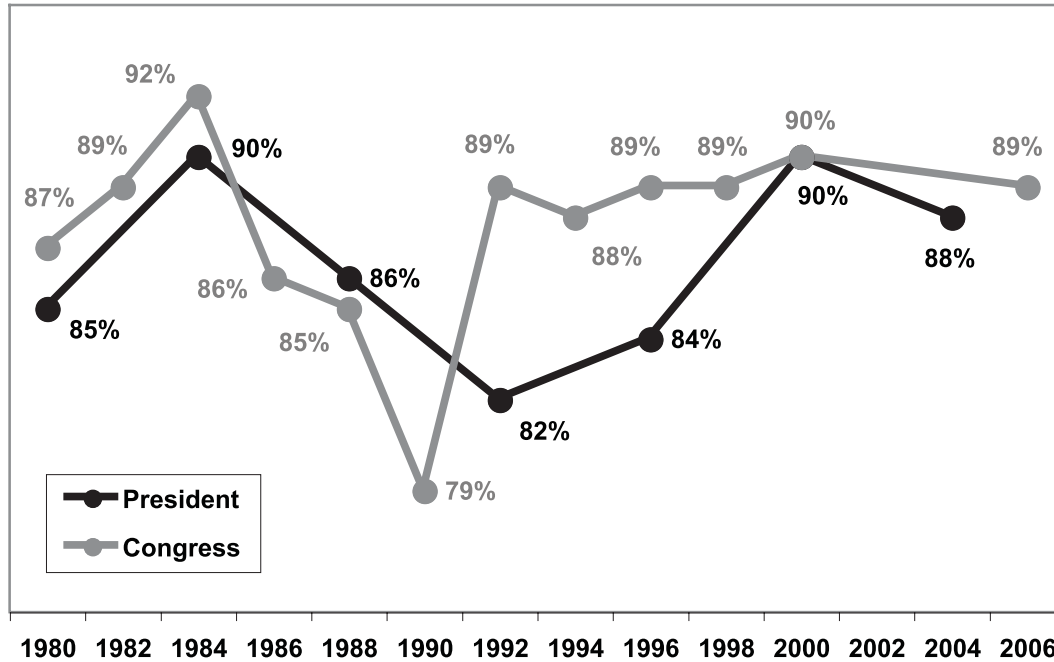
party. This evolution has profoundly affected the relationship between African Americans and the GOP.

Young Black Voters

While the 74 percent of African Americans who identify with the Democratic Party in the Joint Center’s 2004 National Opinion Poll is down from the recent high point (2000), there is ample reason for the Democrats to feel confident about their black support (especially with Senator Barack Obama as their 2008 presidential nominee), because the previous decline in support from young African Americans has been reversed. The 74 percent of African Americans who identify with the Democratic Party consist of 63 percent who clearly identify with the party, and 11 percent who are political independents who “lean” more to the Democratic Party than to the GOP.

Prior to 2004, declines in black Democratic identification had been driven by younger, i.e., under 35 year old, African Americans. In Joint Center national opinion polls conducted prior to 2004, only 50 to 60 percent of 18-to-25-year-old African

FIGURE 2
Democrats' Share of Black Vote for President and Congress, 1980-2006



Americans identified with the Democratic Party (Figure 2). However, since the Bush Administration launched the Iraq war, younger African Americans have moved decisively leftward, with 75 percent identifying with the Democrats in 2004. In the 2004 election, 18-29 year-olds were the only age cohort where Kerry defeated Bush.

In Joint Center surveys over the last eight years, black identification with the Republican party has been remarkably stable at 10 ± 5 percent with a low point 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 2004, the black Democratic presidential vote declined from 90 to 88 percent, which does not represent a statistically significant change (Figure 3). This suggests that the relationship between the Democratic Party and African Americans remained on very solid footing during those years. The black Democratic

vote since 1964 has remained in the range of 90 ± 5 percent, except when H. Ross Perot ran as a third-party candidate. With Senator Barack Obama at the top of the Democratic ticket this fall, black support is likely to increase from these already high levels.

The prospects for an increase in the black Republican vote in 2008 are nonexistent. While black public opinion is neither as liberal nor as uniform as observers in the press, politics, and academia have thought, the poor economy, high gas prices, Bush's unpopularity, and the war in Iraq—coupled with Obama's popularity—suggest a possible 50 percent decline in black Republican support. The unpopularity of President Bush, has, if anything, strengthened support for the Democrats, especially when juxtaposed with the popularity of the Clinton administration. In the 2000 Joint Center survey, President Clinton's job approval rating among African Americans was 83 percent excellent or good. In the Joint Center's 2004 survey, only 22 percent gave Bush excellent or good job approval ratings (Figure 3). Worse yet for the Republicans, the President's approval ratings have been in constant decline since 2004.

The Significance of the Black Vote for the Democratic Party

The significance of the black vote for the Democratic Party cannot be overestimated. In 2004, according to the exit polls, the black contribution to Kerry’s vote was 22.1 percent, up from 18.9 percent of the Gore’s total in 2000. This means that approximately one in 4.5 Kerry voters in 2004 were African Americans.

Black voters represented a key bloc in many of the states Kerry either won or came close to winning in 2004 (Table 2). These states include most of the key battleground states for 2004: Florida, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. In Florida, 22 percent of Kerry’s votes were cast by African Americans, as were 23 percent in Michigan, 17 percent in Ohio, and 21 percent in Pennsylvania.

The 2008 Democratic Presidential Primaries

In 2008, for the first time, a coalition of African Americans and whites with higher levels of education and income collaborated to select the Democratic nominee over the preferences of the white working class Democrats. In past Democratic presidential primaries, black voters and working class whites usually coalesced around the same candidate.

The 2008 Democratic Presidential primaries provided two important signals regarding the state of the black vote in 2008. First, black turnout in the primaries skyrocketed, increasing approximately 115 percent.

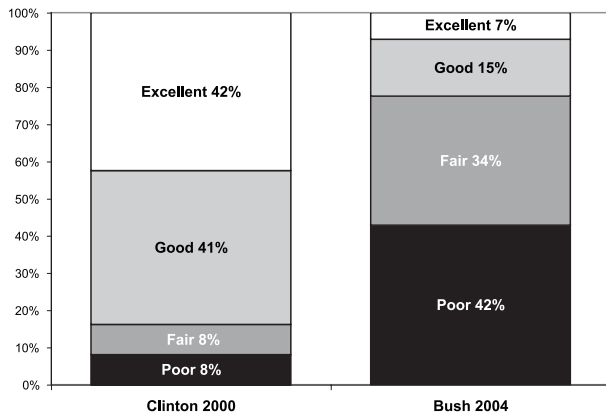
With Obama as the Democratic nominee, and the record setting black turnout in the primaries, the potential for a high, almost certainly record setting, level of black mobilization in the 2008 Presidential election is assured. Black voter turnout in South Carolina, the first primary in a state with a significant number of black voters, increased by 158 percent from four years earlier. In Georgia, another early primary, black turnout increased by 247 percent. In Mississippi the increase was 165 percent, and in Louisiana, even after Hurricane Katrina, turnout more than doubled.

The second important signal from the 2004 Democratic primaries was that unequivocally, Senator Barack Obama was the candidate of choice for black voters. Except for in New York, the home state of Senator Hillary Clinton, where he received 61 percent of the black vote, Obama received at least three-of-four black Democratic Party voters; in Illinois, Mississippi, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, he received at least nine of ten black votes (Table 3).

VOTING IN NON-PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

While the black Democratic vote for president has hovered around 90 percent since 1980 (Figure 3), 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 turnout that year.

**FIGURE 3
Job Approval Ratings by Blacks
Clinton 2000 vs. Bush 2004**



The importance of the black vote in U.S. House races is most directly related to the size of the black voting-age population in each district. Of the 435 congressional districts in the country, 138 have black voting-age populations of at least 10 percent. Among these 138 districts, 15 have competitive races (Table 4.1) according to the Cook Political Report. Nine of the 15 districts are currently represented by Republicans, and they are among the districts targeted by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC). While the political climate in the U.S. is favorable to the Democrats in 2008, and the DCCC has a large financial edge over its Republican counterpart, a strong black turnout would be necessary for these districts to reverse partisan control. Additionally, there are six Democratic districts among the 138 where a strong black turnout

will be necessary to maintain Democratic control of the districts.

The Cook Political Report also identifies five competitive U.S. Senate elections in 2008 in states where black voters may be a major factor in determining the outcome (Table 4.2). There are three Republican incumbents seeking re-election (Kentucky, Mississippi, and North Carolina), one Democratic incumbent (Louisiana), and an open seat contest in Virginia.

The Issues of 2008

The Joint Center released the results of a national survey of African American adults on July 28, 2008. The findings indicate that at this time, economic concerns and rising gas and energy prices have come to dominate the concerns of African Americans, with 42 percent saying the economy is the most important problem facing the country today; 65.1 percent indicated that the economy was one of the three most important national problems. In addition to the economy, 17 percent said that rising gas and energy prices were the most important national problem, and 45.4 percent thought rising gas prices were among the top three national problems. In a Joint Center survey of 750 likely black presidential primary voters conducted in October 2007, only 15 percent identified the economy as the most important national problem, and rising gas prices went unmentioned. Health care (11 percent) and the war in Iraq (eight percent) received the next most mentions as important national problems; Health care declined from 20 percent in October, and the war in Iraq declined from 28 percent.

Global warming was given by 15.1 percent of the respondents as one of the three most important national problems with five percent identifying it as the most important national problem. The frequency of mentions of global warming as the most important national problem was not statistically different from mentions of education (3 percent), crime (6 percent), or the war in Iraq (8 percent).

Registration and Turnout

The black voting-age population of the U.S. is 26,375,000 (2006 U.S. Census Current Population Survey (CPS)). According to U.S. Census November 2004 CPS, 64.4 percent of the citizenry was reported registered and 56.3 percent reported voting in the 2004

presidential election (Table 5). This compares to 67.9 percent reported registration and 60.3 percent reported turnout for whites. Thus, the participation gap between white and black electorates in the 2004 election was 3.5 percentage points on registration and 4.0 percentage points on turnout. These gaps were larger than in 2000, due to a greater increase in white registration and turnout; black registration and turnout both increased between 2000 and 2004.

The South is the region with the largest proportion (55 percent) of the black vote. The black voting-age population is greater than 20 percent of the total electorate in six of the 11 states of the Old Confederacy: Mississippi (34.2), Georgia (27.5), Louisiana (30.3), South Carolina (28.0), Alabama (24.7), and North Carolina (20.8). According to November 2004 CPS, black voter registration in the South was 65.3 percent in 2004 and black turnout was 55.9 percent. This compares to white registration of 66.7 percent and white turnout of 57.6 percent in 2004, with the gap between black and white electorates being 1.4 percent on registration and 1.7 percent on turnout; the gap between black and white turnout also increased in the South, again to a greater increase in white 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 to 1.4 percent, and on turnout from 10.3 to 1.7 percent.

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 Arkansas (52.2 vs. 50.5 percent), Georgia (52.2 vs. 49.6), and South Carolina (60.7 vs. 60.0) was higher than white turnout in 2000. Black and white turnouts were the same in Tennessee and Texas in 2000.

According to exit polls, black voters were 10 percent of the actual electorate in 2000 and 12 percent in 2004.⁶ However, they represented a much greater share of the Democratic candidates' votes, with 18.9 percent of Gore's supporters in 2000, and 17.1 percent of Clinton's supporters in 1996, being African American.

STATE BY STATE

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 turnout statistics for individual states.

Black voters are concentrated in about 20 states (Table 2). There was significant variation in black turnout between states in 2004, with black turnout ranging from lows of 43-50 percent in Arkansas, Florida, New York, and Virginia to a high of 73 percent in Missouri. According to the Census Bureau's 2004 voting and registration report, black turnout was higher than white turnout in California, Georgia, Illinois, Mississippi, Missouri, and North Carolina. In a number of states where black turnout was lower than white, the differences were marginal. However, in some states (including some potential battleground states in 2008) black turnout was not only low, but much lower than white turnout: Florida (58 vs. 45 percent) and Virginia (63 vs. 50) were among these states.

Blacks and Democratic Party Organizations

Black representation in Democratic Party organizations at the national, state, and local levels is substantial. There are 94 black members on the Democratic National Committee (DNC), making up 21.1 percent of the committee's membership; in 2004, black members were 22.0 percent of the members. Lottie Shackelford of Little Rock is Vice-Chair of the DNC. As noted earlier, black delegates comprise 24.3 percent of the 2008 convention's delegate total. (These black delegates, as well as alternates and black members of the DNC and the convention committees are listed on the Joint Center's Web site: jointcenter.org)

Black Democrats hold important leadership positions in state parties across the country. There are high ranking African American officers in 34 state parties, the District of Columbia, and the Virgin Islands. The officers include three state party chairs, and 23 vice-or-deputy chairs, and seven executive directors. 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 Web site.

Black Democrats are also a major part of the leadership in the U.S. House Democratic Caucus, and all black members of the U.S. House are Democrats. Approximately 18 percent of the Democratic U.S. Representatives in the 110th Congress are African Americans. Rep. James Clyburn (SC) is the Majority Whip, the third ranking position in the Democratic leadership behind Speaker Nancy Pelosi (CA) and Majority Leader Steny Hoyer (MD). Several Congressional Black Caucus members serve as powerful committee chairs including Reps. Charles Rangel (Ways and Means), John Conyers (Judiciary), Benny Thompson (Homeland Security), and Stephanie Tubbs-Jones (Ethics).

Finally, Democrats dominate among African Americans serving in the state legislatures. There are 622 black state legislators among whom only ten are Republicans. In state Senates, there are 155 black Democrats and three black Republicans. In state Houses (and assemblies), there are 485 black Democrats and seven black Republicans.

TABLE 1
Presidential Vote and Party Identificaiton of Blacks, 1936-2004
(row percentage)

		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

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.

TABLE 2
States Where Blacks Are An Important Voting Block

	Black Voting-Age Population			2004 Presidential Election			
	Total		Citizen	Black Share of the Total Vote	Kerry Share of the Black Vote	Kerry Vote	Black Share of the Kerry Vote
	(thousands)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Alabama	806	24.1	24.7	25	91	37	61
Arkansas	297	14.8	15.3	15	94	45	31
California*	1,757	6.7	7.9	6	84	54	9
D.C.*	242	55.6	59.2	54	97	90	58
Florida	1,873	14.3	13.3	12	86	47	22
Georgia	1,703	26.9	27.5	25	88	41	54
Illinois*	1,289	13.9	14.8	10	89	55	16
Louisiana	985	30.1	30.3	27	90	42	58
Maryland*	1,094	27.1	27.2	24	89	56	38
Michigan*	968	13.0	13.1	13	89	51	23
Mississippi	700	33.6	34.2	34	90	40	77
Missouri	455	10.7	11.1	8	90	46	16
New Jersey*	858	13.4	13.3	14	82	53	22
New York*	2,421	16.7	15.5	13	90	58	20
North Carolina	1,259	20.1	20.8	26	85	44	50
Ohio	923	10.9	10.9	10	84	49	17
Pennsylvania*	889	9.5	9.3	13	83	51	21
South Carolina	843	27.5	28.0	30	85	41	62
Tennessee	651	14.8	15.0	12	89	43	25
Texas	1,721	10.9	11.9	12	83	38	26
Virginia	972	18.1	18.6	21	87	45	41

SOURCES: Information on the black voting-age population is from the U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2004. Information on the black vote in 2004 is from the Edison/Mitofsky consortium (<http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/>).

* States won by Senator Kerry in 2004.

TABLE 3
Black Vote in the 2008 Democratic Primaries, Clinton vs. Obama

	Black Share of Total Votes Cast	Obama	Clinton
	(%)	(%)	(%)
Alabama	51	84	15
Arkansas	17	74	25
California	7	78	18
Connecticut	9	74	24
Delaware	28	86	9
Georgia	51	88	11
Illinois	24	93	5
Indiana	17	89	11
Louisiana	48	86	13
Maryland	37	84	15
Mississippi	50	92	8
Missouri	17	84	15
New York	16	61	37
North Carolina	34	91	7
Ohio	18	87	13
Pennsylvania	15	90	10
South Carolina	55	78	19
Tennessee	29	77	22
Texas	19	84	16
Virginia	30	90	10

SOURCE: Edison/Mitofsky (<http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/>).

TABLE 4.1
Election Statistics, Competitive 2008 U.S. House Races in Districts with
10 Percent or Greater Black Voting-Age Population

District	Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	Incumbent Vote 2006 (%)	2004 Presidential Performance Index
Alabama 2	27.1	Everett [OPEN]	69	R+13
Alabama 3	29.9	Rogers	59	R+4
Alabama 5	15.8	Cramer [OPEN]	Unopposed	R+6
Connecticut 4	10.0	Shays	51	D+5
Georgia 8	11.8	Marshall	51	R+8
Georgia 12	38.4	Barrow	50	D+2
Kentucky 3	17.2	Yarmuth	51	D+2
Louisiana 4	30.5	McCrery [OPEN]	57	R+7
Louisiana 6	30.7	Cazayoux	49*	R+7
Maryland 1	10.8	Gilchrest [OPEN]	69	R+10
Mississippi 1	23.7	Childers	54*	R+10
North Carolina 8	24.5	Hayes	50	R+3
Ohio 1	24.7	Chabot	52	R+1
Virginia 2	19.8	Drake	51	R+6
Virginia 5	22.6	Goode	59	R+6

KEY: Republican incumbent names in boldface; 2004 Presidential Performance Index indicates how much better the presidential nominee did in the district relative to the national average vote in the district; * vote percent for incumbents elected in 2008.

TABLE 4.2
Election Statistics, Competitive 2008 U.S. Senate Races in States with
5 Percent or Greater Black Voting-Age Population

State	Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	2002 U.S. Senate Vote (%)	2004 Presidential Vote Differential Bush-Kerry (%)
Kentucky	6.8	McConnell	65	60-40
Louisiana	29.7	Landrieu	52	57-42
Mississippi	33.1	Wicker	- *	59-39
North Carolina	20.0	Dole	54	56-44
Virginia	18.4	[OPEN]	-	54-45

KEY: Republican incumbent names in boldface. * Appointed by Governor.

TABLE 5
Reported Registration and Voting Rates by Race and Region: 1964 to 2006

Presidential Elections											
	2004	2000	1996	1992	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
Registered											
United States											
White	67.9	65.6	67.7	70.1	67.9	69.6	68.4	68.3	73.4	75.4	NA
Black	64.4	63.6	63.5	63.9	64.5	66.3	60.0	58.5	65.5	66.2	NA
Difference	3.5	2.0	4.2	6.2	3.4	3.3	8.4	9.8	7.9	9.2	NA
South											
White	66.7	65.2	67.0	68.5	66.6	67.8	66.2	66.7	69.8	70.8	NA
Black	65.3	65.2	64.7	64.7	63.3	65.6	59.3	56.4	64.0	61.6	NA
Difference	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	60.3	56.4	56.0	63.6	59.1	61.4	60.9	60.9	64.5	69.1	70.7
Black	56.3	53.5	50.6	54.0	51.5	55.8	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	58.5
Difference	4.0	2.9	5.4	9.6	7.6	5.6	10.4	12.2	12.4	11.5	12.2
South											
White	57.6	54.2	53.4	60.8	56.4	58.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.5
Black	55.9	53.9	50.0	54.3	48.0	53.2	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	44.0
Difference	1.7	0.3	3.4	6.5	8.4	4.9	9.2	11.4	9.2	10.3	15.5
Congressional Elections											
	2006	2002	1998	1994	1990	1986	1982	1978	1974	1970	1966
Registered											
United States											
White	64.0	63.1	63.9	64.6	63.8	65.3	65.6	63.8	63.5	69.1	71.6
Black	57.4	58.5	60.2	58.5	58.8	64.0	59.1	57.1	54.9	60.8	60.2
Difference	6.6	4.6	3.7	6.1	5.0	1.3	6.5	6.7	8.6	8.3	11.4
South											
White	69.3	63.2	63.9	62.6	62.5	63.2	63.2	61.2	61.0	65.1	64.3
Black	63.2	59.8	61.5	58.8	59.0	64.6	56.9	56.2	55.5	57.5	52.9
Difference	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	45.8	44.1	43.3	47.3	46.7	47.0	49.9	47.3	46.3	56.0	57.0
Black	38.6	39.7	39.6	37.1	39.2	43.2	43.0	37.2	33.8	43.5	41.7
Difference	7.2	4.4	3.7	10.2	7.5	3.8	6.9	10.1	12.5	12.5	15.3
South											
White	45.4	42.9	39.2	43.0	43.5	43.5	42.9	41.1	37.4	46.4	45.1
Black	40.9	39.9	38.9	34.6	39.8	42.5	38.3	33.5	30.0	36.8	32.9
Difference	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 6
Black Delegates at Democratic National Convention, 1932-2008

Election year	All delegates	Black delegates		Black alternates
	(N)	(N)	(%)	(N)
1932	1,154	0	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	NA
1952	1,230	33	2.6	NA
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	NA
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

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

*Delegate and alternate numbers for this year represent the Democratic National Committee's most up-to-date roster information as of August 6, 2008.

TABLE 7
Black Delegate Representation at Democratic National Convention
by State/Territory, 1996-2008

	2008			2004		2000		1996	
	All delegates	Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates	
	(N)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Alabama	60	37	61.7	39	62.9	40	63.5	35	53.0
Alaska	18	3	16.7	0	0.0	3	15.8	3	15.8
Arizona	67	2	3.0	2	3.1	2	3.6	4	7.7
Arkansas	47	13	27.7	14	29.8	9	19.1	12	25.5
California	441	76	17.2	68	15.4	69	15.9	75	17.7
Colorado	70	12	17.1	7	11.1	7	11.5	10	17.2
Connecticut	60	12	20.0	7	11.3	3	4.5	13	19.4
Delaware	23	7	30.4	6	26.1	5	22.7	3	14.3
District Of Columbia	40	24	60.0	19	48.7	22	66.7	25	75.8
Florida*	211	50	23.7	43	21.4	47	25.3	57	32.0
Georgia	102	60	58.8	45	44.6	38	41.3	35	38.5
Hawaii	29	1	3.4	1	3.4	1	3.0	2	6.7
Idaho	23	3	13.0	1	4.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Illinois	185	48	25.9	47	25.3	50	26.3	53	27.5
Indiana	85	15	17.6	10	12.3	16	18.2	10	11.4
Iowa	57	6	10.5	4	7.0	6	10.5	5	8.9
Kansas	41	7	17.1	3	7.3	4	9.5	7	16.7
Kentucky	60	8	13.3	8	14.0	7	12.1	4	6.6
Louisiana	67	40	59.7	30	41.7	37	50.7	37	52.1
Maine	32	3	9.4	1	2.9	2	6.1	0	0.0
Maryland	100	34	34.0	29	29.3	32	33.7	28	31.8
Massachusetts	121	14	11.6	12	9.9	7	5.9	2	1.8
Michigan*	157	52	33.1	53	34.2	47	29.9	51	32.7
Minnesota	88	21	23.9	12	14.0	9	9.9	11	12.0
Mississippi	41	28	68.3	25	61.0	24	50.0	23	48.9
Missouri	88	20	22.7	18	20.5	15	16.3	20	21.5
Montana	25	1	4.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Nebraska	31	6	19.4	2	6.5	2	6.3	1	2.9

BLACKS & THE 2008 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

	2008			2004		2000		1996	
	All delegates	Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates	
	(N)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Nevada	34	9	26.5	4	12.5	2	6.9	2	7.7
New Hampshire	30	3	10.0	1	3.7	1	3.4	0	0.0
New Jersey	127	24	18.9	21	16.4	25	20.2	29	23.8
New Mexico	38	3	7.9	2	5.4	1	2.9	2	5.9
New York	282	90	31.9	76	26.8	69	23.5	80	27.7
North Carolina	134	49	36.6	34	31.8	32	31.1	31	31.3
North Dakota	21	1	4.8	1	4.5	1	4.5	1	4.5
Ohio	162	51	31.5	35	22.0	41	24.3	38	22.1
Oklahoma	48	10	20.8	2	4.3	4	7.7	2	3.8
Oregon	65	6	9.2	5	8.5	4	6.9	4	7.0
Pennsylvania	187	33	17.6	37	20.8	29	15.2	31	15.9
Rhode Island	33	0	0.0	1	3.1	3	9.1	1	3.1
South Carolina	54	27	50.0	25	45.5	19	36.5	16	31.4
South Dakota	23	1	4.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Tennessee	85	23	27.1	23	27.1	22	27.2	22	26.5
Texas	227	66	29.1	52	22.4	52	22.5	53	23.1
Utah	29	2	6.9	0	0.0	1	3.4	0	0.0
Vermont	23	2	8.7	1	4.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Virginia	101	30	29.7	13	13.4	31	32.6	31	32.0
Washington	97	19	19.6	7	7.4	10	10.6	18	20.0
West Virginia	39	3	7.7	0	0.0	2	4.8	2	4.7
Wisconsin	92	11	12.0	12	13.8	7	7.6	8	8.6
Wyoming	18	1	5.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Puerto Rico	63	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Virgin Islands*	12	11	91.7	11	91.7	11	91.7	9	90.0
Democrats Abroad*	22	1	4.5	2	9.1	1	4.5	2	9.1
Total**	4440	1079	24.3	871	20.1	872	20.1	908	21.0

SOURCE: The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and Democratic National Committee.

NOTE: Delegate numbers for this year represent the Democratic National Committee's most up-to-date roster information as of August 6, 2008. *Delegates representing Democrats abroad and the Virgin Islands have fractional votes; some are allotted a half-vote each and others a quarter vote. Florida and Michigan delegates have been allotted half-votes this year which may change at convention. **Total number of delegates leaves out the delegates from American Samoa and Guam.

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