

TABLE 1

Presidential vote and party identification of black Americans, 1936–2000 (Row percentages)		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

Sources: 1936–56 data from Everett Carl 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.

TABLE 2

States where African American voters are an important voting bloc						
	Black voting-age population		2000 Presidential election			
	Total	(%)	Black share of total vote	Gore share of black vote	Gore vote	Black share of Gore vote
		(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
New York*	2,111,000	14.8	11	90	60	21
Texas	1,653,000	11.0	15	91	38	36
Georgia	1,603,000	26.4	25	92	43	54
Florida	1,561,000	12.7	15	93	49	28
California*	1,572,000	6.4	7	86	54	11
Illinois*	1,269,000	13.8	14	92	54	24
North Carolina	1,218,000	20.0	19	90	43	40
Maryland*	1,040,000	26.4	22	92	57	36
Virginia	984,000	18.4	16	84	45	30
Louisiana	965,000	29.7	29	92	45	59
Michigan*	959,000	13.1	11	91	51	20
Ohio	886,000	10.5	9	89	46	17
Pennsylvania*	844,000	9.0	7	90	51	12
South Carolina	816,000	27.2	22	91	42	49
New Jersey*	799,000	12.6	11	88	56	17
Alabama	796,000	24.0	25	91	42	54
Mississippi	685,000	33.1	30	96	42	69
Tennessee	636,000	14.8	18	92	47	35
Missouri	424,000	10.2	12	84	47	21
Arkansas	278,000	13.9	11	84	46	20
District of Columbia*	257,000	56.2	63	93	86	68

* States/territories won by Vice President Al Gore in 2000.

Sources: Voting and Registration in Election of November 2000; Voter News Service.

TABLE 3

Election statistics, U.S. House districts with 10 percent or greater black voting-age population

District	Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	Incumbent Vote 2002 (%)	2000 Presidential Vote Differential
Alabama 1	25.4	Bonner	60	R+12
Alabama 2	27.1	Everett	69	R+12
Alabama 3	29.9	Rogers	50	R+3
Alabama 5	15.8	Cramer	73	R+6
Alabama 7	57.8	<u>Davis</u>	92	D+17
Arkansas 1	14.2	Berry	67	D+1
Arkansas 2	17.3	Snyder	Unopposed	R+1
Arkansas 4	22.3	Ross	61	D+0
California 5	13.0	Matsui	71	D+13
California 7	15.9	Miller	71	D+18
California 9	24.5	<u>Lee</u>	82	D+35
California 33	29.6	<u>Watson</u>	83	D+36
California 35	35.0	<u>Waters</u>	78	D+33
California 37	24.7	<u>Millender-McDonald</u>	73	D+28
California 43	11.9	Baca	66	R+15
Connecticut 1	11.4	Larson	67	D+15
Connecticut 3	10.1	DeLauro	66	D+13
Connecticut 4	10.0	Shays	64	D+5
Delaware At-Large	17.4	Castle	72	D+6
D.C. At-Large	55.7	<u>Norton</u>	Unopposed	D+38
Florida 1	12.5	Miller	75	R+19
Florida 2	20.8	Boyd	67	R+3
Florida 3	45.1	<u>Brown</u>	59	D+15
Florida 4	12.4	Crenshaw	Unopposed	R+16
Florida 6	10.5	Sterns	65	R+9
Florida 11	23.9	Davis	Unopposed	D+11
Florida 12	11.3	Putnam	Unopposed	R+5
Florida 17	51.3	<u>Meeks</u>	Unopposed	D+35
Florida 23	46.2	<u>Hastings</u>	76	D+30
Georgia 1	20.6	Kingston	72	R+15
Georgia 2	40.9	<u>Bishop</u>	Unopposed	R+1
Georgia 3	37.2	Marshall	51	R+3

Key: CBC member names underlined; Republican incumbents' names in **boldface**; 2000 Presidential vote differential indicates Gore/Bush performance in each district from the national average, and thus, for example, R+5 indicates Bush received five percentage points more than his national average (48 percent) or 53 percent of the vote in the district.

Table 3 continued

District	Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	Incumbent Vote 2002 (%)	2000 Presidential Vote Differential
Georgia 4	48.8	<u>McKinney</u> [OPEN]	77	D+20
Georgia 5	51.0	<u>Lewis</u>	Unopposed	D+21
Georgia 8	11.8	Collins [OPEN]	78	R+20
Georgia 9	12.8	Norwood	73	R+18
Georgia 11	25.8	Gingrey	52	R+3
Georgia 12	38.4	<u>Burns</u>	55	D+4
Georgia 13	37.3	<u>Scott</u>	60	D+8
Illinois 1	63.2	<u>Rush</u>	81	D+34
Illinois 2	59.4	<u>Jackson, Jr.</u>	82	D+33
Illinois 7	55.9	Davis	83	D+34
Illinois 12	14.4	<u>Costello</u>	69	D+5
Indiana 1	17.0	Viclosky	67	D+7
Indiana 7	26.7	<u>Carson</u>	53	D+6
Kentucky 3	17.2	Northrup	52	D+1
Louisiana 1	11.4	Vitter [OPEN]	81	R+18
Louisiana 2	59.3	<u>Jefferson</u>	64	D+27
Louisiana 3	22.2	Tauzin [OPEN]	87	R+4
Louisiana 4	30.5	McCreary	72	R+6
Louisiana 5	30.8	Alexander	50	R+9
Louisiana 6	30.7	Baker	84	R+6
Louisiana 7	22.6	John [OPEN]	87	R+7
Maryland 1	10.8	Gilchrest	77	R+9
Maryland 3	24.3	Cardin	66	D+7
Maryland 4	55.3	<u>Wynn</u>	79	D+28
Maryland 5	28.5	Hoyer	69	D+8
Maryland 7	57.0	<u>Cummings</u>	74	D+24
Maryland 8	15.7	Van Hollen	52	D+18
Massachusetts 8	18.7	Capuano	Unopposed	D+33
Michigan 5	16.4	Kildee	92	D+12
Michigan 12	11.2	Levin	68	D+12
Michigan 13	57.9	<u>Kilpatrick</u>	92	D+31
Michigan 14	58.9	<u>Conyers</u>	83	D+32
Michigan 15	10.6	Dingell	72	D+11
Minnesota 5	10.2	Sabo	63	D+18

Key: CBC member names underlined; Republican incumbents' names in **boldface**; 2000 Presidential vote differential indicates Gore/Bush performance in each district from the national average, and thus, for example, R+5 indicates Bush received five percentage points more than his national average (48 percent) or 53 percent of the vote in the district.

Table 3 continued

District	Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	Incumbent Vote 2002 (%)	2000 Presidential Vote Differential
Mississippi 1	23.7	Wicker	71	R+10
Mississippi 2	58.9	<u>Thompson</u>	55	D+8
Mississippi 3	30.2	Pickering	64	R+15
Mississippi 4	20.0	Taylor	75	R+17
Missouri 1	45.8	<u>Clay, Jr.</u>	70	D+23
Missouri 5	21.8	McCarthy [OPEN]	66	D+12
Nevada 1	11.0	Berkley	54	D+8
New Jersey 1	15.2	Andrews	93	D+15
New Jersey 2	12.8	LoBiondo	69	D+6
New Jersey 6	14.8	Pallone	67	D+14
New Jersey 8	11.7	Pascrell	67	D+12
New Jersey 10	54.3	<u>Payne</u>	84	D+34
New Jersey 12	10.8	Holt	61	D+8
New Jersey 13	10.5	Menendez	78	D+24
New York 4	16.4	McCarthy	56	D+11
New York 6	51.1	<u>Meeks</u>	Unopposed	D+39
New York 7	15.8	Crowley	73	D+28
New York 10	60.0	<u>Towns</u>	Unopposed	D+42
New York 11	56.8	<u>Owens</u>	86	D+40
New York 15	30.5	Rangel	87	D+43
New York 16	30.6	Serrano	92	D+44
New York 17	29.3	Engel	62	D+22
New York 28	24.9	Slaughter	62	D+13
North Carolina 1	47.6	<u>Butterfield</u>	64	D+7
North Carolina 2	28.5	Etheridge	65	R+4
North Carolina 3	15.5	Jones	91	R+15
North Carolina 4	19.6	Price	61	D+4
North Carolina 7	21.2	McIntyre	71	R+2
North Carolina 8	24.5	Hayes	54	R+4
North Carolina 12	41.9	<u>Watt</u>	65	D+7
North Carolina 13	25.1	Miller	55	D+0
Ohio 1	24.7	Chabot	65	R+3
Ohio 3	15.6	Turner	59	R+4
Ohio 9	12.1	Kaptur	74	D+7

Key: CBC member names underlined; Republican incumbents' names in **boldface**; 2000 Presidential vote differential indicates Gore/Bush performance in each district from the national average, and thus, for example, R+5 indicates Bush received five percentage points more than his national average (48 percent) or 53 percent of the vote in the district.

Table 3 continued

District	Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	Incumbent Vote 2002 (%)	2000 Presidential Vote Differential
Ohio 11	51.6	<u>Tubbs Jones</u>	76	D+32
Ohio 12	19.9	Tiberi	64	R+3
Ohio 13	11.0	Brown	69	D+4
Ohio 17	10.3	Ryan	51	D+13
Oklahoma 5	12.2	Ishtook	62	R+13
Pennsylvania 1	42.2	Brady	86	D+35
Pennsylvania 2	56.5	Fattah	88	D+38
Pennsylvania 14	19.3	Doyle	Unopposed	D+21
South Carolina 1	18.5	Brown	89	R+11
South Carolina 2	23.9	Wilson	84	R+10
South Carolina 3	19.0	Barrett	67	R+15
South Carolina 4	18.1	DeMint [OPEN]	69	R+16
South Carolina 5	29.9	Spratt	86	R+6
South Carolina 6	53.5	<u>Clyburn</u>	67	D+9
Tennessee 3	10.0	Wamp	65	R+8
Tennessee 5	21.3	Cooper	64	D+7
Tennessee 7	10.8	Blackburn	71	R+10
Tennessee 8	19.9	Tanner	70	D+1
Tennessee 9	55.0	<u>Ford, Jr.</u>	84	D+14
Texas 1	17.5	Sandlin	56	R+18
Texas 2	18.4	Lampson	59	R+13
Texas 4	10.0	Hall	58	R+16
Texas 5	11.8	Hensarling	58	R+17
Texas 6	12.3	Barton	70	R+17
Texas 9	36.5	Bell [OPEN]	55	D+18
		<u>Green</u> [D Nominee]		
Texas 18	40.3	<u>Jackson-Lee</u>	77	D+22
Texas 26	15.0	Burgess	75	R+13
Texas 30	41.0	<u>Johnson</u>	74	D+24
Texas 31	12.9	Carter	69	R+19
Virginia 1	17.5	Davis	Unopposed	R+10
Virginia 2	19.8	Schrock	83	R+6
Virginia 3	52.7	<u>Scott</u>	Unopposed	D+17

Key: CBC member names underlined; Republican incumbents' names in **boldface**; 2000 Presidential vote differential indicates Gore/Bush performance in each district from the national average, and thus, for example, R+5 indicates Bush received five percentage points more than his national average (48 percent) or 53 percent of the vote in the district.

Table 3 continued

District	Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	Incumbent Vote 2002 (%)	2000 Presidential Vote Differential
Virginia 4	32.1	Forbes	Unopposed	R+5
Virginia 5	22.6	Goode	63	R+8
Virginia 6	10.1	Goodlatte	Unopposed	R+12
Virginia 7	15.4	Cantor	69	R+12
Virginia 8	12.4	Moran	60	D+10
Wisconsin 4	27.8	Kleczka [OPEN]	Unopposed	D+18

Key: CBC member names underlined; Republican incumbents' names in **boldface**; 2000 Presidential vote differential indicates Gore/Bush performance in each district from the national average, and thus, for example, R+5 indicates Bush received five percentage points more than his national average (48 percent) or 53 percent of the vote in the district.

TABLE 4

Republican major statewide candidates with 20 percent or more of the black vote, 1990–2000		
Candidate	State	Percentage of black vote
1990		
U.S. Senators		
Phil Gramm	Texas	24
Governors		
George Voinovich	Ohio	20
1992		
U.S. Senators		
Kit Bond	Missouri	21
Arlen Specter	Pennsylvania	30
1993		
Governors		
Christine Todd Whitman	New Jersey	25
1994		
U.S. Senators		
Kay Bailey Hutchison	Texas	22
Governors		
George Voinovich	Ohio	42
Pete Wilson	California	20
1996		
U.S. Senators		
Strom Thurmond	South Carolina	20
Fred Thompson	Tennessee	21
1998		
U.S. Senators		
Tim Hutchinson	Arkansas	26
Christopher S. Bond	Missouri	33
Arlen Specter	Pennsylvania	27
George Voinovich	Ohio	30
Governors		
Mike Huckabee	Arkansas	48
John Engler	Michigan	27
Tom Ridge	Pennsylvania	20
Don Sundquist	Tennessee	20
George W. Bush	Texas	27
2000		
U.S. Senators		
Mike DeWine	Ohio	23
Bill Frist	Tennessee	21
Kay Bailey Hutchison	Texas	22

Sources: Data for 1988 are from *The '88 Vote* (ABC/Capital Cities). Data for other years are from Voter Research and Surveys or Voter News Service.

TABLE 5

Percent reported registered and voting by region and by race, 1972–2002																
REGISTERED																
Presidential elections																
Congressional elections																
	2000	1996	1992	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	2002	1998	1994	1990	1986	1982	1978	1974
UNITED STATES																
White	70.0	67.7	70.1	67.9	69.6	68.4	68.3	73.4	67.1	67.9	64.2	63.8	65.3	65.6	63.8	63.5
Black	64.3	63.5	63.9	64.5	66.3	60.0	58.5	65.5	59.3	60.9	58.3	58.8	64.0	59.1	57.1	54.9
Difference	5.7	4.2	6.2	3.4	3.3	8.4	9.8	7.9	7.8	7.0	5.9	5.0	1.3	6.5	6.7	8.6
South																
White	69.3	67.0	68.5	66.6	67.8	66.2	66.7	69.8	68.0	67.4	62.2	62.5	63.2	63.2	61.2	61.0
Black	65.6	64.7	64.7	63.3	65.6	59.3	56.4	64.0	60.4	62.1	58.6	59.0	64.6	56.9	56.2	55.5
Difference	3.7	2.3	3.8	3.3	2.2	6.9	10.3	5.8	7.6	5.3	3.6	3.5	-1.4	6.3	5.0	5.5
TURNOUT																
Presidential elections																
Congressional elections																
	2000	1996	1992	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	2002	1998	1994	1990	1986	1982	1978	1974
UNITED STATES																
White	60.4	56.0	63.9	59.1	61.4	60.9	60.9	64.5	48.0	46.5	46.9	46.7	47.0	49.9	47.3	46.3
Black	54.1	50.6	54.0	51.5	55.8	50.5	48.7	52.1	40.4	40.0	37.0	39.2	43.2	43.0	37.2	33.8
Difference	6.3	5.4	9.9	7.6	5.6	10.4	12.2	12.4	7.6	6.5	9.9	7.5	3.8	6.9	10.1	12.5
South																
White	58.2	53.4	60.8	56.4	58.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	46.9	42.1	52.7	43.5	43.5	42.9	41.1	37.4
Black	54.2	50.0	54.3	48.0	53.2	48.2	45.7	47.8	40.5	39.1	35.1	39.8	42.5	38.3	33.5	30.0
Difference	4.0	3.4	6.5	8.4	4.9	9.2	11.4	9.2	6.4	3.0	7.6	3.7	1.0	4.6	7.6	7.4

Notes: 1964 voter turnout data for blacks comprises “black and other races.” Prior to 1972, the voting-age population includes people ages 18-20 in Georgia and Kentucky, ages 19 and 20 in Alaska, and age 20 in Hawaii. Data are from post-election surveys, in which samples of the population were asked whether they registered and voted in the last election. Thus, the percentages reflect those who reported voting; these percentages are usually higher than the percentages of people who actually registered and voted. Some researchers have concluded that blacks overreport more than do whites.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau: “Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1990,” *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 453/ “Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1992,” *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 466/ “Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1996,” *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 504/ “Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1998,” *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 523 / “Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2002,” *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 552 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office; 1991/1993/1997/1999/2001).

TABLE 6

Black Republican nominees for federal office, 1990–2002: Statistical profile														
	1990		1992		1994		1996		1998		2000		2002	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Incumbents	0	0	1	7	1	4	2	13	1	6	1	4	0	0
Challengers/open seats	11	100	14	93	23	96	14	87	17	95	23	96	10	100
Women	2	18	4	27	7	29	7	44	7	39	8	20	3	30
Men	9	82	11	73	17	71	9	56	11	61	16	80	7	70
Majority-minority district	7	64	13	87	14	58	11	69	11	61	12	50	4	40
Majority white district	4	36	2	13	10	42	5	31	7	39	12	50	6	60
White opposition	5	46	3	20	11	46	5	31	6	33	8	33	5	50
Black opposition	6	54	12	80	13	54	11	69	12	67	16	67	5	50
Senate candidates	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	6	1	4	0	0
House candidates	9	100	14	93	24	100	16	100	17	95	23	96	10	100
Total	11	100	15	100	24	100	16	100	18	100	24	100	10	100

Source: D. Bositis, *The Black Vote in '98* (Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 1998).

TABLE 7

Districts with black Republican nominees for the U.S. House of Representatives, 2004

District	Democratic candidate	Republican candidate	Black share of voting-age population (%)
CA-7	George Miller♦	Charles Hargrave	15.9
CA-15	Mike Honda♦	Raymond Chukwu	2.3
CA-37	Juanita Millender-McDonald♦	Vernon Van	24.7
GA-4	Cynthia McKinney	Catherine Davis	48.8
IL-7	Danny K. Davis♦	Antonio Davis-Fairman	55.9
MI-5	Dale Kildee♦	Myrah Kirkwood	16.4
MS-2	Bennie Thompson♦	Clinton LeSueur	58.9
MO-1	William Clay, Jr.♦	Leslie Farr	45.8
NY-4	Carolyn McCarthy♦	James Garner	16.4
NC-12	Mel Watt♦	Ada Fisher	41.9
PA-1	Robert Brady♦	Deborah Williams	42.2
TN-9	Harold Ford, Jr.♦	Ruben Fort	55.0
VA-3	Robert Scott♦	Winsome Sears	52.7

♦Incumbent

TABLE 8

Black delegates at Republican national conventions, 1912–2004				
Election year	Total number of delegates	Number of black delegates	Black delegates, % of total	Number of black alternates
1912	1,078	65	6.0	N/A
1916	985	35	3.5	N/A
1920	984	29	2.9	N/A
1924	1,109	39	3.5	1
1928	1,098	49	4.4	55
1932	1,154	26	2.2	27
1936	1,003	45	4.5	34
1940	1,000	32	3.2	53
1944	1,057	18	1.7	27
1948	1,094	41	3.7	34
1952	1,206	29	2.4	34
1956	1,323	36	2.7	41
1960	1,331	22	1.6	28
1964	1,308	14	1.0	29
1968	1,333	26	1.9	52
1972	1,348	56	4.2	84
1976	2,259	76	3.4	74
1980	1,993	55	2.7	66
1984	2,235	69	3.1	88
1988	2,277	61	2.7	49
1992	2,210	107	5.0	102
1996	1,990	52	2.6	50
2000	2,066	85	4.1	76
2004	2,509	167	6.7	124

Sources: *Negro Year Book, 1931-32*, edited by Monroe Work (Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: Negro Year Book Publishing Co., 1931); Republican National Conventions, 1912-68.

Note: Delegate and alternate counts reflect information received from the Republican National Committee and state party organizations with the 2004 figures current as of August 23, 2004.

TABLE 9

Black delegate representation at Republican national conventions, by state, 1992–2004									
State	2004 Convention ▼			2000 Convention		1996 Convention		1992 Convention	
	Total	Black	Black % of total	Black	Black % of total	Black	Black % of total	Black	Black % of total
Alabama	48	3	6.3	0	0.0	1	2.5	2	5.3
Alaska	29		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Arizona	52	2	3.8	1	3.3	0	0.0	1	2.7
Arkansas	35	1	2.9	1	4.2	0	0.0	2	7.4
California	173	11	6.4	12	7.4	4	2.4	13	6.5
Colorado	50	1	2.0	3	7.5	1	3.7	2	5.4
Connecticut	30	1	3.3	0	0.0	2	7.4	4	11.4
Delaware	18	2	11.1	0	0.0	1	8.3	1	5.3
District of Columbia	19	5	26.3	3	20.0	3	21.4	4	28.6
Florida	112	13	11.6	4	5.0	1	1.0	3	3.1
Georgia	69	6	8.7	2	3.7	0	0.0	5	9.6
Hawaii	20		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Idaho	32		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5
Illinois	73	3	4.1	1	2.9	0	0.0	3	3.5
Indiana	55	3	5.5	0	0.0	2	3.8	0	0.0
Iowa	32	3	9.4	0	0.0	1	4.0	0	0.0
Kansas	39	3	7.7	1	2.9	1	3.2	0	0.0
Kentucky	46	2	4.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.9
Louisiana	45	7	15.6	1	3.4	0	0.0	2	5.3
Maine	21	1	4.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Maryland	39	4	10.3	5	16.1	2	6.3	4	9.5
Massachusetts	44	4	9.1	0	0.0	2	5.4	2	5.3
Michigan	61	8	13.1	3	5.2	3	5.3	7	9.7
Minnesota	41	3	7.3	0	0.0	1	3.0	0	0.0
Mississippi	38	4	10.5	1	3.3	2	6.1	2	5.9
Missouri	57	4	7.0	2	11.7	1	2.8	3	6.4
Montana	28		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Nebraska	35		0.0	1	3.3	0	0.0	1	0.0
Nevada	33		0.0	2	11.8	1	7.1	0	0.0
New Hampshire	32	2	6.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
New Jersey	52	5	9.6	6	11.1	4	8.3	6	10.0
New Mexico	24	2	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
New York	102	13	12.7	7	6.9	4	3.9	9	9.0
North Carolina	67	4	6.0	1	1.6	1	1.7	2	3.5
North Dakota	26		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ohio	91	6	6.6	11	16.0	6	9.0	6	7.2
Oklahoma	41	2	4.9	0	0.0	1	2.6	1	2.9
Oregon	31	3	9.7	1	4.2	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 9 continued

State	2004 Convention ▼			2000 Convention		1996 Convention		1992 Convention	
	Total	Black	Black % of total	Black	Black % of total	Black	Black % of total	Black	Black % of total
Pennsylvania	75	3	4.0	2	2.6	0	0.0	3	3.3
Rhode Island	21	1	4.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
South Carolina	46	4	8.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	8.3
South Dakota	27		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Tennessee	55	5	9.1	1	2.7	0	0.0	1	2.2
Texas	138	9	6.5	--	--	2	1.6	3	2.5
Utah	36	2	5.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Vermont	18		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Virgin Islands*	9	2	22.2						
Virginia	64	5	7.8	5	9.0	3	5.7	4	7.3
Washington	41	1	2.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	5.7
West Virginia	30		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Wisconsin	40	4	10.0	1	2.7	0	0.0	1	2.9
Wyoming	28		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total**	2,509	167	6.7	85	4.1	52	2.6	107	5.0

▼ Delegate numbers for this year represent the Republican National Committee's and state committees' most up-to-date roster information as of August 23, 2004.

*Delegates representing the territories have fractional votes; some are allotted a half-vote each and others a quarter-vote.

** Total includes American Samoa, Guam, and Puerto Rico.

Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

David A. Bositis, a senior research associate at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, has conducted several national surveys of African Americans. Dr. Bositis is the author of numerous books and scholarly articles including the forthcoming *Voting Rights and Minority Representation: Redistricting, 1992-2002* (University Press of America). 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*.

BLACKS AND THE 2004 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

By David A. Bositis

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