

Guys: I have deleted parts of this article to make it easy for you to digest it. You should be able to quickly figure out that the relevance of this article comes from considering how “race” and “class” plays out in U.S. electoral politics, especially at the national level. Full article is available at the reference source mentioned above. (Note: Red states = Republican Party strongholds while blue states = Democratic Party strongholds.)

The Red and Blue State Divide in Black and White: The Historic 2008 Election of President Barack Obama

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1. [Footnotes](#)

EUPHORIC! Exciting! Exhilarating! At exactly eleven p.m. (EST) on November 4, 2008, Fox News Channel, in the same breath called California for Senator Barack Obama and declared him to be the 44th President of the United States of America. In Springfield, Illinois on that cold Saturday morning, February 10, 2007, in nearly every circle of thought in most racial and ethnic minority enclaves of America, to say nothing of the majority population in this country, Obama's victory was thought to be either an impossibility or a near improbability when he announced his candidacy for the Democratic Party's nomination at the state capitol. ([n1](#))

While skeptics and naysayers could be found inside and outside of the Democratic and Republican parties, as well as in their electorates, the one place where there was dead certainty that this improbable presidential campaign was doomed to failure in a stunning defeat was in the circle of his formidable opponent, former First Lady, Senator Hillary Clinton. ([n2](#)) She was both the frontrunner and the presumptive Democratic Party nominee. She had impressive credentials; eight years of being the First Lady with a two-term presidential husband, William Jefferson Clinton, who was virtually, until 2008, a political rock star. The political connections and well placed cadre of supporters at both the mass and elite levels made them a powerful political force in the 2008 Democratic primaries. Their dead certainty was, as they and their inner circle saw it, assured.

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USING the Red and Blue state divide, electronic and print pundits and commentators, as well as academic and scholarly prognosticators on the 2008 presidential election, presumed as dead certain that, in presidential elections, the Red states of the Republican Party and the Blue States of the Democratic Party would remain so. Few things were considered as assured, predictable and comforting as this predictable political geography. ([n6](#)) Moreover, this electoral map model instructed us that the Republicans could even lose a few of their Red states--they had thirty-one or thirty-two to the Democrats' nineteen or eighteen--and still win presidential elections. Such political arithmetic indicated that the Democrats could not lose any of their Blue states and still win because they had a much smaller number of states. Thus, in 2000 it came down to Florida and in 2004 it came down to Ohio. Each time, the Democratic presidential candidate lost these essential Red states, despite the fact that the Democrats had attempted to turn them into battleground states. All that the Republican Party operatives had to do was to use legal and illegal (dirty tricks) tactics and techniques in these so-called battleground states to sustain yet another victory.

Democratic Party nominee, Obama, as he had done in the primaries, challenged the Republican Party's mood, sentiment and atmospheric of dead certainty by running a fifty-state strategy. ([n7](#)) And before the end of his general election campaign, there was a series of clues, suggestions and hints that the dead certainty of this Red and Blue state divide might not hold or be the dominant and deciding reality that it had been in the two previous George W. Bush elections, as well as in the election of his father, George H. W. Bush and in the election of Republican President Ronald Reagan. The central clue that the Red and Blue status quo would not hold this time was the high turnout in the Democratic presidential primaries versus the rather low-to-moderate turnout in the Republican presidential primaries. Nevertheless, even few Democrats then managed to see and then challenge their own party's projections based on the dead certain continuity of the standard Red State-Blue State map. Senator Clinton, in the final losing days of her failing campaign, noted that the Republican Party would use any of its tricks and tactics, dirty or otherwise, to assure the dead certainty of its longstanding and victory-determining Red vs. Blue state divide. ([n8](#))

But despite Senator Obama's political skill in overcoming these dead certainties in his primary and general election campaign, there is one common factor that few observers delineated or even acknowledged and that is the African American electorate as voters. They had to take a back seat to an endless emphasis on either the nation's clamor for change, or a biracial and post-civil rights candidate who rarely acknowledged or spoke to this community, their political issues, or their progressive public policy concerns.([n9](#))

The African American Electorate, the Democratic Presidential Primaries and Dead Certainty

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Primary Analysis

AS SEEN from the 2008 Democratic primary, the African American electorate was self-motivated, highly active and quite disciplined to select a hopeful candidate for historical and racial reasons, and then turned out in unprecedented numbers so as to provide for the balance of power and thereby the margin of victory for Senator Obama in the primaries of the Southern states of the Old Confederacy and in the Northern and Midwestern industrial states. Then in the Southwestern states the African American electorate joined in with the Latino voters and made Senator Obama competitive if not victorious in sweeping more delegates into his column.([n21](#))

Had academic and professional analysts understood the past political behaviors of the African American electorate, rather than waiting for them to be bought and sold, directed by ministers, community leaders and activists, would the conventional wisdom not have prevailed? African American voters in 2008 were not motivated by Obama's progressive public policy proposals or his race specific issues and concerns--because they were nearly absent in his public statements. Nor did they ever surface in the primaries and caucuses. Conservative talk show pundits like former Republican presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan and Fox News Channel host Bill O'Reilly declared, in their limited understanding, that this was simply racial identification.([n22](#)) Basically, they did not know any better.

Clearly, inherent in this great display and burst of enthusiasm was what Martin Luther King, Jr. called the promise of America for their children, grandchildren, and the future children of America.([n23](#)) It was a new form of political socialization. For the African American electorate, Obama was the tool for expanding the possibility and probabilities of the American political culture. Knowledgeable and perceptive individuals and analysts had seen this in the legend of other African American presidential candidates who have populated mostly the fringes of American presidential elections and politics. In the 2008 primaries, the African American electorate pushed the American political system further than it had ever been expanded before. The chief beneficiaries of this unprecedented primary voting behavior were of course Senator Obama as well as, but to a lesser degree, Senator Clinton. And this unique primary voter turnout made dead certain dead wrong and highly unreliable. The erstwhile frontrunner Clinton finished last in the Democratic presidential primaries.

The African American Electorate, the Red-Blue State Divide, and Dead Certainty

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Even with this attempt to consolidate his fractional base, Senator Obama, who had led Senator McCain in the polls up to the Democratic National Convention, found himself behind in the polls after the Republican National Convention. Thus, the Republican Party elite groups and the McCain campaign team felt that they had their dead certain victory in the Red State-Blue State divide.

Significantly, the Wall Street economic meltdown on September 23, 2008 quickly became a worldwide economic phenomenon. The enormity of the economic and monetary global and domestic crisis, along with some very questionable campaign responses by McCain, swept him down in the public opinion polls, from where he never really recovered, except in those polls that were biased toward the Republican Party and candidate McCain.([n26](#))

THEREFORE, finding himself losing ground in the polls, fundraising, in some of the Red States, and in the presidential debates, McCain and his operatives re-launched a negative campaign. They brought tip and hammered away at some of the questionable relationships between Obama and former political supporters like Williams Ayres, (Weatherman group), financial supporter Tony Rezko, and his fiery and outspoken former pastor, Rev. Jeremiah Wright. Jerome R. Corsi, author of a Swift Boat book that attacked Democratic presidential nominee Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) in 2004 and undermined his campaign got his attack book on Senator Obama onto the New York Times Best Seller book list and launched a media tour, which the Fox News Channel vigorously covered in the campaign against Senator Obama.([n27](#)) It was simply one of many attacks that came out against the Democratic nominee. But the usual October surprise, an event, crisis, scandal, or unanticipated occurrence that shocks and usually derails the leading candidate in the presidential contest, came in September this time, in the form of the global and domestic economic meltdown. Mismanagement of the

Federal Reserve under Alan Greenspan and others, the deregulation of trade, and the anointing of the business class by the Bush administration exacerbated the crisis, placing Senator Obama and fellow Democrats in a commanding position. More importantly, it triggered a significant part of the Democratic base that had not yet come out for the Obama candidacy to come back into the Democratic Party's electoral base.

Later, after the economic meltdown commenced, came the Russian invasion of the break-away territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the Republic of Georgia, provoked, as it turns out, but which neither candidate acknowledged, by deadly Georgian assaults on the predominantly ethnically Russian territories. ([n28](#)) Furthermore, it emerged that a McCain campaign advisor and right-wing activist, Randy Scheunemann, was paid by Georgia to lobby the senator on its behalf, strategically fostering a local bulwark of opposition to Russian power in the region. Regardless of these complications, the conflict offered an opportunity for Senator McCain to flex his muscles. His record of military experience gave him renewed exposure and a temporary lift in some public opinion polls, but the nation was less concerned at the moment with foreign affairs than it was with the domestic economic crisis. Even though the Bush Administration tried to help with its "Bailout" economic proposal and reform policies, these proved to be more of a burden and a hindrance than a meaningful and helpful solution. Nor did it help that McCain had stated during the primaries that he did not really understand much about the subject of economy.

Red State-Blue State: Counting on the Status Quo

CAUGHT in an economic crisis that was continually spinning out of control, the last fallback position and stronghold for the Republicans was the dead certainty of the Red State-Blue State divide. Usually in elections, several of the Republican Red states seem vulnerable and these few states become the political battleground states where the election are decided because all of the other states are so predictable due to their consistent voting habits and patterns in presidential elections.

In the 2008 general election, the Red states that became the battleground states which the Democratic Party tried to convert into Blue states were: Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio and Virginia. These ten states had long been carried by different Republican presidential candidates. In both of the Bush elections, 2000 and 2004, these ten states were part of the Republican electoral coalition. ([n29](#)) In fact, three of these states were in the solid Republican South: Florida, North Carolina and Virginia. Some of these states, like Ohio, had never slipped out of the Republican winning column for the presidency. Many hoped that history would repeat itself once again. But it was not to be.

Running a fifty-state strategy, Senator Obama was enabled by record-breaking fundraising to put nearly every state in play, albeit that some of them were long shots, indeed very long shots. But the one other factor which helped to put many of these states and particularly the ten battleground states into play was the fact that they had large African American populations. In this instance, a highly enthusiastic and motivated sector of the electorate that had seen one of their own win a major party nomination, was now set to redouble its efforts for another surge at the polls. Hence, when one combines these two factors: money and the internally activated African American electorate, with a super Obama ground game organization, it is no wonder that the Senator won nine of the ten battleground states. He lost only in Missouri and by less than 3,000 votes. The dead certain Red and Blue state divide became undone in this election.

DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE Obama won three Southern states in this nine battleground state victory. Florida, North Carolina and Virginia, all considered members of the peripheral South, which made them somewhat different from the Deep South states, dropped their longstanding Republicanism and switched to the Democratic Party this time. Their switch gave Obama 55 new electoral votes.

The other six battleground states that switched from Red to Blue: Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Nevada, New Mexico, and Ohio, brought a total of 57 new electoral votes to the Democratic Party. Combining the electoral votes of the three Southern states with the six additional states (55 plus 57) gave the Democrats 112 new electoral votes, while it took away the same number from the Republicans. This meant that the Republicans would have had to capture as many electoral votes from the Democratic Blue states, which they could not accomplish.

Overall, Senator Obama won nine of the battleground states, the nineteen Blue states and the District of Columbia for 29 victories to Senator McCain's 22 state victories. These state level victories gave Senator Obama 365 electoral votes to 173 for Senator McCain. At the popular vote level, Obama amassed 52.75 percent of the vote, or 66,616,857 to McCain's 48.3 percent of the vote, or 58,163,863. ([n30](#)) Not only did McCain receive 4.7 percent fewer votes than incumbent President George W. Bush, he also ran 6.7 percent of the vote behind Obama. In the end, Obama's 2008 popular vote performance meant that he outpaced previous Democratic nominees Al Gore (2000) and John Kerry (2004) as well as Republican rivals, McCain and Bush in each of his two elections, 2000 and 2004. Helping in this task was the large urban African American electorate in the three Southern states, and those in the industrial states of the Midwest: Indiana, Missouri and Ohio. And in the last three battleground states, the Latino votes in Nevada, New Mexico and

Colorado, when combined with the African American vote, were crucial. With these racial and ethnic voter shifts and high levels of turnout, dead certain became dead wrong. Key Red states simply turned Blue, while all of the Blue states remained Blue.

Also Ran: Third Party African American Candidates

WHEN THE HISTORIC election of 2008 ended with an African American as the 44th President-elect of the United States of America, some 220 years after the first presidential election in 1788, Obama was not the lone African American candidate campaigning. There were three other African American presidential candidates in the race who represented various third parties. Third parties have been the main vehicle for African American presidential candidates in recent U.S. elections, although African American candidates have also run as political independents.([n32](#))

Third parties, including African American political parties, again rose to the occasion in the 2008 elections. Among the four African American candidates in the race challenging the Democratic and Republican candidates was former Congresswoman, Cynthia McKinney (D-GA), presidential candidate of the Green Party. She received 143,175 votes and came in sixth place in the election.

In seventh place was Obama's perpetual nemesis, Alan Keyes, with 35,272 votes. Keyes had been imported to Illinois in 2004 to run against Obama there in the U.S. Senate race, where he got less than 30 percent of the vote. Keyes in 2008 ran on the America's Independent Party ticket, which managed to get on the ballot in only three states. Previously, Keyes had run for the Republican Party nomination in both 1996 and 2000, as well as a run for a U.S. Senate seat in Maryland, losing each time.([n31](#))

James Harris, on the Socialist Worker's Party ticket, landed in fourteenth place with 2,447 votes, which he attained by having his name appear on the ballot in five states. This was Harris's second run for the presidency on this ticket. He also ran for the U.S. Senate on this same party ticket in 1988 in the state of New York. All of these third party efforts proved to be minor challenges. Media coverage and other engines of prejudice ensured that the Red State-Blue State status quo still obtained with respect to third party campaigns.

IN THE END, none of the third parties with African American presidential candidates captured enough votes in any state to hold the balance of power or even split the vote, throwing the election to another political party, as Ralph Nader did, to the benefit of Bush II, in the 2000 presidential election, or as several third parties had done in the past.([n33](#)) Without any state level power, there was automatically no national level power to throw the election into the House of Representatives, as third parties had assayed in the past. The Thomas Jefferson Democratic Republican Party succeeded in doing so in the presidential election of 1800, resulting in the 12th Amendment to the Constitution, which kept such deadlock from occurring and putting the election outcome into stalemate for several weeks, if not months.([n34](#))

Predictably, the presence of the other African American presidential candidates in this historic 2008 presidential election had little or no impact on the outcome of the election, but what publicity there was for the candidates provided limited exposure to the issues and proposals for which they sought public attention.

The African American Electorate, the South, and Dead Certainty

IF THE AFRICAN AMERICAN electorate was one of the key factors in making Senator Obama president in 2008, its power and influence was not uniform across the board. In the South it was effective in only three (Florida, North Carolina and Virginia) of the eleven states of the Old Confederacy. Eight of these states proved to be unyielding and they voted in overwhelming numbers for McCain. Graph 1.1 reveals that the South did not respond favorably to a biracial candidate, even one without a progressive agenda and whose deracialized campaign did not try in any way to advance liberal or racial causes. Notwithstanding this lack of racial political markers, these states went overwhelmingly for the conservative Republican John McCain. As the graph shows in longitudinal fashion, beginning with Gov. Jimmy Carter, the mean vote in the region for the Democratic Party was at its peak in 1976 and it was the highest percentage victory for the Party until the present time. Since Carter's election, the Republican Party secured the highest vote percentage until another Southerner, William Jefferson Clinton, etched out a one-tenth percent victory over Republican nominee Robert Dole (R-KS) in his reelection, but not in his initial president campaign. Thus, this graph reveals that only native-son Southerners have been able either to win part of the South--Carter (10 states) and Clinton (4 states each time)--and keep the mean percentage for the Democrats close to that of the Republicans. (Carter was able to secure the largest number of electoral votes in ten of the Southern states in 1976, but not in 1980. However, Clinton was able to keep the Democratic and Republican vote totals close in both of his presidential elections.)([n35](#))

None of the Democratic Party's non-Southern candidates (Dukakis, Gore, Kerry) have had any electoral strength in the region to halt or slow Republican domination of the South in the winning electoral coalition.

MAKING THIS ELECTION truly historic, a non-Southerner, who was an African American, made another one of his unique and clearly unexpected breakthroughs with the huge surge of the African American electorate. Their enthusiasm and an intense mobilization--which was first seen in the primaries when the Democratic Party, led by its nominee Senator Obama--nearly matched the dual election successes of native-son President William Jefferson Clinton.

In fact, all during the primary season when Obama was sweeping the Southern presidential primaries (with the exception of Tennessee, Arkansas, and Florida, due to the fact that Obama did not campaign there)--the Clinton campaign, conservative talk radio, Fox News Channel, and the Wall Street Journal declared almost in unison that his primary victories in Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, North Carolina, and almost Texas, really did not count for much--simply because Obama could not win these Red States in the general election.(n36) In addition, they sought to drive home the point that he was winning these states purely because of the African American electorate's turnout and vote. They were certainly right about the latter, but they were dead wrong in their projections about the general election outcome. They were relying on the dead certainty of the Red State-Blue State divide and never gave this reality a second thought.

AS NOTED EARLIER, the African American electorate's voter turnout and vote swept three of the Southern states out of the Republican electoral coalition. In the 2008 election Obama ran 560,413 votes ahead of the 2004 nominee Sen. John Kerry and 204,577 votes ahead of Republican nominee Sen. John McCain. This occurred in a state with a Republican governor and Republican state legislature, a place where McCain had won over all of his Republican rivals due to the endorsement of the governor and his support throughout the state. Central to Obama's victory over McCain in Florida was the African American electorate. The same story holds in both North Carolina and Virginia. The presumably solidly Republican South cracked at both the popular and electoral levels.

Graph 1.1 reveals this electoral crack in both the rise in the mean percentage of the vote for the Democratic Party and in the small decline in the mean vote for the Republican Party. This loss of three states in the region by a non-native-son, an outsider, speaks volumes about how well the African American electorate had mobilized itself. It also speaks volumes about how the surge could not have been merely a reaction and response to the Obama ground game.(n37) To credit this entire surge in both the primaries and the general election to Obama's "Get-out-the-Vote" drive would simply be overstating the case for sheer organizational effectiveness and ignoring the fact that the campaign never reached out to this electorate with any issues, proposals or policies that addressed their immediate community concerns. This surge came from internal self-determination, a variable not tested or even raised in the pre-and post-election polls.

However, despite the huge voter turnout and vote surge from the African American electorate in the region, there was not much that it could do in places where the white electorate did not split its vote and voted as a solid bloc for the Republican McCain. For example, in 2008 Mississippi nominee McCain ran some 1,600 votes more than Bush in 2004. Obama ran 62,131 votes more than 2004 nominee Kerry. Nevertheless, McCain beat Obama by 166,708 votes in the state.

A further analysis of this popular vote outcome, using exit poll data that provides empirical insights at the individual voter level, it is possible to see that none of the well known socio-economic variables mediated or moderated the white vote for McCain.(n38) Put differently, nearly all whites in Mississippi, of all age groups, income categories, education levels, and urban or rural locations, voted overwhelmingly for the Republican Party. This same rigid pattern appeared in Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama, and many of the other states of the Old Confederacy. Thus, with no Southern progressives or moderates to join them, to say nothing of closet liberals, the African American electorate had to turn out in unprecedented numbers and vote as strongly as possible to get their nominee a victory. This is why in every one of these eleven states of the Old Confederacy one sees a surge in the number of voters for nominee Obama over nominee Kerry in 2004. But the counter-surge by whites, who are always in the population and voter registration majority, simply outvoted the African American electorate. They sought to make sure that the dead certainty of the Red and Blue state divide remained intact. However, it did not, for it cracked at the periphery.

Percent of the Vote in the Eleven States of the Old Confederacy for Candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties for President of the United States:1976 to 2008

Election year	Democratic candidate	Republican candidate
1976	Jimmy Carter: 54.1%	Gerald Ford: 44.7%
1980	Jimmy Carter: 44.5%	Ronald Reagan: 51.4%
1984	Walter Mondale: 37.2%	Ronald Reagan: 62.4%
1988	Michael Dukakis: 40.9%	George Herbert W. Bush: 58.3%
1992	Bill Clinton: 41.2%	George Herbert W. Bush: 42.6%
1996	Bill Clinton: 46.2%	Robert Dole: 46.1%
2000	Al Gore: 43.5%	George W. Bush: 54.3%
2004	John Kerry: 42.4%	George W. Bush: 56.8%
2008	Barack Obama: 46.4%	John McCain: 52.6%

Conclusion: The African American Electorate, the Red and Blue State Divide and the Obama Victory

IN THE WANING DAYS of October 2008, the supporters and backers of nominee McCain began declaring on the airwaves and in the press, that despite the economic setback and distress in the nation and the problems inherent with the two wars and the rising unemployment in the nation--all factors which gave the Democrats a much more favorable election terrain--their candidate was within the margin of error in all of the public opinion polls. With great delight these pundits, commentators, Fox News Channel political advisors and talking heads declared without qualification or hesitation that their candidate, McCain, had a good and reasonable chance of winning. Political consultant and advisor Karl Rove led this argument about the dead certainty of the Red and Blue State divide with this homemade chart on channel after channel on a daily basis as October started to slip into November. And, as it did, Rove appeared on multiple news and entertainment shows with the same theme--the dead certainty of the Red and Blue State divide, which he had helped to create with his dual presidential victories for Bush and his midterm election victories for congressional Republicans in 2002 and 2004. However, none of his sunny predictions took into full account the African American electorate. For his part, McCain did not wane in proclaiming confidence in a Republican victory in the political battleground states. He was certain, dead certain, about his political geography.

Eventually, Rove lived to see his creation--the Red State-Blue State strategic model, along with his candidate, the Republican nominee, for whom he was now serving as part-time consultant and advisor--begin a process of dissipating and dissolving before his very eyes.⁽ⁿ³⁹⁾ On the night the election was called for the Democratic nominee, Rove declared that Obama's margin of victory compared to Bush's in 2004 was very small, less than two percent and dismissed it as a possible fluke. Yet, in his postmortem analysis nothing was said about the dramatic change in the Red and Blue state divide that had literally fallen apart as he watched it. Nine Republican states had shifted to the Democrats. And in his closing remarks, there was no hint, suggestion, or mention that this collapse at the level of the divide had been set into motion by the electoral surge, particularly of the African American electorate with the assistance of the Latino surge voting behavior, in some key states. Because of this racial and ethnic voting behavior at both the primary and general election levels, two notions of dead certainty in American presidential politics were left in ruins. Moreover, the historic election of 2008 left people wondering and guessing about the "for sure" prediction that never came to pass. Dead certainty was dead wrong in 2008.

OUR ANALYSIS cannot simply leave this matter without some critical reflection. In *The Souls of Black Folk*,⁽ⁿ⁴⁰⁾ W. E. B. Du Bois raised an apropos and insightful reflection that might be helpful in understanding this historic moment for the future. "Behind the thought," he wrote, "lurks, the afterthought." This leads us to raise the following questions. Is the electoral coalition of the 44th president sustainable? Is it viable? What are its limitations? Only time will tell if the African American electorate will support Obama again as vigorously in the next election as it did in 2008, if this new president forgets about their needs and wants. If the African Americans withdraw their support, there will be but a tenuous Democratic election coalition in the future.

Footnotes

⁽ⁿ¹⁾ Valeria Sinclair-Chapman and Melanye Price, "Black Politics, the 2008 Election, and the (un) Possibility of Race Transcendence" PS: Political Science and Politics (October, 2008), pp. 739-744; See also John Wilson, *Barack Obama: This Improbable Quest* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2008), pp. 165-166.

⁽ⁿ²⁾ Ibid.

⁽ⁿ³⁾ Martin Dupius and Keith Boeckelman, *Barack Obama, the New Face of American Politics* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2008), p. 120.

⁽ⁿ⁴⁾ Sinclair-Chapman and Price, p. 741.

⁽ⁿ⁵⁾ Thomas Edsall, *Building Red America: The New Conservative Coalition and the Drive for Permanent Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2006). See also Gertrude Himmelfarb, *One Nation, Two Cultures* (1999); Thomas Frank, *What's the Matter with Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004).

⁽ⁿ⁶⁾ See James Ceaser and Andrew Bush, *Red Over Blue* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005) and Larry Sabato, (ed.), *Divided States of America* (New York: Longman, 2006).

⁽ⁿ⁷⁾ John McCormick, "Obama plans major drive to register voters," *The Chicago Tribune*, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/politics/chicampaign%5ffri.1apr25.6081437.html> (accessed April 25, 2008); see also Adam Nagourney and Jeff Zeleny, "Obama Maps a Nationwide Push in G.O.P. Strongholds," *New York Times* online, <http://www.nytimes.com.gate.lib.buffalo.edu/2008/06/08/us/politics/08obama.html> (accessed June 8, 2008).

⁽ⁿ⁸⁾ Evan Thomas, "Divide and Conquer," *Newsweek* online, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/136156> (accessed May 9, 2008); Jonathan Weisman and Shailagh Murray, "Downside of Obama Strategy," *Washington Post* online, <http://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/03/07/AR2008030703318.html> (accessed March

8, 2008); Lanny Davis, "The Argument for Nominating Hillary," the Wall Street Journal online, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB1212190144534313.html> (accessed May 31, 2008).

[\(n9.\)](#) For the initial pioneering work see Hanes Walton, Jr., *Invisible Politics: Black Political Behavior* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), pp. 93-114.

[\(n10.\)](#) Samuel J. Eldersweld and Hanes Walton, Jr., *Political Parties in American Society* 2nd edition (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2000), pp. 360-361.

[\(n11.\)](#) Alex Poinsett, *Walking with Presidents: Louis Martin and the Rise of Black Political Power* (New York: Madison Book, 1997), pp. 80-85.

[\(n12.\)](#) *Ibid.*, pp. 80-85.

[\(n13.\)](#) Jeffrey Bartholet, "Vying for the Black Vote," *Newsweek* online, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/94527> (accessed January 17, 2008); Michael Luo, Jo Becker, and Patrick Healy, "Spending by Clinton Worries Supporters," *New York Times* online, <http://www.nytimes.com.gate.lib.buffalo.edu/2008/02/22/us/politics/22clinton.html> (accessed February 21, 2008); Ben Smith, "Racial Tensions Roil Democratic Race," *CBS News* online, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2008/01/11/politics/printable3702777.shtml> (accessed January 13, 2008); Charles Babington, "Bill Clinton: Race, Gender Key in S.C.," *USA Today* online, <http://www.usatoday.com/news/topstories/2008-01-24-4258109175%5fx.htm> (accessed January 23, 2008).

[\(n14.\)](#) See Hanes Walton, Jr. and Robert C. Smith, *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom*, 4th edition (New York: Longman, 2008), for a longitudinal view of presidential primary voting see pp. 135-138. For a look at this type of voting in Georgia during the campaigns of presidential candidate and incumbent Jimmy Carter see Hanes Walton, Jr., *The Native-Son Presidential Candidate: The Carter Vote in Georgia* (New York: Praeger, 1992), pp. 78-79; for the 1980, 87-89, for the 1984 election: 132-142.

[\(n15.\)](#) Vincent Hutchins and LaFleur Stephens, "African American Voters and the Presidential Nomination Process," in William Mayer (ed.), *The Making of the Presidential Candidates 2008* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2008), pp. 123-124.

[\(n16.\)](#) *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[\(n17.\)](#) *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[\(n18.\)](#) *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[\(n19.\)](#) *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

[\(n20.\)](#) Henry Lee Moon, *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote* (New York: Doubleday, 1948).

[\(n21.\)](#) Christopher Dickey, "Southern Discomfort," *Newsweek* online, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/150576> (accessed August 8, 2008); Jay Cost, "A Review of Obama's Voting Coalition, Part I," *Real Clear Politics*, http://www.realclearpolitics.com/horseraceblog/2008/05/a_review_of_obamas_voting_coalition_1.html (accessed May 27, 2008); Jay Cost, "A Review of Obama's Voting Coalition, Part II," *Real Clear Politics*, http://www.realclearpolitics.com/horseraceblog/2008/05/a_review_of_obamas_voting_coal_ii.html (access July 17, 2008); Jay Cost, "A Review of Obama's Voting Coalition, Part III," *Real Clear Politics*, http://www.realclearpolitics.com/horseraceblog/2008/05/a_review_of_obamas_voting_coal_iii.html (access July 17, 2008); Jay Cost, "How Obama Beat the Line," *Real Clear Politics*, http://www.realclearpolitics.com/horseraceblog/2008/05/how_obama_beat_the_line.html (access May 7, 2008).

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GRAPH: Graph 1.1 Percent of the Vote in the Eleven States of the Old Confederacy for Candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties for President of the United States: 1976 to 2008

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