

Superdelegates by State

"The idea that we can afford to have a big fight at the convention and then win the race in the next eight weeks, I think, is not a good scenario."

--Howard Dean, Chairman, Democratic National Committee

The following is a state-by-state analysis of superdelegates to the Democratic National Convention.

This analysis looks at the number of superdelegates compared with the number of pledged delegates and the number of electoral votes for each state. It also compares the allocation of delegates to the results of primaries/caucuses thus far.

Executive Summary

Neither Senator Hillary Clinton nor Senator Barack Obama is likely to reach the number of delegates needed to win the Democratic Party's Presidential nomination without the pledges of some superdelegates. There are significant differences of opinion among Democratic Party leaders over the appropriate role of superdelegates, a category of delegates that was instituted in 1984.

Some claim that superdelegates should exercise their independent political judgment in deciding whom to support for the nomination. Some note that, if superdelegates' role is simply to reflect the popular vote of their states, then they have no reason to exist.

Others argue that superdelegates should reflect the votes of their respective state primaries or caucuses and pledge their votes on the first ballot to the Presidential candidate who carried their state or their Congressional district. Some add that superdelegates should override the pledges of elected delegates only in the event that something unexpected, like a scandal, occurs and jeopardizes the electability of the front-runner.

While superdelegates comprise on average approximately 20% of all Democratic convention delegates, some state delegations will consist of a substantially higher percentage (30% or more) of superdelegates.

When superdelegates are combined with elected delegates, some states have total delegate allocations that are disproportionately higher than their percentage of electoral votes in the general election.

A comparison of the allocation of delegates to the results of primaries/caucuses shows that (excluding Florida and Michigan) Obama has received approximately 51.3% of the votes cast thus far and Clinton has received approximately 48.7%. If Florida's vote is included, then Obama's popular vote total is 50.7% and Clinton's is 49.3%. If both Florida's and Michigan's votes are included, then Obama's popular vote total is 50.2% and Clinton's is 49.8%.

According to the Associated Press, of those superdelegates who have indicated support for a Presidential candidate, Clinton currently has the support of 53.6% to Obama's 46.4%. Obama, however, has the support of 53% of pledged elected delegates to Clinton's 47%. Combining the two results in Obama having the support of 1,619 total delegates, or 52.0%, to Clinton's 1,495, or 48.0%.

Looking at the number of superdelegates in each state and territory, if they were allocated solely according to the statewide votes of primaries/caucuses thus far, Obama would have 365 superdelegates to Clinton's 299, excluding Florida and Michigan. If Florida and Michigan were included, Obama would have 373 superdelegates to Clinton's 326. Combined with elected delegates thus far, Obama would have a total of 1,779 delegates to Clinton's 1,575.

In 19 of the states that have already had primaries or caucuses, many superdelegates have thus far shown their independence from their respective states' results in deciding which Presidential candidate to support for the Democratic nomination.

Background

Who are the superdelegates to the Democratic Party's nominating convention?

Most of the 2008 convention delegates will be selected based on primaries and caucuses, as a result of which they are pledged to support a Presidential candidate in the first round of convention balloting. Elected delegates are bound to their candidate by state laws in some cases, but party rules allow them to vote their conscience ("in good conscience reflect the sentiments of those who elected them"). Superdelegates (sometimes referred to as "automatic" or "unelected"

delegates) will be seated based on their status as current or former elected officeholders and party officials. Superdelegates are not bound to support any particular candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination. They can change their allegiance to a candidate at any time.

The Democratic Party has two categories of superdelegates:

- (1) delegates seated based on other positions they hold, who are formally described in party rules as "unpledged party leader and elected official delegates," including "distinguished party leaders (DPLs) " and "party leaders and elected officials (PLEOs)"
- (2) additional unpledged delegates selected by each state party, who are formally described in party rules as "unpledged add-on delegates," and are sometimes referred to as "delegates-at-large."

When superdelegates were first created, only 60% of members of Congress were selected to play this role. Now every Democratic member of the House and Senate is in the first category of superdelegates, which also includes Democratic former Presidents and Vice Presidents, Democratic Governors, other former elected Democratic leaders, and over 400 members of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The second category includes 76 add-ons, most of whom will not be named until their states hold their own conventions later this year. States are allotted one add-on for every four seats they have on the DNC. (This number may be increased by up to five add-ons if Florida and/or Michigan delegates are seated.)

At the August 2008 convention in Denver, CO, 795 superdelegates will make up approximately one-fifth of the total number of 4,049 seated delegates. To win the Democratic Presidential nomination, a candidate will need at least 2,025 delegates. (It is possible that all of these numbers will change by the time the convention is called to order due to delegate resignations, relocations, vacancies, or other developments. The final number of total seated delegates may also be higher if some or all of Florida's and/or Michigan's delegates are seated.)

Neither Senator Hillary Clinton nor Senator Barack Obama is likely to reach the number of delegates needed to win the nomination without the pledges of some superdelegates. Just under 460 of the superdelegates have already indicated their current support for one of the two candidates. Among the organizations that are tracking the pledges of superdelegates are: ABC News; the Associated Press (AP); CBS News in conjunction with the New York Times; CNN; and Democratic

Convention Watch. The latter's Website (<http://demconwatch.blogspot.com>) includes a comprehensive tracker that is based on public information about each delegate and superdelegate.

Why does the Democratic Party have superdelegates to its Presidential nominating convention?

After the chaotic 1968 Democratic national convention in Chicago, IL, the Democratic Party established the McGovern-Fraser Commission to recommend changes in its delegate selection process. The purpose of the changes was to make the composition of the convention less subject to control by party leaders and more responsive to the votes cast during the campaign for the nomination. The changes were made in response to the 1968 nomination of then- Vice President Hubert Humphrey, despite his having won no primaries.

After the 1980 Democratic primaries, in which President Jimmy Carter was unsuccessfully challenged for re-nomination by Senator Edward Kennedy, but then went on to lose re-election to Republican Ronald Reagan, many Democrats felt that the party's nomination process had seriously weakened it. In 1982, a Democratic Party commission, chaired by former North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt, created the category of superdelegates. When the Hunt Commission's changes were implemented in 1984, superdelegates comprised 14% of all seated Democratic convention delegates. The number has steadily increased to this year's approximately 20%.

One study ("Are 'Superdelegates' Super?" by Richard Herrera, in *Political Behavior*, March, 1994) found that superdelegates and delegates selected through the primary and caucus process are not substantively different from each other in terms of viewpoints on issues. The study also found, however, that superdelegates are more likely to prefer candidates with Washington experience than outsider candidates.

In a recent Op-Ed piece, former Democratic Congresswoman and 1988 Vice Presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro, who served on the Hunt Commission, wrote that, as party leaders, superdelegates were supposed to "bring together the most liberal members of our party with the most conservative and reach accommodation." She added: "They would help write the platform. They would determine if a delegate should be seated. They would help determine the rules. And having done so, they would have no excuse to walk away from the party or

its presidential nominee.” (“Got a Problem? Ask the Super,” by Geraldine A. Ferraro, in *The New York Times*, February 25, 2008)

Ms. Ferraro made the argument that “superdelegates were created to lead, not to follow.” She advocated that superdelegates should exercise their independent political judgment in deciding whom to support for the nomination. Some have noted that, if superdelegates’ role is simply to reflect the popular vote of their states, then they have no reason to exist. Some have suggested that electability in November should be the primary criterion used by superdelegates in deciding whom to support.

Others have advocated that superdelegates should reflect the votes of their respective state primaries or caucuses and pledge their votes on the first ballot to the Presidential candidate who carried their state or their Congressional district. Some have suggested that whichever candidate has won the most delegates going into the national convention should be granted the pre-convention endorsement of all of the superdelegates as a national group, perhaps through a superdelegate mini-primary. Some have added that superdelegates should override the pledges of elected delegates only in the event that something unexpected, like a scandal, occurs and jeopardizes the electability of the front-runner.

Since superdelegates were first created, only one Democratic nomination race has been affected by the votes of superdelegates. In 1984, Walter Mondale won more elected delegates than Gary Hart in the primaries and caucuses. Mondale, however, needed the support of more than 200 superdelegates to win the nomination. He went on to lose the general election to Ronald Reagan.

The last Democratic nominating convention to need more than one ballot to determine the party’s nominee was in 1952, when Adlai Stevenson was nominated on the third ballot. There were no superdelegates at the 1952 convention. Stevenson went on to lose the general election to Republican Dwight Eisenhower.

State-by-State Numbers

<u>State</u>	<u>Total Number of Delegates</u>	<u>Number of Superdelegates (% of Total)</u>	<u>Number of Elected Delegates (% of Total)</u>	<u>Number of Electoral Votes</u>
Alabama	60	8 (13.3%)	52 (86.7%)	9
Alaska	18	5 (27.8%)	13 (72.2%)	3
Arizona	67	11 (16.4%)	56 (83.6%)	10
Arkansas	47	12 (25.5%)	35 (74.5%)	6
California	441	71 (16.1%)	370 (83.9%)	55
Colorado	70	15 (21.4%)	55 (78.6%)	9
Connecticut	60	12 (20.0%)	48 (80.0%)	7
Delaware	23	8 (34.8%)	15 (65.2%)	3
District of Columbia	39	24 (61.5%)	15 (38.5%)	3
Florida	210	25 (11.9%)	185 (88.1%)	27
Georgia	102	15 (14.7%)	87 (85.3%)	15
Hawaii	29	9 (31.0%)	20 (69.0%)	4
Idaho	23	5 (21.7%)	18 (78.3%)	4
Illinois	184	31 (16.8%)	153 (83.2%)	21
Indiana	85	13 (15.3%)	72 (84.7%)	11

<u>State</u>	<u>Total Number of Delegates</u>	<u>Number of Superdelegates (% of Total)</u>	<u>Number of Elected Delegates (% of Total)</u>	<u>Number of Electoral Votes</u>
Iowa	57	12 (21.0%)	45 (79.0%)	7
Kansas	41	9 (22.0%)	32 (78.0%)	6
Kentucky	60	9 (15.0%)	51 (85.0%)	8
Louisiana	66	10 (15.2%)	56 (84.8%)	9
Maine	32	8 (25.0%)	24 (75.0%)	4
Maryland	99	29 (29.3%)	70 (70.7%)	10
Massachusetts	121	28 (23.1%)	93 (76.9%)	12
Michigan	156	28 (18.0%)	128 (82.0%)	17
Minnesota	88	16 (18.2%)	72 (81.8%)	10
Mississippi	40	7 (17.5%)	33 (82.5%)	6
Missouri	88	16 (18.2%)	72 (81.8%)	11
Montana	25	9 (36.0%)	16 (64.0%)	3
Nebraska	31	7 (22.6%)	24 (77.4%)	5
Nevada	34	9 (26.5%)	25 (73.5%)	5
New Hampshire	30	8 (26.7%)	22 (73.3%)	4
New Jersey	127	20 (15.8%)	107 (84.2%)	15
New Mexico	38	12 (31.6%)	26 (68.4%)	5
New York	281	49 (17.4%)	232 (82.6%)	31

<u>State</u>	<u>Total Number of Delegates</u>	<u>Number of Superdelegates (% of Total)</u>	<u>Number of Elected Delegates (% of Total)</u>	<u>Number of Electoral Votes</u>
North Carolina	134	19 (14.2%)	115 (85.8%)	15
North Dakota	21	8 (38.1%)	13 (61.9%)	3
Ohio	162	21 (25.3%)	141 (74.7%)	20
Oklahoma	48	10 (20.8%)	38 (79.2%)	7
Oregon	65	13 (20.0%)	52 (80.0%)	7
Pennsylvania	187	29 (15.5%)	158 (84.5%)	21
Rhode Island	33	12 (36.4%)	21 (63.6%)	4
South Carolina	54	9 (16.7%)	45 (83.3%)	8
South Dakota	23	8 (34.8%)	15 (65.2%)	3
Tennessee	85	17 (20.0%)	68 (80.0%)	11
Texas	228	35 (15.4%)	193 (84.6%)	34
Utah	29	6 (20.7%)	23 (79.3%)	5
Vermont	23	8 (34.8%)	15 (65.2%)	3
Virginia	101	18 (17.8%)	83 (82.2%)	13
Washington	97	19 (19.6%)	78 (80.4%)	11

<u>State</u>	<u>Total Number of Delegates</u>	<u>Number of Superdelegates (% of Total)</u>	<u>Number of Elected Delegates (% of Total)</u>	<u>Number of Electoral Votes</u>
West				
Virginia	39	11 (28.2%)	28 (71.8%)	5
Wisconsin	92	18 (19.6%)	74 (80.4%)	10
Wyoming	18	6 (33.3%)	12 (66.7%)	3
<i>State Totals</i>	<i>4,311</i>	<i>837 (19.4%)</i>	<i>3,474 (80.6%)</i>	<i>538</i>
Other				
American Samoa	9	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)	0
Democrats Abroad	*11	4 (36.4%)	7 (63.7%)	0
<i>*The Democratic convention will actually seat 22 delegates abroad and each will have one-half of one vote.</i>				
Guam	9	5 (55.6%)	4 (44.4%)	0
Puerto Rico	63	8 (12.7%)	55 (87.3%)	0
Virgin Islands	9	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	0
<i>Totals</i>	<i>4,412</i>	<i>863 (19.6%)</i>	<i>3,549(80.4%)</i>	<i>538</i>

Analysis

Superdelegates as a percentage of total delegates

While superdelegates comprise on average approximately 20% of all Democratic convention delegates, some state delegations will consist of a substantially higher percentage (30% or more) of superdelegates. They are, in descending order with the winner of each state's primary or caucus in parentheses:

- District of Columbia 61.5% (Obama)
- North Dakota 38.1% (Obama)
- Rhode Island 36.4% (Clinton)
- Montana 36.0% (June 3 primary)
- Delaware 34.8% (Obama)
- South Dakota 34.8% (June 3 primary)
- Vermont 34.8% (Obama)
- Wyoming 33.3% (Obama)
- New Mexico 31.6% (Clinton)
- Hawaii 31.0% (Obama)

Number of delegates compared to electoral votes

When superdelegates are combined with elected delegates, some states have total delegate allocations that are disproportionately higher than their percentage of electoral votes in the general election. They are, in descending order of difference with the percentage of total state delegates vs. the percentage of total electoral votes, and the winner of each state's primary or caucus in parentheses:

- New York 6.52% delegates vs. 5.76% electoral votes (Clinton)
- Massachusetts 2.81% delegates vs. 2.23% electoral votes (Clinton)
- Michigan 3.62% delegates vs. 3.16% electoral votes (*Clinton)
- Maryland 2.30% delegates vs. 1.86% electoral votes (Obama)
- Pennsylvania 4.34% delegates vs. 3.90% electoral votes
(April 22 primary)
- Illinois 4.27% delegates vs. 3.90% electoral votes (Obama)
- District of Columbia .90% delegates vs. .56% electoral votes (Obama)
- North Carolina 3.11% delegates vs. 2.79% electoral votes
(May 6 primary)

- Wisconsin 2.13% delegates vs. 1.86% electoral votes (Obama)
- Washington 2.25% delegates vs. 2.04% electoral votes (Obama)
- Oregon 1.51% delegates vs. 1.30% electoral votes
(May 20 primary)
- Minnesota 2.04% delegates vs. 1.86% electoral votes (Obama)
- New Jersey 2.95% delegates vs. 2.79% electoral votes (Clinton)
- Connecticut 1.39% delegates vs. 1.30% electoral votes (Obama)

(*Michigan's primary vote is not currently recognized by the Democratic National Committee.)

With the exception of North Carolina, these are states that the Democratic Presidential ticket carried in 2004.

Allocation of Delegates

The following is a comparison of the allocation of delegates to the results of primaries/caucuses thus far.

Going into the April 22 Pennsylvania primary, approximately 26.5 million votes have been cast in Democratic Party primaries and caucuses (excluding Florida and Michigan). Obama has received approximately 13.6 million votes, or 51.3%, and Clinton has received approximately 12.9 million votes, or 48.7%. If Florida's vote is included, then Obama's popular vote total is just under 14.2 million, or 50.7%, and Clinton's is just under 13.8 million, or 49.3%. If both Florida's and Michigan's votes are included, then Obama's popular vote total is just under 14.2 million, or 50.2%, and Clinton's is 14.1 million, or 49.8%, out of the total number of votes cast thus far of 28.9 million.

According to the Associated Press, Clinton currently has the support of 246 superdelegates, or 53.6%, to Obama's 213, or 46.4%. Obama, however, has 1,406 pledged elected delegates, or 53%, to Clinton's 1,249, or 47%. Combining the two results in Obama having the support of 1,619 delegates, or 52%, to Clinton's 1,495, or 48%.

Looking at the number of superdelegates in each state and territory, if they were allocated solely according to the statewide votes of primaries/caucuses thus far, the results would be as follows:

<u>State</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Obama Superdelegates</u>	<u>Clinton Superdelegates</u>
Alabama	Obama – 56.0% Clinton – 41.6%	5	3
Alaska	Obama – 75.2% Clinton – 24.7%	4	1
American Samoa	Clinton – 57.4% Obama – 42.6%	1	2
Arizona	Clinton – 50.4% Obama – 42.4%	5	6
Arkansas	Clinton – 70.0% Obama – 26.3%	3	9
California	Clinton – 51.5% Obama – 43.2%	31	37
Colorado	Obama – 66.6% Clinton – 32.4%	10	5
Connecticut	Obama – 50.7% Clinton – 46.7%	6	5
Delaware	Obama – 53.1% Clinton – 42.3%	4	3
Democrats Abroad	Obama – 65.9% Clinton – 32.4%	3	1
District of Columbia	Obama – 75.3% Clinton – 23.8%	18	6

<u>State</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Obama Superdelegates</u>	<u>Clinton Superdelegates</u>
*Florida	Clinton – 49.8% Obama – 32.9%	8	12
Georgia	Obama – 66.4% Clinton – 31.1%	10	5
Hawaii	Obama – 75.8% Clinton – 23.6%	7	2
Idaho	Obama – 79.5% Clinton – 17.2%	4	1
Illinois	Obama – 64.7% Clinton – 32.8%	20	10
Iowa	Obama – 37.6% Clinton – 29.5%	5	4
Kansas	Obama – 74.0% Clinton – 25.8%	7	2
Louisiana	Obama – 57.4% Clinton – 35.6%	6	4
Maine	Obama – 59.5% Clinton – 39.9%	5	3
Maryland	Obama – 60.5% Clinton – 35.9%	18	10
Massachusetts	Clinton – 56.5% Obama – 41.1%	12	16
*Michigan	Clinton – 55.3% Obama -- NA	0	15

<u>State</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Obama Superdelegates</u>	<u>Clinton Superdelegates</u>
Minnesota	Obama – 67.1% Clinton – 32.2%	11	5
Mississippi	Obama – 60.6% Clinton – 37.2%	4	3
Missouri	Obama – 49.3% Clinton – 47.9%	8	8
Nebraska	Obama – 67.5% Clinton – 32.2%	5	2
Nevada	Clinton – 50.8% Obama – 45.1%	4	5
New Hampshire	Clinton – 39.1% Obama – 36.5%	3	3
New Jersey	Clinton – 53.8% Obama – 43.9%	9	11
New Mexico	Clinton – 48.9% Obama – 47.8%	6	6
New York	Clinton – 56.5% Obama – 39.7%	19	28
North Dakota	Obama – 61.3% Clinton – 36.7%	5	3
Ohio	Clinton – 54.3% Obama – 44.0%	18	22
Oklahoma	Clinton – 54.8% Obama – 31.2%	3	5

<u>State</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Obama Superdelegates</u>	<u>Clinton Superdelegates</u>
Rhode Island	Clinton – 58.4% Obama -- 40.4%	5	7
South Carolina	Obama – 55.4% Clinton – 26.5%	5	2
Tennessee	Clinton – 53.8% Obama – 40.5%	7	9
Texas	Clinton – 50.9% Obama – 47.4%	17	18
Utah	Obama – 56.7% Clinton – 39.1%	3	2
Vermont	Obama – 62.2% Clinton – 35.8%	5	3
Virgin Islands	Obama – 90.0% Clinton – 7.6%	5	1
Virginia	Obama – 63.7% Clinton – 35.5%	11	6
Washington	Obama – 67.5% Clinton – 31.2%	13	6
Wisconsin	Obama – 58.1% Clinton – 40.8%	11	7
Wyoming	Obama – 61.4% Clinton – 37.8%	4	2

(*Florida and Michigan's primary votes are not currently recognized by the Democratic National Committee.)

Totals without Florida and Michigan:	Obama – 365	Clinton -- 299
Totals with Florida:	Obama – 373	Clinton -- 311
Totals with Florida and Michigan:	Obama -- 373	Clinton -- 326

Combined with elected delegates thus far, and including both Florida and Michigan, Obama would have a total of 1,779 delegates to Clinton’s 1,575.

Of those superdelegates who have indicated their support for one of the Presidential candidates, there is significant disparity among some between such support and the votes of their respective states. Those states with the greatest disparity, in order of descending disparity by the primary/caucus winner’s margin points, are:

<u>State</u>	<u>Winner of Primary/ Caucus</u>	<u>Margin Points</u>	<u>Superdelegate Support</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Hawaii	Obama	52.2	Clinton	2:1
District of Columbia	Obama	51.5	Clinton	10:8
Alaska	Obama	50.5	Even	NA
Washington	Obama	36.3	Clinton	6:4
Colorado	Obama	34.2	Even	NA
So. Carolina	Obama	28.9	Even	NA
Virginia	Obama	28.2	Clinton	6:4
Maryland	Obama	24.6	Clinton	10:4
Oklahoma	Clinton	23.6	Even	NA
Louisiana	Obama	21.8	Clinton	3:1
Utah	Obama	17.6	Clinton	2:1
Massachusetts	Clinton	15.4	Obama	11:9

<u>State</u>	<u>Winner of Primary/ Caucus</u>	<u>Margin Points</u>	<u>Superdelegate Support</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Alabama	Obama	14.4	Clinton	3:1
Tennessee	Clinton	13.3	Even	NA
Delaware	Obama	10.8	Clinton	3:0
Ohio	Clinton	10.3	Obama	4:3
Nevada	Clinton	5.7	Even	NA
New Hampshire	Clinton	2.6	Obama	3:2
Missouri	Obama	1.4	Clinton	4:2

In 19 of the states that have already had primaries or caucuses, many superdelegates have thus far shown their independence from their respective states' results in deciding which Presidential candidate to support for the Democratic nomination.

Among subcategories of superdelegates:

- Obama has the support of 12 Governors to Clinton's 10, with 9 uncommitted.
- Obama has the support of 15 Senators to Clinton's 13, with 20 uncommitted.
- Clinton has the support of 73 House of Representatives members to Obama's 71, with 78 uncommitted.
- Clinton has the support of 140 members of the Democratic National Committee to Obama's 107, with 151 uncommitted.
- Clinton has the support of 10 distinguished party leaders to Obama's 4, with 5 uncommitted.
- Obama has the support of 2 add-ons to none for Clinton, with 74 uncommitted.

Remaining Primaries/Caucuses

An estimated 12 million individuals are eligible to vote in the 10 remaining Democratic primaries or caucuses (Pennsylvania, Guam, Indiana, North Carolina, West Virginia, Kentucky, Oregon, Puerto Rico, Montana, South Dakota.) Together, these states and territories will have 566 elected pledged delegates and 124 superdelegates.

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