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THE BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN MILLENNIAL

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Abstract

This article attempts to investigate the factors that have shaped the voting patterns of Black millennials in the United States over the past two presidential election cycles and would likely impact the upcoming 2020 presidential election. It argues that Black millennials, more than their White peers, draw from their life experiences in a United States of America where racism and a criminal justice system that is rigged against them have accelerated their desire to embrace causes that they believe would mushroom into a political agenda that serves their interests. Buoyed by the senseless murders of Africans at the hands of White policemen and the Black Lives Matter movement, Black millennials, unlike their fathers in the civil rights movement, are emboldened to seek justice in their own way, against an unfair system, not only through protests, but also and perhaps more importantly through the ballot box. To that end, this article maintains that Black millennials are inclined to vote more and for the party that would incorporate their agenda into its platform so as to shape the outcome of the next presidential election in favor their preferred candidate.

Introduction

The millennial generation, like Generation X and the baby boomers before them are often studied to determine the impact they have on society and its collective views and to identify those things that significantly impacted their generation. Any numbers of events in science, education, technology, mobility, economics and demographics, to name a few, have all marked the various generations in different ways. For purposes of this report, the authors look at the millennial generation to determine its views on social and political science.

Defining the "millennial" by age is not universally established yet. But for purposes of this report, we adopt the age span of people born between 1981 and 1996. Millennials are a fascinating group to study as they are currently the largest living adult generation in America and demographically, when compared to their parent's generation, millennials are better educated, more racially and ethnically diverse, slower to marry and older when starting families.

¹ Using the period used by the Pew Institute. Dimock, Michael. "Defining generations: Where Millennials end and Generation Z begins." *Pew Research Center: Facttank News in the Numbers*, 17 Jan. 2019, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/01/17/where-millennials-end-and-generation-z-begins/

Politically, millennials appear to lean more toward progressive politics than prior generations though their voter turnout has been reported at lower levels than the generations before them. The millennials are increasingly important to consider as their generation will be the next generation in charge of our world and looking at their trends may help determine the nation's political trajectory.

In the 2018 Midterm elections, millennials cast 26.1 million votes, far higher than the number of votes they cast in 2014. The voting rates increased the most for the Millennial generation, roughly doubling between 2014 and 2018 – from 22% to 42%.² In the 2016 presidential election, Hillary Clinton won 55 percent of the millennial vote while Donald Trump only garnered the support of 37 percent of the millennial electorate³.

There are over 75 million millennials in America, making up almost a quarter of the total U.S. population and 30% of the voting age population.⁴ Racially, Millennials are about 56% White and 30% are classified as Hispanic, Asian and bi- or multi-racial. ⁵ 14% of millennials identify as Black/African American. It is this group of millennials, Black/African American that this report focuses.

As of 2018, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Surveys, Blacks comprised 20 percent of the citizen voting age population in Houston and 22.8 percent of the citizen voting population in Harris County.

Houston elections bear out the strength of the Black vote. In every election that has taken place since 1979, a Black candidate has been elected to one of the five citywide council positions. During this period, non-mayoral Black candidates have won over 30 citywide contests, including the City Controller position in 2009, 2011 and 2013. Black registered voters within the city have propelled several Black mayoral candidates into a runoff election: Sylvester Turner in 1991, Lee Brown in 1997 and 2001, Gene Locke in 2009 and Sylvester Turner in 2015 and 2019. Of those, Brown's mayoral candidacy fared well, leading him to become a three time elected Mayor of Houston, and Sylvester Turner in 2015 (2019 is pending).⁶



September 2019, Democratic candidates for president of United States of America chose to debate the issues Southern Texas University, a historically black college/university. Throughout the week of the debate, the school of Public Affairs, through its political science department, conducted focus groups and surveys identify understand what black millennials identified as

the pressing issues of the day and where they saw themselves politically and within the larger population. To be sure, there were certain features of society that stood out with millennials that were also present as more vigorous external forces including technology, changes in the workforce, artificial intelligence, and changing

media, all of which were addressed during the focus groups and survey. We found the results from both to be compelling.

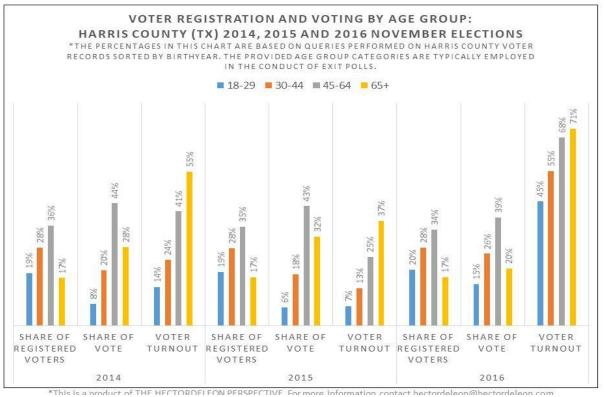
² Cilluffo, Anthony and Richard Fry. "Gen Z, Millennials and Gen X outvoted older generations in 2018 midterms." *Pew Research Center: Facttank News in the Numbers*, 29 May 2019, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/05/29/gen-z-millennials-and-gen-x-outvoted-older-generations-in-2018-midterms/. Accessed 14 Oct 2019

³ Galston, William A. and Clara Hendrickson. "How Millennials voted this election." The Brookings Institution, 21 Nov. 2016, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2016/11/21/how-millennials-voted/. Accessed 16 Oct. 2019

⁴ Frey, William H., "The Millennial Generation: A demographic bridge to America's diverse future." Metropolitan Policy Program at The Brookings Institution, Jan. 2018. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/2018-jan_brookings-metro_millennials-a-demographic-bridge-to-americas-diverse-future.pdf

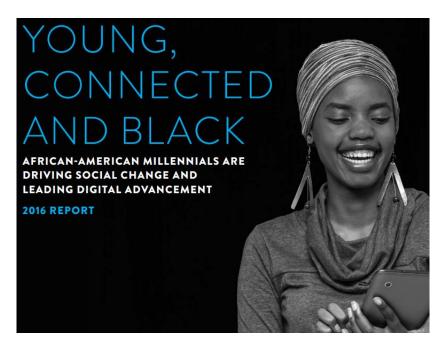
⁶ DeLeon, Hector, "Houston Voter Profile: What Does The Houston Electorate Look Like?" The HECTORDELEON PERSPECTIVE. http://www.hectordeleon.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Profile-of-Houston-Electorate.pdf





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⁸ DeLeon, Hector, "Voter Registration and Voting by Age Group: Harris County (TX) 2014, 2015 and 2016" The HECTORDELEON PERSPECTIVE. 16 Sept. 2018. https://www.hectordeleon.com/voter-registration-and-voting-by-age-group-harris-county-tx-2014-2015-and-2016-november-elections/



This report is written to share these findings as we more fervently discuss the state of the black millennial and how their voices will impact society.

This report is designed to address four questions:

- 1. Who are the black millennials?
- 2. The results of the Survey and Focus Groups
- 3. How black millennials assessed the democratic candidates for the 2020 presidential race
- 4. How black millennials would vote in the presidential and local mayoral races if the elections were held today.
- 5. What are the factors contributing to the voting patterns of Black Millennials?
- 6. What are the potential benefits of a large turnout of Black Millennials during the November 2020 Presidential election?

Who are the Black/African American Millennials?

Black millennials are defined, in part, by fluid lines of birth years, which begins around 1981 and ends around 1996. Overall, millennials are a generation shaped by the Iraq War, the Near-Depression, the rebuke of science and climate change, staggering income inequality, high student debt, changing workplace paradigms and the ascension of Barack Obama to the highest political office in America, the Presidency of the United States.

While there is a proliferation of studies of the millennial, generally, studies specifically aimed at black millennials are sparse. There are some indications of who the Black/African American millennial is and, at the risk of engaging somewhat in our own racial profiling, this report attempts to provide a somewhat stereotypical look into this group. First, black millennials appear to be secure with their voices and have, in some circles, been called the movement generation. From vigorous challenges of police and judicial based injustices⁹ to seeking non-traditional ways of realizing their American Dreams, this group unabashedly tells its own story. Second, millennial politicians are looking outside traditional black political seats as they set their sights on becoming mayors, governors and national legislators.

Anecdotal evidence indicates that black millennials are far more likely to live in urban communities rather than in suburban or rural locations. They live at home with their parents longer, marry later and start families at later ages than their grandparents' and parents' generations. Black millennials are less forgiving of America's failures; in the words of one Black millennial, "I thought that, after 400 years in this country, black people wouldn't have to remind the world that our lives matter. But I was wrong." ¹¹⁰

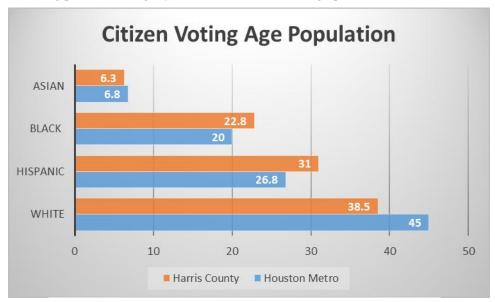
She is not alone. Black millennials think differently from millennials overall on the issue of race. For example, a recent Washington Post study showed that Black millennials are more likely to identify race/racism as

⁹ Black millennials have been at the forefront of challenges to the unjust justice system from the killings of Sean Bell, Aiyana Stanley-Jones and Trayvon Martin to the fight for increased minimum wages to changing the way we think about things like 'reform' which has evolved to 'transforming'.

¹⁰ Allen, Reniqua, "The Missing Black Millennial." The New Republic. available at https://newrepublic.com/article/153122/missing-black-millennial 20 Feb. 2019

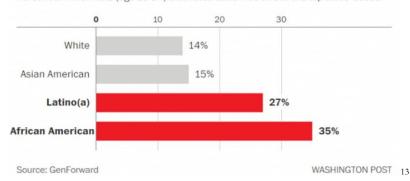
a major problem in America and they are more likely than their non-black peers to list police brutality as a top problem in America.

In 2018, Black millennials comprised 33 percent of the black voting age citizens in the Houston metro area and 35 percent of the black voting age citizens in Harris County. They also comprised 6.6 percent of the voting age citizens in the Houston metro area and 7.9 percent of the voting age citizens in Harris County. ¹¹ This data shows that black millennials have a greater voting potential than the Asian demographic in Harris County and black millennials' voting potential is slightly less than the Asian demographic in the Houston metro area. ¹²



Millennials are divided along racial and ethnic lines in the importance of the problem of racism in the country today

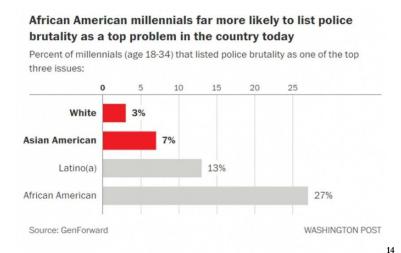
Percent of millennials (age 18-34) that listed racism as one of the top three issues:



Data was calculated from US Census Bureau American Community Surveys 2018. Data for Houston is the Houston Metropolitan Area. https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/

Data was calculated from US Census Bureau American Community Surveys 2018. https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/

¹³ Lewis, Nicole, "Think millennials are woke? A new poll suggests some are still sleeping on racism." The Washington Post, 10 Aug 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/08/10/think-all-millennials-are-woke-a-new-poll-suggests-some-are-still-sleeping-on-racism/



About the Focus Groups

Texas Southern University in Houston, Texas conducted four focus groups during the week of the

Democratic primary debates held on its campus in September 2019. Houston serves as a unique backdrop for this discussion because it has one of the highest metropolitan population growth rates (eighth in the nation) for millennials with a ranking of third in Black Millennials population growth.¹⁵

The focus groups were designed to understand how Black millennials see the world. It looked primarily at their impressions of technology and the changing workforce. Findings revealed that the participants were generally both hopeful and thoughtful.

"Cashiers are going away, but other jobs are created."
"There's a shortage of IT professionals. Focus on retraining."

Focus Group Participants

Members of the first focus group, comprised of a mixture millennials and generation X, expressed concern and optimism about the impact of new technologies on the workforce, and most agreed that technology will eliminate some jobs and create new ones. There was a strong sense that this workforce transformation is already happening and noticeable, with companies like Tesla and Amazon among the most visible.

Participants in this first focus group were optimistic that, despite the loss of jobs, technology innovations will create new jobs in their place. In order to do this, members of the focus group stressed that the existing workforce needs to be retrained in areas of growing demand. The at-risk areas included jobs in retail, manufacturing, and trucking. The growing demand areas included jobs in IT and STEM fields. 17

The focus group discussed facial recognition technology and how law enforcement should be allowed to utilize the technology when trying to solve crimes. The majority expressed concerns with the accuracy of the facial recognition technology and potential for false arrest. There is additional worry that the imaging of the photographs could vary due to skin tone. Overall, the group believes that thoughtful policies need to be put in place to protect people from the inherent and implicit biases of these types of technological advances.

There was consensus that technology, personal computers and cellphones, should be used in the future for voting for the general population with safe guards in place that protect against security vulnerabilities and voter fraud. The group believed that using these readily accessible electronics would greatly increase voter turnout.

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¹⁴ Ibid

Supra note 4

¹⁶ Thompson, Derek, "The Silent Crisis of Retail Employment." The Atlantic. 18 April 2017. https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/04/the-silent-crisis-of-retail-employment/523428/

¹⁷ Fayer, Stella, Alan Lacey and Audrey Watson, "STEM Occupations: Past, Present, and Future." U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. January 2017. https://www.bls.gov/spotlight/2017/science-technology-engineering-and-mathematics-stem-occupations-past-present-and-future/pdf/science-technology-engineering-and-mathematics-stem-occupations-past-present-and-future.pdf

These black millennials embraced celebrities' first amendment rights to use social media and other nontraditional platforms to express their political opinions and leanings. However, when asked how impressive celebrity opinions were the millennials believed that celebrity opinions and sit downs with politicians had little effect on their views of politicians or would not likely sway their vote.

This view on celebrity influence was shared by the second focus group convened to give their opinions. The second focus group, constituted mainly of millennials, found that black millennials are likely heavy consumers of news from a variety of major newspapers and television networks through their digital brands. The group still used traditional news reporting media like ABC News, CNN, The Wall Street Journal, and NPR and found their reporting to be more accurate than other sources. However, but they relied heavily on digital news from Twitter, Snapchat, and Youtube through websites and cellular phone applications and rarely read traditional print newspapers.

The second focus group shared the sentiments of the first focus group regarding the use of technology in voting. One issue they saw arising from the easy accessibility to voting would be that the convenience could encourage disinterested voters to vote but also would encourage people to vote as a joke.

About the survey

Following the democratic primary presidential debates, TSU conducted a survey of 205 participants. The survey respondents were likely voters in the presidential elections as well as the election for Houston's mayor; 58.33% were registered voters in Houston.

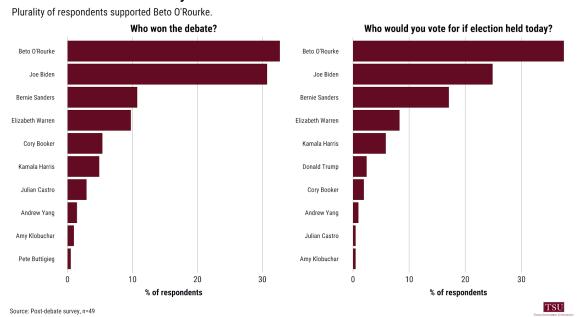
Demographics

The respondents were 63% female, 36% male, 0.5% Non-binary and 0.5% abstained from answering the question. The self-reporting racial breakdown was 85.4% black/African American, 7.8% white, 5.4% multiracial, 1% Asian and 0.5% native Hawaiian/pacific islander. The age grouping was 17-24 (73%), 25-29 (10.2%), 30-39 (9.3%), 40-49 (2.9%), 50-59 (1.5%), 60-60 (1.5%) and unknown (1.5%).

Slightly more than 30% of the respondents thought that Beto O'Rourke won the debate, followed by Joe Biden at a little over 30%. The remaining candidates had 10% or less support among the black millennials, with Pete Buttigieg polling last at about 1%.

When asked who they would vote for president if the election was held today, about 38% responded Beto O'Rourke. Joe Biden came in at a distant 25% with Amy Klobucher and Julian Castro polling last at about 1%.

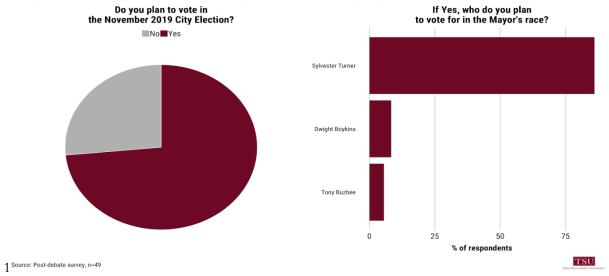
Who won and who would you vote for?



The post-debate respondents were also asked about their preferences in the upcoming Houston mayoral election. Respondents showed a clear preference for Sylvester Turner, who was by far the favorite with about 80% of the respondents supporting his candidacy. Dwight Boykins polled second at about 12% ahead of Tony Buzbee who was favored by about 8%.

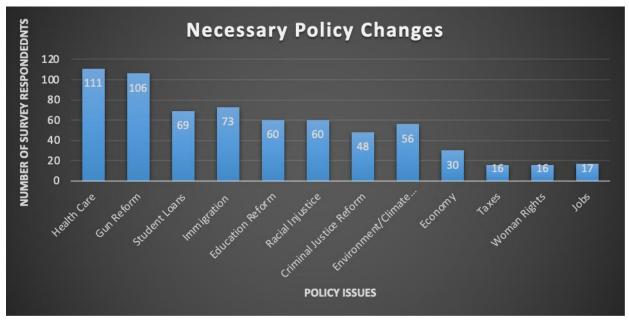
Houston Mayor's Race

Nearly 3-in-4 respondents plan to vote in Houston's mayor's race; most are voting for Sylvester Turner.



What are the most important policy issues that need to be addressed by Congress and the President?

The survey respondents were asked to name the three most important public policy issues facing America that Congress and the President need to address. This question was a write-in question where rather than selecting from an answer bank of choices, the respondents could select any policy issue. The two overwhelming choices were Healthcare and Gun law reform with 111 and 106 individuals selecting these choices respectfully. The next top issues in order were immigration laws (73), student loans (69), racial injustice (60), education reform (60), environment/climate change (56), criminal justice reform (48) and the economy (30). The rest of the choices with over 10 respondents choosing that policy issue can be seen in the chart below. The choices that were limited to five respondents or less choosing an issue were left off this reporting.



What are the factors contributing to the Voting patterns of Black Millennials?

The results of the survey above clearly indicate the policy issues that drove the assessments of the potential presidential candidates at the time, by black millennials. That survey assessed the policy issues advocated by the ten presidential candidates, that needed to be addressed by whoever would eventually emerge as the democratic presidential candidate to face Donald Trump in the November 2020 election. The top seven policy issues that needed some sort of policy change by an incoming democratic president included: health care, gun reform, student loans, immigration reform, educational reform, racial justice and criminal justice reform. That was before Joe Biden emerged as the democratic presidential nominee for president of the United States.

Mindful of the support that he received from the African American community, as he beat the other democratic candidates in an unusually large field of contenders, the Biden for president campaign platform has adopted virtually the same top policy issues in the final stretch of the campaign before the November 2020 presidential election.

A critical point to raise at this juncture is to ascertain the factors that have galvanized the black millennial in the United States since the Obama administration, to raise their voices and seek to claim their piece of the American pie by advancing a political agenda that would culminate in electoral victory in November 2020. According to Allen Reniqua, the worldview of Black millennials who were born between 1981 and 1996 and make up 14% of the millennial, has been shaped by their experiences in the post-race era of the 1960s, ranging from the Rodney King beating, the historic rise of Barack Obama to become the first black president in the United States and the subsequent racist treatment of him and his wife, the shootings of Mike Brown, Michael Floyd, Breona Taylor and many other black young men and women by white police officers, the election of Donald Trump who has shown little regard for African American lives. to the emergence and consolidation of the Black Lives Matter. In Reniqua's words, "the story of the black millennial is the story of what it means to be black" 18. She also argues that like most millennials, black millennials face a number of economic challenges including student debt, falling wages, an economy that provides little security and a housing market that has priced out the working and middle classes. In her view, they are facing an uncertain future in a manner that previous generations never experienced. While Black millennials may have similarities with their white peers in some areas of life, there are significant differences in several areas between the two groups. For example, black millennials have to deal with a history of discrimination and racism, and generally fall behind their White peers when it comes to getting employed in good jobs with good wages. They have less accumulated wealth, live in poverty and even when they attempt to go to college, they are burdened with huge student loans.¹⁹ .Black millennials, like their parents and grandparents are increasingly being held to different standards by the criminal justice system. They are more likely to be stopped by white police and subjected to rough interrogation tactics over minor traffic offenses and sometimes they end up getting killed. Black millennials have also been emboldened by a new breed of African American politicians, who are demanding that voters accept them for who they are and have remained "unapologetically black". 20. Black millennials envision living and enjoying the kind of freedom that their white peers take for granted and that is motivating them to bring about a just, free and fair society in which they can excel through the ballot box. They yearn for a society where they can afford decent housing, health care and economic opportunity. Black millennials are burnout as a result of the trauma they have faced trying to fight against a system that is rigged against them politically, economically and socially. Worse still, they are fearful of a justice system that has treated them unfairly historically²¹. According to Frank Newport, one of the factors that will impact the outcome of the 2020 Presidential election will be turnout by eligible black voters including millennials and this will be driven in large part by the candidate's positions on high salience issues such as race and racism which African Americans, more than whites, identify as the number one problem facing the nation. Consequently, the candidate that identifies with black causes that shape their agenda will attract a lot of the black vote including that of millennials. To that end, Joe Biden, who has been out speaking about the relevance of the Black Lives Matter and against police brutality related the killings of George Floyd, Breona Taylor and other young black men, as well systemic racism in the United states will garner most of the black vote including black millennials.²² Newport also argues that while Biden's popularity among African Americans is not as high as that of Obama, the fact that his Vice Presidential candidate is Kamala Harris may help to energize black voters and black millennials to turn out to vote if she can generate sufficient enthusiasm among black vote. Biden and Kamala Harris would have to endeavor to increase the black vote by emphasizing the policy actions and initiatives that they would take to improve racial inequities particularly by contrasting their approach with Trump's emphasis on restraining peaceful protests, that he labels as thugs and looters, in the name of law and order.²³

¹⁸ Allen, Reniqua, "The Missing Black Millennial." The New Republic. available at https://newrepublic.com/article/153122/missing-black-millennial 20 Feb. 2019

¹⁹ Ibid

 $^{^{20}}$ Ibid

²¹ Ibid

Frank Newport "Black Turnout in the 2020 Election" Polling Matters available at https://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/320903/black-turnout-2020-election.aspx.

²³ Ibid

As observed by Rogowski and Cohen, black millennials are likely to turn out in significant numbers to vote in the November 2020 election because of the impact of the mobilization of black youth by Democrats and community organizations beginning in 2008, when Barack Obama first ran for president and continuing in 2012 through 2021 when Hillary Clinton ran for president. Black youth were reported to have been contacted by the democratic party often between 2008 and 2016. Non- party sources of mobilization, including community organizations also played important roles in contacting or communicating with black youth in 2008, dropping slightly in 2012, and increasing somewhat in 2016. These organizations included social or recreational groups, groups promoting racial interests, youth groups, churches or places of worship and neighborhood and community organizations. Black youths were mobilized to turn out in in significant numbers 2008 and 2012 by these organizations because of the money that was allocated to mobilizing these young people²⁴. If significant amounts of money were allocated to mobilizing black youth in 2016 as well as in 2020, the same turn outs that were experienced in 2008 and 2012 could be expected to materialize in 2020. Rogowski and Cohen also note that black youths' identification with party and vote choice has always accounted for their desire to turn out to vote. According to them, black youth have provided the most positive assessment of the Democratic party (57.8%), followed by Latino youth (47.5%). Consequently, "black youth prefer the Democratic party at considerably higher rates than white youth"25. If the preference of black youth for the Democratic party can be sustained in 2020, an impressive turnout from them could be anticipated.

The other factor that has contributed to the voting patterns of black youths or millennials has been their approval of the president's performance, especially his stance relative to the issues that matter to them. Throughout the Obama Presidency, black youth's approval of Obama was over 80%, followed by an approval rating of 68.5% by Latino youth. By contrast, white youth had a negative rating of Obama at 43.9%. Clearly, Joe Biden and Kamala Harris will not be able to garner the kind of favorable ratings that black youth had of Barack Obama. However, it is conceivable that their preference for the Democratic party and the fact that a Biden/Harris ticket is more likely to address the issues that matter to them, better than a Trump/Pence ticket, could well motivate them to turn out in impressive numbers to support the Democratic nominee in November 2020.

What are the potential benefits of a large turnout of Black Millennials during the November 2020 Presidential Election?

If the factors contributing to the voting patterns of black millennials could be effectively marshalled to come into play during the November 2020 presidential election culminating in an impressive turn out of black millennials to vote for the Biden/Harris ticket, several advantages that are beneficial to issues that matter to black millennials and African Americans, as a whole, may well emerge. For one thing their involvement in the political process, also known as participatory politics, would have paid off. In the run up to the November 2020 Presidential election, the key issues that black millennials, and African Americans in general are concerned with include their perception of the legal/criminal justice system with respect to issues of race, racism and inclusion, as manifested by the Black Lives Matter Movement, jobs and employment, Healthcare and the Affordable Care Act, Student loans, immigration reform, rights of the LGBT community.

If a large turnout of black millennials and African Americans in the November 2020 Presidential election materializes into a Biden/Harris victory, the black community as a whole would expect a Biden administration to be actively engaged in a robust criminal justice reform initiative that would include police reform, especially the lack of trust by African Americans in the relationship between law enforcement and black communities, the sentencing of black offenders, the implementation of policies that would spur economic growth and generate employment for black millennials, compared to their white peers. Given that COVID-19 has taken a huge toll on African American and minority communities with pre-existing health conditions, it is expected that a Biden administration would fight hard to sustain the Affordable care Act and reform it to ensure that affordable healthcare is extended to minority communities across the nation. Black millennials, more than their white peers, are burdened with enormous student loan debts. It is expected that a Biden administration would be willing to engage in some type of student debt reform that would provide relief to millions of black millennials who are unable to repay their student loans. Immigration reform is also another issue that impacts black millennials. There are millions of black immigrants among the over 12 million illegal immigrants currently living in the United States who come from the Caribbean and Africa who could well benefit from immigration reforms that would allow them to become legal citizens in the United States, after going through a process prescribed by the government.

²⁴ Jon Rogowski & Cathy Cohen" Black Millennials in America: Documenting the Experiences, Voices and Political future of Young Black Americans" available at: https://blackyouthproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/BYP-millenials-report-10-27-15-FINAL.pdf.

²⁵ Ibid, P.26

LGBT rights will have to strengthened under a Biden administration so as to forestall the onslaught on this community by far right groups and religious bigots. Finally, if black millennial support or African American support in general, results in a Biden victory some measure of political efficacy of this group would have been attained that could translate into meaningful political change that positively impacts issues of interest to them.

Conclusion

In sum until recently Black/African American millennials have not been often studied when compared to their White counterparts but they are highly engaged and aware of current events and politics. Recent studies are beginning to chronicle the factors that are contributing to the voting patterns of Black millennials and their attitudes toward the political system and the political process. They trend toward being registered Democrats but appear open to other parties if only those parties embrace issues that are of interest to them. For example, more of them supported Trump for reelection, about 5% which is greater than those who supported Corey Booker (4%), Andrew Yang (3.5%) or Julian Castro and Amy Klobucher (each at about 1%). However, given the onset of COVID-19 and the devastating impact it has had in African American communities, rising numbers of violent incidents perpetrated on African Americans by white police officers, President Trumps failed leadership in handling the corona virus, and his unwillingness to condemn the activities of white supremacist and militia groups, it is unlikely that black millennial support, if any, for the re-election of Donald Trump will be worth mentioning.

On a positive note, Black millennials are hopeful for their futures and the future of the United States, but have suffered traumatic disappointment from the state of race, the justice system and the grossly disparate family incomes, the lack of affordable healthcare, employment concerns and their seemingly fleeting glimpse of the American dream. This report provides only a snapshot of this dynamic generation which should be studied more closely and on a much broader scale.



Their voices are strong and compelling...we should listen.

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