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# **Blacks and the 2010 Midterms: A Preliminary Analysis**

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What follows is a brief review of some of the available evidence on what transpired on November 2, 2010, when the Democrats lost their majority in the U.S. House of Representatives and at least 19 state legislative chambers, maintained control in the U.S. Senate, and lost several important gubernatorial elections. The black vote was critical to the outcome of some closely contested elections, but it was not decisive in many more of them. In particular, this review will focus on the behavior and significance of African-American voters in the 2010 midterm elections, the changing numbers and profile of black candidates for both federal and statewide office, and their performance at the polls.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

**BLACK VOTER TURNOUT IN THE 2010 MIDTERMS: NATIONAL.** National turnout in the 2010 midterm elections was up slightly from 2006. The Committee for the Study of the American Electorate estimates that a total of 90 million voters turned out on November 2, and overall turnout increased slightly from 40.8 percent in 2006 to 42.0 percent in 2010.<sup>1</sup> Black voters turned out at slightly higher rates than in 2006, reflecting the overall small secular increase. According to exit polls<sup>2</sup>, the black share of the 2010 vote was 10 percent [**Table 1**]; the black share was also 10 percent in the 2006 midterms. This is a smaller percentage than in the 2008 presidential election when it was 13 percent, but presidential and midterm elections are not comparable, and further, 2008 was the first time an African American was a major party nominee for president. Thus, on balance, there is no evidence of a decline in the black vote nationally, but rather, black turnout appears to have increased slightly from the previous midterms.

The Committee for the Study of the American Electorate also reports that the Republican vote in 2010 increased 2.1 percentage points from 2006, and the Democratic vote declined 4.7 percentage points.

**BLACK VOTER TURNOUT IN THE 2010 MIDTERMS: THE STATES.** While black turnout nationally increased slightly between 2006 and 2010, the magnitude of black turnout across the country varied significantly from state to state [**Table 2**]. Our understanding of the total picture on black turnout--at least at this time--is made more difficult

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<sup>1</sup> All 2006 and 2010 turnout figures are from the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, and can be found at [http://www.american.edu/media/news/20101104\\_Huge\\_GOP\\_Victory\\_Comes\\_Amid\\_Minor\\_Turnout\\_Increase.cfm](http://www.american.edu/media/news/20101104_Huge_GOP_Victory_Comes_Amid_Minor_Turnout_Increase.cfm)

<sup>2</sup> The exit polls were done by the Edison/Mitofsky organization, and may be found at <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2010/results/polls.main/#>.

because there were several states with large black populations where state-specific exit polls were not conducted, including Alabama, Georgia, and Maryland. Black turnout information for these states will not be available until the U.S. Census Bureau releases its report on Registration and Voting from the November 2010 Current Population Survey (CPS), which is likely to be at least a year hence.

There were several states where the exit polls indicate that black turnout increased substantially. However, in some of these states, Non-Hispanic white support went so strongly for the opposing side, that the black vote was not determinative. Given the small increase in the black vote nationally, but large increases in the black vote in some of the largest states, black turnout was certainly flat or declined significantly in some states.

While black turnout nationally increased only modestly, black turnout in 2010 was strategically effective in a few places, although not enough in others. There were large and impressive increases in black turnout in California, Delaware, Illinois, New York, Ohio, Texas, and perhaps Indiana; there were small increases in Pennsylvania and Nevada. Turnout was flat but strong in Missouri. For Indiana, there is no 2006 data to use as a comparison, but the black share of the state vote was higher in 2010 than it was in 2008, a banner year for black turnout. Finally, there was a significant decline (about 21 percent) in the black share of the state vote in Florida--from 14 percent in 2006 to 11 percent in 2010.

It is important for the narrative of the 2010 midterm elections to examine where black voters were a critical factor in the outcome of the elections. Strong black turnout in New York, California, and Delaware certainly contributed to a strong Democratic showing in those states. In New York, black voters increased from 10 percent of all voters in 2006 to 18 percent in 2010, and in California (where the Democrats won all of the top offices) the black share of the vote nearly doubled from 2006 with the black share increasing from five to nine percent; in Delaware, where the black share of the vote was at an all time high at 22 percent, the Democrats held the U.S. Senate seat of Vice President Biden and picked up a seat in the U.S. House. The increase in black turnout in Nevada also contributed to Senate majority leader's Harry Reid's re-election, and while there were no exit polls in Connecticut, the Democrats held retiring Senator

Chris Dodd's seat, and took over the Governor's office; the GOP candidate for governor was leading until the results from Bridgeport, which has a large black population, were counted.

Probably the two states most emblematic of 2010 for black voters were Illinois and Ohio. Black turnout in Illinois was spectacular for a midterm election. The black share of the total vote in Illinois increased from 10 percent in 2006 to 19 percent in 2010 (20 percent in the U.S. Senate contest). At the top of the ticket in Illinois were competitive U.S. Senate (President Obama's seat) and Governor races. According to the exit polls, in the U.S. Senate race, the Democratic Alexi Giannoulias received 31 percent of the white vote and lost a very close race to Republican Mark Kirk. In the Governor's race, Democrat Pat Quinn received 33 percent of the white vote and **won** a close race. Thus, due to a strong black turnout, a Democrat is elected governor with only one-third of the white vote, and a Democrat loses a close race for the U.S. Senate despite a strong black vote because he could not manage to win the votes of even one-third of whites.

Ohio was another state where the black vote increased significantly, increasing from 12 percent of all voters in 2006 to 15 percent of all voters in 2010. However, the statewide Democratic candidates did not receive the support of enough white voters to win. Ted Strickland, the Democrat's candidate for governor, received only 38 percent of the white vote, and thus, despite a strong black vote, he lost a close election.

There were other states where a solid black turnout was insufficient to change the outcome because the Democratic candidate failed to get enough white support to emerge victorious. Pennsylvania Democratic U.S. Senate candidate received solid black support but his 43 percent white support was insufficient to win in a very close election. Democrat Robin Carnahan had even stronger black support in her U.S. Senate run in Missouri, but she failed to get even one-third of the white vote.

The narrative of U.S. House races was very similar. The Democrats lost over 60 seats in 2010, including more than a dozen in districts with a significant black vote. In districts with at least 10 percent black voting-age population, the Democrats lost seats: Alabama (1), Arkansas (2), Florida (2), Louisiana (1), Maryland (1), Mississippi (2), Ohio (2), South Carolina (1), Tennessee (1), Texas (1), and Virginia (2). However,

Democrats held on to House seats in such districts in North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia, and picked up seats in Delaware and Louisiana (New Orleans).

**A PERSPECTIVE ON 2010 AND 2012.** The results of 2010 Midterms--held during a period of severe economic downturn--were a repudiation of the party in power, the Democrats, as is always the case during periods of economic distress. Turnout was about 42 percent versus about 60 percent in 2008. There were 39 million people who voted for President Obama in 2008 who did not turn out in 2010. The exit polls suggest that the people who voted in 2010--much older and whiter than the electorate in 2008--liked the Republican party no more than the Democratic party. The Republicans gained control of one branch of the federal legislature in Washington; they do not control the federal government. There is another important datum from the 2010 elections that has been little noted: many of the gains that the Republicans made were by the slimmest of margins in U.S. Senate races, Governor's races, and U.S. House races. Every year that passes, the U.S. population becomes less white, with the white working class especially in decline. The winning Republican U.S. Senate and gubernatorial candidates will not be on the ballot in 2012, when the composition of the electorate will be quite different than it was in 2010, but all of the newly elected Republican U.S. House members will be on the ballot--and an improved economy and a different electorate could easily change the new status quo.

**AFRICAN-AMERICAN VOTERS: PARTISAN DIRECTION IN THE 2010 MIDTERMS.** Across the country, the black vote in U.S. House elections was 90 percent Democratic and nine percent Republican [**Table 1**]. There again was a gender gap among African-Americans in 2010 with black women (93 percent Democratic vs. six percent Republican) voting more Democratic than black men (84 vs. 14 percent). The black vote in 2010 was three-to-two female to male as has been the case in many recent elections.

As expected, there was no partisan shift toward the Republican party given their attacks on President Obama, who remains exceptionally popular with African Americans. There were very few individual Republican candidates who fared better

with black voters than the black population's partisanship would anticipate **[Table 2]**; the GOP's two losing candidates at the top of the ticket in California, Meg Whitman (21 percent) and Carly Fiorina (17 percent) were the only Republicans who garnered above average support from African Americans.

**BLACK CANDIDATES FOR STATEWIDE CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICE IN 2010.** There were 15 black candidates who sought statewide constitutional office in 2010 **[Table 3a]**, six women and nine men. The 15 candidates included 14 Democrats and one Republican. Of the 15 black candidates for statewide office, seven were winners--six Democrats and the lone Republican.

Among the Democratic statewide nominees, the most prominent victors were Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick, re-elected to a second term; this is the first time a black governor has been re-elected. Also re-elected was Maryland Lieutenant Governor Anthony Brown, and in a first, Republican Jennifer Carroll was elected the Lieutenant Governor of Florida. Other noteworthy firsts were the election of Kamala Harris to be California Attorney General, and Chip Flowers was elected Delaware's Treasurer, the first time a black candidate won statewide office in Delaware. Finally, long-time officeholders Illinois Secretary of State Jesse White and Connecticut Treasurer Denise Nappier were returned to office.

**BLACK CANDIDATES FOR FEDERAL OFFICE IN THE 2010 MIDTERMS.** In 2010, there were 63 black candidates running for federal office--60 for U.S. House seats and three for U.S. Senate seats **[Tables 4, 5, and 6]**. This was an increase from 56 in 2008 and 57 in 2006. The 2008-2010 increase included six more Republicans and one additional Democrat; the 48 Democratic candidates equals the all-time high.

Of the 48 black Democratic nominees in 2010, 37 were black incumbents and 11 were challengers or running for open seats. For the first time since 1994, two Republicans were elected to the U.S. House; Tim Scott was unopposed in SC-1 and Alan West defeated incumbent Ron Klein in FL-22. The remaining 13 Republican candidates all were defeated. The number of black women among the Democratic nominees equaled the previous record (17) and more were victorious than ever before (15). No incumbent CBC member ran unopposed in 2010, a first since the Joint Center began tracking black candidates in 1990. There were also a record number of black-white contests in the 2010 midterms (44).

The outcomes of the 2010 midterms for black federal candidates were generally favorable [**Table 6**], with all black incumbents re-elected, and several new black members elected to the U.S. House. Black membership in the U.S. House will be at an all-time high in the new Congress with 44 black members – 42 U.S. Representatives and two Delegates. As noted above, there will be two new black Republicans in the U.S. House. Representative-elect Cedrick L. Richmond (D-LA-2) who defeated the Republican incumbent and represents an additional black Democrat in the U.S. House, and four black freshman Democrats are replacing CBC members who retired, lost in the primaries, or ran for other office: Terri Sewell (AL-7), Karen Bass (CA-35), Frederica Wilson (FL-17), and Hansen Clarke (MI-13).

Winning black Democrats who faced opposition averaged 72.6 percent of the vote, while the one winning Republican with opposition received 54.0 percent. The six losing black Democratic candidates averaged 33.7 percent of the vote, while the 13 losing black Republican candidates averaged 27.8 percent.

**THE STATE LEGISLATURES--IMPACTS OF 2010 MIDTERMS.** The Democrats took a very severe beating at the state legislative level, losing at least 675 seats and legislative control in at least 19 chambers nationwide. In several states with significant black populations, the Republicans control both chambers of the state legislature as well as the governor's office. These states include Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Texas. This of course will be very painful for

Democrats during the upcoming redistricting process. About the only favorable circumstances for them in the post-2010 redistricting are in California and Connecticut, where the Democrats control the entire process, and Virginia, where the Democrats control the state senate; in the previous redistricting, the Republicans controlled the entire process in Virginia. Two other things are working in the Democrats' favor: most of the population growth in the country is from minority groups and the Democrats control the Department of Justice, which reviews state redistricting plans (unlike post-2000 with a Republican administration).

**THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS IN THE 112TH CONGRESS.** Except for the two newly elected black Republicans, all CBC members are Democrats, and since the Democrats lost control of the U.S. House, the loss of CBC status and power is enormous. The CBC is losing three full committee chairmanships and more than a dozen subcommittee chairmanships in the 112th Congress; and of course with these losses go concomitant losses in staff positions. While the black membership in the U.S. House is at an all time high, black influence there has been truly diminished. As has happened in the past when the Democrats lost the majority in the House, CBC members are going to have to work with the White House and supportive U.S. Senators to advance their legislative priorities.

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# **ATTACHMENTS**

**TABLES 1-6**

<b>Table 1. The Black National Electorate By Demographic Group, 2004-2010</b>									
Black Share of the Total Electorate			GROUP	Congressional Vote 2006		Presidential Vote 2004		Congressional Vote 2010	
2006 %	2008 %	2010 %		Dem %	Rep %	Obama %	McCain %	Dem %	Rep %
10	13	10	<b>Total Black Population</b>	89	11	95	4	90	9
5	5	4	<b>Black Men</b>	87	13	95	5	84	14
6	7	6	<b>Black Women</b>	91	9	96	3	93	6

**SOURCE:** Edison/Mitofsky Exit Polls

**Table 2. The Black Vote by State, 2006-2010 (Selected States)**

State	BVAP (%)	Black Share of Total Vote: Exit Polls			Total Voter Turnout			Black Partisan Vote, 2010			
		2006 (%)	2008 (%)	2010 (%)	2006 (%)	2008 (%)	2010 (%)	Democrat		Republican	
								Gov	Sen	Gov	Sen
California	6.4	5	10	9	38.4	51.2	n/a	77	80	21	17
Delaware	19.6	n/a	17	22	45.5	63.0	47.3	-	93	-	6
Florida	14.7	14	13	11	38.4	56.5	39.5	92	76	6	4
Illinois	13.8	10	17	19/20 <sup>1</sup>	41.0	57.1	42.9	90	94	10	6
Indiana	8.1	n/a	7	12	36.6	58.8	37.5	-	82	-	14
Kentucky	7.1	n/a	11	6	40.2	61.4	42.4	-	86	-	13
Louisiana	30.6	n/a	29	24	27.7	68.0	37.4	-	86	-	11
Missouri	10.4	13	13	13	49.7	64.2	44.0	-	92	-	5
Nevada	8.3	6	10	6	36.8	52.8	41.3	86	78	10	11
New York	14.8	10	17	18	35.2	51.5	32.5	93	94 (S:90)	6	6 (S:7)
Ohio	10.6	12	11	15	47.2	68.7	43.4	90	85	8	9
Pennsylvania	9.6	8	13	9	43.6	60.8	41.1	91	92	8	7
Texas	11.6	8	13	13	32.3	48.8	32.3	88	-	11	-

Information on the black voting-age population and 2009 total turnout is from the U.S. Census, Current Population Surveys, 2008. The black share of the total vote for 2006 and 2008 are from the Edison-Mitofsky consortium exit polls. Total turnout figures for 2006 and estimated turnout figures for 2010 are from the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. 1. According to the exit polls, black voters represented 19 percent of the total votes cast for governor and 20 percent of the total for U.S. Senator.

**Table 3a. Black Major Party Nominees for Statewide Office, 2010**

State	BVAP (%)	Office	Black Nominee(s)	Vote
AL	25.5	State Auditor	Miranda Joseph (D)	38
CA	6.9	Attorney General	Kamala Harris (D)	n/a
CT	9.7	Treasurer	(x) Denise Nappier (D)	54
DE	19.6	Treasurer	Chip Flowers (D)	51
FL	14.7	U.S. Senator	Kendrick Meek (D)	20
		Lieutenant Governor <sup>1</sup>	Jennifer Carroll (R)	49
GA	29.2	U.S. Senator	Michael Thurmond(D)	39
		Secretary of State	Georganna Sinkfield (D)	39
IL	13.8	Secretary of State	(x) Jesse White (D)	70
IN	8.1	Secretary of State	Vop Osili (D)	37
MD	28.6	Lieutenant Governor <sup>1</sup>	(x) Anthony Brown (D)	56
MA	6.5	Governor	(x) Deval Patrick (D)	48
		Lieutenant Governor <sup>1</sup>	Yvette McGee Brown (D)	47
OH	11.4	Treasurer	Kevin Boyce (D)	40
SC	26.0	U.S. Senator	Alvin Greene(D)	28

(x) Incumbent 1. Governor and Lieutenant Governor run together on the same ticket.  
 · Won · Lost

**Table 3b. Statistical Profile, Black Major Party Nominees for Statewide Office, 2010**

Democrats		Republicans	
Won (N) (%)	Lost (N) (%)	Won (N) (%)	Won (N) (%)
6 42.9	8 57.1	1 100.0	0 0.0

**Table 4. Statistical Profile of Black Major Party Nominees for Federal Office, 2000-2010**

	Democrats						Republicans						Total					
	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	46	45	47	48	47	48	24	10	15	9	9	15	70	55	62	57	56	63
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Incumbents</b>	37	34	38	39	41	37	1	0	0	0	0	0	38	34	38	39	41	37
	80	76	81	81	87	77	4	0	0	0	0	0	54	62	61	68	73	59
<b>Challenger Open Seat</b>	9	11	9	9	6	11	23	10	15	9	9	15	32	21	24	18	15	26
	20	24	19	19	13	23	96	100	100	100	100	100	46	38	39	32	27	41
<b>Women</b>	15	13	16	17	16	17	8	3	5	4	2	2	23	16	21	21	18	19
	33	29	34	35	34	35	33	30	33	44	22	13	33	29	34	37	32	30
<b>Men</b>	31	32	31	31	31	31	16	7	10	5	7	13	47	39	41	36	38	44
	67	71	66	65	66	65	67	70	67	56	78	87	67	71	66	63	68	70
<b>Maj.-Min. District</b>	29	30	31	37	30	32	12	4	5	3	4	9	41	34	36	40	34	41
	67	67	66	77	64	67	46	40	33	33	44	60	60	62	58	70	61	65
<b>Maj.-White District</b>	17	15	16	11	17	16	12	6	10	6	5	6	29	21	26	17	22	22
	33	33	34	23	36	33	54	60	67	67	56	40	40	38	42	30	39	35
<b>White Opposition</b>	22	30	22	23	25	38	8	5	6	3	2	5	30	35	28	26	27	44
	48	64	47	48	53	79	33	50	40	33	22	33	43	64	45	46	48	70
<b>Black Opposition</b>	16	5	9	8	7	9	16	5	9	6	7	9	32	10	18	14	14	18
	35	11	19	17	15	19	67	50	60	67	78	60	46	18	29	26	25	29
<b>Unopposed*</b>	8	10	16	17	15	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	10	16	17	15	2
	17	22	34	35	32	2	0	0	0	0	0	7	11	18	26	28	27	1
<b>House Candidates</b>	45	44	45	46	45	45	23	10	13	8	9	15	68	54	58	54	54	60
	98	98	96	96	96	94	96	100	87	89	100	100	97	98	94	95	96	95
<b>Senate Candidates</b>	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	0	2	1	0	0	2	1	4	3	2	3
	2	2	4	4	4	6	4	0	13	11	0	0	3	2	6	5	4	5

\* Unopposed or no major party opposition in general election. Totals include two delegate races in D.C. and the American Virgin Islands.

**Table 5. Statistical Profile of Results for Black Major Party Federal Nominees, 2010**

	Democrats		Republicans		Total	
	Won N (%)	Lost N (%)	Won N (%)	Lost N (%)	Won N (%)	Lost N (%)
<i>Total</i>	42	6	2	13	44	19
<i>Incumbents</i>	37	0	-	-	37	0
<i>Challengers/Open Seats</i>	5	6	2	13	7	19
<i>Women</i>	15	2	0	2	15	4
<i>Men</i>	27	4	2	11	29	15
<i>Majority-Minority District</i>	32	0	0	9	32	9
<i>Majority White District</i>	10	6	2	4	12	10
<i>White Opposition</i>	32	6	1	4	33	10
<i>Black Opposition</i>	9	0	0	9	9	9
<i>Unopposed</i>	1	0	1	0	2	0
<i>House Candidates</i>	42	3	2	13	44	16
<i>Senate Candidates</i>	0	3	0	0	0	3
<i>Average Vote</i>	N = 42 72.6	N = 6 33.7	N = 2 54.0	N = 13 27.8	N = 44 72.2	N = 19 29.8

*Unopposed or no major party opposition in general election Average vote is for candidates with opposition. Totals include two delegate races in D.C. and the American Virgin Islands.*

**Table 6. Black Major Party Nominees for Federal Office, November 2010***U.S. House of Representatives*

District	BVAP (%)	Democrat	Dem Vote (%)	Rep Vote (%)	Republican
AL 7	57.8	Terri Sewell	72	28	<u>Carol Chamberlain</u>
AR 2	17.4	Joyce Elliot	38	58	<u>Tim Griffin</u>
CA 9	24.5	Barbara Lee	83	12	<u>Gerald Hashimoto</u>
CA 33	29.6	Karen Bass	86	14	<u>James Andion</u>
CA 35	35.0	Maxine Waters	79	21	<u>K. Bruce Brown</u>
CA 37	24.7	Laura Richardson	69	23	Star Parker
CO 7	5.4	<u>Ed Perlmutter</u>	53	42	Ryan Frazier
D.C.	55.7	Eleanor Holmes Norton	90	6	<u>Marjorie Reilly Smith</u>
FL 3	45.1	Corrine Brown	63	34	<u>Michael Yost</u>
FL 17	51.3	Frederica Wilson	-	-	Unopposed
FL 22	24.6	<u>Ron Klein</u>	46	54	Allen West
FL 23	46.2	Alcee Hastings	79	21	<u>Bernard Sansaricq</u>
GA 2	40.9	Sanford Bishop	51	49	<u>Mike Keown</u>
GA 4	48.8	Hank Johnson	75	25	<u>Lisbeth Carter</u>
GA 5	51.0	John Lewis	74	26	<u>Fenn Little</u>
GA 13	37.3	David Scott	70	30	<u>Mike Crane</u>
IL 1	63.2	Bobby Rush	80	16	<u>Ray Wardingley</u>
IL 2	59.4	Jesse Jackson, Jr.	80	14	Isaac Hayes
IL 7	55.9	Danny K. Davis	81	16	<u>Mark Weiman</u>
IL 10	6.7	Dan Seals	49	51	<u>Bob Dold</u>
IN 7	26.7	Andre Carson	59	38	Marvin Scott
LA 2	59.3	Cedrick Richmond	65	33	<u>Anh "Joseph" Cao</u>
MD 4	55.3	Donna Edwards	84	16	Robert Broadus
MD 5	28.7	<u>Steny Hoyer</u>	64	35	Charles Lollar
MD 7	57.0	Elijah Cummings	75	23	<u>Frank Mirabile</u>
MI 13	57.9	Hansen Clarke	79	19	<u>John Hauler</u>
MI 14	58.9	John Conyers	77	20	<u>Don Ukrainec</u>
MN 5	10.2	Keith Ellison (DFL)	68	24	<u>Joel Demos</u>
MS 2	58.9	Bennie Thompson	62	37	Bill Marcy
MO 1	45.8	William Clay, Jr.	74	24	<u>Robyn Hamlin</u>
MO 5	21.8	Emanuel Cleaver	53	44	<u>Jacob Turk</u>
NJ 10	54.3	Donald Payne	85	13	<u>Michael Alonzo</u>



**Table 6. Black Major Party Nominees for Federal Office, November 2010**

*U.S. House of Representatives*

District	BVAP (%)	Democrat	Dem Vote (%)	Rep Vote (%)	Republican
NY 6	51.1	· Gregory Meeks	85	15	<u>Asher Taub</u>
NY 10	60.0	· Edolphus Towns	91	7	<u>Diana Muniz</u>
NY 11	56.8	· Yvette Clarke	90	10	<u>Hugh Carr</u>
NY 15	30.5	· Charles Rangel	80	10	Michel Faulkner
NC 1	47.6	· George K. Butterfield, Jr.	59	41	<u>Ashley Woolard</u>
NC 12	41.9	· Mel Watt	64	34	<u>Scott Cumbie</u>
NC 13	25.2	· <u>Brad Miller</u>	55	45	Bill Randall
OH 11	51.6	· Marcia Fudge	82	18	<u>Matt Brakey</u>
PA 2	56.5	· Chaka Fattah	89	11	<u>Rick Hellberg</u>
SC 1	18.6	Unopposed	-	-	Tim Scott
SC 6	53.5	· James Clyburn	63	36	<u>Jim Pratt</u>
TN 9	55.1	· <u>Steve Cohen</u>	74	25	Charlotte Bergmann
TX 9	36.5	· Al Green	76	23	<u>Steve Mueller</u>
TX 18	40.3	· Sheila J. Lee	70	27	<u>John Faulk</u>
TX 22	9.1	Kesha Rogers	28	69	<u>Pete Olson</u>
TX 30	41.0	· Eddie B. Johnson	76	22	Stephen Broden
VA 3	52.7	· Robert Scott	70	27	Chuck Smith
V.I.	61.4	· Donna Christensen	n/a	n/a	Vince Danet
WI-4	27.8	· Gwen Moore	69	30	<u>Dan Sebring</u>

*U.S. Senate*

State	BVAP (%)	Democrat-% Vote	Independent-% Vote	Republican-% Vote
FL	14.7	Kendrick Meek-20%	<u>Charles Crist</u> -30%	· Marco Rubio-49%
GA	29.2	Michael Thurmond-39%	n/a	· <u>Johnny Isaacson</u> -58%
SC	26.0	Alvin Greene-28%	n/a	· Jim DeMint -62%

**KEY:** Non-African American candidates' names are underlined; · Incumbent Unopposed=no major party opposition · Winner

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The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is one of the nation's leading research and public policy institutions and the only one whose work focuses primarily on issues of concern to African Americans and other people of color. For over 40 years, our research and policy analysis have informed and influenced public opinion and national policy, while contributing to a wider understanding of the role of black civic and political participation in making America a better place for all its citizens. With its long experience of studying black political empowerment and civic engagement, the Joint Center is regularly asked by journalists, academics and civil rights leaders to interpret important political developments affecting African Americans and the nation at large. For more information, [www.jointcenter.org](http://www.jointcenter.org)

**Ralph B. Everett, Esq.**, is the president and CEO of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, one of the nation's leading research and public policy institutions and the only one whose work focuses primarily on issues of particular concern to African Americans and other people of color. Prior to this position, he spent 18 years as a specialist in telecommunications and transportation policy at the law firm of Paul, Hastings, Janofsky & Walker LLP, where he became its first African American partner. He had previously worked in the U.S. Senate for more than a decade, including serving as staff director and chief counsel of the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation. He is currently on the boards of Cumulus Media Inc., Connected Nation, the Federal Communications Commission's Advisory Committee on Diversity for Communications in the Digital Age, the National Coalition on Black Civic Participation, Independent Sector, and the Black Leadership Forum. In 1998, President Clinton appointed Mr. Everett as U.S. Ambassador to the International Telecommunications Union's Plenipotentiary Conference. That year, he was also chosen to lead the U.S. Delegation to the Second World Telecommunication Development Conference in Malta, joining participants from more than 190 nations. Mr. Everett was also a team lead for the Obama-Biden Transition Project Agency Review Working Group responsible for overseeing the U.S. Department of Commerce. His past service includes being a member of the boards of the National Urban League, the Center for National Policy, and the President's Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Mr. Everett is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Morehouse College and has a J.D. from Duke University Law School.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**David A. Bositis, Ph.D.**, senior political analyst (B.A., Northwestern, M.A., Ph.D., Southern Illinois University), who has been at the Joint Center since 1990, is the author, co-author or editor of six books, including *Voting Rights and Minority Representation*; in addition, he has authored eleven monographs, and numerous scholarly articles, analyses, and reports, most recently "Opinion of African Americans on Climate Change and the 2010 Midterm Elections: The View from Arkansas, Indiana, Missouri, and South Carolina"; "Blacks and the 2008 Elections: A Preliminary Analysis"; "National Survey of African Americans on Climate Change and Conservation"; "Black Political Power in the New Century", in *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century: Race, Power, and the Politics of Place*, edited by Robert D. Bullard; and 'The Impact of the Core Voting Rights Act on Voting and Officeholding' in *The Voting Rights Act* (CQ Press), edited by Richard Valelly. Dr. Bositis has taught political science and sociology at the George Washington University and SUNY-Potsdam.

Since 1992, Dr. Bositis has designed and managed 29 national surveys for the Joint Center, which have included approximately 35,000 respondents. These surveys include studies done for the U.S. Army, HBO, Pfizer, Fortune, AARP, and other U.S. corporations. These surveys have included national and state surveys of the African American and Hispanic populations and the general population, as well as specialized national surveys of black elected officials, young adults, black churches, minority-owned businesses, black professionals, and social workers. The most recent publications from these surveys are African American State Polls on Climate Change and 2010 Midterms: The View from Arkansas, Indiana, Missouri, and South Carolina, and 2008 National Survey of African American Families' Views on Education, and the 2008 National Opinion Poll: Politics. Dr. Bositis has written many OP-Ed pieces for the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, and other leading newspapers.

Dr. Bositis is a voting rights and redistricting expert, who has published widely in this area, and has appeared as an expert witness in both state and federal court. Dr. Bositis worked with the late Judge A. Leon Higgenbotham, Jr. in defending majority-minority districts following the U.S. Supreme Court's *Shaw v. Reno* decision. Dr. Bositis' research was cited by Justice Stevens in the *Bush v. Vera* case.

Dr. Bositis is also a scholar and theorist of political parties and representation and has written extensively on those topics, including the Congressional Black Caucus. Since 1992, he has written the popular monograph series, Blacks and the Democratic and Republican National Conventions. In 2000, the U.S. State Department sent Dr. Bositis to Tanzania, Zanzibar, Zambia, and South Africa to speak on issues of representation. Dr. Bositis traveled to Benin several times in the mid-1990s to provide training and to work with NGOs that were conducting presidential election studies. Dr. Bositis is also a scholar of black politics and voting, and the Joint Center has published his election analyses following each national election since 1992. Since 1997, Dr. Bositis has also been the author of the Joint Center series on black elected officials entitled 'Black Elected Officials: A Statistical Analysis'.

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