



**BLACKS & THE  
2012 REPUBLICAN  
NATIONAL CONVENTION**



# BLACKS & THE 2012 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

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## FOREWORD

The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a non-partisan research institution that focuses on issues of concern to African Americans and other people of color, presents its quadrennial publication, *Blacks and the 2012 Republican National Convention*.

The analysis was completed by the Joint Center's Senior Political Analyst, David A. Bositis, Ph.D., and examines the impact African Americans are likely to have in the November elections. Special attention is paid to trends among African Americans with regard to partisanship, public opinion and voting behavior.

This study is intended to assist African American convention participants in carrying out their responsibilities and to inform ongoing political analysis and partisan activities. The Joint Center has prepared similar volumes for both the Republican and Democratic Conventions since 1972.

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*Ralph B. Everett*  
*President and CEO*  
*Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies*





## INTRODUCTION

The 2008 Presidential election was an historic occasion for African Americans, when for the first time, an African American was elected President. This year, President Obama is seeking a second term, and there is no reason to expect any change in black voting patterns. President Obama will almost certainly receive strong black support on November 6. The Republicans' nominee, former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney has little history with African Americans. Further, the growing influence of the anti-black Tea Party within the GOP makes political appeals to African Americans difficult for any Republican office-seeker. Finally, Romney's Mormon faith is off-putting to many African Americans since for much of their history, Mormons held blacks to be inferior to whites. The divide between African Americans and the Republican Party, once so narrow, has become a chasm.

Governor Romney faces an enormous deficit with black voters. His lack of history and experience with African Americans makes him a considerably weaker candidate for them than the last Republican nominee who truly reached out to African Americans, President George W. Bush. President Bush, unlike Governor Romney, is from a state--Texas--with a substantial black population. Also unlike President Bush, Mitt Romney lacks any long-term ties to prominent black figures like General Colin Powell and former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. Governor Romney also lacks President Bush's ability to comfortably weave expressions of faith and religious belief into his campaign's narrative, something African Americans can relate to, even in politicians they do not support; since Governor Romney's Mormon faith alienates a significant number of voters, including Republican base voters, he generally refrains from talking about it.

The best known black Republican elected official currently in office, Congressman Allen West (R-FL), is virulently anti-Obama and a Tea Party favorite, who has said that most African Americans are brainwashed. Finally, since Governor Romney is not an incumbent president running unopposed for the nomination, he is not able to strategically place black delegates at the Republican Convention in Tampa as President Bush did in 2004 in order to increase the appearance of diversity in the party.

The larger narrative of 2012 is the struggling economy and income inequality in the United States. African Americans, as much as or more than other groups, have suffered from the poor economy and income inequality. Mitt Romney and the Republican Party propose tax cuts, cutting government spending and repealing the Affordable Care Act as their platform. All of these policy prescriptions would harm African Americans. African Americans are three times more likely (36 percent vs. 12 percent) than non-Hispanic whites to lack health insurance. In 1993, President Clinton **raised** taxes and, during his time in office, African Americans experienced their greatest increase in income growth in U.S.

history. After President Bush cut taxes in 2001, African Americans saw declining incomes. Finally, the reductions in government spending that Governor Romney proposes--to Medicare and Medicaid, education spending, and government jobs--would all disproportionately impact African Americans in negative ways.

The presidential election on November 6, 2012, is likely to be quite different from the Obama-McCain election in 2008. The political climate in 2012 is greatly changed from four years earlier--the Republicans regained control of the U.S. House of Representatives in 2010, and there is substantial national dissatisfaction with the economy and the general direction of the country. In 2008, demographic and political changes, along with the Obama campaign's grassroots and internet organizing, changed the electoral map, with Indiana, Iowa, and Ohio, several states in the American West, and Florida, North Carolina and Virginia in the South moving from red to blue.

The present contours of the 2012 electoral map suggest President Obama is likely to win all of the states that Massachusetts Senator John Kerry carried in 2004 (246 electoral votes) when he was the Democratic nominee for President. Among the 2008 states that President Obama won but which backed President Bush in 2004, the President is at this time favored in Iowa (six electoral votes), New Mexico (five), Ohio (18), Colorado (nine), Nevada (six), and Virginia (13), which would give President Obama 303 electoral votes and re-election. While President Obama is favored to win these states, he by no means has a lock on their electoral votes; events--especially negative economic events--could derail him in these states. In addition to these six states, President Obama is competitive in Florida (29) and North Carolina (15).

While there is little question about the direction of the black vote this November, the size of black turnout will be important in determining the outcome of the election. Several of the states that President Obama won in 2008 that now appear to be likely to be more competitive have significant black populations, including Florida, North Carolina, Ohio and Virginia. The black vote is also important in a few of the states Senator Kerry won in 2004, such as Michigan and Pennsylvania.

African American voters have not given much support to Republican presidential candidates since 1960, and Senator John McCain in 2008 received the lowest black vote ever--only four percent--lower even than the last Arizona nominee, Senator Barry Goldwater, who received six percent of the black vote against President Lyndon Johnson in 1964. Mitt Romney is likely to perform poorly among black voters, attributable to his policy proposals, his own political career and lack of experience with them, and his party.

This guide details the range of participation by African Americans in the Republican Party, the geographical and partisan dimensions of the black vote in recent years, and black voters' attitudes toward many issues that may be significant in the fall campaign. The information will be of interest to political activists and election watchers, as well as to scholars of American politics. Moreover, by better appreciating their own capacity to be influential, black Republicans, despite their low numbers among the voting population, will nonetheless be better able to use what influence they have in pursuit of their public policy interests.

The 47 black delegates to the 2012 Republican National Convention<sup>1</sup> in Tampa represent an increase over the 38 in Minneapolis in 2008. These delegates represent 2.1 percent of the total compared to the 1.6 percent in 2008. But their number is significantly below the record-setting 6.6 percent in 2004. The 47 black delegates in 2012 represent a 20.5 percent increase over the 39 delegates at the 2008 RNC in Minneapolis, but a 72.0 percent decline over the 165 black delegates at the 2004 convention. There are 25 black alternates to the Republican Convention in 2012 compared to 38 in 2008, both down substantially from 124 in 2004. The following salient facts are worth special notice:

There are 14 states with more black delegates than in 2008, and 10 states with fewer black delegates than in 2008. The jurisdictions with the largest proportion of black delegates are the Virgin Islands (22.2 percent), Maryland (8.1 percent), New Jersey and South Carolina (8 percent), Michigan (6.7 percent) and Vermont (5.9 percent).

In 2012, there are 18 states with no black delegates or alternates compared with 28 states with no black delegates or alternates in 2008 and only seven states with no black delegates in 2004.

At this time, the only African Americans listed in a key speaking role at the 2012 Republican National Convention are former Bush Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Congressional Candidate Mia Love (UT) and former Democratic Representative Artur Davis (AL).

<sup>1</sup> There are three state Republican parties that have not responded to our inquiries regarding black delegates, and three that refused to provide any information. We continue to pursue this information by other means, and seek a complete count of black delegates for the 2012 RNC in Tampa.

## BLACK REPUBLICAN PARTISANSHIP AND VOTING

How African Americans vote, and more important, in what numbers and where, will be of great interest to the Republican Party in 2012. In this section, we review data on the black vote, partisanship, and issue orientation. In addition, we examine the character and extent of black participation in Republican Party organizations, black Republican candidates and elected officials, and black participation at the convention in Tampa.

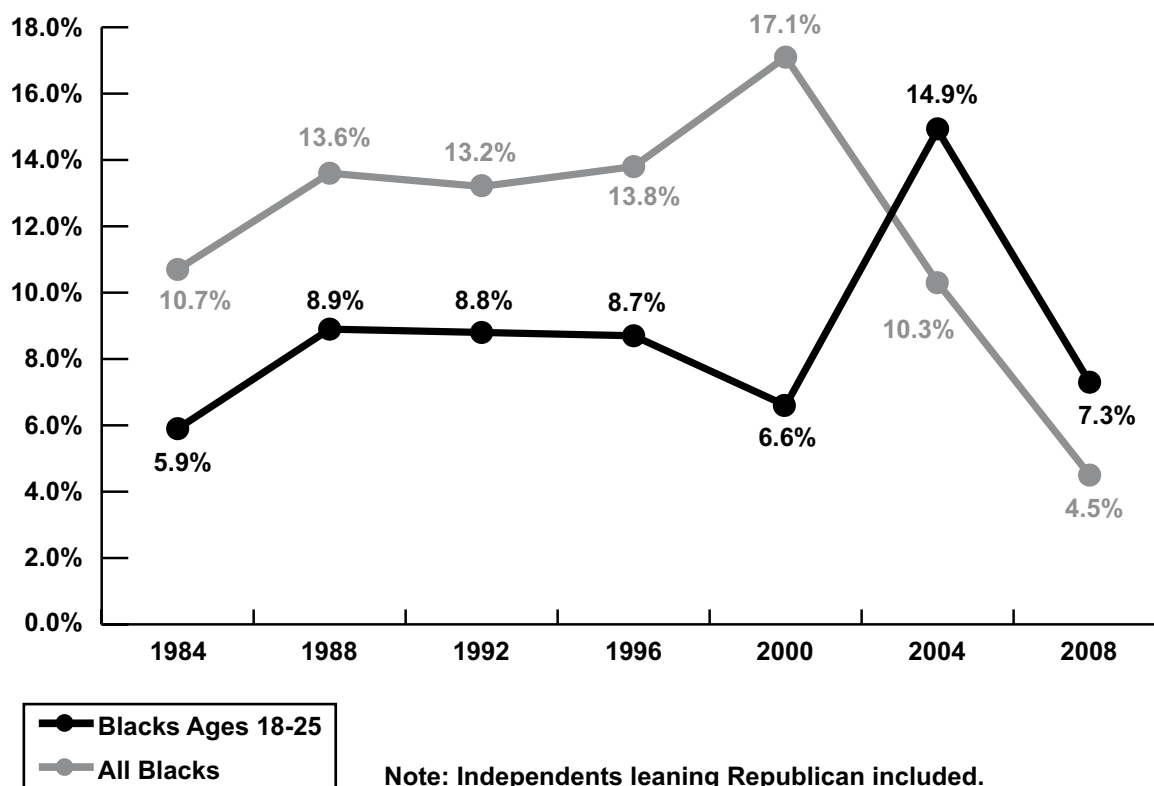
### Black Republican Partisan Identification

In national surveys of African Americans, conducted by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies between 1984 and 1990, there appeared a slight trend toward growing identification with the Republican Party by black voters. In 1984, 5.9 percent of those surveyed identified themselves as Republicans. By 1990, that proportion had increased to 10 percent [Figure 1]. By 2000 that trend had been somewhat reversed with only 6.6 percent of African Americans identifying with the GOP. In the Joint Center's 2004 National Opinion Poll, 14.9 percent of African Americans identified with the Republicans (including independent GOP leaners), and 10.4 percent identified with the GOP without leaners included. However, in 2008, with Barack Obama being the Democratic nominee, only 7.3 percent of African Americans identified with the Republican Party.

This low level of black attachment to the Republican Party is now almost five decades old. Prior to the New Deal era of Franklin D. Roosevelt, a majority of blacks were Republicans. Even though support shifted to the Democratic Party during this period, black Republican identification remained in the mid-30 percent range [Table 1]. In the postwar era, and continuing to 1964, blacks continued to identify with the Republican Party within the 20 to 25 percent range.

It was the 1964 presidential election which resulted in a major increase in black support for the Democratic Party. Two factors were associated with that shift: one was the strong support of the Democratic Party for the landmark civil and voting rights legislation of the mid-1960s and the party's continuing pro-civil rights stand. The other was the Republican Party's sharp turn to a more conservative posture, especially in espousing states' rights, a position African Americans associate with southern segregationists and racists. While GOP nominee Barry Goldwater perhaps espoused states' rights as a principled federalist in 1964, subsequent Republican nominees, including Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, used states' rights and other racially tinged appeals to court white conservative southerners. Culturally and demographically, the Republican Party has evolved since the 1960s from being a Midwestern and Northeastern party to

**FIGURE 1**  
**Republican Partisanship among All Blacks and Blacks Ages 18-25, 1984-2008**



being a Southern and non-coastal Western party, and that evolution has profoundly affected the relationship between African Americans and the GOP.

**Reversing Generational Change**

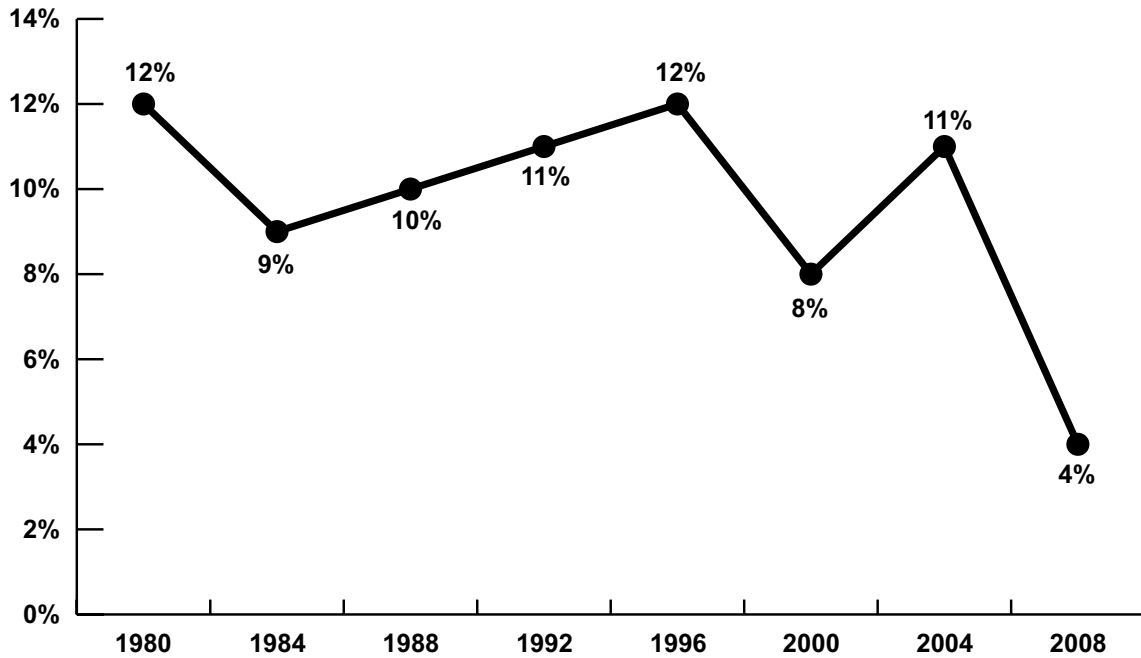
Until recently, young African Americans had identified more with the Republican Party than their elders since the Joint Center’s first national survey in 1984 [Figure 1]. Their Republican identification remained higher than their elders’ until 2004, peaking at 17.2 percent in 2002. However, since 2002 young African Americans along with younger voters generally have been trending away from the GOP. In the Joint Center’s 2004 National Opinion Poll, only 10.3 percent (leaners included) of blacks 18-25 years old identified with the Republican Party. This was the first Joint Center survey since 1984 where younger African Americans were less Republican than older African Americans. This represents a potentially troubling datum for the GOP because for the last 20 years, the Republican Party’s best prospect for improving their support among African Americans was from among members of this group. Worse still, by 2008 only 4.5 percent of 18- to 25-year-old African Americans identified with the GOP.

Despite the compatibility between GOP issue positions in several areas, and the views of many young African Americans, the overly conservative and Southern white nature of the national Republican Party keeps young blacks –when they vote – firmly in the Democratic column. This deficit will not change in 2012.

**BLACK REPUBLICAN VOTING: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

In the presidential election years of 1996, 2000, and 2004 there were three different Democratic candidates for President, but the black presidential vote remained essentially unchanged, except for a dip in GOP support in 2000 [Figure 2]. In 1996, Kansas Senator Bob Dole received 12 percent of the black vote. In 2000, former Texas Governor George W. Bush received eight percent of the black vote, and in 2004, he received 11 percent of the black vote. However, in 2008 the black Republican vote nose-dived to four percent for Senator McCain in his race against President Obama. Support for the Republican Party by African Americans still largely remains in the range of 10+/-5 percent.

**FIGURE 2.1**  
**Republicans' Share of Black Vote for President, 1980-2008**



There are no realistic prospects for an increase in the black Republican vote in 2012. President Obama remains generally very popular with African Americans, and Mitt Romney is not perceived as an attractive alternative for most black voters. In the most recent NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* National Poll conducted between August 16-20, 2012, black respondents favored President Obama over Governor Romney, 94 to 0 percent.

**The Significance of the Black Vote for the Republican Party**

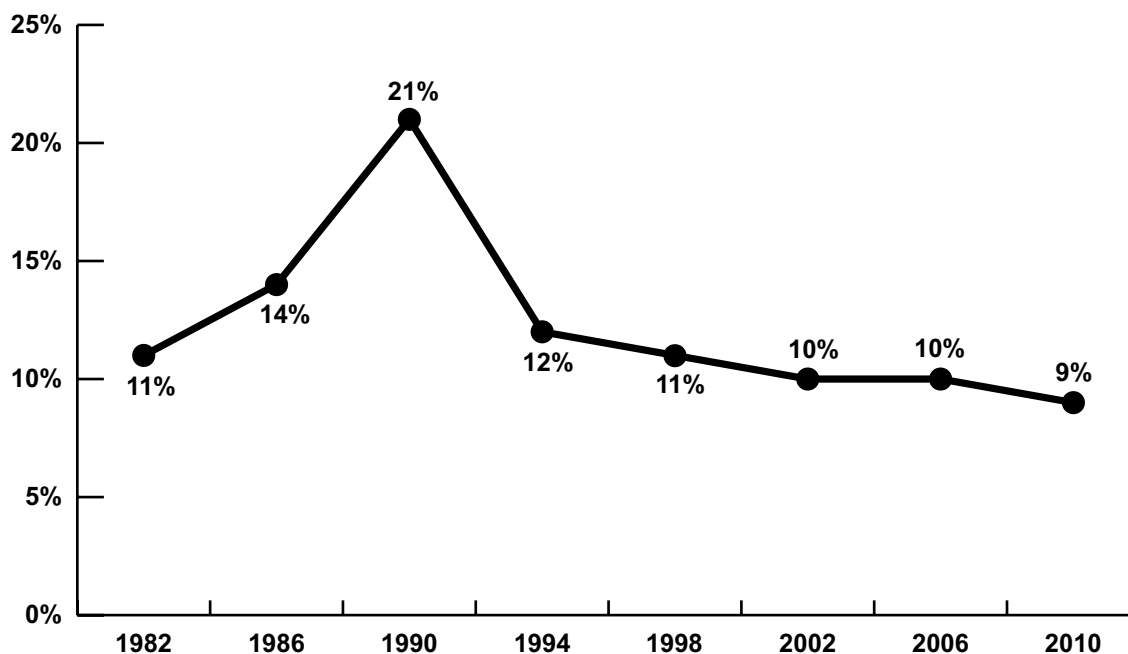
The significance of the black vote for the Republican Party is really the mirror-image of its significance for the Democratic Party. In 2008, according to the national exit polls, the black contribution to President Obama’s vote was 23.5 percent. In 2004, the black contribution to Senator Kerry’s vote was 22.1 percent, up from 18.9 percent of former Vice President Albert Gore’s total in 2000. This means that approximately one in every 4.25 Obama voters in 2008 was African American.

It is sometimes easy to forget that there are actually no national elections in the United States. Given the mediating role of the Electoral College, even the presidential election is a state-level election. Therefore, national voting statistics can be very misleading about the actual constituencies where elections take place. For this reason, it is important to look at statistics for individual states.

Black voters represented a key bloc in many of the states President Obama won in 2008 [Table 2]. These states include many of the key battleground states for 2012 -- Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia. In Florida, 24 percent of President Obama’s votes were cast by African Americans, as were 44 percent in North Carolina, 21 percent in Ohio, and 35 percent in Virginia.

Black voters are concentrated in about 20 states. There was significant variation in black turnout between states in 2008, with black turnout ranging from lows of 43-50 percent in Arkansas, Florida and New York to a high of about 73 percent in Mississippi, Missouri and South Carolina. According to the Census Bureau’s 2008 Voting and Registration report, black turnout was higher than white turnout in Alabama, California, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia; black and white turnout was the same in Pennsylvania. In a number of states where black turnout was lower than white, the differences were marginal. However, in some states, including battleground states in both 2008 and 2012, black turnout was not only low -- but significantly lower than white turnout, e.g., Florida (58.3 vs. 49.5 percent).

**FIGURE 2.2**  
**Republicans' Share of Black Vote for House, 1980-2010**



**Black Voting in Non-Presidential Elections**

The Cook Political Report identifies six competitive U.S. Senate elections in 2012 in states where black voters may be a major factor in determining the outcome [Table 3]. One Republican (appointed) incumbent is seeking re-election (Nevada) along with four Democratic incumbents (Florida, Michigan, Missouri and Ohio). There also is an open seat contest in Virginia. There are also two races for governor where black voters could have a major effect. A Democratic incumbent is seeking re-election in one (Missouri), and there is a race for an open seat in North Carolina that is now held by a Democrat.

While 10+/-5 percent of African Americans vote Republican nationally, in statewide races, the black vote is susceptible to other factors, and there have been some individual Republican candidates who have received a substantially greater share of the black vote than that [Table 4]. Some of these Republican candidates were genuinely popular with many black voters in their states, and either have relevant experiences (big city mayor) or have reached out to the black community in some way.

For example, George Voinovich has been a big city mayor (Cleveland) and has an appreciation for the problems of big cities, unlike most Republicans. In 1998, he received 30 percent of the black vote in his U.S. Senate election and 32 percent in his re-election campaign six years later. Texas Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison is known for her outreach to

African Americans, and she received 22 percent of the black vote in 2000, and 26 percent six years later. More recently, U.S. Senator Lamar Alexander received 26 percent of the black vote in Tennessee in 2008, and in governor's races, Mitch Daniels (IN) in 2008 and Meg Whitman (CA) in 2010 received 20 percent of the black vote.

**THE ISSUES OF 2012**

The issues motivating black voters in 2012 are largely the same as those motivating other voters--the economy and jobs, health care reform and perceptions of President Obama. African Americans have suffered more than any other group in the down economy, but credit President Obama with trying to improve it. Since African Americans are three times more likely to be uninsured than non-Hispanic whites, they strongly support the Affordable Care Act. Finally, African Americans generally have very favorable views of President Obama.

**Registration and Turnout**

The black voting-age population of the U.S. is 26,602,000 [2010 U.S. Census Current Population Survey (CPS)]. According to U.S. Census November 2008 CPS, 65.3 percent were reported being registered and 60.7 percent reported voting in the 2008 presidential election [Table 5]. This



compares to 66.6 percent reported registration and 59.6 percent reported turnout for whites, the first presidential election in which black turnout was higher than white turnout. Thus, the participation gap between white and black electorates in the 2008 election was 1.3 percentage points on registration (favoring whites) and 0.9 percentage points on turnout (favoring blacks).

The South is the region with the largest proportion (55 percent) of the black vote. The black voting-age population is at least 20 percent of the total electorate in seven of the 11 states of the Old Confederacy: Mississippi (35 percent), Louisiana (31), Georgia (30), South Carolina (27), Alabama (25), North Carolina (21) and Virginia (20). According to the November 2008 CPS, black voter registration in the South was 68.2 percent and black turnout was 62.5 percent. This compares to white registration of 65.5 percent and white turnout of 54.9 percent, with the gap between black and white electorates being 2.7 percent on registration and 7.6 percent on turnout. The 2008 election represented the first presidential election where black voters clearly outperformed their white counterparts on both registration and turnout.

In 1968, the first presidential election after the passage of the Voting Rights Act (1965), black registration and turnout in the South were 61.6 and 51.6 percent, respectively. White registration and turnout were 70.8 and 61.9 percent. Thus, the gaps between black and white electorates on registration and turnout in 1968 were 9.2 and 10.3 percent, respectively. Between 1968 and 2004, the registration gap decreased from 9.2 (favoring whites) to 2.7 percent (favoring blacks), and on turnout from 10.3 (favoring whites) to 7.6 percent (favoring blacks).

The long-term effect of the Voting Rights Act has been to gradually equalize the voting patterns between blacks and whites in the South. According to U.S. Census figures, black turnout in Alabama (62.5 vs. 60.7 percent), Georgia (65.2 vs. 63.4), Mississippi (73.1 vs. 62.8), South Carolina (71.9 vs. 62.8) and Tennessee (58.3 vs. 55.3 percent) was higher than white turnout in 2000. Black turnout and white turnout were the same in Arkansas in 2008.

According to exit polls, black voters were 12 percent of the national electorate in 2004 and 13 percent in 2008.

## Prospects for Black Turnout

Nationally, black turnout increased 4.4 percentage points in 2008 after increasing by three percentage points from 1996 to 2000, and an additional three percentage points from 2000 to 2004 [Table 5]. 2008 was an historic occasion, the first time an African American was a major party nominee for President. 2012 also represents an historic occasion--the first time a black President will be seeking re-election. Given

how strong black turnout was in 2008, it is unlikely that there will be much of an increase in 2012, especially with the enactment of government-issued photo identification laws in several states with large black populations. However, given the strong support President Obama enjoys among African Americans as well as the Obama campaign's strong ground operations, there is likely to be a robust black turnout in 2012--comparable to 2008.

## BLACK REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS

For the GOP, one of the most promising developments of the recent past was the record 24 black Republican nominees for federal office in 1994 and 2000 [Table 6]. However, since 2000, those numbers have declined and in 2012--as in 2008--the number of black Republican nominees for federal office (as tracked by the Joint Center since 1990) could be in record low territory. However, 2012 is the first election since 1996 when there are two black Republican incumbents seeking re-election to the House of Representatives: Congressman Tim Scott (SC-1) and Allen West (FL-22).

In 1990, there had been only 11 black Republican nominees for House seats. After increasing modestly to 15 in 1992, the number jumped in 1994 to a record 24, more than doubling in four years. After 1994, the number of black Republican candidates for the House declined to 16 in 1996, and then rose slightly to 18 in 1998 before again reaching 24. However, since then the numbers have been in decline, with only 10 black Republican federal candidates 2002, 15 in 2004 and 2010, and only nine in 2008. As of this writing, we have identified only 11 black federal nominees for 2012. [Table 6 and 7].

Of the black Republican nominees 2012, Congressman Scott is likely to be re-elected, but Congressman West's race is rated as a toss-up by the Cook Political Report; none of the other nominees are likely to prevail.

## BLACKS AND REPUBLICAN PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

### Introduction

In order to appreciate black participation in the Republican Party, it is essential to understand the party as an organization. The Republican Party has a confederal structure made up of the Republican National Committee (RNC), as authorized by each quadrennial convention of 50 state Republican parties, the District of Columbia, and a number of territories that are treated as states on the RNC, including Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico. There are also over 3,000 local, usually county-level, Republican parties,

as well as some Republican auxiliary groups, such as the National Black Republican Council (NBRC).

The auxiliary groups were organized by the RNC to help the party appeal to special segments of the population, including women, blacks, Hispanics, and Asian-Americans. Leaders of these auxiliaries are on the RNC Executive Committee, which meets on call of the RNC chair and advises the chair, but the auxiliaries save one have no vote on the Republican National Committee. The only auxiliary with a vote on the RNC chairman's Executive Council, which governs the Republican Party in between meeting of the RNC, is the National Federation of Republican Women (NFRW), which is financially self-sufficient.

## Blacks and the Republican National Committee

Membership on the RNC is made up of three persons per "state": the state chairman, a committeeman, and a committeewoman. Thus, at least one-third of the members of the RNC are women by quota. Most Republican state chairs are men, so the gender make-up of the RNC tends to be majority male (about three-to-two at present). The membership of the RNC elects the party chairman biennially in odd-numbered years. The current chairman is Reince Priebus.

Black participation on the RNC has generally been minimal. Prior to 1992, the only black members on the RNC were from the Virgin Islands, and of course, with no numerical influence on the RNC. In 1992, Harry Singleton was elected national committeeman from Washington, DC, becoming the only mainland U.S. black member. At the present time, the 165 member RNC has two black members (1.2 percent), Dr. Ada Fisher, National Committeewoman from North Carolina, and Glenn McCall, National Committeeman from South Carolina. In addition, Dr. Robin Armstrong, who is a delegate in 2012, is National Committeeman-Elect for Texas.

## Blacks and the State Republican Parties

Given its philosophy and organizational structure, the Republican Party places as much or more emphasis on state-level party activity as on the national level. Since the entire membership of the RNC comes from the states, it is important to examine black participation in state-level Republican politics. (The black population of the United States is concentrated in about 22 states.)

The organization of state Republican parties is similar to that of the RNC. There is a state central (or executive) committee

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<sup>2</sup> In addition to the 50 states, "states" on the RNC include DC, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico. However, this is not true for the Republican National Convention because the delegate allocation formula is based on Electoral College votes, and Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico have no electoral votes.

with a chairman, one or more vice chairs, a secretary, a treasurer, and an executive director, who generally runs the day-to-day operation. Most state Republican parties have permanent headquarters, paid staff, and pursue year-round fundraising and other political activities.

There are also state and local-level auxiliary organizations, equivalent to their national counterparts. Thus, in some states, there is a state branch of the National Black Republican Council.

There are at least 12 states with black committee members on state Republican central committees or in some other party position. These states include Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas and Utah. Several of these members occupy positions like Ethnic Chair or Minority Representative. There are Vice Chairs in Alabama and South Carolina, and a Deputy Chair in Pennsylvania.

## The National Black Republican Council, National Black Republican Association, Etc.

The NBRC is no longer the official black auxiliary organization of the Republican Party. It was created in 1972 by President George H.W. Bush, who was then chairman of the RNC. In the past, it had as many as 25 state branches, and was headed by Fred Brown of New York, who was also the chair of the New York state NBRC. However, there is little evidence the NBRC remains an active organization. Auxiliary organizations and the concept of 'outreach' are behind the Republicans' vision of the NBRC and the state outreach committees. Since the GOP's leadership is largely white, it is important for the party to recruit black and other minority members, officers and staff for the GOP to be successful in appealing to minority voters. There are other black Republican organizations, such as the National Black Republican Association, and the Alliance of Black Republicans, but it is unclear how large or active these organizations are, and whether they have any impact on Republican Party politics.

## Black Participation in Other Affiliates and Auxiliaries

In the past, black Republicans have participated in numerous other Republican organizations and affiliates. The National Federation of Republican Women (NFRW) has an outreach program to black women, and black Republicans have been active in the Ripon Society and the Log Cabin Republicans; Abner Mason served a term as President of the Log Cabin Republicans in the mid-1990s. Black Republicans tend to be active in more ideologically moderate Republican organizations.

### Black Republicans in Elective Office

According to Joint Center data, there are 12 black Republicans in state office (including state legislatures) and 36 black Republicans in local office across the country. There are approximately 10,500 black elected officials in the United States, but since a majority of elected offices are nonpartisan, there are probably additional black Republican officeholders who have been elected to nonpartisan offices.

In addition to the two black Republicans in the U.S. House, Tim Scott and Allen West, there are three black Republicans in statewide elective office. The best known of the three is Jennifer Carroll, who is Lieutenant Governor of Florida. The remaining two are Wallace Jefferson (Chief) and Dale Wainwright, who are Justices on the Texas Supreme Court.

Out of 622 black state legislators in the country, nine are Republican. They are: Representatives Donald A. Blakey (DE), Willie Talton (GA), Paul Scott (MI), Jane Powdrell-Culbert (NM), and T.W. Shannon (OK), Stefani Carter and James White (TX) and Senators Randy Brock (VT) and Jackie Winters (OR)



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

David A. Bositis, Senior Political Analyst at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, has conducted 35 national surveys of African Americans. Dr. Bositis is the author of numerous books and scholarly articles including most recently *Resegregation in Southern Politics*. He worked with the late A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. in defending majority-minority congressional districts in federal court, and in 1996 his research was cited by U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens in his dissent in *Bush v. Vera*.

## BLACKS AND THE 2012 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

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**TABLE 1**  
**Presidential Vote and Party Identificaiton of Blacks, 1936-2008**

		Democratic	Republican	Other/Independent
1936	Presidential vote	71	28	1
	Party identification	44	37	19
1940	Presidential vote	67	32	—
	Party identification	42	42	16
1944	Presidential vote	68	32	—
	Party identification	40	40	21
1948	Presidential vote	77	23	—
	Party identification	56	25	19
1952	Presidential vote	76	24	—
	Party identification	66	18	16
1956	Presidential vote	61	39	—
	Party identification	56	24	22
1960	Presidential vote	68	32	—
	Party identification	58	22	20
1964	Presidential vote	94	6	—
	Party identification	82	8	10
1968	Presidential vote	85	15	—
	Party identification	92	3	5
1972	Presidential vote	87	13	—
	Party identification	75	5	20
1976	Presidential vote	85	15	—
	Party identification	84	5	11
1980	Presidential vote	86	12	2
	Party identification	81	8	10
1984	Presidential vote	89	9	2
	Party identification	77	5	18
1988	Presidential vote	88	10	2
	Party identification	83	9	8
1992	Presidential vote	82	11	7
	Party identification	86	9	5
1996	Presidential vote	84	12	4
	Party identification	81	9	6
2000	Presidential vote	90	8	2
	Party identification	88	7	5
2004	Presidential vote	88	11	1
	Party identification	74	15	11
2008	Presidential vote	95	4	1
	Party identification	76	4	20

**Sources:** 1936–56 data from Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., and Charles D. Hadley, Transformations of the American Party System; 1960–80 partisan identification data from Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde, Change and Continuity in the 1984 Elections; 1960–80 presidential preference data from Gallup Opinion Index 1980; 1984 presidential preference data from CBS/New York Times exit poll, November 1986; 1988 presidential preference data from ABC News/Capital Cities; 1988 party identification data from JCPES Gallup survey; 1992 party identification data from Home Box Office (HBO)/Joint Center Survey; 1992 presidential preference data from Voter Research and Surveys; 1996 vote data from Voter News Service; 1996 party identification data from 1996 JCPES National Opinion Poll; 2000 vote data from Voter News Service; 2000 party identification data from 2000 JCPES National Opinion Poll; 2004 vote data from Edison/Mitofsky National Exit Poll; 2004 party identification data from 2004 JCPES National Opinion Poll; 2008 vote data from National Exit Poll; 2008 party identification data from 2008 JCPES National Opinion Poll.

**TABLE 2**  
**States Where Blacks Are An Important Voting Block**

	Black Voting-Age Population			2008 Presidential Election			
	Total		Citizen	Black Share of the Total Vote	Obama Share of the Black Vote	Obama Vote	Black Share of the Obama Vote
	(thousands)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Alabama	868	24.6	25.7	29	98	39	73
Arkansas	313	14.6	15.1	12	94	39	29
California*	1,887	6.9	8.0	10	95	61	16
D.C.*	246	50.3	53.2	56	97	93	58
Florida*	2,097	14.7	14.2	13	96	51	25
Georgia	2,100	29.5	30.6	30	98	47	63
Illinois*	1,350	14.0	14.9	17	96	62	26
Louisiana	1,015	30.6	31.4	29	94	40	68
Maryland*	1,237	28.9	28.6	25	94	62	38
Michigan*	1,047	13.9	14.3	12	97	57	20
Mississippi	735	34.8	35.2	33	98	43	75
Missouri	500	11.1	11.1	13	93	49	25
New Jersey*	929	14.1	14.6	12	92	57	19
New York*	2,500	16.7	16.1	17	100	63	27
North Carolina*	1,484	21.2	22.1	23	95	50	44
Ohio*	964	11.2	11.0	11	97	52	21
Pennsylvania*	952	9.9	9.1	13	95	55	22
South Carolina	918	26.6	27.5	25	96	45	53
Tennessee	722	15.2	14.8	12	94	42	27
Texas	2,114	11.8	13.3	13	98	44	29
Virginia*	1,167	19.9	19.9	20	92	53	35

Sources: Information on the black voting-age population is from the U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2010. Information on the black vote in 2008 is from the exit poll consortium (<http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/>). \* States won by Senator Obama in 2008.

**TABLE 3**  
**Election Statistics, Competitive U.S. Senate/Governor Elections,**  
**States with Significant Black Voting-Age Populations**

State	Black Voting-Age Population (%)	Incumbent	2006 U.S. Senate Vote (%)	2008 Presidential Vote Differential Obama-McCain (%)
<b>U.S. Senate</b>				
Florida	14.7	Nelson	60-38	51-48
Michigan	13.9	Stabenow	57-41	57-41
Missouri	11.1	McCaskill	50-47	49-50
Nevada	8.9	<b>Heller</b> <sup>1</sup>	n/a	55-43
Ohio	11.2	Brown	56-44	52-47
Virginia	19.9	Webb [OPEN]	50-49	53-47
<b>Governor</b>				
Missouri	11.1	Nixon	58-40	49-50
North Carolina	21.2	Purdue [OPEN]	50-47	50-49

Republican incumbent names are in bold. 1 Appointed by Governor Sandoval in 2011

**TABLE 4**  
**Republican Major Statewide Candidates with 20 Percent or More of the Black Vote, 1998 to 2010**

Candidate	State	Percent of black vote
<b>1998</b>		
<b>U.S. Senators</b>		
Tim Hutchinson	Arkansas	26
Christopher S. Bond	Missouri	33
Arlen Specter	Pennsylvania	27
George Voinovich	Ohio	30
<b>Governors</b>		
Mike Huckabee	Arkansas	48
John Engler	Michigan	27
Tom Ridge	Pennsylvania	20
Don Sundquist	Tennessee	20
George W. Bush	Texas	27
<b>2000</b>		
<b>U.S. Senators</b>		
Mike DeWine	Ohio	23
Bill Frist	Tennessee	21
Kay Bailey Hutchison	Texas	22
<b>2006</b>		
<b>U.S. Senators</b>		
Kay Bailey Hutchison	Texas	26
Michael Steele	Maryland	25
<b>Governors</b>		
Charlie Crist	Florida	18
Ken Blackwell	Ohio	20
<b>2008</b>		
<b>U.S. Senators</b>		
Lamar Alexander	Tennessee	26
<b>Governors</b>		
Mitch Daniels	Indiana	20
<b>2010</b>		
<b>Governors</b>		
Meg Whitman	California	21

Source: National Consortium Exit Polls

**TABLE 5**  
**Reported Registration and Voting Rates by Race and Region: 1964 to 2010**

Presidential Elections												
	2008	2004	2000	1996	1992	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
<b>Registered</b>												
<b>United States</b>												
<b>White</b>	66.6	67.9	65.6	67.7	70.1	67.9	69.6	68.4	68.3	73.4	75.4	NA
<b>Black</b>	65.3	64.4	63.6	63.5	63.9	64.5	66.3	60.0	58.5	65.5	66.2	NA
<b>Difference</b>	1.3	3.5	2.0	4.2	6.2	3.4	3.3	8.4	9.8	7.9	9.2	NA
<b>South</b>												
<b>White</b>	65.5	66.7	65.2	67.0	68.5	66.6	67.8	66.2	66.7	69.8	70.8	NA
<b>Black</b>	68.2	65.3	65.2	64.7	64.7	63.3	65.6	59.3	56.4	64.0	61.6	NA
<b>Difference</b>	-2.7	1.4	0.0	2.3	3.8	3.3	2.2	6.9	10.3	5.8	9.2	NA
<b>Voted</b>												
<b>United States</b>												
<b>White</b>	59.6	60.3	56.4	56.0	63.6	59.1	61.4	60.9	60.9	64.5	69.1	70.7
<b>Black</b>	60.7	56.3	53.5	50.6	54.0	51.5	55.8	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	58.5
<b>Difference</b>	-0.9	4.0	2.9	5.4	9.6	7.6	5.6	10.4	12.2	12.4	11.5	12.2
<b>South</b>												
<b>White</b>	54.9	57.6	54.2	53.4	60.8	56.4	58.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.5
<b>Black</b>	62.5	55.9	53.9	50.0	54.3	48.0	53.2	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	44.0
<b>Difference</b>	-7.6	1.7	0.3	3.4	6.5	8.4	4.9	9.2	11.4	9.2	10.3	15.5
<b>Congressional Elections</b>												
	2010	2006	2002	1998	1994	1990	1986	1982	1978	1974	1970	1966
<b>Registered</b>												
<b>United States</b>												
<b>White</b>	61.6	64.0	63.1	63.9	64.6	63.8	65.3	65.6	63.8	63.5	69.1	71.6
<b>Black</b>	58.7	57.4	58.5	60.2	58.5	58.8	64.0	59.1	57.1	54.9	60.8	60.2
<b>Difference</b>	2.9	6.6	4.6	3.7	6.1	5.0	1.3	6.5	6.7	8.6	8.3	11.4
<b>South</b>												
<b>White</b>	59.7	69.3	63.2	63.9	62.6	62.5	63.2	63.2	61.2	61.0	65.1	64.3
<b>Black</b>	58.2	63.2	59.8	61.5	58.8	59.0	64.6	56.9	56.2	55.5	57.5	52.9
<b>Difference</b>	1.5	6.1	3.4	2.4	3.8	3.5	-1.4	6.3	5.0	5.5	7.6	11.4
<b>Voted</b>												
<b>United States</b>												
<b>White</b>	43.4	45.8	44.1	43.3	47.3	46.7	47.0	49.9	47.3	46.3	56.0	57.0
<b>Black</b>	40.5	38.6	39.7	39.6	37.1	39.2	43.2	43.0	37.2	33.8	43.5	41.7
<b>Difference</b>	2.9	7.2	4.4	3.7	10.2	7.5	3.8	6.9	10.1	12.5	12.5	15.3
<b>South</b>												
<b>White</b>	39.2	45.4	42.9	39.2	43.0	43.5	43.5	42.9	41.1	37.4	46.4	45.1
<b>Black</b>	39.2	40.9	39.9	38.9	34.6	39.8	42.5	38.3	33.5	30.0	36.8	32.9
<b>Difference</b>	0.0	4.5	2.9	0.3	8.4	3.7	1.0	4.6	7.6	7.4	9.6	12.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey.

Note: Registration data were not collected in the 1964 Current Population Survey. Prior to 1972, data are for people 21 to 24 years of age with the exception of those aged 18 to 24 in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 to 24 in Alaska, and 20 to 24 in Hawaii.

**TABLE 6**

**Black Republican Nominees for Federal Office, 1990-2012: A Statistical Profile**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2012<sup>1</sup></b>
	(N) (%)	(N) (%)	(N) (%)	(N) (%)	(N) (%)	(N) (%)	(N) (%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b> <b>100</b>	<b>10</b> <b>100</b>	<b>15</b> <b>100</b>	<b>9</b> <b>100</b>	<b>9</b> <b>100</b>	<b>15</b> <b>100</b>	<b>11</b> <b>100</b>
<b>Incumbents</b>	1 4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 18
<b>Challengers/Open Seats</b>	23 96	10 100	15 100	9 100	9 100	15 100	9 82
<b>Women</b>	8 33	3 30	5 33	4 44	2 22	2 13	2 18
<b>Men</b>	16 67	7 70	10 67	5 56	7 78	13 87	9 82
<b>Majority-Minority District</b>	12 46	4 40	5 33	3 33	4 44	9 60	4 37
<b>Majority White District</b>	12 54	6 60	10 67	6 67	5 56	6 40	7 63
<b>White Opposition</b>	8 33	5 50	6 40	3 33	2 22	5 33	6 55
<b>Black Opposition</b>	16 67	5 50	9 60	6 67	7 78	9 60	5 44
<b>Unopposed*</b>	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 7	0 0
<b>House Candidates</b>	23 96	10 100	13 87	8 89	9 100	15 100	10 91
<b>Senate Candidates</b>	1 4	0 0	2 13	1 11	0 0	0 0	1 9

**Source:** *Blacks and the 2010 Midterms: A Preliminary Analysis* by David A. Bositis (Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies).

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

1. Not all states have held their primary elections as of this date.

**TABLE 7**  
**Black Republican Nominees for Federal Office, November 2012**

District	Democrat	Republican
CA 6	<u>Doris Matsui</u> <sup>1</sup>	Joseph McCray Sr.
CA 11	<u>George Miller</u> <sup>1</sup>	Virginia Fuller
FL 22	<u>Patrick Murphy</u>	Allen West <sup>1</sup>
MN 5	Keith Ellison <sup>1</sup> (DFL)	Chris Fields
MS 2	Bennie Thompson <sup>1</sup>	Bill Marcy
NY 5	Gregory Meeks <sup>1</sup>	Allan Jennings
PA 2	Chaka Fattah <sup>1</sup>	Robert Allen Mansfield
SC 1	<u>Bobbie Rose</u>	Tim Scott <sup>1</sup>
TX 30	Eddie B. Johnson <sup>1</sup>	Travis Washington Jr.
UT 4	<u>Jim Matheson</u> <sup>1</sup>	Mia Love
MD Senate	<u>Ben Cardin</u> <sup>1</sup>	Dan Bongino

Key: Non-African American candidates' names are underlined; 1 - Incumbent



**TABLE 8**  
**Black Delegates at Republican National Conventions, 1912-2012**

Election year	All delegates	Black delegates		Black alternates
	(N)	(N)	(%)	(N)
1912	1,078	65	6.0	N/A
1916	985	35	3.5	N/A
1920	984	29	2.9	N/A
1924	1,109	39	3.5	1
1928	1,098	49	4.4	55
1932	1,154	26	2.2	27
1936	1,003	45	4.5	34
1940	1,000	32	3.2	53
1944	1,057	18	1.7	27
1948	1,094	41	3.7	34
1952	1,206	29	2.4	34
1956	1,323	36	2.7	41
1960	1,331	22	1.6	28
1964	1,308	14	1.0	29
1968	1,333	26	1.9	52
1972	1,348	56	4.2	84
1976	2,259	76	3.4	74
1980	1,993	55	2.7	66
1984	2,235	69	3.1	88
1988	2,277	61	2.7	49
1992	2,210	107	5.0	102
1996	1,990	52	2.6	50
2000	2,066	85	4.1	76
2004	2,509	167	6.7	124
2008	2,380	39	1.6	38
2012	2,286	47	2.1	25

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

**Note:** 2012 Delegate and Alternate Count reflect information received from the Republican National Committee and state party organizations as of August xx, 2012.

**TABLE 9**  
**Black Delegate at Republican National Conventions by State, 2000-2012**

	2012 <sup>^</sup>			2008		2004		2000	
	All delegates	Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates	
	(N)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Alabama	50	1	2.0	0	0	3	6.3	0	0
Alaska	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arizona*	29	1	3.4	2	3.8	2	3.8	1	3.3
Arkansas	36	1	2.8	2	5.9	1	2.9	1	4.2
California	172	6	3.5	1	0.6	11	6.4	12	7.4
Colorado	36	0	0	0	0	1	2.0	3	7.5
Connecticut	28	0	0	0	0	1	3.3	0	0
Delaware	17	0	0	0	0	2	11.1	0	0
District of Columbia	19	1	5.3	0	0	5	26.3	3	20.0
Florida*	50	1	2.0	3	5.3	13	11.6	4	5.0
Georgia	76	NA	NA	2	2.8	6	8.7	2	3.7
Hawaii	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Idaho	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Illinois	69	NA	NA	0	0	3	4.1	1	2.9
Indiana	46	-	-	0	0	3	5.5	0	0
Iowa	28	0	0	0	0	3	9.4	0	0
Kansas	40	1	2.5	0	0	3	7.7	1	2.9
Kentucky	45	0	0	0	0	2	4.3	0	0
Louisiana	46	2	4.3	0	0	7	15.6	1	3.4
Maine	24	0	0	0	0	1	4.8	0	0
Maryland	37	3	8.1	0	0	5	12.8	5	16.1
Massachusetts	41	1	2.4	0	0	4	9.1	0	0
Michigan*	30	2	6.7	3	10.0	8	13.1	3	5.2
Minnesota	40	1	2.5	2	4.9	3	7.3	0	0
Mississippi	40	2	5.0	4	10.3	4	10.5	1	3.3
Missouri	52	1	1.9	0	0	4	7.0	2	11.7
Montana	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nebraska	35	0	0	1	3.0	0	0	1	3.3

# BLACKS & THE 2012 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

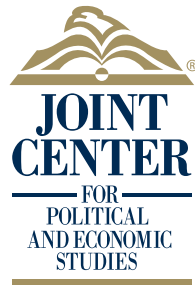
	2012 <sup>^</sup>			2008		2004		2000	
	All delegates	Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates		Black delegates	
	(N)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Nevada	28	1	3.6	0	0	0	0	2	11.8
New Hampshire*	12	0	0	0	0	2	6.3	0	0
New Jersey	50	4	8.0	2	3.8	5	9.6	6	11.1
New Mexico	23	0	0	0	0	2	8.3	0	0
New York	95	5	5.3	-	-	13	12.7	7	6.9
North Carolina	55	2	3.6	3	4.3	4	6.0	1	1.6
North Dakota	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ohio	66	1	1.5	2	2.3	6	6.6	11	16.0
Oklahoma	43	0	0	1	2.4	2	4.9	0	0
Oregon	28	0	0	0	0	3	9.7	1	4.2
Pennsylvania	72	2	2.8	1	1.4	3	4.0	2	2.6
Rhode Island	19	0	0	0	0	1	4.8	0	0
South Carolina*	25	2	8.0	2	8.3	4	8.7	0	0
South Dakota	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	58	-	-	0	0	5	9.1	1	2.7
Texas	155	2	1.3	5	3.6	9	6.5	0	0
Utah	40	1	2.5	0	0	2	5.6	0	0
Vermont	17	1	5.9	1	5.9	0	0	0	0
Virgin Islands	9	2	22.2	1	11.1	2	22.2	0	0
Virginia	49	NA	NA	-	-	5	7.8	5	9.0
Washington	43	0	0	0	0	1	2.4	0	0
West Virginia	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wisconsin	42	0	0	0	0	4	10	1	2.7
Wyoming	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total**</b>	<b>2,286</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>6.7</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>4.1</b>

Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. – State party has not responded to request for information as of 8/27/2012. NA State party refused to divulge information.

<sup>^</sup>Delegate numbers for this year represent the Republican National Committee's and state committees' most up-to-date roster information as of August 23, 2012.

\*These five states had a 50 percent reduction in their original total number of delegates based on convention rules decided by the Republican National Committee.

\*\*Total number of delegates includes delegates from American Samoa, Guam, Northern Marianas, and Puerto Rico.



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