

Nationwide Poll of African American Adults

Methodology

Zogby Analytics was commissioned by Robert L. Johnson to conduct an online survey of 1002 African American adults in the United States. All calls were made from February 14 through February 20, 2013.

Using trusted interactive partner resources, thousands of adults were invited to participate in this interactive survey. Each invitation is password coded and secure so that one respondent can only access the survey one time.

Telephone samples are randomly drawn from lists of adults. Up to three calls are made to reach a sampled phone number, respondents that were not available but qualified to respond were allowed to set appointments to be recalled within the time frame of the field work.

Using information based on census data, voter registration figures, CIA fact books and exit polls, we use complex weighting techniques to best represent the demographics of the population being surveyed. Weighted variables may include age, race, gender, region, party, education, and religion.

Based on a confidence interval of 95%, the margin of error for [1,002] is +/- [3.2%] percentage points. This means that all other things being equal, the identical survey repeated will have results within the margin of error 95 times out of 100.

Subsets of the data have a larger margin of error than the whole data set. As a rule we do not rely on the validity of very small subsets of the data especially sets smaller than 50-75 respondents. At that subset we can make estimations based on the data, but in these cases the data is more qualitative than quantitative.

Additional factors can create error, such as question wording and question order.

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About Zogby Analytics:

For three decades, the Zogby companies have produced polls with an unparalleled record of accuracy and reliability. Zogby telephone and interactive surveys have generally been the most accurate in U.S. Presidential elections since 1996.

Zogby Analytics is composed entirely of senior level executives from Zogby International. Zogby Analytics, along with renowned pollster John Zogby, have continued in the tradition of conducting telephone and interactive surveys, while keeping an eye on the future by incorporating social media tracking and analysis into our work.

Zogby Analytics conducts a wide variety of surveys internationally and nationally in industries, including banking, IT, medical devices, government agencies, colleges and universities, non-profits, automotive, insurance and NGOs.

Narrative Summary

3-7. For the following, please indicate your overall view of each – very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable – or you are not familiar enough to form an opinion.

Table 1. Favorable/Unfavorable Ratings

| | Favorable | | | Unfavorable | | | Not familiar | Not sure |
|----------------------------|-----------|------|-------|-------------|------|-------|--------------|----------|
| | Overall | Very | Smwht | Overall | Very | Smwht | | |
| Barack Obama | 91 | 75 | 16 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Hillary Clinton | 87 | 55 | 32 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 4 |
| NAACP | 83 | 54 | 30 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| National Urban League | 69 | 37 | 32 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 17 | 7 |
| Congressional Black Caucus | 68 | 33 | 35 | 9 | 2 | 6 | 16 | 7 |

Just over nine in ten respondents have a favorable opinion of President Barack Obama, with 6% rating the president unfavorable. Just 1% are not familiar with the president and 3% are not sure how they feel.

Nearly as many respondents (87%) have a favorable opinion of Hillary Clinton, while 8% have an unfavorable opinion of the former Secretary of State. And more than four in five (83%) have a favorable opinion of the NAACP; just 8% are unfavorable.

A majority have an overall favorable opinion of the National Urban League and the Congressional Black Caucus, but 17% and 16% respectively are not familiar with the organizations.

8. Which of the following speaks for you most often?

| Person | Percent (%) |
|--|-------------|
| Reverend Al Sharpton, National Action Network | 24 |
| Reverend Jesse Jackson, Rainbow PUSH Coalition | 11 |
| Congresswoman Maxine Waters (D-CA) | 9 |
| Benjamin Jealous, President & CEO, NAACP | 8 |
| Assistant Democratic Leader, Congressman James E. Clyburn (D-SC) | 5 |
| Marc H. Morial, President & CEO, National Urban League | 2 |
| Michael Steele, former Chairman of the Republican National Committee | 2 |
| None of the above | 40 |

A plurality (40%) say that none of the people listed speaks for them. The person who is most often speaks for respondents is Reverend Al Sharpton (24%). About one in ten say that Reverend Jackson (11%) and Representative Maxine Waters (9%) speaks for them, while 8% say that Ben Jealous of the NAACP most often speaks for them.

One in twenty say that Representative Clyburn speaks for them, while one in fifty each say that Marc Morial and Michael Steele most often speaks for them.

9. Are there any others not mentioned above that you would say speak for you?

- Barack Obama (81)
- Miscellaneous Democrats (23)
- God/Jesus/Religion (16)
- Myself (14)
- Michelle Obama (11)
- Bill Clinton (9)
- Martin Luther King, Jr. (9)
- Miscellaneous Republican (9)
- Colin Powell (8)
- MSNBC Host/reporter (6)
- Hillary Clinton (4)
- Joe Biden (4)
- Louis Farakhan (3)
- Elijah Cummings (2)
- John Lewis (2)
- Ben Carson (2)
- Eleanor Holmes Norton (2)
- Kwame Mfume (2)
- Sheila Jackson Lee (3)
- Tavis Smiley (3)
- T. D. Jakes (2)
- Oprah (3)
- Entertainer/athlete (3)
- All of the above (3)
- Mentioned in the list (50)
- No one/none (702)

10. *In your opinion, has the election of President Barack Obama helped, hurt, or made no difference in the lives of most African Americans today?*

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| Helped | 72% |
| Hurt | 4 |
| Made no difference | 16 |
| Not sure | 8 |

Three in four respondents believe that the election of Barak Obama has helped in the lives of most African Americans, while 16% say the historic election has made no difference. Just 4% think his election has made the lives of African Americans worse and 8% are not sure.

11. *The wealth gap between white Americans and African Americans has increased by \$70,000 over the last 20 years. Which of the following do you consider the primary cause?*

| | |
|--|-----|
| Lack of jobs | 22% |
| Lack of access to capital | 8 |
| Both | 47 |
| Didn't know there was a wealth gap problem | 7 |
| Other | 10 |
| Not sure | 7 |

Nearly half (47%) of African Americans say that both the lack of jobs and a lack of access to capital are to blame for the wealth gap between whites and African Americans. Twenty-two percent and 8%, respectively, say lack of jobs and lack of access to capital are to blame. Seven percent were not aware of a wealth gap and one in ten say something else is to blame.

12. *Considering your personal finances, would you say you are better off, worse off, or about the same as you were four years ago?*

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| Better off | 30% |
| Worse off | 19 |
| About the same | 48 |
| Not sure | 3 |

One in three (30%) respondents consider their personal finances are better off now than they were four years ago and 19% are worse off. Just under half (48%) say their personal finances are about the same and 3% are not sure.

13. More generally, would you say that African Americans are better off, worse off or about the same as they were four years ago?

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| Better off | 25% |
| Worse off | 21 |
| About the same | 44 |
| Not sure | 10 |

A plurality (44%) say in general that African Americans are about the same as they were four years ago, while respondents are closely divided between better off (25%) and worse off (21%). One in ten are not sure.

14. Would you say that racial attitudes among non-African Americans toward African Americans are better, worse, or about the same since Barack Obama has become President?

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| Better off | 19% |
| Worse off | 25 |
| About the same | 48 |
| Not sure | 9 |

Just under half (48%) say that they think that racial attitudes among non-African Americans towards African Americans remains about the same as they were before Obama became President. One in four (25%) believe racial attitudes are worse and 19% think they are better.

15. *African American unemployment has been double that of whites. What do you think is to blame for this?*

| Cause for Unemployment | Percent (%) |
|---|-------------|
| Failure of the education system for minorities/African Americans | 50 |
| Lack of corporate commitment to hiring minorities/African Americans | 48 |
| Lack of good government policies | 25 |
| Don't blame anyone or anything | 18 |
| Not sure | 12 |

Half (50%) of respondents believe that the unemployment rate of African Americans is double that of whites is because of the failure of the education system, while nearly as many (48%) say the reason for the difference is a lack of corporate commitment to hiring minorities and African Americans. One in four believe the cause is the lack of good government policies and 18% don't blame anyone or anything. Twelve percent are not sure.

16. *As an African American, have you ever been overlooked or felt discounted as a serious contender for employment because of your race?*

| | |
|----------|-----|
| Yes | 47% |
| No | 39 |
| Not sure | 14 |

Just under half (47%) say they have been overlooked or felt discounted as a serious contender for a job because of their race, while more than one in three (39%) say they have not. Fourteen percent are not sure.

17. The RLJ Rule is designed to encourage companies to voluntarily establish a best practices policy to identify and interview at least two African Americans at the managerial level and Black businesses for procurement opportunities that are often overlooked because of traditional hiring or procurement practices. The RLJ Rule is adapted from the NFL's Rooney Rule which mandates that teams interview minority candidates when head coaching and general manager positions become available. Overall, would you say that you are very supportive, somewhat supportive, or not supportive of companies voluntarily adopting the RLJ Rule?

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| Very supportive | 39% |
| Somewhat supportive | 36 |
| Not supportive | 6 |
| Not sure | 19 |

Three in four respondents say they are supportive of companies voluntarily adopting the RLJ Rule which identifies and interviews at least two African Americans at the managerial level and Black businesses for procurement opportunities. Just 6% say they do not support adapting the RLJ Rule for business.

18. If such a rule were in place, do you feel it would help your chances, hurt your chances, or make no difference in your or African Americans chances to be hired or to become a minority supplier?

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| Help | 47% |
| Hurt | 4 |
| Make no difference | 34 |
| Not sure | 16 |

About half (47%) believe that if the RLJ Rule were in place, it would help their chances to be hired to become a minority supplier and one in three (34%) say if the "rule" were in place, it would make no difference. Sixteen percent are not sure and just 4% say it would hurt their chances of being hired or becoming a minority supplier.

19. *If companies did not voluntarily adopt the RLJ Rule, would you want the President to urge Congress to enact legislation to require US companies to interview minorities for jobs and contract opportunities?*

| | |
|----------|-----|
| Yes | 53% |
| No | 19 |
| Not sure | 28 |

A majority (53%) say that they would the President to urge Congress to enact legislation to require US companies to adopt the RLJ rule so that they would have to interview minorities for jobs and contract opportunities.

20. *In your view, who has been most effective in representing their community's point of view to federal elected and appointed officials?*

| Most effective | Percent (%) |
|--|-------------|
| African American leadership | 15 |
| Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendered (LGBT) leadership | 13 |
| Religious leaders | 9 |
| Hispanic leadership | 2 |
| All of the above | 39 |
| None of the above | 8 |
| Not sure | 15 |

Nearly two in five respondents say that the leadership of all the groups tested have been effective in representing their community's point of view to federal elected and appointed officials. By a narrow margin, respondents say that African American leadership (15%) has been the most effective, followed closely by the LGBT leadership (13%). Just under one in ten say that religious leaders (9%) have been most effective.

Just 2% say Hispanic leadership has been most effective, while 8% say none of the above and 15% are not sure.

21. *Do you believe Hispanics who have come to America illegally should be granted full citizenship. . .?*

| | |
|----------------|----|
| Immediately | 9% |
| After 5 years | 34 |
| After 10 years | 19 |
| Never | 16 |
| Other/not sure | 21 |

Thirty-four percent say that Hispanics who have come to America illegally should be granted full citizenship after just 5 years; another 19% say they should be granted citizenship after 10 years. Just under one in ten say they should be allowed to be citizens immediately, while 16% say they should never be allowed to be citizens. One in five are not sure.

22. *Do you believe the US government is doing enough on border security to stem the influx of illegal immigrants?*

| | |
|----------|-----|
| Yes | 24% |
| No | 48 |
| Not sure | 28 |

About half say that the US government is not doing enough to stem the influx of illegal immigrants, while one in four (24%) say the government is doing enough. Twenty-eight percent are not sure.

23. *Do you believe Hispanic Americans will achieve greater economic growth than African Americans over the next 5 years?*

| | |
|----------|-----|
| Yes | 51% |
| No | 19 |
| Not sure | 30 |

Just over half believe that the next five years will be better economically for Hispanic Americans than for African Americans, while 30% are not sure.

24. Do you believe Hispanic Americans will achieve greater economic growth than African Americans over the next 5 years? Why?

- Hispanics face less racism than African Americans (97)
- Hispanic lifestyle/work ethics (79)
- Hispanics given more opportunity/education is better (77)
- Hispanic population is growing fast/faster (71)
- Hispanics work together as a group/support each other (54)
- Hispanics work for poor wages/bad working conditions (39)
- That's just the way it is (28)
- No response/not sure (528)

25. The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) community asserts they are entitled to certain rights under the law. Do you believe marriage should be restricted to between a man and a woman or do you believe that persons of the same sex should be allowed to marry and receive similar benefits as heterosexual couples?

| | Percent (%) |
|---|-------------|
| Restricted to a man and a woman | 42 |
| Same sex couples should be allowed to marry with benefits | 40 |
| Same sex couples should be allowed to marry without benefits | 4 |
| Not sure | 13 |

26. Some in the LGBT community claim that rights for LGBT people are the same as rights for African Americans. Do you believe that equal rights for gays are the same as equal rights for African Americans?

| | |
|----------|-----|
| Yes | 28% |
| No | 55 |
| Not sure | 17 |

By nearly two to one (55% vs. 28%), respondents say that equal rights for gays are not the same as equal rights for African Americans.

27. Do you believe ministers who oppose homosexuality, including the rights of gays and lesbians to marry, are...?

| | |
|------------|-----|
| Right | 34% |
| Wrong | 31 |
| No opinion | 35 |

Despite views on the similarity or difference regarding equal rights for LGBT Americans versus African Americans, respondents are closely divided about whether or not ministers who oppose homosexuality, including the rights of gays and lesbians to marry – about one in three each say the ministers are right to oppose gay marriage (34%), are wrong to oppose gay marriage (31%), and are unsure (35%).

28. Do you believe the country should ban assault, military-style, high capacity automatic weapons?

| | |
|----------|-----|
| Yes | 67% |
| No | 20 |
| Not sure | 14 |

By more than three to one (67% vs. 20%), respondents believe that assault weapons should be banned. Fourteen percent are not sure.

29. Do you believe the country pays less attention to “Black on Black” crime than it does to gun crimes committed against white Americans?

| | |
|----------|-----|
| Yes | 75% |
| No | 14 |
| Not sure | 11 |

The vast majority (75%) of respondents agree that “Black on Black” crime receives less attention than crimes committed against whites in this country.

30. Are you aware of the plan by the US government along with the private sector, to build a national African American museum in Washington, D. C. on the National Mall?

| | |
|----------|-----|
| Aware | 26% |
| Unaware | 66 |
| Not sure | 8 |

Two in three respondents say they are unaware of US government plans to build a national African American museum on the National mall in Washington, D. C.

31-32. Overall, would you say you are optimistic or pessimistic about each of the following over the next four years.

| | Optimistic | Pessimistic | Not sure |
|---|------------|-------------|----------|
| White-African American relations | 53 | 23 | 23 |
| Employment opportunities for African Americans | 62 | 19 | 20 |

A majority of African American adults are optimistic about employment opportunities for African Americans (62%) and for white-African American relations (53%) in the next four years.

However, slightly more are pessimistic about relations between whites and African Americans (23%) than are pessimistic about employment opportunities for African Americans (19%)

33. If the Democratic primary for President were held today, for whom would you vote?
34. Who do you think President Obama should endorse to succeed him as the next President of the United States?

| Candidate | Who do you support in Democratic Primary | Who should President Obama endorse |
|---------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| Hillary Clinton | 46 | 39 |
| Joe Biden | 19 | 23 |
| Andrew M. Cuomo | 2 | 1 |
| Julian Castro | 1 | 1 |
| Martin O'Malley | 1 | 1 |
| Deval L. Patrick | 1 | <1 |
| Someone else | 5 | 4 |
| Cannot/will not vote in primary | 6 | -- |
| Shouldn't endorse anyone | -- | 9 |
| *Other (Q34 only) | -- | <1 |
| Not sure | 19 | 21 |

*Michelle Obama; Allen West; Corey Booker; Christian Socialist candidate

Nearly half (46%) of the respondents say they would support Hillary Clinton for President in the Democratic primary if it were held today and just under two in five (39%) say that President Obama should endorse her to succeed him. About one in five say they will support Vice President Joe Biden if the primary were held today and that President Obama should endorse him.

Two percent or less say they would support any of the other candidates mentioned.