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See Page 10 for an analysis of the institutional and personal powers possessed by Southern governors. Authored by Professor Thad Beyle and John Quinterno, the article finds that Southern governors have grown more powerful in recent years.

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SOUTH NOW

Young-Adult Voters Up For Grabs

BROOK CORWIN, 2004 graduate, UNC-Chapel Hill

In today's national political climate, young voters are as untapped a voting resource as a candidate can hope to find. They are relatively non-partisan, they are receptive to grassroots campaigning, they care about most of the same issues as the general voting public — and they make up about 15 percent of the voting population.

They also do not vote as regularly as their elders.

Voting Trends, 1972–2000

Since the voting age was lowered to 18 in 1972, turnout among young voters has declined. According to the University of Maryland's Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), 37 percent of voters between the ages of 18 and 24 cast a presidential ballot in 2000, down from 52 percent in 1972 (Graph on page 2).

According to the CIRCLE study, young voter turnout was at its lowest in the 1996 election, a year in which the presidency was not highly contested. The 1992 election, on the other hand, boasted one of the highest young-voter turnout rates, spurred by the strong candidacy of Bill Clinton to unseat then-President George H.W. Bush and the third-party bid of H. Ross Perot.

The turnout drop has been even more pronounced in midterm elections. Nationwide, only 17 percent of the voting age population between the ages of 18 and 24 cast a ballot in 1998, down from a high of 27 percent in 1982.

The South has not been immune from these trends. Young-adult turnout in presidential elections declined in eight Southern states between 1972 and 2000. Turnout rates among young citizens in the South in 2000 ranged from 49 percent in Louisiana and Virginia to 28 percent in Tennessee (Table 1 on page 9).

Background, Education and Registration

This decline has prompted numerous studies on

the causes of young voter apathy. While factors are numerous, turnout among young voters has been linked to their background, educational attainment and registration status.

According to the New Millennium Project, a national campaign to boost civic engagement among 18- to 24-year-olds, the single factor that most determines whether a young adult will vote is whether that per-
SEE **YOUNG VOTERS** ON PAGE 2 →

Publisher's Note

This issue of *SouthNow* features the work of students in Ferrel Guillory's spring 2004 seminar, *Southern Politics: Critical Writing and Thinking*, in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at UNC-Chapel Hill. It is a writing-intensive, interpretative-journalism class with the South as the subject matter.

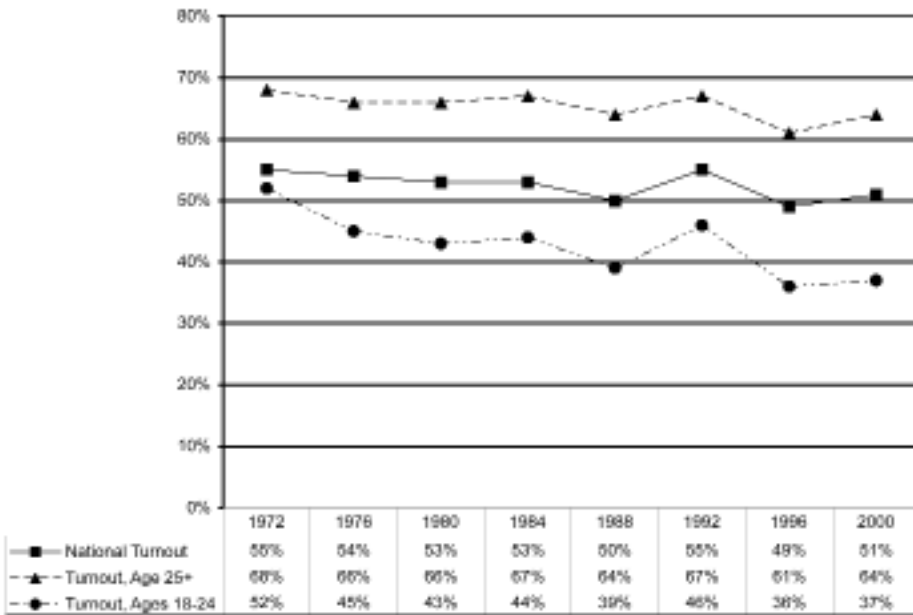
As an assigned project, students researched trends and forces that shape how young adults vote. Young voters, who collectively account for about 15 percent of the national electorate, have gotten special attention during the 2004 presidential election year. Since the threshold voting age was set at 18 in 1972, young adults have voted at a rate lower than the national average, and turnout rates among young voters have declined over the past three decades.

Students were assigned to explore whether young adults differ from their elders in terms of political behavior and attitudes and how young adults learn about politics, as well as efforts to engage young adults in public life. Because no standard definition of "young-adult voters" exists, articles in this issue of *SouthNow* differ according to the definitions of the sources cited. In general, the class focused on citizens between the ages of 18 and 35.

All of the following contributed research to this report: Joan Gandy, Eric Gautschi, Amy Kingsley and Chaise Nunnally, students in the journalism master's program; and Anna Arnett, Brook Corwin, Jim Hawes, Stephanie Jordan, Justin Pentz, Matt Tepper, Tori Ueltschi, and Jonathan Yeomans, who were undergraduate seniors in the spring 2004 semester.

son's parents vote. Such young voters, the project's studies conclude, are far more likely to be knowledgeable about issues, active politically and believe in the importance of voting.

Voter Turnout as % of Voting Age Population in Presidential Elections, 1972–2000



Meanwhile, a large segment of the potential young-voter population, several studies conclude, is both out-of-touch with current events and political issues and possesses a sharp distrust of politicians in general. The divide between likely and unlikely voters can be seen most sharply in a 2003 study by CIRCLE that breaks young voters into two groups — those with college attainment and those who have not received any college education, groups that are about evenly split in number among 18- to 24-year-olds.

According to the study, turnout among young voters nationwide is influenced by their level of educational attainment. Young voters with some level of college attainment consistently turned out to the polls at double the rate of non-college attending young voters, a trend that holds up in both presidential and midterm elections between 1972 and 2000. Though turnout rates for both groups have dropped during this period, the rates have dropped by the same amount.

Registration may be a more important barrier than education to voting among young adults. CIRCLE's scan of voter registration rates indicates that a young adult who is registered to vote will vote, regardless of their educational attainment. Among young voters registered to vote in the 2000 presidential election, 80 percent of those attending college actually voted, as did 70 percent of those not attending college. During midterm elections, the voting rate among registered young voters averages about 50 percent, with only a marginal gap between those attending college and not attending college.

The only major difference between the two educational groups is that young voters who attend college are twice as likely to register, indicating that a major challenge in turning out the young adult vote might lie in the registration process, as even non-college students have a high turnout rate if they are registered.

Personal Contacts Boost Voting

Perhaps the most effective mechanism for boosting youth voting is direct contact with political candidates. A 2001 Yale University study found that, when compared to older voters, voter turnout among young adults is more likely to be boosted by such personal canvassing. Similarly, the Campaign for Young Voters, a nonpartisan organization, has analyzed various nationwide surveys and found that young voters almost never are targeted in political adver-

SEE **YOUNG VOTERS** ON PAGE 9 →

The 26th Amendment

MATT TEPPER, 2004 graduate, UNC-Chapel Hill

In 1971 Congress embarked on amending the U.S. Constitution to set the minimum voting age in federal, state and local elections at 18 years old. Congress attempted to legislate this change in 1970, leading the Supreme Court to rule that the lower voting age could apply in national elections but not in state and local contests. With the 1972 election approaching, a federal constitutional amendment was quickly introduced to prevent confusion at the polls.

On June 30, 1971, the 26th amendment obtained ratification in the 38 states required to change the Constitution. Eight southern states ratified the proposal before it became part of the Constitution.

Lowering the voting age did not wholly invigorate young people's participation in elections, according to a 2002 study sponsored by the University of Maryland's Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE).

Compared to 1972, turnout among young adult citizens age 18–24 dropped 13 percentage points in 2000 (Table 1 on page 9). Voter turnout for young Southerners also declined, but on a smaller scale. The national average decline is around 13 percentage points, while the Southern average decline is approximately 4 percentage points. In some Southern states, such as Louisiana, Mississippi South Carolina and Virginia, young-voter turnout actually increased.

Tennessee, Oklahoma, and West Virginia saw the largest declines in youth-voter turnout. Despite the fluctuations among states, the overall turnout rate for young voters in the South is now relatively consistent with the national average. In the 2000 presidential election voter turnout among 18- to 24-year-old citizens was 42 percent, compared to the Southern average of 41 percent.

Voter registration among young adults also has declined since 1972. Federal Election Commission data show that 50 percent of young voters were registered in 1972, compared to approximately 45 percent in recent years.

Young Adults in the 2004 Democratic Primaries

CHAISE NUNNALLY, graduate student, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, UNC-Chapel Hill

Exit poll data from the 2004 Democratic presidential primaries show that young adults were more likely than older voters to select candidates who were not front-runners.

This trend was especially pronounced in the competitive Southern primary states of South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia. In these states, Democratic primary voters between the ages of 18 and 29 distributed their support among the candidates, and in no state did a candidate receive a majority of the young-adult vote.

The table shows the Southern Democratic primary vote by age group. Older voters dominated the electorate. Voters age 45 and over contributed between 65 percent and 76 percent of the vote in every primary state. The share of the vote contributed by voters between the ages of 18 and 29 ranged from 6 percent in Oklahoma to 11 percent in Georgia.

Massachusetts Sen. John Kerry captured pluralities of the young adult vote in Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia and finished second among young voters in South Carolina and Oklahoma. Yet the young adult vote was the least significant segment of Kerry's primary support in the South. In Oklahoma, Georgia and Tennessee, Kerry's smallest share of votes came from the 18- to 29-year-old age group.

Overall, Kerry performed best among the older segments of the electorate. Thad Beyle, a political science professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, said Kerry's emphasis on his military service in Vietnam likely had more generational appeal to older voters.

Similarly, Sen. John Edwards, who won the South Carolina primary as a native son, did not owe his victory to young voters. Generally, Edwards received a smaller share of support from voters between the ages of 18 and 29 than from older voters.

Young voters were the constituency in which the margin between Edwards and Kerry was the narrowest. With the exception of Virginia, where young voters favored Kerry by a 2-to-1 margin over Edwards, the share of the youth vote was consistently close between both

candidates. For instance, Kerry won 44 percent of the youth vote in Georgia and Edwards captured 42 percent.

Despite Howard Dean's celebrated appeal to younger voters nationally, he did not perform well among young Southern voters. Dean's support among young voters ranged from 4 percent in Georgia to 13 percent in South Carolina. Not only did Kerry and Edwards outperform Dean among young voters in all five Southern primaries, but Gen. Wesley Clark also bested Dean among young voters in the four states where both men competed.

Professor Beyle said young voters saw Dean, who came under intense media and candidate scrutiny as the primary season progressed, faltering. "By then Dean was crippled, and the handwriting was on the wall," Beyle said. "He wasn't seen as a

candidate who could beat the president."

Although Dean received the smallest share of the young adult vote in comparison to the other major candidates, his greatest support in all five Southern states came from that voting group. The results suggest that Dean, who ran a grassroots, anti-establishment campaign, offered a message that resonated more with younger voters than with other Southern Democrats.

The Rev. Al Sharpton, who received an average of 4 percent of the overall vote in the five states, also resonated more with younger Southern voters than other voting groups. In every state except South Carolina, he received his greatest support from young voters. In both Georgia and South Carolina, 9 percent of young voters polled supported his candidacy. ■

2004 Democratic Primary Vote in Southern States, by Age

State (Date)	Age Range	% Total	% Clark	% Dean	% Edwards	% Kerry	% Kucinich	% Lieberman	% Sharpton
SC (2/3)	18-29	9	15	13	34	27	1	1	9
	30-44	23	8	5	40	27	1	2	15
	45-64	48	6	3	47	31	1	3	8
	65+	20	4	5	50	33	1	4	4
OK (2/3)	18-29	6	34	8	26	23	—	4	1
	30-44	17	29	4	32	25	2	5	2
	45-64	46	4	30	—	28	1	7	1
	65+	30	34	2	28	26	1	9	1
TN (2/10)	18-29	7	22	8	25	36	1	1	3
	30-44	22	20	5	28	42	2	1	2
	45-64	49	25	4	27	39	—	1	2
	65+	23	20	4	26	49	—	—	1
VA (2/10)	17-29*	8	10	11	26	45	1	—	6
	30-44	24	9	9	35	40	2	—	5
	45-64	45	10	7	25	52	1	1	3
	65+	23	10	3	23	62	1	0	1
GA (3/2)	18-29	11	—	4	42	44	1	—	9
	30-44	24	—	2	39	46	—	—	8
	45-64	46	—	1	45	44	2	—	6
	65+	19	—	2	39	55	1	—	2

* Virginia allowed 17-year-olds who will turn 18 before the November election to vote in the primary.

SOURCE: National Election Pool Exit Polls conducted by Edison/Mitofsky

Young African-American Voters Differ from Their Elders

AMY KINGSLEY, graduate student, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, UNC-Chapel Hill

While majorities of African-Americans in every age bracket identify with the Democratic Party, young black voters are more likely than their elders to consider themselves unaffiliated. This finding comes from a 2002 poll conducted by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a nonprofit organization that conducts research on issues of concern to black Americans.

The Joint Center's poll found that Democratic self-identification among blacks varies inversely with age. While 75 percent of blacks age 65 and over describe themselves as Democrats, only 54 percent of voters between the ages of 18 and 25 declare that identity (Table).

Young black voters also are more likely to identify as independent voters than any other segment of the black population. Roughly one-third of voters between the ages of 18 and 25 characterized themselves as independents, compared to approximately one-fifth of voters between the ages of 51 and 64.

These findings are consistent with a similar national survey conducted in 2002 by the University of Maryland's Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE). CIRCLE's study found even less identification with the Democratic Party among black voters between the ages of 18 to 25. Forty-one percent of young blacks identified as Democrats, while 21 percent identified themselves as Independents, and 27 percent considered themselves Republicans.

Data indicating a decline in partisan affiliation by young blacks has caused some concern about voter turnout among young black voters. Research suggests

that registered voters with strong political ties are more likely to vote than those with weak or no political affiliation.

Voter turnout numbers over the last three presidential elections indicate that participation among blacks has risen. In Florida and Texas, blacks accounted for 15 percent of total voters in 2000, up from 10 percent in 1996. In Tennessee, the percentage increased from 13 percent to 18 percent.

However, voter turnout among blacks aged 18 to 24 is the lowest among any age group, though comparable to young whites. In 1998, a mid-term election year, 40 percent of young adults of all races in the South reported they were registered to vote. Only 14 percent cast ballots. Among young blacks, the percent registered to vote was 39 percent and turnout equaled 15 percent, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

"Although more blacks are moving into the middle-class and mainstream American culture, race still matters," said Jarvis Hall, chairman of the political science department at North Carolina Central University. "Middle-class blacks are adopting the self-interested political attitudes that lead people to vote Republican very slowly."

Felony disenfranchisement laws also affect the voting power of the black community, especially in the South. Out of seven states that bar convicted felons from voting for life, five are in the South. Many young blacks serving time or on parole for felonies are also barred from voting. The disenfranchisement rate for Southern black men is seven times the national average, according to the Sentencing Project, a research and advocacy group that focuses on issues of criminal justice. ■

African-American Political Self-Identification in 2002, by Age

Age	% Democrat	% Republican	% Independent
18-25	54	9	34
26-35	56	15	29
36-50	65	12	21
51-64	70	5	21
65+	75	7	16

SOURCE: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies (www.jointcenter.org/whatsnew/2002_NOP_text&tables.pdf)

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Efforts to Engage Young Voters

JIM HAWES, 2004 graduate, UNC-Chapel Hill

Given the fact that fewer young voters cast ballots than older voters and that young voters comprise about 15 percent of the electorate, organizations dedicated to encouraging young adult voting and civic engagement have proliferated.

The **Youth Vote Coalition** (www.youthvote.org) is a national coalition of 100 organizations working to increase the political involvement of Americans between the ages of 18 and 30. Its Web site includes a link to register to vote; the latest news on young adult voting; information about the candidates and elected officials; and statistics on voting, surveys and reports.

Rock the Vote (www.rockthevote.com) is a non-profit, non-partisan organization founded in 1990. Rock the Vote utilizes celebrities and athletes to encourage engagement in the political process and “to make political participation cool.” The main goal of this organization is to increase voter turnout. The group coordinates registration drives, get-out-the-vote events and education efforts.

MTV Choose or Lose (www.mtv.com/chooseorlose) has a campaign goal to mobilize more than 20 million young adults to vote in the 2004 presidential election. Its campaign is called “20 Million Loud” and will feature the first ever “PRE-lection” on MTV.com, in which young adults can cast their votes for president in a simulated national election. Its Web site contains extensive information about the presidential candidates.

Declare Yourself (www.declareyourself.com) is a national non-partisan, non-profit

campaign encouraging young voters to participate in the 2004 presidential election. Declare Yourself conducts a college tour. Each stop features voter registration, a DJ and members of the cast of MTV’s Real World. Declare Yourself also puts on a nationwide voter education initiative for high school seniors, a televised “get out the vote” concert and public service announcements.

The **New Voters Project** (www.newvotersproject.org), headquartered in Denver, focuses on young adult voters in Colorado, Iowa, Oregon, Wisconsin, New Mexico and Nevada. The organization targets these states because it says they have the highest concentration of young adult voters in certain geographic areas.

Smackdown Your Vote! (www.vote.wwe.com) is sponsored by World Wrestling Entertainment Inc. Its objectives are to increase turnout of voters between the ages of 18 and 30 in 2004 by one million over the turnout in 2000, encourage young people to enlist as poll workers, have a presidential debate that focuses on youth-oriented issues and encourage federal and state candidates to present their positions on issues important to young adults.

18to35 (www.18to35.org) is a national, non-partisan organization dedicated to engaging young adults in public policymaking and moving their issues and concerns to the forefront of policy debates. The organization’s goals include engaging young adults in the policymaking and electoral processes, changing the approach toward this age group from a marketing demographic to an ideas demographic and educating members of the age group on pertinent policy issues.

The **College Republicans National Committee** (www.crncc.org), a nationwide coordinating organization, has more than 120,000 members on 1,148 college campuses. The mission of the organization is to elect Republicans, support President Bush’s agenda and recruit and prepare future leaders of the party. The Republican National Committee is using “Reggie the Registration Rig (www.gopteamleader.com/reggie),” a 56-foot, 80,000 pound 18-wheeler, to host what it says will be the largest voter registration drive in the history of the Republican Party. The RNC has committed to registering more than three million new voters by Election Day 2004. Reggie is equipped with interactive multimedia capabilities, Xbox systems and a sound stage.

The **Young Democrats of America** (www.yda.org) has been the official youth arm of the Democratic Party since 1932. YDA has 42 chartered state chapters and 780 local chapters. Membership is open to anyone under the age of 36 who affiliates with the Democratic Party. There are currently more than 43,000 members. YDA organizes activist workshops, legislative lobbying, candidate schools and campaign operative training.

The **Campaign for Young Voters** (www.campaignyoungvoters.org) works to raise interest from and encourage action by candidates and political organizations. CYV uses its online Candidate Toolkit, workshops and other techniques to instruct candidates and campaign staff, political party officials, political consultants, and grassroots organizations on how to understand, communicate with and turn out younger voters on Election Day. ■

Visit www.southnow.org
to view or download all the data used in this issue.

How Young Voters Get the News

JOAN GANDY, graduate student, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, UNC-Chapel Hill

Among young adults, television is an unmatched source of political information. Cable television, local television news, network newscasts and television news magazines are the traditional news sources most often used by young adults, according to recent research.

However with the exception of television news magazines, all traditional news sources – including daily newspapers, radio and print magazines – have experienced declines in usage by young Americans (Table 1).

Nontraditional news sources, such as comedy and late-night television shows, along with the Internet, have seized ground. While Internet use among young adults is growing at about the same rate as among older voters, the surge in obtaining news from nontraditional television sources is unique to the younger age group.

Cable Television

Cable television jumped ahead of network television and local television news in 2004 to become young adults' primary source of political information. However, this leap has more to do with network and local television's declining viewership than with increased interest by young adults in cable television. The percentage of young Americans watching cable television news actually has shown little growth over the past decade.

In 2004, 37 percent of Americans age 18 to 29 said they regularly use cable news networks to gather election information, only one percentage point below the 2000 figure, according to a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and Press.

Network Television

Young Americans' use of network television has fluctuated during the past decade. In the past four years, network television dropped from the No. 2 ranking to become the No. 4 ranked traditional news source regularly used by young Americans.

In 1993, the Times Mirror Center reported 46 percent of Americans age 18 to 29 regularly watched network television news. In 2004 that figure fell to 23 percent, according to the Pew Research Center. Different surveys indicate occasional spikes in viewership by American youth. The Pew Research Center found in 2000 that 39 percent of Americans age 18 to 29 regularly tuned in to network television news, but this figure plummeted to 19 percent in 2002.

Local Television News

Unlike the fluctuations in network news usage, the percentage of young Americans who regularly watch local television news consistently has declined. During the past decade, the percentage of young Americans viewing local television news has fallen by more than 35 percentage points.

In 1995, the Times Mirror Center reported 65 percent of Americans age 18 to 29 regularly watched local television news, but in 2004 the Pew Research Center found that only 29 percent of the same age group watched local television news.

Television News Magazines

America's young adults demonstrate a growing interest in television news magazines. Even though use of television news magazines by this age group is increasing, it still rates below cable television and local television news.

According to a 2004 Pew Research Center survey, 26 percent of Americans age 18 to 29 regularly consumed television news magazines in 2004 to gather election information, up eight percentage points from four years earlier.

Nontraditional Television

Young Americans' growing use of comedy television shows and late-night television as a source of political information is outpacing the rest of America. Research indicates these nontraditional sources for political information have attracted a large percentage of young adults in recent years, while having little effect on older Americans.

A 2004 Pew Research Center study found 21 percent of Americans age 18 to 29 reported regularly watching comedy television shows for campaign news, compared with 6 percent of Americans age 30 to 49 and 3 percent of Americans age 50 and older. The study found the number of young Americans turning to shows like "The Daily Show" and "Saturday Night Live" was up 12 percentage points from 2000. The same pattern, though less dramatic, is true for late-night television shows such as those hosted by Jay Leno and David Letterman.

The Pew Research Center also reported in 2004 that one

Table 1: News Sources Used by Americans Age 18 to 29

Source	2004	2000
Cable	37%	38%
Local TV News	29%	42%
TV News Magazines	26%	18%
Network TV	23%	39%
Newspaper	23%	32%
Radio	16%	16%
Print News Magazine	9%	15%

SOURCE: The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press

out of every two young Americans at least sometimes gets campaign information from comedy television shows, twice the rate of adults age 20 to 49 (27 percent) and four times the rate of people 50 and older (12 percent). Comparably, 44 percent of Americans age 18 to 29 at least sometimes watched late night television for campaign information, twice the rate of any other age group.

Daily Newspapers

Daily newspaper readership among young Americans has declined in recent years, but not to the same extent as other traditional media sources. In 2004, the same percentages of young adult Americans reported regularly watching network television news as reading a daily newspaper. The data indicate the trend for newspaper readership over the last decade has been definitively downward, but exactly to what degree is up for debate (Graph 1).

In 1990, the Times Mirror Center reported 30 percent of Americans age 18 to 29 read a newspaper the previous day. In 2002, the Pew Research Center found that figure had fallen four percentage points. While this drop may seem small, the percentage of young adults who report reading a newspaper regularly has declined much more dramatically. According to Pew Center data gathered from 2000 to 2004, the percentage of Americans age 18 to 29 regularly reading a newspaper has fallen from 32 percent to 23 percent.

News Magazines

If television news magazines are attracting young adult viewers, their print counterparts seem to be repulsing them. With the current downhill trend, it is likely print news magazines will remain the traditional media source used least by young adults for years to come.

The Pew Research Center reported in 2000 that 15 percent of Americans age 18 to 29 regularly read news magazines. In 2002, the Pew Research Center found that the figure had fallen to 11 percent. The downward slope continued into 2004 when the Pew Research Center reported only 9 percent of young Americans regularly read news magazines, a new low.

Radio

Radio has shown neither growth nor decline among young adults. Since 2000, the percentage of young Americans age 18 to 29 who report regularly getting news from the radio has remained at a constant 16 percent, according to Pew Research Center reports. This figure rep-

resents a decline from 1995 when the Times Mirror Center found 20 percent of Americans from the same age group regularly listened to radio news.

Internet

The Internet is not just a political tool of younger voters. Research indicates young Americans are increasingly using the Internet to access political information at comparable rates as some of their older counterparts. Still, the Internet is a secondary source of political information for any age group.

A 2002 study by the University of Maryland's Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) found 20.6 percent of Americans age 15 to 25 and 20 percent of Americans age 26 and older reported using the Internet to gather news at least four days a week. In addition, the study found a greater percentage of older Americans, 12 percent, said they were daily consumers of Internet news than Americans age 15 to 25, only 10 percent.

A 2004 report by the Pew Research Center confirmed some of these results. This study found that 20 percent of Americans age 18 to 29

and 16 percent of Americans age 30 to 49 regularly turned to the Internet for campaign news in 2004. Only 7 percent of Americans age 50 and older were regular Internet users.

The growth of the Internet as a source for campaign news among all age groups is indicated in the 2004 Pew Research Center study. From February 1996 to January 2004, the study found the percentage of Americans getting most of their campaign news from the Internet rose for all age categories, from 4 percent to 21 percent for 18 to 29 year olds, 2 percent to 15 percent for 30 to 49 year olds and 1 to 5 percent for people older than 50. ■

Further Reading

A) The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press

"Cable and Internet Loom Large in Fragmented Political News Universe"
(www.people-press.org/reports/pdf/200.pdf)

"Public News Habits Changed Little by September 11"
(www.people-press.org/reports/pdf/156.pdf)

"The Age of Indifference"
(www.people-press.org/reports/pdf/19900628.pdf)

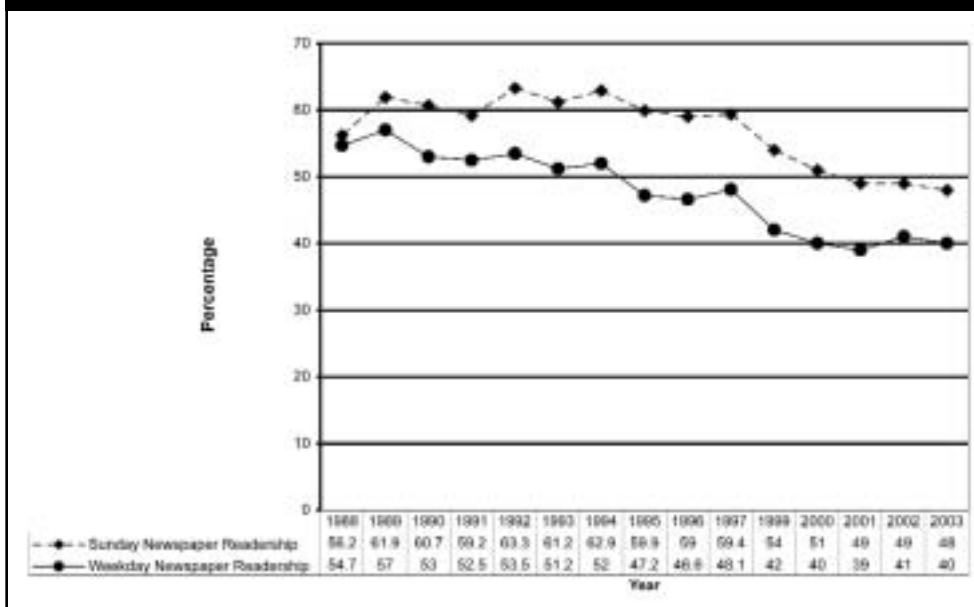
B) The Pew Charitable Trusts

"The Civic and Political Health of the Nation: A Generational Portrait"
(www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/public_policy_youth_civic_political_health.pdf)

C) Project for Excellence in Journalism

"The State of the News Media 2004: An Annual Report on American Journalism"
(www.stateofthenewsmedia.org/index.asp)

Newspaper Readership Trends for Americans Age 18 to 24, 1988-2003



Young Voters Bolstered GOP in 2002

ERIC GAUTSCHI, *master's graduate, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, UNC-Chapel Hill*

Age appears a significant dividing line in American national politics. The exit poll taken at the 2002 Congressional elections shows that voters under age 45 are gravitating in large numbers to the Republican Party. This trend is particularly pronounced among the youngest voters, those between the ages of 18 and 24. In the South, young adult voters give the GOP its widest margin of support.

Age and Political Affiliation

Winston Churchill's line is often quoted to capture the essence of the generational gap in politics: "Any man who is under 30, and is not a liberal, has no heart; and any man who is over 30, and is not a conservative, has no brains." Today's America stands Churchill's observation on its head. According to the 2002 exit poll, voters over the age of 60 skew Democratic, while the youngest voters favor the Republicans.

However, a straight correlation doesn't exist between age and party identification. While the youngest and oldest voters appear on opposite ends of the political spectrum, voters in the age groups in between follow no predictable pattern.

State of the Political Parties

To gauge party identification, Voter News Service (VNS) pollsters asked: "No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, Republican, Independent or Something Else?" More than 70 percent of voters in every age group identified with one of the two major parties, with a high of 78.4 percent (voters age 75 and older) and a low of 72.7 percent (voters aged 50-59). Of the 18-24 age group, 74.9 percent identified with one of the major parties.

Note that the question does not measure degree of identification, i.e. strong Democrat, leaning Democrat, sometimes Republican, etc. Party identification measured in this manner does not tell the complete story. If there is a weakening of the major parties in terms of party identification, it may be a matter of degree of identification rather than a shift to Independent or third-party.

Partisan Parity

A popular theme in the news media has been the polarization of the electorate and a decline in swing voters. On a national level, the 2002 exit poll appears to support this observation, with party identification breaking down as 39.5 percent Republican, 37.6 percent Democrat, 19 percent Independent and 4 percent other.

In the exit poll, results were segmented into nine age groups (Table 1). Of the nine groups, five had gaps of 4.5 percentage points or greater between the two parties. The three widest margins of support for one party over the other all favored the GOP. The 40-44-year-old voters identified with the Republicans by a margin of 9.8 percentage points (44 percent Republican to 34.2 percent Democrat). The second largest margin was among the youngest voters, as 18-24-year-olds went Republican over Democratic by 6.9 percentage points (40.9 percent to 34 percent).

The third widest margin was with 30- to 39-year-olds, who went Republican over Democrat by 5.5 percentage points. Taken as a group, voters under age 45 favored the Republican Party by 6 percentage points (41.6 percent to 35.6 percent).

About the Data

Voter News Service (VNS) conducted the exit poll with voters leaving the polling places on Nov. 5, 2002. Although this data set was not released on Election Day, as is typically the case, the data were later vetted by an independent panel and deemed to be of a quality comparable to past exit polls, and the results have been made available to the academic community.

VNS designed the poll as a national sample, consisting of more than 17,000 respondents. Although the data can be broken down by region, the sample sizes become significantly smaller once more than one additional variable is introduced.

This article looks at party identification as the primary dependent variable, with age group and region added in as independent variables. Combining more than one independent variable, such as age, region, sex and race, resulted in sample sizes that were too small to yield meaningful results.

Sampling errors in the exit poll ranged from 1.3 percentage points to more than 16 percentage points, based on the sample size for each different subset of the data. On the national level, without segmenting respondents by age group, gender or race, the sampling error was approximately 1.3 percentage points.

Sampling errors by region and other variables were slightly higher due to the smaller sampling sizes. The national data had sampling errors between 2 and 6 percentage points for each age group. The regional data, without age group segmentation, had sampling errors between 2 and 3 percentage points. When dividing the sample by sex and region, the sampling errors ranged from 3 and 4 percentage points.

Southern Voters

Southern voters favored the Republican Party by higher margins than voters in any other region, with an 8.6 percentage point identification gap between the two parties. By comparison, the East and West slightly favored the Democratic Party, in the East at a margin of 5.4 percentage points and the West by 1.3 percentage points. The Midwest identified as more Republican by a margin of 1.5 percentage points.

Young voters in the South were more Republican than young voters in other regions. Voters in the 18–24 age group went Republican over Democratic by a margin of 22.3 percentage points (48.1 percent to 25.8 percent). Sampling error for this subset of the data was between 9–10 percentage points, given the small sample size. The sample sizes of 18- to 24-year-olds in other regions were too small to garner meaningful results, but none of the other regions had gaps between the two parties greater than the sampling error margins. Only in the South did the youngest voters show a clear preference in this data set.

Table 1: National Party Identification by Age Group, Election 2002

Age	% Democrat	% Republican	% Independent
18–24	34.0	40.9	16.5
25–29	39.1	37.7	16.9
30–39	36.0	41.5	16.5
40–44	34.2	44.0	18.2
45–49	39.8	38.7	17.9
50–59	35.2	37.5	23.4
60–64	41.2	36.7	19.9
65–74	41.8	39.8	17.2
75+	41.6	36.8	20.3

SOURCE: 2002 Voter News Service Exit Poll

Even after factoring in sampling errors, the youngest voters in the South favored the Republican Party by a wider margin than any other age group in the region except for 30- to 39-year-olds, who went Republican over Democratic by 19.7 percentage points, with a

Table 2: Southern Party Identification by Age Group, Election 2002

Age	% Democrat	% Republican	% Independent
18–24	25.8	48.1	16.5
25–29	40.5	37.6	14.7
30–39	29.8	49.5	16.1
40–44	35.3	46.4	14.7
45–49	36.3	44.5	16.8
50–59	34.1	43.3	19.0
60–64	42.4	40.7	15.9
65–74	41.6	42.9	14.5
75+	43.7	37.0	18.3

SOURCE: 2002 Voter News Service Exit Poll

sampling error of approximately 6 percentage points. Table 2 presents the age breakdown for Southern voters. ■

Table 1: Presidential Voter Turnout among 18- to 24-Year-Olds, 2000 v. 1972

State	Turnout 2000	Turnout 1972	Difference 2000 v. 1972
AL	44%	43%	+1
AR	40%	42%	-2
FL	41%	50%	-9
GA	41%	41%	—
KY	39%	46%	-7
LA	49%	43%	+6
MS	48%	43%	+5
NC	34%	36%	-2
OK	41%	53%	-12
SC	43%	38%	+5
TN	28%	48%	-20
TX	37%	48%	-11
VA	49%	43%	+6
WV	36%	51%	-15
South	41%	45%	-4
US	42%	55%	-13

SOURCE: The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning & Engagement
(www.civicyouth.org/research/areas/pol_partic_outside5.htm)

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tising even though they respond well to personal contact that conveys authenticity on the part of the political candidate.

The political reward associated with targeting young voters, however, could be substantial. More than any other age group, young voters are up for grabs. A 2003 poll sponsored by the magazine *American Demographics* found that young voters identify equally with Democrats, Republicans and Independents. When compared to older voters, fewer 18- to 24-year-olds have developed a fixed political identity.

The preference of young voters for new political ideas does not mean they neces-

sarily value different issues. Both the *American Demographics* poll and the Campaign for Young Voters surveys show that 18-to 24-year-olds care most about the economy, education and the war in Iraq — the same concerns that resonate strongly with the general public.

Motivating young voters to vote will not require candidates to undertake a radical shift in platforms, but rather an increased outreach effort to register young voters and earn their trust. Holding a large block of essentially swing votes, many of which have yet to be cast, the young voter demographic holds the potential to impact upcoming elections. ■

Powers of Southern Governors Intensify

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Southern governors historically have possessed more limited institutional and personal powers than their

non-Southern peers. Over the past forty years, however, these differences have declined, and several Southern governors currently rank among the most powerful in the nation.

Table 1: Governors' Institutional Powers, Ranked from Most to Least Powerful State, 2004

State	SEP	TP	AP	BP	VP	PC	TPS	Rank
WV	2.5	4	4	5	5	4	4.1	2
TN	4.5	4	4	3	4	4	3.9	5
FL	3	4	2.5	3	5	4	3.6	18
KY	3	4	4	3	4	3	3.5	24
LA	1	4	3.5	3	5	4	3.4	29
TX	2	5	1	2	5	4	3.2	36
VA	2.5	3	3.5	3	5	2	3.2	36
AR	2.5	4	3	3	4	2	3.1	40
GA	1	4	2	3	5	3	3.0	41
OK	1	4	1	3	5	4	3.0	41
SC	1	4	2	2	5	4	3.0	41
MS	1.5	4	2	3	5	2	2.9	45
AL	1	4	3	3	4	2	2.8	47
NC	1	4	3.5	3	2	3	2.8	47
<i>Southern Avg.</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>4.0</i>	<i>2.8</i>	<i>3.0</i>	<i>4.5</i>	<i>3.2</i>	<i>3.2</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>Non-Southern Avg.</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>4.2</i>	<i>3.2</i>	<i>3.1</i>	<i>4.5</i>	<i>2.9</i>	<i>3.5</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>50 State Avg.</i>	<i>2.9</i>	<i>4.1</i>	<i>3.1</i>	<i>3.1</i>	<i>4.5</i>	<i>3.0</i>	<i>3.4</i>	<i>24</i>

KEY:

SEP – Separately elected executive branch officials: 5 = only governor or governor/lieutenant governor team elected; 4.5 = governor or governor/ lieutenant governor team, with one other elected official; 4 = governor/lieutenant governor team with some process officials (attorney general, secretary of state, treasurer, auditor) elected; 3 = governor/lieutenant governor team with process officials, and some major and minor policy officials elected; 2.5 = governor (no team) with six or fewer officials, but none are major policy officials; 2 = governor (no team) with six or fewer officials elected, including one major policy official; 1.5 = governor (no team) with seven or more process and several major policy officials elected.

TP – Tenure potential: 5 = 4-year term, no restraint on reelection; 4.5 = 4-year term, only three terms permitted; 4 = 4-year term, only two terms permitted; 3 = 4-year term, no consecutive election permitted; 2 = 2-year term, no restraint on reelection; 1 = 2-year term, only two terms permitted.

AP – Appointment power: covers six major functional areas: corrections, K-12 education, health, highways/transportation, public utilities regulation, and welfare. The six individual office scores are totaled and then averaged and rounded to the nearest .5 for the state score. 5 = governor appoints, no other approval needed; 4 = governor appoints, a board, council or legislature approves; 3 = someone else appoints, governor approves or shares appointment; 2 = someone else appoints, governor and others approve; 1 = someone else appoints, no approval or confirmation needed.

BP – Budgetary power: 5 = governor has full responsibility, legislature may not increase executive budget; 4 = governor has full responsibility, legislature can increase by special majority vote or subject to item veto; 3 = governor has full responsibility, legislature has unlimited power to change executive budget; 2 = governor shares responsibility, legislature has unlimited power to change executive budget; 1 = governor shares responsibility with other elected official, legislature has unlimited power to change executive budget.

VP – Veto power: 5 = governor has item veto and a special majority vote of the legislature is needed to override a veto (3/5's of legislators elected or 2/3's of legislators present); 4 = has item veto with a majority of the legislators elected needed to override; 3 = has item veto with only a majority of the legislators present needed to override; 2 = no item veto, with a special legislative majority needed to override a regular veto; 1 = no item veto, only a simple legislative majority needed to override a regular veto.

PC – Party control: The governor's party – 5 = has a substantial majority (75% or more) in both houses of the legislature; 4 = has a simple majority in both houses (under 75%), or a substantial majority in one house and a simple majority in the other; 3 = split control in the legislature or a non-partisan legislature; 2 = has a simple minority (25% or more) in both houses, or a simple minority in one and a substantial minority (under 25%) in the other; 1 = has a substantial minority in both houses.

TPS – Total power score: sum of the scores on the six individual indices divided by six to keep 5-point scale.

Rank – Rank of the state in comparison to the scores of all 50 states; ties in rankings reflect actual value.

Institutional Powers

Table 1 ranks the institutional powers of each Southern governor. Institutional powers are those lodged in the office of the governor by state constitutions and statutes. These powers are measured on six indices: the number and importance of separately elected executive-branch officials; the tenure potential for governors; the governor's appointment power for administrative and board positions in the executive branch; the governor's budgetary power; veto power and partisan control of the governorship and state legislature.

The table shows that the governorships of West Virginia and Tennessee are the two most powerful in the South, as well as the second and fifth most powerful in the nation. Most other Southern states, however, cluster around the low end of the national spectrum.

Three significant differences exist between the South and the rest of the nation:

- ◆ Southern states elect fewer governor/lieutenant governor teams and more elected executive branch officials than non-Southern states.
- ◆ As a result of the greater number of elected executive-branch officials and the greater use of board to make committee appointments, Southern governors have less appointive power than their non-Southern peers.
- ◆ Southern governors are less likely to confront a “power split” situation in which partisan control of the executive and legislative branches is divided.

Personal Powers

Personal powers are the powers that the individual serving as governor brings to the office. The powers are measured on four indices: electoral mandate received in the last election; the governor's position on the state's ambition ladder; the personal future of the governor and the governor's job approval rating.

Historically, Southern governors enjoyed fewer personal powers than their non-Southern peers. Today, however, few differences exist. In fact, the governorships of Louisiana and Texas are tied for the third most personally powerful in the nation, while four other Southern states rank among the eleven most powerful in the country (Table 2). Such similarities seem to demonstrate

how similar the road to the governorship is becoming, how similar the governor's personal future is and how similar job performances are perceived.

The only difference that exists between the South and the rest of the nation is the size of the electoral mandate that incumbent governors received in their most recent election. Two Southern governors — Republicans Jeb Bush in Florida and Rick Perry in Texas — won by a landslide margin of 11 or more percentage points, compared to 15 non-Southern governors. Moreover, two Southern governors — Republican Bob Riley in Alabama and Democrat Brad Henry in Oklahoma — won by narrow margins of two percentage points

or less. In the rest of the nation, four governors, three of whom were Democrats, won by such small margins.

Combined Powers

Table 3 combines the institutional and personal power measurements into one scale. The combined rankings show that the governor of Louisiana is the most powerful in the South while the governor of Alabama is the least powerful.

In ten Southern states, there exist only slight differences between the governor's institutional and personal powers. Yet incumbent governors in three states — Republican Rick Perry in Texas, Democrat Mary Blanco in

Louisiana and Democrat Mike Easley in North Carolina — have succeeded in using their personal powers to increase their total powers despite occupying offices that are institutionally weak. In West Virginia, meanwhile, Democrat Bob Wise's poor use of personal powers has reduced the office's total power.

Long-time observers of gubernatorial performance have noted that some of the best governors have used their personal powers to overcome structural limitations on the governorship, while other governors have squandered institutional powers through the misuse of personal powers. The question facing voters when they go to the polls is how to know which might happen. ■

Table 2: Governors' Personal Powers, Ranked from Most to Least Powerful State, 2004

State	Governor, Party	EM	AL	PF	JAR	TPS	Rank
LA	Kathleen Blanco, D	3	5	5	5	4.5	3
TX	Rick Perry, R	5	5	5	3	4.5	3
AR	Mike Huckabee, R	4	5	3	4	4.0	11
KY	Ernest Fletcher, R	4	3	5	4	4.0	11
NC	Michael F. Easley, D	3	5	4	4	4.0	11
SC	Mark Sanford, R	4	3	5	na	4.0	11
TN	Phil Bredesen, D	3	2	5	5	3.8	23
GA	Sonny Perdue, R	3	3	5	3	3.5	30
FL	Jeb Bush, R		5	1	3	4	3.3 38
MS	Haley Barbour, R	4	1	5	na	3.3	38
OK	Brad Henry, D	2	3	5	na	3.3	38
AL	Bob Riley, R	2	3	5	1	2.8	46
VA	Mark R. Warner, D	3	1	3	4	2.8	46
WV	Bob Wise, D	3	3	1	2	2.3	50
<i>Southern Avg.</i>		3.4	3.1	4.2	3.5	3.6	26
<i>Non-Southern Avg.</i>		3.8	3.3	4.3	3.7	3.8	21
<i>50 State Avg.</i>		3.7	3.2	4.3	3.7	3.7	22

KEY:

EM – Electoral mandate: 5 = landslide win of eleven or more points; 4 = comfortable majority of six to ten points; 3 = narrow majority of three to five points; 2 = tight win of zero to two points or a plurality win of under 50 percent; 1 = succeeded to office.

AL – Governor's position on state's ambition ladder: 5 = steady progression; 4 = former governor; 3 = legislative leaders or members of Congress; 2 = substate position to governor; 1 = governorship is first elective position.

PF – Personal future of the governor: 5 = early in term, can run again; 4 = late in term, can run again; 3 = early in term, term limited; 2 = succeeded to office, can run for election; 1 = late in final term.

JAR – Job approval ratings in public opinion polls: 5 = over 60 percent positive job approval rating; 4 = 50 to 59 percent positive job approval rating; 3 = 40 to 49 percent positive job approval rating; 2 = 30 to 39 percent positive job approval rating; 1 = less than 30 percent positive job approval rating; na = no polling data available. (Most recent polls up to May 28, 2004).

TPS – Total power score: sum of the scores on the four individual indices divided by four to keep 5-point scale.

Rank – Rank of the state in comparison to the scores of all 50 states; ties in rankings reflect actual value.

Table 3: Combined Gubernatorial Power Indices

State	IP	PP	TPR
LA	3.4	4.5	7.9
TN	3.9	3.8	7.7
TX	3.2	4.5	7.7
KY	3.5	4.0	7.5
AR	3.1	4.0	7.1
SC	3.0	4.0	7.0
FL	3.6	3.3	6.9
NC	2.8	4.0	6.8
GA	3.0	3.5	6.5
WV	4.1	2.3	6.4
OK	3.0	3.3	6.3
MS	2.9	3.3	6.2
VA	3.2	2.8	6.0
AL	2.8	2.8	5.6
Avg	3.2	3.6	6.8

NOTES:

IP – Institutional Powers from Table 1.

PP – Personal Powers from Table 2.

TPR – Total Power Rating, sum of IP and PP ratings.

SouthNow DataPack

Much of the data on Southern political trends compiled by the Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life is available online through the Program's SouthNow DataPack project. Visit www.southnow.org/projects/index.htm to download the information.

NC Up and Coming Leaders' Summit

"Do you feel useful? Are you productive? Are you contributing to the world around you? And — *are you having fun?*" Philanthropist and entrepreneur Michael Brader-Araje addressed these questions to a group of 100 young adults assembled at UNC-Chapel Hill's Friday Center on June 19, 2004.

Brader-Araje gave the keynote address at the NC Up and Coming Leaders Summit, a daylong event facilitated by the Program on Southern Politics, Media and Public Life. The summit assembled Tar Heels between the ages of 21 and 35 who are interested in becoming more involved in North Carolina's public life. Participants came from across the state and from such diverse fields as law, social work, education, government, business, medicine and the arts.

The idea for the summit originated more than a year ago when a group of recent university graduates, led by George Jackson and Nic Heinke, approached the Program for help in establishing a network to connect young adults interested in public affairs. This idea led to a small gathering on the UNC-Chapel Hill campus in June 2003, which in turn prompted a proposed Emerging Tar Heels Leader Network (ETHL).

Over the past year, the ETHL planning group established ties with the UNC Association of Student Governments Alumni Association and 18to35, a national nonpartisan organization dedicated to engaging young adults in policy-making. With funding from RedHat, a Research Triangle

technology firm, and organizational support from the Program, the groups convened the June 19th summit.

Participants had the opportunity to hear U.S. Rep. David Price's account of his own entry into public life and politics, as well as the reflections of an evening panel that featured State Rep. William Daughtridg of Rocky Mount, Melanie Sill, the executive editor of *The News & Observer*, and Judge James Wynn of the North Carolina Court of Appeals.

Speakers during the morning session included State Sen. Richard Stevens; former state Sen. Wib Gulley, now at the Triangle Transit Authority; John Chaffee of the Pitt County Economic Development Commission; and Katherine Loffin of the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation in Miami.

The afternoon sessions featured Cal Allen of North Carolina Public Allies; Jonathan Zaff of 18to35; former state Sen. Calvin Cunningham; and Emily Williamson of Western Piedmont Community College. Participants also had the opportunity to engage in several open discussions, including one on next steps facilitated by Catherine Moga of the NC Rural Economic Development Center and John Quintero of the Program.

The organizers are exploring ways to expand the ETHL network and give it a more permanent organizational form. The Program hopes to continue helping the young adults who initiated and organized the summit. Brader-Araje's keynote address is available at www.southnow.org. ■