A RHETORICAL CRITIC LOOKS AT LOCAL POLITICS:

THE 1975 RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

OF MAYOR TOM MOODY, COLUMBUS, OHIO

A Thesis

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by

Jeffrey Blake Ritter, B.A.

The Ohio State University

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Approved by

[Signature]

Advisor

Department of Communication
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The system of government in which we place our faith thrives upon what Adlai Stevenson termed "the dialogue of democracy." Apparent at all levels of government and in all electoral campaigns waged by candidates for public office, a free, open, and robust discussion of questions of public policy has become essential to the continued legitimacy of the system. Indeed, the law of the land has long recognized the principle that truth can only be secured by allowing debate to take place un-restrained. It is most appropriate therefore that a prime emphasis in the study of contemporary rhetoric has been that body of communication which sought understanding and agreement regarding the state of government and the state of society.

3 To be sure, studies of political rhetoric are far too numerous to mention. The bibliography lists some of the more notable published works.
In that tradition, particular criticism can be isolated which is concerned more precisely with the rhetoric of candidates for public office. With the significance of elections to history, sociology and political science, students of rhetoric are particularly justified in aggressively studying political and governmental communication; their analyses have already contributed to better understandings of the dynamics of our democratic system. And with the slow disintegration of the academic walls that have for so long separated scholarly disciplines, the role of the rhetorician in an eclectic examination of campaign communication can only become more important. This thesis is written in the spirit of such a progression.

Since the development of the mass media as an essential instrument of presidential electioneering, campaigning has been transformed into a completely new experience.

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Facilitated by the growing sophistication of research instruments and techniques, social scientists have rapidly begun to explore and attempt to define the phenomena of persuasion involved in the election process. The directions of the research have been diverse and, over two decades since 1952, "the year of the television," scholars of campaign communication remain quite far from the evolution of any coherent theory.

Despite the apparent diversity of the accumulated research, there exists an underlying unity. Curiously, nearly every analysis of campaign communication has examined either national or state-wide campaigns; elections at the local level seem almost completely ignored. This is unfortunate for local government and the respective elections are the foundation of the Federal Government. Certainly, lacking glamour, glitter, and the ominous importance for the future of man that national campaigns inherently display, local campaigns could easily be dismissed as insignificant and dull. And despite the prevailing tendency of academicians to overlook the rhetorical elements of local politics, the campaigns waged for local offices can be as dynamic, as creative and as rhetorical as any nationwide effort.

This becomes apparent in reviewing the previously cited works.
Victory is just as important; the talent for persuasion is equally critical to success.

Perhaps the apparent apathy toward local political campaigns can be attributed to an unexpressed but universally-held assumption that national or statewide campaigns are representative of the entire electoral system. Or perhaps researchers have simply concluded that local campaigns lack substantive content or are inaccessible to analysts. Regardless of the cause, the lack of research seems inexcusable for several reasons.

First, local campaigning generates a completely different genre of rhetoric than that present at the higher levels of politics. The issues that define the priorities of local government are less complex than the questions of national security, budget deficits, and foreign policy. The problems lay just outside every voter's doorstep: sewer systems, police and fire protection, community service programs, and equal opportunity in education. The manner in which these types of problems are resolved will have a direct bearing upon the daily lives of a community's residents. The voters seem to recognize this; local campaigns for instance can often be expected to focus on such a question as when the streets are to be repaved. In other words, the expectations of the voters have shaped a mold into which the
campaigns are to fit, and the candidates, emerging from the voters and therefore sharing in the prevailing expectancies, conform. The election process becomes a ritual, a reaffirmation of the system.

There exists therefore a unique form of rhetoric. Because the problems are real and definite, the candidates must be responsive and precise. Direct answers are anticipated; direct answers must be provided. As Lipset observed, the legitimacy of any governmental authority is judged by its effectiveness in meeting the people’s expectations of how it should perform. Thus, the candidate who fails to utilize the genre of rhetoric expected of local candidates jeopardizes his own possibility of success for he is not providing what the voters desire.

The study of the rhetoric involved in local politics seems justified because the communication itself is distinctive from that associated with larger campaigns. Moreover, the absence of previous inquiries only provides further motivation for new research. Finally, it should be noted that the assumptions that local politics is either non-substantive or inaccessible are just not reasonable. As this thesis unfolds, it will become abundantly

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clear that there can be a great deal of substance in a local campaign effort. And, because a local campaign is simply of a different nature than a larger effort (being less formal, less vulnerable, less secretive), research can be conducted more easily. Indeed in the instance of this thesis, the writer worked closely with the actual campaign staff and the candidate. In short, campaigning at any level of politics is interesting and exciting and academic study should no longer ignore such a vitally important sector of the American scene as local politics.

The Problem

In recent years, the campaigns conducted in the nation's larger cities have adopted a new dimension which is especially tempting to the curiosity of the writer. With sizeable constituencies and correspondingly large amounts of campaign funds available, local candidates have found it possible to implement to one degree or another the image-making techniques of the national campaigns. Utilizing the media of radio and television extensively, the resulting campaigns reflect the consequences of such a strategy in the content of their messages. Just like at the national level, the creation of an image of the candidate becomes the essential
rhetorical purpose. Yet, as observed earlier, local politics seems to demand a continued emphasis upon the issues and the problems of the community. And, as is quite apparent from nearly any layman's perspective, issues and images often seem to be incompatible elements in any campaign's rhetorical strategy.

This attempted integration of the tactics of heavy media use with the distinct genre of local campaign rhetoric implies a very serious challenge to the persuasive ability of the candidate who attempts such a feat. Prompted by the understandable desire to imitate and implement the techniques of the "big boys," the candidate emerges with the potential to undermine a very essential link between his potential constituency and the government. The use of the media, which for the most part eliminates de facto a discussion of the issues, would seem to only disenchant and alienate voters from the one level of government which seems perhaps most relevant and responsive to their immediate needs. Quite simply, the continued presence of "the dialogue of democracy" could be imperiled. The implications of that end, both for the immediate candidacy and the institution, are ominous.

This thesis will examine how one local campaign, in Columbus, Ohio, a large, midwestern city, attempts to cope with the rhetorical challenge defined by the
introduction of the media into the campaign's strategy. In particular, originating from a rhetorical foundation, an analysis will be made of both the campaign—the participants, their thinking, their strategies and the resulting message which constituted the rhetorical effort of the campaign—and the changing context in which the campaign took place, what Bitzer identifies as the "rhetorical situation." 7 By examining one campaign, perhaps only an indentation is made in the sphere of potential research associated with local campaigning. However, if the analysis can be comprehensive, scrutinizing all the elements of the campaign, the resulting conclusions will provide a broader base from which later research can evolve. Such will be the intent of this thesis.

On November 4, 1975, the Honorable Tom Moody, mayor of Columbus, Ohio was re-elected to a second term of office in a non-partisan contest against Dr. John Rosemond, a member of the Columbus City Council. Spending


8 The information reported in this thesis about the mayoral election comes from no single source but is the accumulated knowledge of the writer about the campaigns. Only when information is needed to demonstrate its authenticity will it be provided.
the maximum amount of money allowed by law, the Moody campaign made extensive use of the local media in an extremely well-coordinated, thematic campaign. Though the election results signified a landslide victory for the Mayor and despite Dr. Rosemond's failure to ever mount a substantive challenge, the Moody campaign is still quite deserving of consideration. First, the electorate and the city can both be accepted as being quite normal and typical. Second, the candidate himself first won election to the mayoral post in 1971 by strongly emphasizing the current issues. Yet, four years later, the image-making channels of communication were developed to the degree that they constituted the primary expenditure of campaign funds. Whether or not Moody effectively satisfied the expectations of the electorate with his campaign rhetoric seems to be an eminently legitimate question to pose given the Mayor's past record. Indeed, the resolution of that query might reveal whether the campaign can truly be held accountable for the Mayor's victory or whether in fact, lacking a persuasive campaign, the Mayor's success can be attributed to the default of his opposition.

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9 On December 28, 1970, the ABC News Department broadcast "The American Adventure," a show which focused on Columbus, Ohio. The transcript of that show presents ample demographic evidence demonstrating that Columbus is a miniature America.
Review of the Literature and Proposed Methodology

Prior to the outlining of the methodology to be used in examining Mayor Moody's campaign communication, consideration must first be given both to the "nature of the beast" and to the extent and content of previously reported research, for both inquiries shall prove useful in prescribing the methodology.

What, indeed, constitutes a campaign? As a "series of actions designed to attain a specific goal," a campaign is an instrumental event.10 A campaign, especially one waged for political election, is fundamentally a persuasive rather than a coercive effort, striving to influence a particular target audience toward a particular choice between two or more options.11 Moreover, a campaign is not carried out in one step; actions taken facilitate subsequent actions, "one predicing the next toward the realization of a final goal."12 Certainly, as a persuasive effort, a campaign is a rhetorical event.

It could be argued that a campaign can be considered only as a more expansive, complex structuring of the

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10 Wallace Fotheringham, Perspectives on Persuasion (Boston; Allyn and Bacon, 1966) p. 34-39.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
typical speech. Each starts with an examination of the rhetorical situation, calculates and designs an overall strategy for securing the end desired, identifies the specific tactics that will operationalize the basic strategy and then activates "the available means of persuasion." Yet where the basic address and the campaign are so different is with the occurrence and management of feedback. Where an organized address, delivered at a certain time in a defined situation to a particular audience offers only limited opportunities for feedback from the audience (and that tends to be communicated through indirect cues), a campaign is subject to frequent, comprehensive and dynamic feedback during the course of its existence. Spread out over time, the campaign is interrupted by the electorate and the press who take every opportunity to respond to the distinct steps or phases of the persuasive effort. And because of the flexibility provided by its long life, a campaign is more readily adaptable to the feedback than the single speech. The entire situation is simply more dynamic.

Thus the uncertainty and excitement associated with political campaigns largely results from the ever-changing relationship between the campaign and the surrounding

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persuasive effort, confronted the rhetorical challenge previously outlined.

With this assumption well in mind, previous research discussing campaign communication can be reviewed to provide possible methodological approaches. Initially it should be made clear that what is being considered is not the bulk of the literature on political campaign communication but only those select articles and books concerned with the rhetorical elements of campaigning. That restriction makes the number of sources somewhat sparse.

Except for a couple of articles, the criticism of campaign rhetoric has consistently failed to embrace any rendition whatsoever of the perspective just concluded to be so essential to an effective analysis. In examining particular elements or phases of a given campaign, critics have failed to acknowledge any relation of the particular subject matter to the rest of the campaign. Nevertheless, most of the criticisms conclude with assertions regarding the whole of the campaign. Since this tends to be the norm, it is a very distressing situation.

Even with the advent of mass media's role in campaigning, campaign speaking remains the primary subject of

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interest. For example, Robert Kully argues in a 1966 article that it was through campaign communication that California Governor Pat Brown made a critical change in the image he projected to the voters. The study examines however only the speeches of the candidate. Indeed, even when looking at the election which first implemented massive media campaigning, Reid and Beck shied away from that body of available rhetoric and chose to focus on the campaign speaking of Dwight Eisenhower.

Other analyses have not reached as vigorously for generalized conclusions but are perhaps more apathetic to the campaign as an entire phenomenon. The titles of the resulting articles sufficiently define the interests of this group of research: "Political Handshake: Non-verbal Persuasion in Image Construction;" "Radio and Presidential Campaigning;" "The Television Panel as a Vehicle of Political Persuasion;" and "The Influence of Role Structure on Message Content in Political Telecast Elections." 

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15 op. cit.
16 op. cit.
The criticism of these works is not intended to judge any of them as valueless. All have made important insights regarding the rhetorical aspects of campaign communication. But the significance of those conclusions is limited when the entire campaign remains unexplained. Imagine what could have been concluded had the critics placed their observations into that perspective. In short, to ignore the very nature of a campaign seems to render the methodologies involved rather useless to the purposes of this thesis. The potential of the critic must be and can be extended further.

A notable work attempting to provide an orientation to the complexities associated with the criticism of an entire campaign was an article by Kenneth Anderson in which the author proposes a model for the analysis of image-oriented campaigns (see Figure 1).18

Arguing that what voters truly possess is a characterization of an image, slightly ambiguous and amorphous due to the vagueness of the rhetorical cues initiated by a campaign, Anderson feels the effectiveness of image-making strategies can be more accurately evaluated from a situation perspective. Noting that "images...arise out of

Images evolve through interaction. For the image allocators (voters, press, etc.), there is intra-group interaction, as well as collective interaction with the respective candidates, their organizations, and the communication between the candidates. This influence the campaign rhetoric which then motivates certain political actions which result from the consideration of the total image and extra-competitive influences as well as the new rhetoric. Thus, any image is a sum total of all the possible interactions.
the comparative positions of two or more candidates," Anderson claims that the conflict which results between opponents is a productive exercise for the voters, though considered risky by the candidates. Conflict promotes an accuracy in the perceived images as the ambiguity of the respective candidates becomes clarified by the challenges of others.' The critic must account for this conflict. Moreover, Anderson contends, image interaction is also important within a campaign's "team"--the candidate and his staff. The candidate's self-concept is matched against the staff's image of the candidate and the team's estimation of the collective image the voters have of the candidate as the team struggles to define the content of the campaign. Accounting further for influences upon the voters which originate outside the boundaries of the competition between the candidates (e.g. role expectations, political affiliations, outside commentaries), Anderson's model assumes an aura of completeness, even identifying the impact of feedback upon the campaign team.

In considering the intent of this thesis, the model provided serves as an excellent guide for identifying the several elements of the situation subject to change in the course of the campaign and alter the relevant strategies. However, a more specific method must be devised for examining the other emphasis of this thesis--
circumstances. Each phase of a campaign, originally neatly planned by the campaign staff long before the actual effort, can be radically altered as a result of new, unexpected feedback originating from several different and independent sources. Events of major significance (e.g., a strike by public employees) can also warrant changes in the planned rhetorical strategies. The potential disruption unexpected feedback might cause is offset though by the flexibility a campaign has with which to respond, both in terms of rhetorical content and particular tactics. Indeed, those campaigns which are most successful in preserving their ability to persuade despite the changing exigencies can be expected to result in victory.

In examining the Moody campaign, the very nature of the phenomenon appears to demand a comprehensive analysis if any meaningful conclusions are to be reached. As each phase of the campaign integrates different tactics and messages, the role and significance of the media surely changes. Thus, if an accurate assessment is to be made, the presence of the media, both in chronological and thematic terms, must be considered in relation to the other communication efforts of the campaign (telephoning, leaflets, personal appearances, surrogate speakers, and billboards). Only in that manner can an accurate, determination be made of how the campaign, as a unified
the campaign itself. The "team" concept is just not dependable for guiding a detailed study.

It was observed earlier that a campaign's progress occurs not only along a chronological time-line but also along a thematic dimension. That is, the phases of a campaign are defined by both factors. In light of this, the following analogy will be useful in developing the methodology for studying the Moody campaign.19 For the purposes of criticism, imagine a campaign to resemble a movie film, with a beginning and an end, progressing from the first day of the campaign and the prevailing rhetorical situation to election day itself. Each frame of the film represents each phase or element of the campaign. With film, a director selects from a pool of all possible cues the particular ones he or she wishes to arrange in a certain order to convey in each frame a message. So too does the campaign team develop their rhetorical effort. In the latter instance, such general types of cues available include the type of media to be used, the message, the source of the message, the length of the message, the frequency of presentation and the like. The film viewer (voter) perceives the film, selects, 

19 Recognition should be given to Dr. Deanna Robinson, The Ohio State University, who originally devised this conception of the film-making process.
filters, and perhaps rearranges the cues presented according to personal cognitive structures and finally establishes a perception of what just transpired.

Thus, both film and campaigning develop a message, but they do so in phases, developing toward a final end. The film critic will often strive to explain and analyze the particular elements and cues involved in each phase of a film; so too should the rhetorical critic comment upon a political campaign. This analogy will guide the inquiry of this thesis. The analysis will be comprehensive but not exhaustive. Every effort will be made to account for, describe and evaluate each important rhetorical element of the campaign but no attempt will be made to detail every rhetorical activity engaged in by the campaign. In addition, using Anderson's model, the situation will be studied. From beginning to end, it too was ever-changing and the relation between the campaign and the situation must be examined. In synthesizing both methodologies together, an accurate appraisal of the campaign's response to the media-issue dilemma can be achieved.

With the proposed methodology outlined, the structure of the rest of the thesis falls into place. The second chapter explicates the intricacies of the political, social, and rhetorical elements of the situation and circumstances preceding and up to the commencement of the Moody campaign for the general election. Several perspectives on the
situation are provided, most notably the viewpoint of the candidate and his staff. Furthermore, the second chapter explains the practical aspects of the election: who did what, when, where and for whom? This part of the chapter focuses on both intra- and extra-campaign persons.

The third chapter reviews the strategies devised by Moody and his team in response to the rhetorical situation they perceived and discuss the various tactics designed to satisfy the strategy. The history of the campaign will then be taken up, noting and evaluating some of the considerations involved as well as the changes in the strategy and tactics which were initiated by the nature of the situation. It could be said that this chapter will be integrating the second chapter with a synopsis of the campaign itself.

In the fourth chapter, the specific phases of the campaign are analyzed. The precise rhetorical content of each is considered, the relationship of each element to the entire persuasive effort is described, and an evaluation is made about how successfully the original strategy of the campaign seemed manifested in reality.

The final chapter then returns to the original issue of this entire thesis and judges the success of the Moody campaign in satisfying the normalized expectations of the electorate. In turn, the question of how responsible the campaign was for Moody's victory is considered. The
chapter concludes with retrospective criticism of the study itself and speculates about the heuristic merit of the work.

**Procedures**

In preparation for the writing of this thesis, I completed several courses at The Ohio State University emphasizing rhetorical theory and rhetorical criticism. Perhaps the most useful of these courses has proven to be Communication 701.09, a seminar in rhetorical criticism, and Communication 816, a seminar in political communication. Also, under the direction of Dr. John J. Makay, I did further reading on the subject of criticism in the fall of 1975. It was through several preliminary conferences with Dr. Makay that the final decision to study the 1975 mayoral campaign was reached.

After the primary election in June, 1975, when the decision to study the Moody campaign in particular was made, it became readily apparent that a proper study along the lines of the proposed methodology could only be realized if complete and thorough information about the candidate, the staff and the operations of the campaign could be secured. In addition, a file of all the campaign communication issued, multimedia in nature, would surely prove most useful. To obtain all of this, accessibility
to the Moody campaign was quickly concluded to be absolutely essential.

Having prepared a preliminary prospectus, which included an explanation of what materials were being sought, I made initial contact with the Mayor's campaign in the first week of August, 1975. The Mayor's administrative assistant, Mr. Terry Casey, was most enthusiastic about the concept of the research and never failed to be completely cooperative. Providing me with access to the candidate's schedule, Casey offered invaluable assistance in defining the political elements of the various appearances scheduled and in advising which appearances would be most useful for the purposes of analysis.

With Mr. Casey's aid, I first met the Mayor on September 24, 1975 at which time a taped interview lasting nearly an hour was conducted. The Mayor was also quite interested in this thesis and, as a result of his enthusiasm, frequently looked me up at various functions and confided to me his personal thoughts about the campaign and his involvement with it as the campaign progressed. The Mayor assured me complete access to any information I sought and I was never frustrated in this respect.

As a result of both the Mayor and Casey's mutual enthusiasm, I rapidly became welcome in City Hall and at public gatherings. On several occasions, I was asked my opinion regarding the campaign and proposed strategies.
In short, I felt myself to be part of the campaign, officially recording it for history.

From this position, a comprehensive collection of information became quite easy to obtain. The following is a listing of what materials were compiled:

- a formal taped interview with the Mayor along with many notes on off-the-cuff remarks made during the course of the campaign;

- several pages of notes on informal conversations with Terry Casey;

- audio tapes of all the radio commercials (6) and audio-video tapes of all the television commercials (3) produced by the campaign;

- copies of all the campaign literature distributed;

- a copy of the schedule of the Mayor; and

- 16 audio tapes of appearances by the Mayor in person or on radio or television, accompanied by relevant notes.

In addition to this information, material put out by the campaign of Dr. Rosemond was collected. Frankly, no effort was made to secure a comprehensive file of the
Rosemond communication; it was simply beyond the capabilities of a single individual. Nevertheless, audio tapes of both radio and television commercials have been preserved along with copies of the principal printed literature pieces. Several appearances by both candidates at the same function also resulted in audio tapes of Dr. Rosemond.

Finally, the daily newspapers as well as the newscasts of the local television and radio were monitored to ascertain whether news coverage affected the tactics of the campaign effort. Once again, my own limits prevented a comprehensive, detailed or formal record from being kept. In following the campaign, I did become acquainted with several members of the press corps and their comments and thoughts were most useful.

Though not exhaustive, I am confident that the procedures used to collect the data as well as the resulting file represent one of the most thorough research efforts conducted dealing with a single campaign.
CHAPTER II
THE RHETORICAL SITUATION

Kenneth Anderson's observation that the competitive spirit of an election is the principal force shaping, clarifying, and defining the projected images of candidates has a special significance when undertaking an explanation of the rhetorical situation and circumstances which existed at the beginning of Mayor Tom Moody's 1975 campaign. The competition and conflict between candidates that was associated with the primary election in June of that year exerted its influence on far more than the images of the candidates. Indeed the results of that contest, in considering both the final vote tally and the surrounding images and impressions, were greatly responsible for the character and the quality of the rhetorical situation prevailing in September when the general election campaigns commenced. Thus it is only appropriate that this chapter start, not at the beginning of the official campaign but with a study of the primary election and its consequences.

20 See page 16 above.
Consequences of the Primary Election

In Columbus, the office of Mayor is a non-partisan position. When an election is held, therefore, the candidates are not officially affiliated with any particular political party (though in reality every candidate's partisan label is common knowledge). Nevertheless, as a result of the non-partisan format, the primary election is not a contest between candidates within one party but a free-for-all between all the candidates for the office. The top two vote-getters progress to the general election, no matter how many candidates are on the ballot.

This system certainly realized its potential for confusion and disorder in 1975. Accustomed to nearly a decade and a half of controversy and confusion under the administration of former Democratic Mayor M. E. "Jack" Sensenbrenner, Columbus residents, especially those involved directly in the political sphere, found themselves without any useful criteria to assess the relative calm and business-like manner that Mayor Moody had been able to establish in City Hall. Democrats notably were so conditioned to equating administrative progress with politically embarrassing events that the universal decision among the Democratic politics was that Moody's quiescence signified administrative inaction. Thus, any candidate who could offer a history of accomplishments and responsive leadership was felt to have an excellent chance of successfully
opposing the incumbent. And, as the nature of the political ego seems to dictate, nearly every incumbent officeholder living in Columbus who was a Democrat claimed to possess the most desirable record.

Five individuals independently filed against Mayor Moody, all of them Democrats. They were:

State Representative Mike Stinziano--A young, liberal legislator whose district embraced both the Ohio State University campus area and the near west side of Columbus. His principal base of support was the student community.

City Council President M.D. Portman--A veteran of Columbus politics, Portman's candidacy was oriented to the position that it was "his turn" to be Mayor. Though the county party declined to endorse any of the candidates, it was widely reported that Democratic County Chairman Nelson Lancione and many of his loyalists supported Portman's candidacy.

Franklin County Treasurer Herb Pfeifer--The principal power-patron opposing Lancione, Pfeifer depended upon his own organization to secure him the necessary electoral support. Interestingly, Pfeifer lost his credibility early in the battle after several factually inaccurate public statements.

Franklin County Commissioner Hugh Dorrian--Emerging from the slowly deteriorating power group known as the "Irish Mafia," much of Dorrian's support was expected to
come from those who had been loyalists under former Mayor Sensenbrenner. Also, since Hugh's brother Michael was also an elected official in Franklin County, the family name was well recognized, an important consideration in any campaign.

City Councilman Dr. John Rosemond--As a solid but unspectacular councilman, Rosemond had no real qualification for being a candidate except for one factor. As the only black among the slate of candidates, it was felt that a unified, significant turnout in the black areas of the city would outnumber the vote totals of the other four challengers.

The presence of five challengers on the ballot could be troublesome to any incumbent candidate. However, since no Republican filed, Moody could anticipate that nearly any Republican voting would cast his or her vote for the Mayor, thus assuring the incumbent a spot on the November ballot. Moody's only concern, therefore, was to insure that enough of those registered as Republicans actually turned out on Election Day. Of course, if in the course of the campaign, independent voters or confused, undecided Democrats concluded that Moody was worthy of their support, then their support was welcome in the Moody camp.

The primary thus came to represent an intra-party struggle among the Democratic candidates. Though each
employed broadly appealing rhetorical tactics that were unique for each candidate, the strategy underlying each campaign was similar: "insure your own base of support and recruit as many transient or uncommitted voters as possible."

With this shared strategy of all the candidates, there was very little direct rhetorical conflict between the candidates in the weeks preceding the election. Consequently, the masses' perceptions of each of the candidates, it can safely be said, remained fairly ambiguous. And, without conflict, no image clarification can be achieved amongst the voters. The voters were without reasons for changing their preferences in the final analysis. Thus, a few days before the election, many felt the results of the election would be indicative of nothing except the effectiveness of each campaign to mobilize the respective groups or organizations which supported each candidate.

For Mayor Moody, there was no truly organized effort to get out the vote. The incumbent's campaign was in fact very low-key. Demonstrating the irony that so frequently highlights a campaign, Moody's staff developed the thematic emphasis of the primary effort around the one feature of the Mayor's term in office that fueled

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21 See page 16 above.
the opposition—the relative quiescence in City Hall. Hence, appearing on several billboards and on lapel buttons worn by every partisan city employee, the slogan “Quietly Effective” came into existence. In addition to those devices, two further tactics were employed. First, every registered Republican was mailed a four-page 11” x 16” tabloid emphasizing “Columbus’ accomplishments since 1972” including a strong encouragement for everyone to vote on June 3rd. Second, the Mayor offered several radio spots urging every registered voter—“Democrats, Republicans, Independents”—to vote. Though played on every radio station in Columbus except one, the radio effort could hardly be considered significant.

For the Democrats however, the organizations of each candidate were hard at work. Yet an unexpected development three days before Election Day made all those efforts futile; the “Rahiki Incident” occurred and Dr. John Rosemond, the apparent underdog of all the candidates, won a place on the November ballot. The event is critical to the creation of the rhetorical situation prevailing in September and deserves careful analysis here.

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22 Station WNCI-FM was excluded from the buying of time due to a campaign management decision that the cost per broadcast minute was excessive.
Dr. Rosemond's candidacy was viewed by many in Columbus' black community as the one event which could motivate the black community to achieve a more energetic, participatory role in city affairs. Constituting 18.5% of the population of the city and 20 to 24% of the electorate,23 a mobilized black community could be most influential upon the nature of public policy. Largely through the dynamic, aggressive efforts of Les Brown, a disc-jockey and commentator for WVKO, the only black-oriented station in the Columbus market, record numbers of blacks were registering to vote. In some precincts, over 90% of those eligible to vote were registered.24 Yet a survey of the recent voting history of Columbus' black areas reveals that there is considerable truth to the fear that haunted Brown, Rosemond and others who were spearheading the registration effort—registration has never assured turn-out. If the "significant, unified effort" sought was to be realized on Election Day, a precipitating factor more

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23 Kris Kridel, "The Rosemond Effort: Quietly Ineffective," Columbus Monthly, 2 (January, 1976) p. 36. In conducting her research, Ms. Kridel and the writer frequently attended the same functions and often interviewed the same people regarding similar matters. We frequently discussed the Moody campaign and openly exchanged our observations, many of which were incorporated into her article.

24 Interview with Terry Casey, September, 1975.
instrumental than Rosemond's candidacy was needed.  

"Kahiki Incident," either by chance or by intention, assumed that role.

The Kahiki Incident

The Kahiki incident constituted a case of extreme police brutality. On June 1, the Sunday preceding the election, three black customers became involved in a verbally violent quarrel with the manager of the Kahiki, an attractive Polynesian restaurant on Columbus' East Side, over the amount of the evening's bill. Police were called in to maintain some semblance of order. Despite the conflicts in court testimony, it can be observed that the arrival of the police instigated considerable violence between the police and the customers and, in being taken into custody, two of the three customers sustained severe beatings and lacerations.

On Tuesday morning, Election Day, a white man, Thomas Catron, called Les Brown at WVKO just after Brown went on-the-air at 6:00 a.m. Claiming that other stations had expressed no interest in his story, Catron recited in


gruesome detail the violent beating he had observed of the customers apprehended at the Kahiki while they were being transported to a hospital for treatment. Supposedly, Catron had viewed this brutality while driving behind the police vehicle. Brown taped Catron's eyewitness account.

From that point forth, the entire broadcast day of WVKO was devoted to the repeated playing of the Catron tape and a continual editorial tirade against police brutality directed at "our folk." Since WVKO reaches nearly eighty percent of the black community, news of the Kahiki incident disseminated quickly and those registered to vote flocked to the polls to express their anger, outrage and demands for change. Rosemond's candidacy in the general election was assured as black voters, in the end, cast one-third of the total Democratic vote.27

There remains among the politically knowledgeable individuals in Columbus suspicion about the spontaneity of the Kahiki incident, largely because of several chronological curiosities that are difficult to rationally justify by pure coincidence.28 But regardless of the possibility that the Kahiki incident was calculated and

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27 Kridel, op. cit.

28 For example, Catron waited for two days to call the one radio station which would be expected to be the most interested in his story. Also, the incident occurred while one officer with a record of brutality toward blacks was patrolling in the vicinity of the Kahiki.
planned, the implications it had for the Mayoral election in November were significant.

There were several forces at work before, during, and after the primary election which were only intensified by the Kahiki incident, forces which can be identified as constraints of the situation. First, the problem of police brutality and the difficulties of having the police force operating at less than the full authorized size had long troubled the Democratically controlled City Council. To be sure, each of the candidates had discussed these issues in their primary efforts. With the Kahiki incident, Rosemond became associated to these topics of discussion in a peculiar manner. Having won, due to the disclosure of the Kahiki incident, he could do nothing but make the problem of law enforcement a principal interest of his campaign. Indeed, the situation ideally illustrates Carroll Arnold's theory of a rhetorical "contract," wherein the expectations of the audience bind the rhetor to a particular course of action.29 Thus, if Rosemond failed to discuss these issues, his audiences, most notably the black community responsible for his candidacy, would feel that Rosemond was not responding to the needs of the situation. But to repeatedly raise questions about the

capabilities of the police force would only provoke and stimulate the haunting memory of the Kahiki incident in the minds of other voters.

To be sure, many of the faithful Democrats in Columbus—the white, middle-class, industrial worker type—were upset that Rosemond had won on the strength of a minority's response to an isolated incident of extreme brutality. Moreover, in all probability, many of those same voters felt that the brutality was not that extreme or undeserved given the race of the people involved. Thus, whenever Rosemond was to discuss the adequacy of the police force during the fall campaign, he could anticipate antagonistic feedback from those who are a principal strength in any Democratic campaign. Thus, it was a difficult constraint that Rosemond had to grapple with in September, made more difficult by the prevalence of two additional considerations.

First, the only chance Rosemond had for victory was to preserve the party faithful behind him. But, second, because he was black, many of those voters might not vote for him anyway, regardless of the Kahiki incident. How Rosemond responded to these elements will be considered in detail later. But, as a result of the Kahiki incident, the adequacy and effectiveness of the police force became
a question in the minds of all Columbus voters, a query for which both candidates would be expected to respond.

This elaborated analysis of the impact of the Kahiki incident should not suggest that the entire rhetorical significance of the primary elections was racially oriented. Rather, by carefully considering its implications, some insights into the value system of the voters and their resulting inclinations have been presented. After all, Rosemond was the first black to run for Mayor in Columbus and that in itself remained important to the strategies and tactics of the campaign.

For the Mayor, the results of the primary election were viewed optimistically. On first glance, the tallies of the ballots were foreboding. Moody garnered 31 percent of the total votes cast as the only Republican candidate. It was simple mathematics that indicated a unified Democratic vote in November would be disastrous. However, given the circumstances that confronted Dr. Rosemond, the Moody campaign seemed eligible for only gaining as Rosemond struggled to master the impending rhetorical challenge.

Moreover, the candidate opposing the incumbent was considered by Moody's staff as the most desirable opponent of the five challengers. Dr. Rosemond, a family physician in Columbus for nearly twenty-five years, lacked any of the dynamism or charisma the others had the potential to display. Rosemond—quiet, gentle, carefully courteous—
typified Marcus Welby. His involvement in politics was limited by the needs of his patients and, though Rosemond had a solid and enviable record of public service, his medical practice always took preference, even during the campaign. Rosemond also got along with Moody. On many occasions the councilman had sponsored legislation originally initiated by the Mayor or his staff. Thus, there was no personal hatred between the candidates and Rosemond's character was not considered conducive to any aggressive challenge.

The primary election therefore had implications for the rhetorical situation of the fall campaign that only seemed to constrain and impede the intentions of the supposed victor of the first balloting, Dr. Rosemond. But these considerations do not define the entire range of variables evaluated in formulating any campaign strategy. Other factors exist and, implementing Anderson's model, these other variables can be considered. Principally, three subjects must be explored—the nature of the voters, the social and political situation pending independent of the election, and the structure and dynamics of the campaign "teams" of both candidates.
The Voters

Ascertaining what attributes, characteristics or variables are associated with such a heterogeneous audience as the electorate for a mayoral contest is not an easy task. As noted earlier, Columbus typifies America itself. The residents, in their roles as citizens, embrace and exhibit all of the values and attitudes germane to the national experience. The city thrives upon industrial activity; consequently, many are industrial workers. But a major part of the city's electorate are the students that attend Ohio State University. In the past, the voters have favored the Democratic party in most elections. Yet, Tom Moody, a Republican, is their mayor. Columbus reflects the ironies and the contradictions that have come to define an urban center and which give it life. To attempt a more specific statement about the value systems, the social conditions, and the cultural development that are the substance of the identity of Columbus voters might be redundant and almost trite. Perhaps many Civics textbooks have already discussed Columbus--it is the norm.

Yet, in September, 1975, the residents and voters of Columbus were about to be exposed to the campaigns of two men for the office of Mayor. At that moment, those people, as the potential audience to the persuasive efforts of the two candidates, were distinctive. Several particular
qualities existed which could have an impact upon the success of either of the candidates. The presence of these characteristics needs to be noted and elaborated upon so that the situation into which the candidates would plunge can best be understood.

One of the most critical variables affecting the strategy of any political campaign bears the tag "name identification." The question is simply how well known is the candidate. Voters often choose between candidates simply on the familiarity of the name. Thus, if a candidate's name is familiar, his chances for victory improve. In the Rosemond-Moody face-off, this variable actually had very little significance. Indeed, neither campaign even ran a survey to determine the comparative strength of the candidates on this scale. The assumption made, and it seems to be a very reasonable and correct one, was that the voters for all practical purposes were completely familiar with the names and basic roles of each candidate. Moody had been, by 1975, the Mayor for nearly four years. If people did not know who he was by this point, given the almost daily coverage of City Hall in all of the media, they probably were totally politically inactive anyway. Rosemond had been elected to City Council in 1969, the

30 Casey interview.
first black to achieve that distinction. Though his daily exposure to the voters was certainly below the level of Mayor Moody, the accumulative effect over a longer period was felt to be adequate.

But how a candidate is characterized once a voter hurdles the obstacle of name-identification varies according to personal value systems, interaction with others, and previous as well as current exposures to the candidate.31 It is a proverb among politicians that one never stops campaigning. Every action, decision, argument, or lack of them does indeed remain impressed upon the minds of the voters and they think of the candidate in a particular way forever more,32 The status of these previously conceived images clearly regulates the potential and direction of a campaign's communication.

In this election however, the nature of the images voters held of the candidates had been curiously manipulated in the course of the primary election. The earlier discussion demonstrates that, for Rosemond, a particular set of circumstances seemed to cast in the minds of many a very awkward, undesired characterization. Even for those

31 For a full consideration of the concept of image see Kenneth Boulding, The Image (Ann Arbor; University of Michigan Press, 1956), especially Chapter Seven.
32 Ibid.
who were aware of Rosemond's record of action as Councilman were, in all likelihood, affected. Of course, among the black community, Rosemond's relationship to the Kahiki incident favored him. Many subsequently saw "Dr. John" as a champion of their cause. But, overall, much of the past of Rosemond was overshadowed by the circumstances surrounding the primary.

For Mayor Moody, however, a different outcome, extremely well calculated, resulted from the primary. First as a judge, then as Mayor, Moody had consistently maintained an austere front, serious about his work and about properly completing whatever task confronted him. Moody is intelligent and often he had the image of being, in his words, "an intellectual stuffed-shirt." The operation of government under Moody's election reflected the Mayor's serious, no-nonsense approach to government. During his first term in office, Moody accomplished far more administration than innovation. And since administering is rarely a flamboyant or colorful activity, the experiences most voters cognitively preserved were non-experiences. They simply had not heard that much about the Mayor that they could remember.

Consequently, as the primary approached, the characterization that voters held of Moody was ambiguous, lacking

33 Interview with Mayor Moody, September 24, 1975.
in clarity and, consequently, subject to manipulated change. In the rhetoric of the primary, Moody was termed "quietly effective." Suddenly, voters had a label for that amorphous image they carried in their minds. The label clarified the various elements, organized and put into perspective all of the remembrances, and established a framework for analyzing the incumbent. Voters could not help but be attracted to the low-key phrasing in a world of superlatives. In a sense, Moody's campaign violated the expectancies of the voters, but in so doing, it accomplished the rare feat of explaining for the voters what their characterizations of Moody actually were in the final analysis.

Thus, in September, after a relatively inactive summer, the voters still thought of Moody as that "quietly effective" Mayor. Or, even if a voter opposed Moody and thought of the incumbent as "quietly ineffective," the rhetoric of the primary had still proved quite valuable for the adverse judgment was unconsciously being based upon the criteria established by the incumbent. So, approaching the fall campaign, voters universally prepared to make the decision of who would be the next Mayor on the implied advice of the incumbent that being "quietly effective" makes the difference. The consent of the voters to this method of decision is a critical factor in the rhetorical situation of the campaign.
Finally, the audience to the campaigns were, in the rhetorical situation, under stress. 1975 brought unemployment to Columbus in significant numbers, inflation was still a stark reality and, with a school board election on the ballot, busing and desegregation were invading the stability and calm of everyday life. For many, either by direct or indirect experience, some very real, hard times were facing them and, given the predilection of the voter in a local race, the candidates would be expected to respond, to soothe and to provide solutions.

The Politics

Indeed, the dominating topic of discussion was a series of bond proposals appearing on the ballot designed, endorsed and actively campaigned for by Republican Governor James A. Rhodes which promised solutions to everything. The "Blueprint for Ohio" was in the tradition of the Governor's "Jobs and Progress" jawboning and despite widespread criticism of the program's inequities and exaggerations, many public officials endorsed it, including Mayor Moody. But two of the proposals, Issues Three and Five, offered to increase taxes and various opinion polls through the fall showed that the public would defeat the package because of those provisions. How Moody's support of the
bond issues would affect his own candidacy was unknown prior to the election campaign.

Also on the November ballot were several school board races. The NAACP had already filed a desegregation suit against the Columbus Public Schools and, as a result of the school board elections symbolized a referendum upon the incumbent's past record on busing. At every meeting this writer attended where voters interacted with the candidates for the board, busing was the only issue discussed.

Lastly, the ballot contained eight candidates for four city council seats. All of the incumbents had dominated the primary voting and, since no vigorous campaign was staged by any of the challengers, the incumbents did win in November. Each of the mayoral candidates, in good partisan spirit, endorsed their respective party's nominees.

Thus, there were political events competing with the Mayor's race for the attention of the voter. The voters strongly related some of their own circumstances to these independent elements of the situation and, in so doing, restricted the rhetorical alternatives of the mayoral candidates. Both were reduced to the option of either successfully distracting the voters to the content of their messages or becoming lost in the plethora of political activities. Which option each candidate ultimately selected
was, strongly influenced by the quality and structure of their respective organizations, which is the final topic of this chapter.

The Campaign Organizations

Anderson makes an important distinction in his model for criticism between the candidate himself and the campaign staff—those who work for the candidate directing, organizing, and executing the persuasive effort. This is an important observation, especially in considering Mayor Moody's campaign. As noted earlier in explaining Anderson's model, the theory is that the campaign staff and the Mayor interact constantly, sharing their respective perceptions of how the audience's are characterizing the candidate, and subsequently adjusting the rhetorical output of the campaign. From every indication available, however, that was not how the Moody campaign operated.

In an interview conducted on September 24, 1975, Moody explained his involvement in the campaign decision-process. His comments are worth quoting at length because they highlight how different Moody's campaigning perspective was from Anderson's expectancy of heavy interaction. Moody said:

34 See page 15 above.
I suppose in our case, the people who have anything to do with my campaign have totally adjusted to me rather than my adjusting to them. And the things like the brochures, and the badges, and the signs, and the music, and all those peripheral things they design and do—they try to pass those by me and I either say yes or no. I never give an opinion.

I don't want to concern myself with the exact wording in a piece of literature. I am only concerned about whether it says something that I believe in. I don't believe in, or can't live by. So, they do that kind of stuff. I have veto power, but I don't participate. How they use it and when they inject it and so on, I don't know about that.

Observation of the campaign's operation confirmed the authenticity of Moody's remarks. In every instance in which an operational decision was made regarding the tactics or the strategies of the re-election effort, the Mayor never became involved. The decisions were made by the campaign staff; they exclusively responded to the feedback from the voters, the press, and party officials and made the appropriate changes or alterations.

The structure and organization of the campaign staff reflected both an awareness of each individual's capabilities which can only be gained through long period of cooperative interaction as well as a recognition of the Mayor's ultimate veto power. The campaign was divided into three major efforts, each supervised by a single individual (see Figure II).

35 At least this is true about all those decisions of which the writer was aware.
All of the principals of the campaign staff were, as one would expect, also veterans of Moody's administration.

Jim Richards, former Deputy Service Director, coordinated the production of the media material. Responsible for the overall continuity of the campaign communication, Richards designed the brochures, related the television and radio spots into the campaign and supervised the production of the commercials.

Ron Rotaru, Deputy Service Director for the City, took responsibility for the organization of volunteers, the purchasing of media time, the execution of literature distributions and telephone canvasses. In short, Rotaru was the "nuts and bolts" operation, carefully carrying to completion the infinite number of detailed tasks inherent to an effective campaign.

Jerry Gafford, executive assistant to the Mayor, assumed the burden of raising funds for the campaign war chest. Gafford further extended the scope of his
role in the campaign by frequently appearing on behalf of the Mayor at those engagements missed by the candidate. As the principal aide to the Mayor, Gafford continued to exercise supervisory authority over the others as an extension of his official position.

Terry Casey, administrative assistant to the Mayor, was also definitely involved in the campaign decision-making processes though he lacked responsibility for any particular aspect. Casey, normally handling press relations and other publicity-oriented activities, was instrumental in the actual production of much of the media material. For example, it was Casey that sat with the film editor and directed which shots were to be spliced together for the three television commercials. Also, Casey prepared the copy in each of the four literature pieces produced in the fall campaign and he shot most of the photographs used.

These four men, in cooperation with each other, constructed and presented the campaign communication of Mayor Moody. Except for the Mayor's personal appearances, which were administrated by Moody's secretary, they controlled every bit of information originating from the campaign which was intended for the voters. The effort was a unified one and, an efficient operation.
In stark contrast was the organization designed to support Rosemond's candidacy. Plagued by the almost passive support of the established Democratic hierarchy and by the candidate's firm resolve not to abandon his patients, the campaign struggled lamely into September. In imitative fashion, Rosemond practiced much of the incumbent's attitude toward the intricacies of campaign strategy and tactics. The de facto result was that the burden of developing and executing the type of aggressive campaign needed to be successful fell upon the poorly organized supporters of Rosemond.

From this nucleus of backers emerged one man who was willing to administer the campaign. Stephen Pruitt, staff assistant to Senator John Glenn, had already accumulated considerable campaign experience and had a reputation for excellence. But Pruitt's skills were in organizing people already committed to a campaign. Lacking volunteers from the very beginning, Pruitt never collected the energy and momentum necessary to upset Moody. Except for the media production (which was contracted to a local professional, David Milenthal), Pruitt often assumed the practical responsibility for the smallest of tasks thereby reducing his commitment to the responsibilities of leadership.

Part of Pruitt's organizational difficulties resulted from a failure to resolve the rhetorical challenge create6
by the primary to unify white Democrats behind the party's candidate. Simply, Pruitt, in assigning duties among the volunteers, failed to give any of the several principal roles to any of the white volunteers, many of which were quite well-qualified. Several Democrats privately commented to this writer that the absence of whites on Rosemond's staff was indicative of the racial nature of the council man's candidacy. Among those who would willingly give of their time and their money under normal circumstances, Rosemond's campaign was ignored. That polarizing activity debilitated the campaign.

Summary

This chapter has, in essence analyzed two "frames" of the progression of Moody's campaign. First, the primary election was considered and its implications for the rhetorical situation of the general election elaborated upon. Second, the dimensions of the rhetorical situation relevant to the audience, the political situation, and the campaign structures and organizations were explicated. At this point, the situation, or at least the elements of the situation that were to make a difference to the strategies and the electoral outcome have all been presented. The next task is to examine the strategies, tactics and responses devised to comply with the situation.
CHAPTER III

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS
OF THE MOODY CAMPAIGN

In assessing the campaign between Dr. John Rosemond and Mayor Tom Moody, one reporter observed, "In short, it had to be the dullest mayoral election in recent Columbus history." That viewpoint describes not only each campaign individually, but the interaction that occurred between them. In viewing the Moody campaign independently, the rhetorical effort of the candidate and his organization represented a fitting response to the rhetorical situation they perceived. And, since the Mayor successfully secured sixty-three percent of the total votes cast, the campaign certainly cannot be judged a hindrance to the practical intentions of the candidate. Yet, there remains some question as to whether the campaign was truly a persuasive effort, or merely a lavish, entertaining series of messages.

This chapter explains how the staff of Moody's campaign perceived the situation, defines and discusses the strategy of the campaign, and treats the specific

36 Krîdel, op. cit., p. 51
tactics created to implement the strategy. Finally the chapter examines the progressive execution of the campaign plan from September to Election Day in light of the opposition's effort and other extra-competitive factors. The chapter provides an understanding of the entire campaign so that an analysis of the rhetoric itself can be revealed.

The Campaign's Objectives

Through the summer months, any challenging candidate fresh from an upset primary victory can be depended upon to ride the wave of momentum already established into the fall campaigns. Yet, Dr. Rosemond, after a few meek publicity-oriented events, faded back into his medical office for the summer. His commitment to his patients and the organizational difficulties plaguing his supporters made it apparent that the mayoral contest would be delayed until September. Rosemond decided not to "ride the wave."

This unusual occurrence was most welcome by the staff organizing Moody's campaign. Had any of the several other candidates won second-place in the June balloting, the incumbent would have been immediately engaged in hard campaigning and would have been especially taxed to respond to the allegations voiced by the
opposition. With Rosemond choosing to relax through the summer, Moody had a splendid opportunity to develop an accelerating momentum. Yet he too deferred to the heat and humidity of summer, and only made token efforts at being a candidate.

Beyond the view of the public and the media, however, the Moody campaign was working vigorously to raise the funds necessary for an aggressive campaign. Indeed, in the end, the Moody campaign expended the maximum allowed by law ($80,000 +). But Casey, Richards, Rotaru and Gafford were also carefully analyzing the nature of the electorate, the political climate and the potential strength of their opposition. They aimed to determine the structure and the substance of the fall campaign. Intending to present a complete proposal to the Mayor for his consideration, the end product of their deliberations represented one of the most unified, interlocking, complementing campaign communication systems devised for a mayor's election: What is perhaps more remarkable is that, unlike most campaigns where the dreams for a unified persuasive effort are shattered by the first actions of the opposition, the proposal, as prepared and subsequently approved by the Mayor, was followed throughout the campaign without any substantive changes in either the comprehensive strategy or the specific tactics.
As commented upon earlier, the sole concern of the primary effort by Mayor Moody was to motivate a sizeable turnout by Republican voters at the polls. In analyzing vote summaries after the primary, Moody staffers discovered an unsettling fact. Despite their low-key campaigning, which was geared to appeal to the average Republican voter, turnout in key areas throughout the city was disappointingly low. Among the six critical neighborhoods, turnout varied from a low of 30.99% to a high of 43.84% among all registered voters.\footnote{These figures were calculated by Terry Casey and provided for use in this thesis.} What was especially ominous was that the areas of the city with heavily black populations reported turnouts as high as 58.27%.

Thus, surpassing all other considerations for the Moody campaign was the simple fact that they had failed to generate needed votes. The conclusion reached in assessing the primary campaign was that their efforts to be low-key were excessive and that more aggressive campaigning, demonstrating dynamism less tempered by restraint, was appropriate and necessary. As the minority party in terms of total registration, it was obvious that the Republican party must participate at the polls to insure the incumbency of Mayor Moody. The mistake of the primary had been that, in attempting to reflect
Moody's business-like, professional administering of City Hall, the campaign had fallen short of the expectations of the party loyalists anticipating an active, enthusiastic candidate. Compensation for this deficiency became a critical aim of the fall campaign. Apathy could not be tolerated.

Consistent with that intention was the need to secure "fifty percent plus one" of the total votes cast. To win, Moody would require support from independents, who constitute almost one-third of Columbus' electorate, and Democrats. The "quietly effective" strategy, though quite important for having dictated the criteria by which the candidates were to be evaluated, had not been well-received as an interpretation of Moody's first term in office. Frankly, very few accomplishments could be accounted for by the general public. This did not disturb the Mayor; he considered his most praiseworthy feats to be nontangible ones, such as the reorganization of the Department of Finance and the absence of scandal.38 But the lack of tangible items prompted many among those whose votes were needed to revise the primary slogan to "quietly ineffective."

38 The Mayor expressed these sentiments while appearing on the television show Focus on Columbus, WLW-C, November 2, 1975. An audio tape of this broadcast is a part of the materials collected by the writer.
Two constraints were integrated into this problem. First, if the principal image—phrase describing a candidate becomes subject to widespread ridicule, the credibility of the campaign's messages and, hence, the credibility of the candidate suffers. Second, the loss of credibility decreases dramatically the number of votes which can be anticipated from each political or geographic sector, including those loyal to the Mayor. Thus, a second set of goals for the campaign emerged. First, the legitimacy and the credibility of the campaign must be both preserved and enhanced. Second, this effort to essentially insure the persuasive power of the campaign must be broadly appealing. In short, the effectiveness of the incumbent must be demonstrated to all.

The pressures under which the voters lived did not attract the concern or interest of the strategists during the summer months. Certainly Moody should be articulate on the principle issues upon which he might be challenged -- the economic condition of the city, the increasing crime rate, and the demise of the city's ombudsman office, once a highly touted project of the incumbent. But the decision was made that the campaign communication would not attempt to defend the Mayor prior to any offensive attack. Rosemond thus was given, by implication, the responsibility and the burden of
originating new topics of discussion beyond the general question of effectiveness. Depending upon Rosemond, the candidate and the campaign would reserve the flexibility to make any major responses.

There was one last constraint plaguing Moody's staff -- the candidate himself. Mayor Tom Moody, though personally warm and sincere, does not conform to the charismatic image of the handsome candidate. Believed by many to be arrogant and aloof from the common man, Moody's intense desire to remedy misunderstanding about the nature of a problem or the implications of certain public policy has frequently concerned his staff.39

Indeed, personality was an especially sensitive tactical concern for any Ohio campaign strategist in 1975. Less than a year before, Governor John J. Gilligan's re-election effort was thwarted by what the Governor himself concluded to be a "repudiation" of his personality and not his administration. Thus, though the campaign would obviously avoid the exuberant shenanigans of former Mayor Sensenbrenner, the staff hoped to amend to some degree the widely-held characterization

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39 This concern, expressed to the writer by Casey, was also reported by Ms. Kridel. The strength of Moody's personal conviction to resolving misunderstanding was reflected during the September 24, 1975 interview: "My personal ego requires that I make that man understand (the) problem that we are wrestling with and why we are doing it that way."
of Moody as the "intellectual stuffed-shirt" to reflect more positively the sincerity and the interest of the incumbent.

Bitzer cautions that a constraint need not be an obstacle to the rhetorical intent of the speaker.\footnote{Bitzer, op. cit., p. 47.} That observation is most relevant to this analysis. To be sure, though the Moody campaign would not respond to several demanding challenges, their potential for success at the polls was greatly enhanced by the almost non-competitive candidacy of Dr. John Rosemond.

Exclusive of the bungled management and the lack of funds, Rosemond's campaign can be faulted for never having truly challenged the incumbent's beliefs, policies or record of accomplishments. During joint appearances, Rosemond only contradicted Moody or conflicted with the Mayor's thoughts in a few instances.\footnote{These instances are reviewed in Chapter Four.} Usually, the challenger would have to mentally struggle to even avoid completely agreeing with the Mayor. Moreover, since both candidates had great respect for the other's intelligence, neither unleashed any sort of personal attacks or charges of irrationality.

The impact of Rosemond's candidacy upon the development of Moody's campaign strategy and tactics was
manifested in two diverse ways. In observing the difficulties that Rosemond's campaign was experiencing in attempting to organize for a fall election, Moody's staffers anticipated quite reasonably that they would not be facing great conflict in their attempt to attract the attention of the voter. Thus, the message content could be less "hard-sell" in its relationship to the voters. Yet, lacking an effective challenge, the Moody campaign had no extraordinary incentive to strive for the elimination of the minor rhetorical flaws and errors in judgement that can often debilitate the persuasive power of a campaign. With no one to isolate and amplify the significance of those mistakes for the public, the errors could be excused and forgotten. As Jim Richards testified: "We weren't as attentive as we should have been, as we would have been, if we had feared defeat."\(^{42}\)

Finally, counteracting the notable difficulties associated with Moody's image were the accomplishments of that administration. The fiscal efficiency Moody claimed to have developed has already been mentioned. In addition, Moody's administration had successfully promoted, planned and constructed a trash pulveriser plant designed to convert common garbage into fuel for electric generators. Lastly, under the widely-recognized

\(^{42}\) Kridel, op. cit., p. 39.
leadership of Parks and Recreation Director Mel Dodge, Columbus was rapidly expanding its parks and bikeways.

With these obstacles and advantages apparent, the Moody staff began to formulate the strategy itself and to design the appropriate tactics. The sizeable amount of funds available offered great flexibility to the staff. Tempted by the attractiveness of television and radio (which were quite accessible to them because of the large war chest), the staff made an early decision to focus their efforts in that direction. But the strategy -- the overreaching rhetorical stance of the campaign -- that would justify such a tactic was lacking. Heavy media use seemed incompatible with the character and the spirit of the Mayor and his administration. Moreover, the staff readily recognized that the substance of media messages would not satisfy the expectancies of the electorate for a discussion of the issues. But, with virtually unlimited funds, it would be mutinous to not implement "all the available means of persuasion."
The Strategy

According to Terry Casey, the rhetorical perspective which was adopted was: "Let's make this campaign fun." Awareness of the flexibility unintentionally afforded them by Rosemond, sensitive to Moody's principles and low-key character, and cognizant of the need for a more dynamic, substantive effort in the general election, the staff, principally Richards, concluded that an effective means of managing these competing interests was to introduce a new campaign approach to the Columbus electorate. The underlying goal became to entertain the voter while simultaneously delivering the substantive information required by the situation.

Adapting the familiar Gestalt concepts of "figure" and "ground," this intent may be perhaps more clearly understood. To Richards, the essential nature of a campaign and the expectancies and constraints peculiar to the Moody effort could not be ignored. A certain body of rhetoric, molded in the tradition of campaign communication would be developed in response to these factors. This rhetoric would be substantial; it would define and articulate the messages and themes of the campaign. Interwoven with this rhetoric, however, would

43 Interview with Casey.
be cues and messages which would attract the interests of the voters away from all the political communication being presented to the Moody campaign. Thus, from the ground of rhetoric created in response to the situation—al constraints would rise communication which would stand out against the ground and be the figure of voters' attention. 44

The structure of the total campaign which matured from this overall perspective remains impressive. Three of the several constraints were judged to have the potential to directly threaten the success of the campaign if they were not adequately resolved. They were the possibility of voter apathy, the lack of proven "effectiveness" and the non-charismatic image of the candidate. With each channel available, particular messages were prepared, designed for the nature of each medium, to address the three principal constraints. Thus satisfying the perceived needs of the situation, these messages were then unified by the entertainment-oriented elements of the rhetoric, in particular, three contemporary posters and a campaign song (see Appendix A).

44 See Arnold, op. cit., pgs. 245-246 for further discussion of this concept.
In that manner, three single-sheet brochures were prepared, each providing one of the posters on the reverse side. Shots of these posters concluded each of the three thirty-second television commercials produced which also used the campaign song, either as the principal message content or as background music. Finally, the song, in one form or another, readily identified the six radio spots which were prepared. In pairs, the radio commercials addressed each of the major constraints.

In addition to these items (i.e., brochures, radio, and television), three further means of communication were designed and utilized by the staff of the campaign. First, as is expected of any campaign with an abundance of volunteers, telephone banks were organized whereby between October 1st and Election Day, supporters of Moody called and presented a short reminder to every registered Republican household. Second, in response to the publication of a partisan tabloid by the Democratic County Party, Casey wrote and designed an eight-page tabloid for the Republican candidates. The brochure depicting the Mayor, was mailed to every Republican in the city by the county organization (see Appendix D). Last, attractive billboards were designed and placed throughout Columbus.
Conspicuously absent from the concerns and designs of the Moody staff was any discussion of campaign appearances, speaking engagements, or media-oriented pseudo-events (e.g., news conferences) depending upon the candidate. Indeed, given the distinctive lack of interaction between the campaign staff and the Mayor, the neglect of the staff forfeited to the candidate these responsibilities. Such was exactly the intention of the Mayor and he accepted the task in course.

The strategy directing Moody's scheduling of appearances and speeches varied insignificantly from the normal pattern of operation which prevailed. Truthfully, Moody's schedule was prepared mostly by his secretary, Mrs. Patty Miller, and only in special instances was the Mayor himself consulted. Miller, aware that it was election time, attempted to accept any invitation that would fit into the schedule which originated from either civic groups or Republic organizations. The one desire was to discriminate against those invitations which promised either small gatherings or hostile audiences. Joint appearances with Rosemond were double-checked with Casey.

Press conferences were not utilized as an instrument of the campaign. Moody continued to conduct business as usual during the campaign period and some media coverage was generated by the outcomes of normal
decisions. However, because Moody was running for re-election, these items of news were downplayed by the media. Instead, Moody, with the assistance of Casey, encouraged media coverage of his scheduled appearances with Rosemond because, at face-to-face events, Moody could consistently reveal the many philosophical similarities between the two candidates while demonstrating his comparatively superior mastery of the facts and information relevant to city administration.

The design of the campaign, therefore, planned to utilize seven distinct channels of communication to present the message of the campaign. Over these channels, sixteen different messages were to be disseminated. They were essentially directed to remedying the several constraints which limited the persuasive potential of the basic theme of "Vote Moody." All of this was carefully unified together by posters, a slogan and a campaign song which, in essence gave the campaign its identity. Moody's public appearances were intended to supplement and give solid evidence in substantiation of the campaign's various claims. Indeed, the Mayor's reliability and consistency in public gave

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45 Newspaper advertising was not a part of the Moody campaign. Since the Mayor's name appeared in the news articles frequently, the staff felt that there was no cause to pay for that which was already done for free.
the staff no reason to ever intervene or manipulate what the candidate, a totally extemporaneous speaker, might say.

How effective the Mayor was in reality and how persuasive the campaign designed by his staff was in the prevailing rhetorical situation cannot be assessed without first understanding the intended plan of execution for the campaign, the changes in the rhetorical situation that occurred in September and October, and the actual manner in which the campaign communication was disseminated. A discussion of these factors completes this chapter.

The Tactics

The fact that almost all of Columbus failed to realize that there was no campaigning by either candidate through the summer months was most peculiar. Perhaps their appetite for political dialogue was satiated by the controversy surrounding the bond proposals. Or perhaps, as some researchers believe, campaign audiences have no appetite; they are passive receivers of political propaganda who, lacking the input, would be unaware of anything inconsistent with normal patterns of campaign behavior.\footnote{Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," \textit{Public Opinion-Quarterly}, 36 (1972), p. 177.} But, regardless of which perspective
one chooses for explaining the communication behavior of mass audiences, the curious lack of campaigning was an almost gruesome political reality -- gruesome because everyone knows that no one, especially an underdog, wins without campaigning.

The Moody camp assumed a rhetorical stance not unlike that of a champion prizefighter who, knowing that he can knockout his opponent wit. one left hook, playfully awaits for the challenger to throw the first punch. By the beginning of September the staff of Moody's campaign became convinced of that which they thought was probable after the primary results -- their candidate was unbeatable. Rather than being prepared to minimize the damage of accusations and charges against the candidate, they felt sufficiently confident of the Mayor's position and the effectiveness of the media campaign they had designed that a conscious decision was made to ignore whatever petty charges might be voiced by Rosemond.

This intentional revision in their relationship to both the present and future feedback generated by the opposition had an important implication regarding the execution of the Moody campaign. By blocking out the Rosemond communication, the Moody campaigners essentially cut off the possibility of direct conflict between the two campaign "teams." Since the clarification
of images results from the interaction between the candidates, the voters, and the situation, the decision to avoid Rosemond's charges ultimately restricted a critical manner in which voters could clarify their characterization of Moody. Subsequently, they could only seek clarification by either processing Rosemond's rhetoric through their cognitive system unchallenged by the Moody campaign, retaining Rosemond's claims until they heard from Moody, or rejecting Rosemond and considering Moody's message when it finally was communicated.

With the passage of time favoring the last alternative, Rosemond eventually exhausted his repertoire of arguments without ever generating a single retort from Moody. The mass audience, conditioned by prior experience, could not help but believe that Rosemond's claims were insignificant; otherwise, Moody would have responded. Thus, the Moody campaign, by remaining silent, enhanced the receptivity of the electorate to the forthcoming effort during the last three weeks of the election.

The month of September almost slipped by like the summer, though Moody and Rosemond had made several joint appearances and the press, desperate for news, provided heavy coverage. But, as Moody's staff anticipated, the joint appearances only seemed to accentuate
the advantages of maintaining Moody in City Hall.

Rosemond's campaign meanwhile still lacked any organization or enthusiasm, especially after a major bungle in coordinating fund-raising operations with County Chairman Nelson Lancione. Indeed, by the end of the election, Rosemond had failed to receive even one-half of the contributions collected by Moody.

Through September, the tactics of the Moody camp originally designed called for preparedness but not action. The brochures, radio and television commercials, and the mailings remained on shelves throughout Columbus. The billboards had been rented and buttons were being worn. Some brochures were being distributed at partisan ward meetings. And, Moody began to behave like a candidate, complementing the planned emphasis on his record with his own recitations whenever it was appropriate. But Moody, in his own mind, was Mayor first, candidate second, and his performances in public reflected that perspective.

By the beginning of October, well aware of Rosemond's plaguing difficulties, the staff of Moody's campaign expressed to this writer disappointment that there might not be a campaign at all. There was absolutely nothing to merit changing their original plan of action. They stood ready to respond to any substantive charges voiced against their candidate but there were none.
So, though the telephone banks were operating every night, the campaign simply waited until the last two weeks of the month to spend their money on media, distribute the varied pieces of literature, maximize the public activities of the Mayor (i.e., appearances on all the talk shows were scheduled), and delegate to the party organization the responsibility for insuring the turnout of the voters.

Rosemond was active, making appearances whenever his patients allowed, discussing the rising crime problem and the related inadequacy of the police force (as he had to), and trying to argue that Moody failed to provide the leadership the Columbus needed. However, Rosemond, though intensely honest and sincere about his beliefs, lacked the public display of conviction essential to persuading voters. Only once during the several joint appearances this writer attended did the two candidates raise their voices in argument. Reporters and cameras from two television stations and the Columbus Dispatch were present, but the candidates argued over such an insignificant question of fact -- the source of federal funding for a certain city program -- that the resulting reports filed by the journalists made neither the Dispatch's front page or the six o'clock news programs.
By the middle of October, a victory for Rosemond, a candidate who was in the November race perhaps by accident, seemed impossible, unless there was another "accident." The campaign lacked the full commitment of the candidate; adequate funds were never available; and those within the Democratic Party hierarchy felt alienated and unwanted. Indeed, in the last days of the campaign, Pruitt could only afford to buy radio time on one station in the Columbus market.

As planned however, the major effort of the Moody campaign, which involved more than half of the entire budget, only began to flourish as Rosemond's candidacy aborted. The design did not, however, match the resulting reality, primarily due to the realistic difficulties of being a frontrunner with confidence. First, volunteers drastically lose enthusiasm and become undependable and second, party leaders, sensing victory, seek to re-affirm their influence upon the office-holder. Not having anticipated these problems, changes were made in the operating tactics.

The entire effort was rather complex, integrating the several different media so that a member of the audience could accumulate a comprehensive understanding of the campaign's messages while only preserving fragments of information from each item of communication.
This, the final "frame" of the campaign, was scheduled over the last two and one-half weeks preceding November 4th. The intended tactics and the resulting actuality for each of the message instruments were as follows.

Brochures. Three campaign brochures were prepared (see Appendix C) and 100,000 copies of each were printed. This was an adequate supply for every household in all but the heavily Democratic precincts of Columbus. The intent of Rotaru, who assumed responsibility for the task of distributing the brochures, was to distribute each brochure on the three weekends preceding the election in the designated areas. Moreover, the brochures were to be disseminated in a certain order, preserving the last weekend for the most universally appealing brochure.

Depending primarily upon his own resources to provide the needed volunteers, Rotaru's aspirations for a well-ordered distribution collapsed when it became apparent that very few people had actually committed themselves to the task. Thus, the first weekend's distribution was completely cancelled.

For the remaining weekends, Rotaru was given the assistance of the party's precinct organization. Now desiring to merely get as many of the 300,000 brochures distributed as possible, the dissemination became haphazard. Some households only received one brochure,
others received three. Some areas were covered twice, others only once. In short, the planned tactics lost their symmetry and order though the brochures were ultimately all distributed.

Radio. Beginning on October 21, the radio spots were first broadcast on every station in Columbus except one. Three of the commercials were complete presentations of the campaign song, one contained only the melody line. The remaining commercials had substantive content. (see Appendix A).

The original plan was to arrange the programming so that the "soft" commercials were exclusively broadcast for the first several days. Then they would be replaced for about a week by the "hard" commercials. Finally the two types would be randomly mixed until the last three days when, once again, there would be exclusively music.

After the first two days of broadcasting, politicos in the Republican party strongly protested against the exclusivity of the music-only commercials. With urging that the more traditional spots be immediately introduced into the programming, Casey re-scheduled the spots so that there existed an even mixing of the two types of

47 See footnote 22.
commercials for the remainder of the time period. Thus, once again, the symmetry proposed was altered by the pressures of outside influences. Casey, in keeping the music spots, effectively preserved the uniqueness of the campaign approach though the unique quality certainly was diminished by the change.

**Television.** The tactics for the television phase of the campaign remained unchanged. The three commercials were broadcast over all three VHF stations in Columbus on a rotating basis. Ron Rotaru, in buying the television time, sought quantity as much as quality and, after the campaign, Casey remarked that perhaps some money could have been better invested had quality been the superior criterion. As it turned out, many Moody commercials ended up outside the prime time programming hours. Naturally, on both radio and television, the number of broadcasts each day increased as Election Day neared.

**Partisan Tabloid.** Mailed to every registered Republican in the city to arrive at their homes three or four days prior to November 4, copies were also distributed door-to-door in place of the brochures or in addition to them in the marginally Republican precincts.

In addition to these, the principal instruments of communication, the billboards, the buttons, and the telephoning were also continued through the last weeks—clearly an effort was made to be comprehensive and thorough
in presenting the campaign to the voters. Having examined the manner in which each instrument was activated, it is possible to perceive the underlying integration that was attempted.

Summary

With nearly sixty-three percent of the votes cast on November 4, Mayor Tom Moody successfully won re-election to another term in office. In this chapter, the creation, design, and execution of the effort staged on behalf of the Mayor has been examined. What emerges from this analysis is the observation that the Moody campaign did not react tangibly to any of the feedback communicated or to any of the changes in the rhetorical situation which evolved. Though three decisions were made which altered particular tactics of the campaign, the essential strategy never varied.

Yet, in light of the Rosemond non-candidacy, there apparently was no reason to change. This chapter has related the difficulties which troubled Rosemond's campaign effort and comparatively reported the activities in the Moody campaign. Regardless of what Rosemond did or said, the Moody campaign was essentially non-responsive.

What remains unanswered is whether the substantive communication generated both by Moody and his staff was
non-responsive to the rhetorical situation as defined both by its constraints and the expectancies of the electorate. In the next chapter, that question will be undertaken.
CHAPTER IV
THE CAMPAIGN RHETORIC

As observed in the first chapter of this thesis, a comprehensive examination of the Moody campaign is essential if any meaningful conclusions about its quality are to be reached. The campaign was designed so that each available channel of communication would be used to motivate voters to support the incumbent Mayor. The variety of the instruments of persuasion implemented demands that each be carefully scrutinized. The coherency of the campaign was to have emerged from the cognitive interaction in the minds of the voters of the various messages presented. Thus, only in assessing each message individually can the effectiveness of the entire effort be determined.\(^48\)

The campaign had, of course, several all-encompassing objectives. For example, Moody's name identification

\(^48\) Transcripts of the radio and television commercials and photostatic copies of the campaign literature are contained in the Appendices. The audio tapes of the commercials and the Mayor's speeches as well as original copies of the literature are available for reference in the Archives of the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.
needed to be reasserted; it needed to be demonstrated that, indeed, Moody was campaigning, and, there was the intent to be refreshing and "to have fun" with the campaign. Yet, as discussed in the previous chapter, the staff constructing the content of the campaign had the more explicit goals of resolving the constraints existing as a part of the rhetorical situation which threatened the success of the Mayor—the problem of voter apathy, the question of whether Moody was indeed effective, and the task of remedying the candidate's general image. If these constraints could be resolved effectively, the staff saw no reason why victory would not be assured.

Karyln Kohrs Campbell argues that rhetoric may be assessed and judged by the criteria it itself generates or implies. This proves to be a useful methodology for this study for, though the channels and messages which made up the Moody campaign were diverse, there was unity among them as a result of overall strategy. If each principal form of communication could be assessed by the same criteria, a final probabilistic conclusion will be much easier to synthesize.

Thus, the decision to resolve the three constraints of the situation indicates the rhetorical goals of the

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campaign, which, in turn, can be re-stated to provide the criteria for analyzing the resulting communication. Those are, in interrogatory form:

1) Did the message encourage voter turnout, especially among those who likely supported the Mayor?

2) Did the message re-establish the legitimacy of the slogan "quietly effective" among the voters of Columbus?

3) Did the message amend Moody's image as an "intellectual stuffed-shirt?"

These questions also suggest that the techniques of communication used in the messages be considered in determining satisfactory answers.

Each form of communication was intended to contribute to the attainment of either one or all of the rhetorical objectives. But Carroll Arnold's observation that a body of rhetoric has both explicit and implicit content will prove most useful in helping to explain how each message related to those goals.  

Though the low-keyed, conservative attitude which guided the development of the campaign

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50 Arnold, op. cit., pgs. 47-100.
did not allow for much explicit rhetoric, the implications of much of the communication were "quietly effective."

Radio and Television

The Campaign Song. The radio and television aspects of the Moody campaign were carefully integrated together by the campaign song, "Keep a Good Man on Our Side." Indeed, three of the six radio commercials and one of the three television commercials were entirely devoted to the presentation of the song. The song, written and scored by local talent Dick Wooley, was the focal point of the media campaign.

Suzanne Langer observed quite correctly that music can be rhetorical. Yet, in analyzing the campaign song, some care must be taken that its persuasive ability not be overstated. After all, it was a commercial. As such, it offered identity to the subject, Tom Moody. But whether the song went beyond and realized a potential similar to that of oral discourse depended upon its sound, its message, its use, and the frequency of its use.

As the element about which the radio and television spots developed, the song ambitiously responded to all

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three of the perceived constraints. Though still maintaining the essence of the quietly effective description, the song introduced the theme that "things are happening" and that "we're moving on to brighter days." More dynamism and activity was conveyed by these phrases, the former being extended as a principal element of the brochures and the partisan tabloid. The Moody campaign had realized that, to motivate voters to go to the polls, their campaign must convey energy and activity itself. At the same time, they had perceived the need to reinforce the claim that Moody was being effective. The "things are happening" theme was implemented as a means of satisfying both constraints.

The song's greatest value was in its efforts to promote Moody as a "good man." The lyrics favorably valued a "quiet, steady way" of behavior and consistent work. They implied that such a means of administration resulted in achievements that were in the best interests of the community. The flow of the melody complemented that attitude, unifying the elements of the piece together. Whether in melodic form, or with lyrics, the song imparted a feeling of reassurance to the listener that the Mayor has continued to move Columbus forward despite the difficult problems plaguing the nation.

Finally, the song implicitly sought to unify the community with its active use of "we" and "our side."
The effectiveness of this tactic may have been greater than imagined for as the individual listener heard the song, he was reassured that he was not alone in concluding that the incumbent had done a satisfactory job. It became easier to admit conversion when others joined in the process.

In essence, the song worked to direct listeners to value the quietly effective way of operation as good. It sought to supplement the results of the primary contest by reinforcing the worth of the criterion of "quietly effective" as a useful tool for choosing between the candidates. And, having then asserted that Mayor Moody meets that criterion, the song urged that people take the appropriate action to "keep a good man on our side." Therefore, in responding to all three of the rhetorical objectives of the campaign, the song succeeded. However, because of its very form, the song could only provide some unsubstantiated assertions. The purpose of the song was to establish a base from which further argument might be extended in the other messages. That the song does accomplish as the assertions which were made, either directly or by implication, became the thematic content of the entire campaign.

The early presentations of this song as one of the radio advertisements must have been confusing to listeners for Moody's name was not mentioned until the very end of
the commercial during the "tag." Yet, once the association between the candidate and the song became established in a listener's mind, subsequent presentations of the song would probably have been listened to attentively in order to discover what the song really had to say. But, after a few exposures, the attention span of a listener, as with any media commercial, must have decreased and the commercial came to serve only as a subliminal reminder to the voter (e.g., "Oh, that's Moody's jingle—quietly effective and all that.").

Musical Interlude #1. In this adaptation, the third stanza of the song was deleted and replaced by a one-sentence statement of appreciation by the Mayor. That statement, extending thanks to "Democrats, Republicans, and Independents," enhanced the efforts of the song to establish Moody as a candidate with universal appeal. Once again, it became easier for a listener, especially a Democrat struggling over whether or not to support Rosemond, to shift his support to Moody, knowing that others with whom he identifies have already done so. The internal dissonance provoked by deserting the party's candidate is thus lessened.52

52 This same technique was employed in 1972 when "Democrats for Nixon" was organized by John Connally after Senator George McGovern became the Democratic Party's nominee for President.
The variance between this commercial and the entire presentation of the song responded to the objective of turning out voters. A politically broad base of support simply results in more votes for the candidate. The effort made was very subtle, however, and not sufficiently substantive to actually control a voter's preference. At best, the commercial reinforced the minds of those who had been wavering in their support,

Musical Interlude #2. This version completed the set of "soft" commercials, it consisted almost entirely of the melody of the song. Though used more frequently on those FM stations in Columbus which play MUZAC or similar music, it was scheduled on every station. Intended to gently stimulate a listener's memory of the song and the song's message, Musical Interlude #2 was the epitome of the low-key campaigning style. What was attempted here can be considered in terms of the campaign objective to enhance Mayor Moody's image. The suggested message was two-fold. First, in sponsoring a tasteful, distinct type of campaign advertisement, Moody was presented as a pleasant, sociable individual. Moreover, the distinctiveness of the commercial implied that Mayor Moody was equally distinctive as a sophisticated and controlled politician.

But one must certainly inquire whether this spot was successful in generating anything more than a raised eyebrow's worth of interest from the vast majority of radio
listeners. Providing virtually no substantive content except for the Mayor's name, the expectancies of the electorate remained unfulfilled by this commercial. Indeed, among the press and those involved in politics, the writer seemed, while researching, always to encounter ridicule about the commercial.

The three media commercials which provided more substantive content to the listener were designed to complement the foundation established by the song with information and knowledge that substantiated the assertions that had been made. Through the interaction of the two types of communication, the persuasive effects of the arguments being made was to be realized. The unification of the two in the minds of listeners was encouraged by the use of the melody line of the song as background music for the content commercials.

The tactics that were attempted can be clarified if structured by the Toulmin paradigm. The various assertions made in the lyrics and melody of the song constitute the claims that were expressed in response to the nature of the rhetorical situation. Those were: "things are happening;" Tom Moody has support from all political parties;

Tom Moody is a distinct type of politician, sophisticated and controlled; Tom Moody has been effective; Tom Moody is a good man; and, implied of course, Tom Moody deserves your vote. For these claims, there had to be data - evidence, information or knowledge that proved the viability of these claims. For example, having claimed Tom Moody was effective, the campaign had the obligation to give evidence of that effectiveness. But there is one final essential element to an argument according to Toulmin and that is the warrant--"which authorizes the mental 'leap' involved in advancing from data to claim."54 In all of the radio commercials that element was absent, and it consequently became the burden of the listener to structurally complete the arguments that were presented by the campaign.

The Economy. Here the data presented responded directly to the well-publicized financial difficulties which were plaguing New York City. The Mayor, in a trusting, almost confidential tone of voice, discussed his intentions to keep the city of Columbus "a healthy community." Though there was no logical consistency in his comments, they were bound together by a thematic unity. The Mayor depended upon the stature of his office to enhance the authority of

54 Ibid., p. 243.
his words. In that manner, his "campaign promises" were more palatable.

Though providing data for both the claims "Tom Moody has been effective" (the fact that Columbus has been fortunate) and "Tom Moody is a good man" (the quality of Moody's promises reflected his character) this commercial had persuasive significance independent of the campaign to which it was bound. New York's experiences had frightened many Americans and this commercial capitalized on that sentiment in advocating Moody's re-election. Such a rhetorical appeal is ethically inferior according to Richard Weaver. Its potency was derived from the nature of the present circumstances rather than from more lasting concerns. The pleasant tone of the commercial concealed the emotionally-based appeal however.

This spot was intentionally excluded from the programming schedule of those radio stations directed toward the young and the blacks of Columbus (WCOL, WVKO), because the style of the commercial was felt to be offensive to those audiences. With his deep, gravel voice ringing with extravagant superlatives, Wilbur Jones reminded one of the late Everett Dirksen. His monologue in the commercial lacked, however, the persuasive force of the late Senator.

What was attempted in this commercial was to provide testimony to bolster the image of Moody and to encourage, in a rather blunt fashion, voters to vote. Addressed to an audience representative of a nation's skepticism over politics, the absolutist quality of "Tom Moody is, without question, the finest man I have ever known" seemed inappropriate, however. The concept of a leading public figure endorsing a candidate is honored by time as an effective technique. But Jones, as the candidate's campaign manager, had not the stature or the objectivity to make his endorsement persuasive.

There was the possibility however, that Jones' expression of concern about voters taking the election for granted may have been accepted as data by listeners, especially when substantiated additionally by Moody's statement. In fact, as campaign manager, Jones was an authoritative figure on the matter of voter turnout. Perhaps those supporting Moody sufficiently respected him in that role for him to be effective.

Things Are Happening. The final radio commercial offered the most concrete data in support of the song's principal claims. Titled "Things are Happening," the spot utilized the voice of Bill Hamilton, well-recognized among media professionals for its trustworthy quality. The sole purpose and intent of this commercial was to provide a relatively large amount of data to demonstrate
the effectiveness of Mayor Moody. Indeed, that was the only effect achieved. As the most substantive commercial, a comment about its argumentative structure is in order.

What this commercial accomplished was the substantiation of the claims "things are happening" and "Tom Moody is effective." The data implied "these things have happened." But the warrant, which makes the causal link, was missing. What was needed to provide for a complete argument was an explicit statement to the effect that "these things are because of Tom Moody." Indeed, characteristic of the entire radio campaign, the warrant was implied in each argumentative structure.

A legitimate criticism of this commercial was that the Mayor implicitly claimed responsibility for two accomplishments with which, in fact, his administration was only minimally involved. Also, there was really very little of a true causal relationship between residents having confidence in City Hall and developers investing in new construction. That phrase exemplifies how key words or phrases—in this instance "confidence in City Hall" and "revitalization"—may be utilized to provide much more substance to a media commercial than time restrictions allow. Their use is comparable to what Weaver labeled "ultimate terms," symbols capable of embodying
complex expectations which possessed great rhetorical potency.\textsuperscript{56}

The application of the critical standards outlined earlier to the substance of the entire radio campaign emphasizes the strengths and weaknesses of the effort. To combat voter apathy, only one of the six commercials made any effort to directly confront the problem. Otherwise, the strongest message was to "keep a good man on our side", and beyond whatever persuasive significance the lyrics of the song possessed, only one advertisement concentrated on demonstrating the legitimacy of the slogan "quietly effective". Yet, every commercial produced offered new evidence in substantiation of the claim that "Moody is a good man". Whether through the tone of the song, the sincerity of his voice, or the nature of the accomplishments listed; cues were being communicated about the quality and character of the candidate. That circumstance, reflecting a sincere commitment to amending Moody's image was perhaps the most influential aspect of the radio commercials.

In assessing the collective effectiveness of the radio commercials, one must accept the debatable proposition that radio listeners do indeed retain some cognitive sense of what they have heard and are capable

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 211.
of applying that knowledge when exposed to subsequent commercials. That perspective is especially difficult to comply with upon consideration of the programming schedule and a typical listener's habits. The commercials were to be broadcast according to the "run of the station" which requires only that so many commercials be broadcast each day within each principal time period. The station has the discretion as to how closely grouped the commercials were and what type of programming was scheduled adjacent to the commercials. Except for the most dedicated radio listener, it seems unlikely that all of the Moody commercials could have been heard frequently enough for the diverse message to acquire their thematic consistency in the mind of the average listener. At best, the tune of the song and perhaps a few of the general statements might have been retained but the reasoning process required to synthesize the entire set of commercials together, assuming indeed that a listener had been exposed to all six spots, simply seemed beyond the reach of the average person devoting incomplete attention to the broadcasts.

Certainly, this factor of limited attention among those exposed to media advertising motivated the staff of Moody's campaign to strive for consistency, repetition, and overlap between radio and television.
Hopefully, the communicative cues from each medium would be related by voters and the campaign's message could begin to take form.

The Television Commercials

In assessing the effectiveness of the television commercials produced by the Moody campaign, it is beyond the capabilities of this writer to comprehensively evaluate the impact of the various cues and symbolic meanings associated with the video portion of the advertisements. Indeed, research into these matters remains at an experimental stage, and it would be unwise and unscholarly to attempt to proceed beyond the very tentative knowledge accumulated. Instead, the video element will be considered as the researcher perceives it to complement the rhetorical intentions of the audio.

Restricted to only thirty seconds, the television commercials needed to compensate for the lost time for audio presentation by maximizing the video elements. All of the advertisements very directly related to the three principal constraints, though each isolated one of the constraints as its primary target. As noted earlier, these commercials rotated consecutively as broadcast on each station. Thus, the television spots
faced the same hazards as the radio campaign regarding exposure and comprehension by the voter. Yet, exposed to both radio and television, the average voter was expected to comprehend the entire message.

"Construction." The television commercial entitled "Construction" strived to resolve one restraint visually and one restraint audibly. Utilizing the second and fourth stanzas of the campaign song for the audio segment, the goal was to reveal, in conjunction with the video shots, that "quiet" and "working" were not contradictory. The shots of Mayor Moody each revealed him as actively involved in the community with diverse projects. Even when the candidate was not in the picture, it was implied by the context of the commercial that the Mayor was involved with the subject of the picture (playgrounds, bikeways).

But the production staff carefully chose those items. The pictures implied that Moody cares about children, nature and recreation, and that he vigorously participates in the process of revitalizing Columbus, both at the worksite and in his office. These visual portraits were reinforced by the lyrics of the campaign song. The final camera shot of the construction poster unified the elements together, suggesting that the essence of Moody's administration was involvement with
growth and development. There was excellent continuity between that imagery and the initial camera shot of the trees becoming overshadowed by the new look of downtown Columbus.

The thematic content of this commercial integrates well with the foundation of ideas established in the radio spots. Yet, the persuasive techniques involved are different. In the radio advertisements, the legitimacy of the "quietly effective" slogan was substantiated by presenting data emphasizing the effectiveness of the Mayor, the low-key attitudinal approach being implicitly illustrated by the music and tone of the spots. In this commercial, the content seems to have focused more upon defining and giving meaning to the campaign's conception of what "quiet" was all about. The Mayor was not portrayed before massive crowds, but with only one or two persons and the results of his efforts were small but meaningful things like playgrounds and bikeways. This difference in emphasis between the radio and the television strengthened the campaign's movement toward giving the slogan "quietly effective" true significance.

"Election Day." The second television commercial was perhaps the most vigorous message urging Columbus residents to participate in the voting process presented in the campaign. The visual and audio elements were
almost completely autonomous. Bill Hamilton, again the announcer, probed a very sensitive topic in urging one to vote "for the sake of your children". Indeed, the importance of voting on November 4th was not based upon principles of good citizenship but upon the circumstances prevailing for that particular election. That a threatening evil may befall anyone who fails to vote was implied by Hamilton's delivery as well as the text itself.

Yet, the video portion of the commercial had virtually no relation to the essential message of Hamilton's presentation, save for the final shot of the eagle poster which may have provided a patriotic flavor to the commercial. Otherwise, the viewer was presented with a portfolio of pictures illustrating the many roles and dimensions of Tom Moody. He was viewed as a representative of the city, taking official action in the name of the people. He (again) visits a construction project, learning and observing. He talks with the common man, out in the fields, and in his office. And, as the final profile shot reveals, he is a friendly and sincere man through it all.

The commercial's juxtaposition of visual political rhetoric and an audible public service message represented perhaps one of the more successful innovations
devised by the Mayor's staff. The viewer was led to comprehend the importance of the election while also absorbing a very broad representation of the character of Tom Moody. That the Mayor was making things happen became the essential theme of this portrayal.

With the audio and visual message distinct, however, one must wonder how the average viewer was effected. Ideally, he would have been motivated to vote while also developing a favorable characterization of the Mayor. Practically, the plea for participation probably was displaced by the perception that what was being viewed was an advertisement promoting Moody's candidacy. In that manner, the impact of the audio message might have been less significant.

"Energy." This final television advertisement stressed the importance and value of Mayor Tom Moody's most notable accomplishment -- the construction of a trash pulveriser plant to convert solid waste into fuel for electric generators. The commercial is a drama in miniature, presenting a problem -- useless waste -- and a solution. Again, Moody is portrayed as being actively involved with the project as he trudges through mounds of garbage, oversees the conveyor belt arrangement and views the unloading process. The script is sparse but its simplicity is effective. The light bulb poster, which was the concluding visual image of the commercial,
enhanced the projection of Moody's image. Associating the man with the poster and its modern, abstract colors and graphics, many viewers may have perceived Moody to be similarly contemporary, youthful, and bold.

This commercial added further shape to the image of Tom Moody as a man concerned about ecology and conservation. It communicated that Moody had taken action ("that dream has become reality"). This advertisement avoided, however, the constraint of voter apathy. Less complex than the other television spots, "Energy" may have been the most effective advertisement as it minimized the diversity between the various ones of information that the viewer had to consider. Each shot logically progressed to the next, unified by the narration. This commercial, in only considering one aspect of Mayor Moody's record, may have been the most successful in retaining the interest and attention of the viewers because of its simplicity and unity. The others perhaps exceeded the limits of cohesiveness arbitrarily defined by the thirty second time limit.

Though the ultimate worth of the radio and television commercials is related to the persuasive strength of the entire campaign, some preliminary thoughts can be expressed regarding this very expensive phase of the Moody campaign effort. Consistent with the general
strategy of the campaign and the character of the candidate, none of the nine separate presentations assumed the aggressive quality of typical campaign rhetoric. The Mayor was portrayed as involved with his job, responsible to the electorate and concerned about the present as well as the future. His performance in office was described as productive and in the best interests of the community. The man was portrayed as sincere, contemporary, future-oriented, good-hearted and relaxed. Yet, though the commercials effectively responded to the difficulty with Moody's personality and the legitimacy of the campaign slogan, the almost random method of presentation deteriorated the consistency of the message and perhaps limited its persuasive influence upon the individual voter.

The message content directed at reversing voter apathy stands out conspicuously in retrospect. It is an unusual practice for a candidate to assume a public service role and the radio and television commercials reflect the awkward efforts made to play that role while remaining a campaign with legitimate self-interest. Jones' urgings lacked credibility while Hamilton's television script seemed tainted with partisanship and coercive technique. Presuming that the voter became favorably disposed toward Moody as a good man as the
other constraints were addressed by the campaign, the directive "keep a good man on our side" was the only credible and motivating message left which was aimed at the problem of voter apathy.

What is distinctly absent from the radio and television advertisements is any depth of presentation concerning the accomplishments of the Moody administration. What was lacking inherently was a demonstration of comprehensive knowledge about the successes achieved by Mayor Moody. As partial compensation for that weakness, pieces of literature were distributed to nearly every household in Columbus.

The Literature

The potential of three brochures and a partisan tabloid to fully complement the radio and television commercials was certainly restrained by the difficulties encountered in distributing the literature. More with the brochures than with the tabloid, the efforts made to satisfy the perceived expectations of the electorate were thwarted by the early failures at recruiting sufficient volunteers. This was unfortunate for the content of the literature responded rhetorically to the demands placed upon it with exceptional effectiveness. As will be seen, each piece independently
resolved the constraints of the rhetorical situation.

The three brochures, of which 100,000 copies of each were printed for distribution, were of interesting dimensions. Though most political brochures the writer has examined are tri-folded 8 1/2 inches by 11 inches pieces of paper, the Moody brochures were 12 by 24 inches. Unfolded, one side of each brochure presented one of the three campaign posters; the opposite side was divided into four panels. On each brochure, one panel was the same -- a statement urging the reader to vote on Election Day. A second panel on each was also very similar. It presented the slogan "Mayor Tom Moody Quietly Effective" beside a dominating graphic illustration of the numeral "75." Along with these elements was a caption making particular reference to the content of each brochure. These two panels were the outside surfaces of the brochures when they were folded. The remaining two panels presented the substantive content of each brochure.

Graphically, the brochures reflected the thesis and philosophy of the campaign and the candidate's administration. Large amounts of arbitrary white space deliberately focused the reader's eyes upon the untraditionally conservative print used in the campaign slogan, the headings and the content. Essentially, more
visual impact was being achieved with a less flamboyant style, which is the same essential approach to tasks that Moody and his campaign employed. The photographs were, in each brochure, a montage which effectively complemented the text which was placed above. In the "Energy" brochure especially, the composition and arrangement of the pictures almost delivered the entire message of the brochure as the reader's eyes rove upward as progress was depicted. Unfortunately, the captions for all the photos lacked any rhetorical significance. Given that many might have just glanced at the photos and not be troubled with the text, the captions could have communicated much more than they do. Many were purely dialectical.

The posters themselves proved to be a very popular element of the brochures judging from their appearance on the walls of offices and homes throughout Columbus. The eagle and the light bulb were particularly well-liked, constituting contemporary and bold displays. The posters integrated the television commercials with the brochures, linking the superficial claims to the detailed content. As the brochures were folded, the posters were the last thing that a reader would see which, once unfolded, could only have become a very memorable perception, especially given the poster's
dimensions. Almost anyone who examined a brochure could not help but cognitively relate the posters to the last shots of the television commercials. In that manner, it was the aspiration of the Moody staff that the respective messages presented through each medium would also have mutually reinforced each other in the mind of the average voter. Whether or not that truly happened to any significant degree can only be the subject of idle speculation but a major variable was certainly the quality of the brochures' content.

In evaluating the substance of the brochures, one qualification must be first asserted. No evidence exists to indicate how many people, either in this particular election or in general, make the effort to actually read campaign literature. In the political sphere, the superstition is that voters will not examine a leaflet if it is voluminous or detailed. If there is any validity to that belief, the Moody brochures may have received the careful consideration of only a relatively small number of voters. In that case, their rhetorical success becomes a moot issue. The writer believes otherwise however, and the subsequent analysis rests on the assumption that the vast majority of those receiving the brochures did actually read them. Indeed, the brochures were sufficiently comprehensive that,
independent of the rest of the campaign, each had the potential to resolve all of the three prevailing constraints and facilitate a favorable ballot for the incumbent.

"Construction." The brochure with the sepia poster of downtown Columbus carried the caption on the front, "Exciting things are happening in Columbus... ."

Hoped to have the most universal appeal, the text of the brochure was a detailed listing and discussion of the many projects and accomplishments for which Moody's administration implicitly took credit. The brochure was a most vigorous attempt to counteract the apparent mildness of the primary campaign. Six particular categories of achievements were discussed: transportation, parks and recreation, cleanup campaigns, health care, downtown development, and urban renewal. Each discussion was preceded by a positively-worded bold-faced summary. The four photographs related to the textual material in each respective column.

There was, curiously, virtually no logical progression within the text, either explicit or implicit, that assumed any persuasive significance. The brochure was basically consistent with its purpose to merely substantiate the claims made in the radio and television advertisements. It claimed no other purpose.
It was mostly dialectical in tone as it listed and listed further the various items of accomplishment. Indeed, forty distinct subjects were referred to in the text, unified by overreaching statements. The discussion of the development of Downtown Columbus was the only section of the text that offered interpretation of the importance of achievements. It said, in part,

"The administration of Mayor Tom Moody has encouraged this development with planning and public improvements because of the obvious advantages a modern Downtown will offer our city, not the least of which are pride and jobs."

The most interesting quality of the text was, however, the almost conscious avoidance of attributing directly to the Mayor responsibility for the various accomplishments. This was an ethically necessary tactic for, as Mayor, Moody had experienced only limited involvement with COTA, Port Columbus, the existing park facilities, or the Neighborhood Health Centers. Obviously, the Mayor, through association, was likely attributed responsibility for these services and programs by the average reader. But, to be ethical, the campaign staff had to carefully word the text of the brochure. Indeed, the claim that "Things are happening" remained an absolutely true representation of the content of the brochure. What was intentionally delegated to the voter, as with the media commercials, was the
responsibility for constructing the causal proposition that "things happen because of Mayor Tam Moody."

The goal of this brochure was to provide evidence that Moody was active and that he was effective. The claims themselves were implicit but the argument logically held together. The types of accomplishments inferentially linked to Moody also worked to define the character of the man as a person concerned about the "quality of life". The text can be faulted, however, for being uninteresting and uncreative. Though the writer presumes that most voters make an effort to read most political brochures, this particular one may have been too dialectical in quality to preserve a vote's interest. That may, however, be the cost of providing a complete portrayal of the Moody Administration.

"Energy." The brochure with the neon light bulb poster was captioned "Columbus has discovered a better way to solve an ancient problem -- the waste to energy story." Indeed, inside the brochure was a narrative, both visual and textual in nature, relating the development of Columbus' new trash pulverization system. The body of the narrative was organized chronologically from when Tom Moody first publicly discussed his proposal through the actual construction and initiation of service into some conjecture about the future. Unlike the
first brochure, this one interpreted the significance of the achievement and was quite aggressive in promoting the ultimate benefits which will be realized. Perhaps the distinction between the two brochures was facilitated by the difference in the quantity of copy. Covering only one topic, the "Energy" brochure effectively integrated the dialectical discussion with rhetorical elaborations in one-half of the amount of space utilized by the "Things are happening" text. The "Energy" text was more coherent, logical, and therefore more likely to be read by the average voter. Moreover, oriented toward the nationally-distressing energy crisis, this brochure, in explicating upon Moody's active response, raised the Mayor above other public officials being criticized for their inaction on the energy issue.

The "Energy" brochure related to the television commercial of the same name. Both were simple and direct. Both reflected, in being conservative in quantity, the preference of the campaign and the candidate for being quietly effective. United, the two works were perhaps the most comprehensive response of the campaign to the constraints of the situation. The other materials were weakened by their efforts to be all-encompassing and to relate every aspect of Moody's job or his accomplishments. The "Energy" messages
established the claims, provided the data, and clearly articulated the warrant which collectively argued that Tom Moody had been effective as Mayor. Complemented by the well-recognized neon light bulb, the two messages were certainly the easiest of the three pairings to relate together.

"Sound Money Management." The final brochure, captioned "Sound money management has been the hallmark of Columbus Municipal Government since 1972," directed itself toward the one contribution to Columbus of which Moody seemed most proud. Entering a City Hall that had been the arena for colossal incidents of mismanagement, Moody exerted his principal energies toward the reorganization and streamlining of the administrative functions. In doing so, he saved the city millions of dollars.

This essential success was explained in the text of this last brochure. That explanation was surrounded by two sections which were clearly rhetorical in purpose and in effect. The first column of text, a discussion of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage, symbolized Moody as a man of dreams, oriented toward the future, ambitious and idealistic. The last column portrayed the Mayor differently. He represented dependability and reliability in government, realistic but "committed" to the continued needs of the community.
Despite adversity. And, interjected between the elements of idealism and reality was a record of achievement that illustrated how the Mayor had progressed toward the future amidst the surrounding reality of economic distress. It was a very structured and effective pattern of thought.

The relationship of the eagle poster to the message of this brochure was difficult to ascertain. The situation seemed to suggest that the two were placed together merely as the leftovers from the other pairings. In fact, if the minds of those perceiving the entire campaign could have been probed, most probably would have been found relating the eagle poster to the radio and television advertisements counteracting voter apathy. In those cases, the poster probably attracted the brochure readers' interest away from the management message toward the voting message present on the back of all three brochures.

That panel represented each brochure's response to the problem of voter apathy. The importance of voting on November 4 was argued from two implied claims: first, one should vote because of the significance of the circumstances relevant at this moment in time, and second, one should vote as a legitimate exercise of one's "most cherished rights." The latter appeal, not audibly
present in either the Wilbur Jones commercial or the television advertisement, derived its strength from the fundamental values of citizenship, what Richard Weaver would term as the basic "nature of the thing."57 It was a very ethical and commendable technique of persuading voters to travel to the polls. The argument was complemented by the phrase implemented in the first column foretelling the harms of nonparticipation: "When that happens, majority rule ends, minority rule begins." That sentence cues into some principal American values that, in light of the Kahiki incident's role in garnering support for Rosemond, were especially salient in the fall of 1975. Finally, the eagle poster provided a visual boost to the presence of this line of definitional reasoning, which was perhaps overwhelmed by the space devoted to the circumstantial appeal. That domination is regrettable for the argument from definition certainly stood as the more influential claim, both in general and in this specific unit of rhetoric.58

The brochures produced by the Moody campaign and distributed to nearly every household in Columbus

57 Ibid., p. 86.
58 Weaver suggests this valuing hierarchy throughout his book.
represented a fascinating dimension of the campaign. Except for the limited success of the "Things are Happening" brochure in developing the significance of the many items listed, each brochure effectively responded to the constraints prevailing in the rhetorical situations. Each brochure revealed aspects of Moody's administration that indicated the energy and enthusiasm which directed their efforts. In addition, Moody's characterization as an "intellectual stuffed-shirt" could not be identified in this literature. As a candidate, the posters implied he was contemporary and innovative.

The messages portrayed Moody as being concerned about matters which have an impact on each person's life. Future-directed but tempered by the obstacles of reality, Moody, as Mayor, continued to progress. The graphical presentation, the controlled awareness of reality, the quality of the rhetoric itself—all of these elements reminded the reader that Mayor Tom Moody remained quietly effective.

The brochures, through the posters, were to identify with the television programming. Related in that manner, the content of the literature was designed to supplement the unsupported claims presented over the airwaves. Yet, as with the relationship between radio and television, the randomness of dissemination and exposure collectively compounded must have precluded to a great degree the unity
and interaction between the various messages from being perceived. It can be readily agreed that the posters and the song facilitated audience familiarity with all aspects of the campaign. But the comprehensive thematic and evidential impact planned by the staff was simply excessively complex given the variance inherent to media advertising.

Partisan Tabloid. The other publication produced by the Moody campaign, in particular by Terry Casey, was the eight-page tabloid titled "Columbus Progressing." This publication, though implementing some of the rhetoric used in the radio, television and brochure messages, was not truly integrated into the city-wide campaign strategy. Mailed to every registered Republican in the city and distributed door-to-door in those precincts where Republican voters were heavily concentrated, the tabloid addressed a relatively consistent audience, more than likely already predisposed in favor of Mayor Moody. Because the audience was distinct from the general heterogeneous public, the significance of each of the rhetorical constraints to the campaign varied. Consequently, the rhetorical effort designed to remedy the constraints was also of a different quality.

In appealing to Republicans, the principal problem to be overcome was voter apathy resulting from optimism and
over-confidence. The legitimacy of the slogan "quietly effective" was not a problem among those that supported the incumbent Mayor; indeed being quietly effective would seem to epitomize a Republican voter's attitudes toward government. However, that Moody might be judged aloof or arrogant by those whose support was badly needed probably concerned Moody's staff. Though these voters would probably not vote for the opposition, their objections to Moody might have motivated them not to vote at all. Thus, to dispel voter apathy and to amend Moody's image became the principal objectives of the tabloid.

Part of the failure of the primary campaign's attempt to turn out Republican voters was that the campaign over-emphasized Moody's quiet qualities. In the tabloid, the photographs portrayed the Mayor in different types of roles: the ombudsman, the public figure, the ceremonial head of government, the executive, the planner, the man-on-the-street and the counselor are the principal ones illustrated. The text discussed the burden on the Mayor "who's expected to show the leadership for all. Young and old, black and white, rich and poor." That task, it was implied, demands an individual far more versatile than an intellectual elitist.

The problem of apathy was tackled by the "lead article" in the tabloid. Structured similarly to the appeal
printed in the brochures, the message was supplemented elsewhere in the tabloid by detailed explanations of the issues and candidates appearing on the ballot. The tone of the prose seemed more conversational and less ominous than the brochure communication. And, for the Republican audience, the argument from definition was only a brief sentence. Presumably, that was all that was needed to provoke the patriotic motivation. It should finally be added that the slogan "Vote November 4" also recurred frequently throughout the tabloid.

There is a certain "folksiness" characterizing the tabloid that is lacking from the other campaign instruments. The photographs of the Mayor in an open-neck shirt and the informal style of the text combined to imply that the message was somewhat personal and private. The appeal for support was also more direct than in the brochures. It seemed almost more honest, stripped of the shenanigans of mass persuasion. Given the type of communication involved, that may have been beneficial to preserving the reader's interest.

Absorbing the masses of political communication which proliferated in 1975, the average Republican more than likely accepted the tabloid as a partisan interpretation of events devoid of the professional's influence. The tabloid's casual perspective distinguished it from other
campaign communication, including the rest of the Moody Campaign. As a consequence, it proved more effective in achieving its rhetorical objectives.

The Telephones, Buttons and Billboards

Only a few observations need be made about the intentions and effectiveness of the remaining communication instruments planned and implemented by Moody's staff. The telephoning conducted throughout October by volunteers had the sole purpose of turning out the vote. The call also communicated to the voter, albeit by implication, that the Moody campaign had a personal interest in his vote. If the writer's experience with other campaigns is any guide, telephoning consistently proves useful in facilitating further communication between the voter and the campaign but has limited effectiveness on actual turnout.

Lapel buttons and billboards similarly had a singular purpose of cuing a voter to recall his knowledge about the Moody candidacy. Simply stating either "Mayor Tom Moody—Quietly Effective" or "Mayor Tom Moody—Things are Happening", the billboards and lapel buttons were only token

59 The text utilized for the calls was: "Hello, I'm , and I'm calling on behalf of Mayor Tom Moody. We are calling to encourage people to vote on November 4, and we would appreciate any support you feel you can give us."
reminders of the presence of the campaign on the airwaves and doorsteps of Columbus. The distribution of these items was random and only casually considered by the campaign staff throughout the fall.

The Mayor's Public Speaking

During the weeks of the fall campaign, Mayor Moody appeared publicly in one forum or another several times each day. The Mayor's appearances, alone or in conjunction with Dr. Rosemond, collectively represent still another form of rhetoric that can be identified as part of the persuasive effort made to assure him four more years in City Hall. Though the Mayor's public speaking was scheduled, organized, and performed practically independent of the advice and counsel of Moody's staff, it was inevitably perceived by voters as originating from the same source. Consequently, the general style, content and effectiveness of the Mayor's public appearances deserves study, not as a disjointed, autonomous body of discourse--which it was, but as an integral part of the campaign--which is how it was perceived.

It does not seem equitable to the Mayor, however, to assess his speaking by those criteria which were generated to evaluate the other forms of communication. Those standards were suggested by the communication's content which
reflected, in turn, the manner in which the Mayor's staff viewed the nature of the rhetorical situation. The same technique should be used to judge the Mayor's rhetoric (i.e., identify the manner in which Moody perceived the rhetorical situation and develop the guidelines for analysis from that information). The speaking can then be integrated with the other elements of the campaign.

Moody Speaks on Speaking

In the September 24 interview the writer conducted with Mayor Moody, many thoughts were expressed by the Mayor regarding his objectives in public speaking and his relationship to his audiences. From that conversation, a profile of Moody as a communicator emerged which is refreshingly candid. The Mayor speaks extemporaneously as a rule. Whether engaged in formal debate with Rosemond or dialoguing with residents of the University area, Moody consistently refused to use notes, outlines, or prepared texts. His reason was that "I like to observe my audience and their reactions to what's happening before I decide what to say." Thus, a text constrained his adaptability in a situation and precluded him from addressing the audience in the most

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60 This interview is among the tapes on file at the Ohio Historical Society.
appropriate manner. Speaking without notes, incidentally, did not infringe upon Moody's eloquence. Though lacking occasionally in dynamism, the Mayor consistently revealed a superior mastery of the structure of the English language and its vocabulary. His thoughts were cogent and well-articulated regardless of the nature of the situation.

Indeed, the Mayor's style of speaking reflected an enlightened view of the audience which the Platonic view conceives as the attitude of the "noble lover." He admitted that in making public appearances, he had to be sensitive to several audiences—the particular group in attendance, the media and the audiences of the media. But, despite the temptation to appeal to the larger body of people, Moody asserted that, "... common courtesy demands that the audience present at the meeting be the prime audience." In fact, Moody distrusted the theoretical assumption that there are opinion leaders which deserve preferential treatment by a public speaker.

The nature of my work is that I'm going from the humblest to the highest person several times each day... To me, the truck driver is an opinion leader and... is just as important to me as... the president of the Chamber of Commerce. I think that every person I talk to is an opinion maker because he is talking to other people.

61 Weaver, op. cit., p. 13.
Richard Weaver interpreting Platonic thought makes clear, however, that a noble lover in discourse should strive to motivate the audience to a higher plane of existence, perhaps even at his own cost.62 Moody, atypically perhaps for a politician, satisfied Weaver's definition. Though admitting that an audience frequently will do no more than mold an impression of a speaker while ignoring the substance of the orator's rhetoric, he confided that "I can't get out of my system the desire to teach people . . . I want them to be informed." For Moody, knowledge is the cornerstone of development and, in every address, he sought to lay that stone.

As Mayor, the elected representative of the city's policies and programs, Moody's most important concern in working to inform his audiences was to instill in them an understanding of the complexities and variables associated with public policy. But, as just noted, he viewed his efforts with a pessimistic attitude, believing that "very few people are prepared to deal with (the) wide range of issues that are in . . . government." Yet, that does not justify for Moody an avoidance of the issues; he simply realized that though people are concerned, they had no interest in learning about the means implemented.

to gain the desired ends. But the Mayor told them anyway and, in so doing, he felt that he motivated a favorable characterization by his audience of his personality and abilities. B.J. Diggs' observation that persuasion can be secured through informative discourse well describes Moody's perspective.⁶³

One must wonder though whether that rhetorical stance remained viable during the campaign period. Moody did not believe that the fact he was a candidate altered his perspective. He explained:

*It alters a bit what I say and what I don't say. It alters some emphasis but it does not change me; I'm not capable of putting on that kind of act.* Intellectually, I pride myself on my absolute consistency.

Thus, if Moody was correct in his assessment, the rhetorical situation of the campaign varied the content of his rhetoric but not his perspective, purpose, or relationship to the voter.

Summarizing Moody's rhetorical philosophy generates a number of unique questions to be pondered:

1. What is the audience he perceives?
2. What is the audience's perceived role in the community and in the election?
3. Does Moody seek to educate the audience to their benefit?

4. Does Moody speak as candidate or office-holder?

5. Is the substance of his discourse dialectical or rhetorical?

Each of these questions is stated to query the correctness of Moody's self-analysis. They are not comprehensive but are the principal standards by which an evaluation can be rendered.

The Moody Itinerary and Message

An inherent quality of an election involving over 100,000 voters is the diversity of situations and circumstances that confront the candidates. From the traditional picnics to the formal debates before professional journalists, there exists a wide selection of forums and audiences before which a candidate appears. Scheduled by his secretary into those situations which were non-hostile, Mayor Moody eminently kept pace with the frequency and changing quality of 65 different events scheduled from October to November 2. Not as rigorous as a presidential campaign, it was quite demanding upon one who still had to manage a city.

The range and frequency of Moody's appearances precluded a complete audio collection of all his addresses and comments from being compiled. There also were several events
on the Mayor's schedule which were strictly within the scope of his official duties as Mayor. Though these appearances during the campaign certainly enhanced the candidate's presence in the public arena, they were non-substantive in terms of campaign communication and were excluded from consideration. Thus, the sample from which this analysis is developed consisted of sixteen different appearances by the Mayor, both in person and on radio or television. Each of these was selected as representative of several other appearances not attended by the writer.

In surveying the schedule of the Mayor for the five weeks preceding the election, the diversity of the events attended was actually less significant than it seemed when experienced first-hand. Exclusive of the official ceremonies, five general types of appearances were attended by the Mayor. Each type presented a unique set of circumstances with which the Mayor had to deal. The discriminating feature of each of these classifications was the form or channel through which the Mayor addressed the audience. Thus, the classifications were:

**Campaign Debating.** In a debate format with Rosemond, Moody appeared before several different organizations to deliberate upon the issues. Each candidate consistently had the chance for an opening statement, an opportunity for rebuttal and then re-rebuttal if appropriate. Questions from the audience then followed.
Interview/Call-In Broadcasts. Appearing alone or with Rosemond, the Mayor had the opportunity to express himself before the largest audiences in these situations. Interviewed by reporters or questioned by persons calling in, Moody could only be responsive; no opportunity for original discussion existed.

Partisan Gatherings. These events were either Republican Ward meetings or meetings of Republican organizations. Holding the highest office in the City, Moody was the principal speaker. His appearances were usually brief in length at these events and basically re-affirming in purpose.

Civic Organizations. Many service clubs (e.g. Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary) utilized the election as an opportunity to fill their speaker's rostrum. Appearing as an after-dinner speaker, the Mayor had a captive and usually favorably disposed audience with which to interact. Though the actual number of people in attendance might be less than fifty, the value of those appearances was that those persons could be expected to be enthusiastic surrogates of the Mayor in the community.

"Candidate Night". Churches, PTA's, community groups and high schools can be depended upon to schedule a meeting to which all the candidates are invited so that their respective groups can "learn more about the election." These were frequent and Mayor Moody disliked them for
they were usually unorganized and poorly attended. Normally, a speaker, including the Mayor, had no more than three minutes to speak. Questioning sometimes followed.

It would be redundant and impractical to consider each of the appearances recorded by the writer. Because there existed the general classifications, only a representative example of each need be examined to learn how Moody performed in each type of situation and to determine the nature of his contributions to the campaign effort. By pursuing the questions presented earlier and examining the content of Moody's remarks, a satisfactory understanding of the significance of Moody's public speaking to his re-election can be achieved.

Campaign Debating. Moody emphasized, at every available opportunity, that the 1975 mayoral election represented the first time in his lifetime that the incumbent had participated in open debate with his opponent to deliberate upon the issues of the election. Moreover, the incumbent, Moody believed, had an obligation to the residents of the city not to avoid confrontation but to face it as evidence that he was willing to defend his record of accomplishments.

Four different debates were scheduled during the campaign, two of which attracted every journalist in the
city. One of those, a debate before the Columbus Bar Association on October 15, will be examined here. Selected not only because of the large crowd in attendance, but also as a result of the extent of press coverage received, this debate typified the amiable relationship that publicly existed between the two candidates until the last few days before the election when Rosemond nobly tried to become the aggressor.

The debate took place in the Presidential Ballroom of the Neil House Hotel, located in downtown Columbus. Over two hundred persons were in attendance and except for a small entourage arriving with Rosemond, and the press, they were all attorneys. That circumstance could only have been perceived by Moody as a positive sign of a cooperative audience. As a lawyer himself who had served as a judge and as mayor, there was no question but that Mayor Moody looked out from the elevated stage and viewed a room full of friends. Many had surely already contributed money to the Mayor's campaign. Thus, Moody could only have had the objective of debating Rosemond politely, which would satisfy those in the room, while avoiding any discussion which would attract unfavorable headlines. The format of the debate called for the challenging candidate to provide opening remarks, followed by a response by Mayor Moody. Rosemond then had the chance
for a rebuttal speech with the floor subsequently being opened to questions from the audience.

In his first speech, which was read from a prepared text, Rosemond articulated the position that the election represented a chance for voters to replace an administration that had failed to provide needed community leadership. Citing the lack of any policy governing the growth and development of the city, the expansion of administrative agencies, and the failure of the Administration to adopt policy recommendations made in several consultants' reports as evidence of the inadequacies of Moody's service. Rosemond observed further that the same facts were indicative of an absence of real commitment to making city government accessible to citizens. The remainder of Rosemond's address focused on the problem of law enforcement, claiming that the lack of adequately manned police force could be legitimately blamed upon the inaction of Mayor Moody in conforming to "affirmative action" hiring standards. Naturally, Rosemond argued that he could do better.

Moody predictably refused "to respond in great measure to the allegations brought by Rosemond." He voiced respect for the strength and integrity of Rosemond's convictions but simply said that the challenger was wrong. The educated nature of the immediate audience seemed to temper Moody's
desire to teach and to sermonize. Rather, the Mayor briefly responded to Rosemond's speech, not to dispute values but to fully illustrate what the facts were, leaving it to the audience to decide if Moody had failed to provide responsive leadership.

For example, Rosemond lamented the "dramatic growth in the staffing of the . . . Finance Department." Moody asserted in response that expansion of that agency to provide comprehensive "fiscal management" was a planned objective, designed not to deny people services but to provide them additional ones. In offering Revenue Sharing funds to the nation, Congress had stipulated that municipalities provide evidence of a well-developed fiscal policy. The development of the city's Department of Finance into a high-caliber operation, Moody explained, actually attracted extra dollars to Columbus for the funding of public programs. The thoroughness of this more complete understanding of the circumstances in City Hall prevented any response by Rosemond in his rebuttal.

On every issue raised, Moody's comprehensive retorts reduced Rosemond to vague, non-aggressive reassertions of his original points. The curious fact was that Moody was indeed brief in his comments, allowing the substance of his speech to prove more useful than time. He implicitly suggested that the truth itself was persuasive and that further words would only cloak the simple significance of reality.
The nature of the questions asked from the floor facilitated Moody’s intent to avoid conflict. Several queries, directed at Mayor Moody were initiated by those at Rosemond’s table and were responded to by the Mayor articulately but simply. The "planted" questions thus failed to generate any substance to which Dr. Rosemond could respond. For example, when asked about his efforts to improve the inner city, Moody tactfully explained the existing efforts at revitalization being made (which were overseen by City Council) and expressed support for their continued, perhaps more vigorous, efforts in the future. Rosemond could hardly then refer to his record of achievement on this matter as a councilman, which was clearly the intended strategy; he could make only general recommendations for the future directions of the present effort. In that manner, conflict and contract between the candidates was avoided by the Mayor.

It was an ironic commentary on the quality of the debate that the story filed by most journalists focused on a casual remark by Moody that he was privately negotiating to recruit a professional athletic team to Columbus. Rosemond had failed in his efforts to provoke Mayor Moody; Moody had succeeded in escaping any potentially damaging remarks. Indeed, the Mayor gained from the debate. He enhanced his ethos by debating willingly; he also got the headlines.
The Bar Association debate illustrates that the Mayor skillfully reversed the intention of a debate from being an instrument of the opposition to being a tool of his own. In none of the debates did Rosemond successfully weaken the record of achievement presented by the Mayor. In each instance, Moody manipulated Rosemond's attacks into opportunities to deepen the audience's appreciation of the diversity of his accomplishments. To go against tradition and afford his opponent every opportunity to publicly castigate his faults may have, in fact, facilitated his effectiveness by pre-disposing the audiences in his favor. Watergate demanded openness and Moody's downright eagerness to be open must have renewed many persons' faith in public officials.

Interviews/Call-in Broadcasts. The media, radio and television, have afforded the public the opportunity to communicate and interact with leading public figures. Either through the presence of a panel of journalists or directly by telephone, voters in the 1975 Columbus election could pose to the Mayoral candidates the questions they personally wanted answered by the candidates. The participatory element of the latter has surely figured prominently in the proliferation in Columbus of these programs.

During the campaign, Mayor Moody was twice interviewed by reporters on half-hour television shows. He appeared five times on call-in shows, two of which were on television.
Naturally, the Mayor was performing before his largest campaign audiences, though how many actually were in the audiences is impossible to calculate. For all practical purposes, each audience can be presumed to have been as diverse as the entire electorate, and therefore, just as important. Moody surely recognized this and his appearances reflected an awareness of the related difficulties and advantages.

In listening to all of the shows, it becomes apparent that several questions repeatedly constituted the bulk of those asked. One of the shows, *Columbus Town Meeting*, which was broadcast by WBNS-TV on Sunday, November 2, at noon, contained almost all of those questions. Because *Town Meeting* also probably attracted the largest audience, it will be examined as the representative example.

The format of the show provided for a moderator to control the incoming calls and the discussion which ensued between the candidates. During the sixty-minute program, eleven questions were asked after brief opening statements by each man. Each man had the opportunity to react to every question.

The opening statement by Mayor Moody implied his objectives as a guest on *Town Meeting*. He observed that:

The real issue is which one of us is best qualified; which one of us is most experienced; which one of us is most committed to lead Columbus in the next four years?
Clearly he planned to demonstrate that he was the preferred choice. Rosemond had a different standard of judgement, however. For him, the issue was "who will respond best to the problems (the city faces)?" Thus, Rosemond sought to show potential, while Moody strived to demonstrate proven competence. That difference consistently distinguished their subsequent responses whenever the candidates disagreed.

When asked about hiring homosexuals in the police department, the suitability of refurbishing Jet Stadium, and the adequacy of police disciplinary procedures, Rosemond and Moody were in agreement with each other. Indeed both candidates responded similarly to an inquiry about what would be the most pressing issues to be before the new mayor. Yet, even when in accord with Rosemond, Moody's analysis was, in this instance more thorough:

Rosemond: As far as Columbus is concerned, and of course many other cities, the major problem or major areas we are going to have to concern ourselves have got to be the economy, the crime, a tight budget, energy, and of course the development of the city.

Moody: I would agree with the statement of the problem for the next four years plus one, which I think is the greatest challenge to us all. We must do whatever we can to stimulate the economy of Columbus and I wish to continue some of the activities that we have begun in that respect. We must economize as much as possible and make sure that we get the biggest 'bang' for our tax dollar. These are things to which I am committed.
On the remaining questions, the candidates disagreed. Each responded in a manner consistent with his opening observation: Moody discussed accomplishments; Rosemond discussed proposals. But Moody went beyond a simple listing of relevant facts and assumed his "noble lover" rhetorical stance, detailing the history of a program, assessing its current status and explaining the role of his Administration in the course of events.

This difference between the candidates was best demonstrated with the first question. Asked what their plans were to develop drug treatment centers to respond to the increasing problem of drug abuse, each candidate concurred with the caller that new centers certainly were demanded by existing circumstances and that the present programs were inadequate. Rosemond, who spoke first on the question, proposed that the inadequacies could be remedied with cooperation between governmental agencies and the implementation of outside revenues.

Moody responded by observing that the existing programs were actually quite excellent in the circumstances. Explaining the status of each drug treatment program supervised by the city when he first took office, Moody traced the funding each received and its current condition. Noting that rehabilitation programs are the basic deficiency of present treatment operations, Moody agreed improvements could be made but disagreed with Dr. Rosemond and his
assessment of the availability of funds for expansion. At best, Moody concluded, the present arrangement will be continued until the funds become available; then, and only then, could improvements be considered.

In merely summarizing the respective responses of each candidate to the same question, the rhetorical effectiveness of Moody's technique is apparent. He conveyed more information to the viewer, explained his commitment to the programs in concrete terms, and reflected a depth of understanding not communicated by Rosemond. This comparative relationship between the candidates was magnified as additional questions were asked. By the completion of the show, the sheer quantity of Moody's responses alone satisfied the Mayor's persuasive objectives. The quality of his responses only reinforced the inevitable rhetorical effects.

Rosemond and Moody did argue while on Columbus Town Meeting and the event reflected favorably on neither candidate. It is worth examination, however, because of its undesired implications for Rosemond. The question at issue was whether the Moody Administration had failed to satisfactorily progress in the hiring of minorities. Rosemond implemented the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as evidence of a national mandate that Moody had ignored. The attorney Mayor retorted, "what you're talking about has nothing to do with Civil Rights, John, and you know it!"
From that point, the two progressed into an unintelligible exercise of their vocal chords, not loud, but persistent. The unfortunate consequence of this was that Rosemond appeared to have been arguing his position from irrelevant data, when in fact, Moody had prematurely interrupted.

The question-and-answer format of the interview/call-in broadcasts was ideally suited to Moody's instincts to instruct. Again, enlightenment existed as a persuasive instrument. More often than not, the content of the questions also allowed Moody to speak as the Mayor and not as the candidate, thereby enhancing his presentation with an authoritative legitimacy. This was most true when a question was asked regarding specific administrative problems (e.g. the curbs on Oak Street). In those instances, Moody could speak as the ombudsman for the city, thus discarding every aspect of being a candidate. The broadcasts were most conducive to the techniques of Tom Moody and, given the large audiences to whom he spoke, it can be concluded that his articulate qualities became a salient element of many voters' image of Tom Moody, the candidate.

**Partisan Gatherings.** As the leading Republican figure in Columbus, Tom Moody played an important role as the figurehead of the Republican Party's efforts to win in November. As various partisan groups organized
for the fall campaign, Mayor Moody was practically obligated to attend the meetings and express words of enthusiasm and optimism. The audiences consistently were made up of solid Republicans, voters whose ballots could already be counted in favor of the Mayor. Therefore, there existed no need for Tom Moody to persuade or to influence his audiences for their votes. What was necessary was to motivate them to present the Republican ticket to others not attending to insure that the maximum number of voters possible be obtained on November 4.

Organized politics does not recruit large numbers of people, however, and the audiences to which Mayor Moody spoke never exceeded seventy-five people at those events attended by the writer. To then, Mayor Moody spoke as a leader and as a source of inspiration. The degree of their activity could distinguish victory and defeat for several candidates, including the Mayor, and he vigorously employed his rhetorical abilities to motivate his audiences. The speech which Moody delivered reflected this singular purpose. Appearing at a Sunday afternoon luncheon of the Ward 14 Organization, Moody presented a typical address.

In opening, Moody gratefully acknowledged everyone’s support of his first term in office. In support
of his own candidacy, Moody simply testified that "we've been able to accomplish so much (during my first term). But the job isn't done." Then, the speech abruptly changed its emphasis. With accolades for each candidate, the Mayor enthusiastically argued that the entire ticket was

"...superior and that we've got to support them not because they are Republicans but because they are superior folks."

Thus, the Mayor began to instruct his fellow loyalists on how support could be demonstrated. Through expressing your beliefs about government and politics to those not here, you can make the difference Moody proclaimed. Like a preacher in a church, Moody ordained his audience to carry the message forth: "Get out and talk to those people. Stand 'em up and have them vote Republican November 4."

As noted earlier, all of those speeches before partisan organizations were similarly brief. In mutually sharing the same values, beliefs, and attitudes about much of politics, the 'starting point' from which Moody and his audiences could commence was exceptionally well-defined.64 The enthusiasm and will to participate were, in fact, easier to generate among the several

groups because they were anticipating Moody's message. That expectancy sensitized them to what Moody said so that only a very small rhetorical cue might release a whole chain of emotions.

To political workers ideologically committed to a candidate, the personal appearance of the candidate to express his thanks for their efforts serves to tremendously boost morale. That the candidate was willing to sacrifice time which could be invested in the gathering of votes in order to pay tribute to his supporters can be a very important and memorable event to the typical volunteer. Moody consistently satisfied the needs and expectancies of those attending partisan gatherings. And, though his speeches were not contributing any substance to the campaign's public rhetoric, they reaffirmed many supporters' commitment to the Mayor. In so doing, Tom Moody was achieving the practical result of emerging from each meeting with a more solid base of votes from which to build.

Civic Organizations. The appearances of Mayor Moody at the gatherings of the various service clubs or civic organizations were a regular feature of the Mayor's rounds through the community during the non-campaign months. The fact that he was a candidate for re-election in the Fall of 1975 did not significantly
alter that dimension of his job. But, because it was
electing time, there was reason to believe that Mayor
Moody might adopt a different type of rhetorical stance
with these audiences, which would reflect his dual role
as a public official and as a candidate.

In the process of gathering the materials for this
thesis, only one example of Moody's speaking before a
civic organization was preserved. This is unfortunate
for there is no assurance that the recorded address is
representative of Moody's performance at these engage-
ments in general. Hence, no generalizeable conclusions
can be reached. Nevertheless, an examination of the
one speech does demonstrate that, in at least one par-
ticular instance during the course of the campaign,
Tom Moody consistently addressed a group of people as
their Mayor and not as a candidate for re-election.

Speaking to thirty-five members and guests at the
weekly meeting of the Berwick Kiwanis Club after a
satisfying meal can present problems to an orator
accustomed to more formal arrangements. Yet Tom Moody
displayed an admirable sense of knowing what was appropriate
in the situation. After about five minutes of after-
dinner humor and flattery, Moody expressed a desire to
share some very serious concerns of his about government
and the public, an appropriate topic for a Mayor to be
sure. What Moody proceeded to argue was that citizens are too demanding of their government. Perfection is sought but the government "is a reflection of what we are." Thus, Moody claimed, "to improve our government, we must first improve ourselves." The mayor expressed in the end a challenge to his audience, a challenge he could only have made because of his stature as the symbolic leader of the electorate.

"I charge each of you to be an evangelist to those less concerned to do, in your own way, at your own speed, in your own time, the things that are really necessary to make this a better community."

No further elaboration of Moody's argumentation is necessary to illustrate the point to be made. If the Mayor's address to the Berwick Kiwanis Club was at all representative of his treatment of the situations which prevailed before other civic organizations, then there existed a substantial body of rhetoric produced during the campaign by the candidate practically unrelated to the constraints and issues of the campaign situation. Yet, from Moody's perspective, which presumed that "Most (listeners) want to know a philosophy, most want to know how you deal in a process sort of way," his Berwick Kiwanis address symbolized his best rhetorical response in the campaign to the situation and expectancies of the electorate that he perceived. The speech expressed
some very essential beliefs about the relationship between the government and the people, beliefs that were important in the value system of Tom Moody. In sharing with the Mayor in his explication of these ideas, those at the meeting were exposed to perhaps the most useful communication of the entire campaign.

"Candidate Night". Moody's frustration with the generally poor quality of "Candidate Nights" had the effect of limiting his appearances to only those occasions when no other type of engagement could be found to attend instead. Usually organized by very enthused individuals with idealized expectations about the interests of fellow voters, a "Candidate Night" normally attracts more candidates than voters. Then, because of the large number of candidates, each has only a limited time in which to present his cause to the audience. As a result, there is very little substantive information communicated. Both candidates and voters can find the effort quite unproductive.

In attending a few of these events, Moody revealed that, as voters, members of the audience deserved his attention and interest. But Tom Moody also was cognizant of the fact that what he was limited to saying by the time constraints imposed was insufficient in quantity to justify either a favorable or unfavorable
judgement by any sensible voter. Thus, Tom Moody treated a Candidate Night appearance very casually, his physical presence being similar in purpose to the lapel buttons and billboards distributed as a part of his campaign.

The speech Moody delivered at the Candidate's Night of the University Area Commission typically represents this genre of rhetoric.

"My name is Tom Moody. I have served as Councilman for the City of Columbus, a judge of the Municipal Court, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and I have been the Mayor for the last four years and I am seeking re-election. I think my record is probably better known, for worse or for better as the case might be, then the others so I won't spend much time on that. Beyond that, I will not say anything except that I should like to have the voters who believe I can do the job better than my opponent. Rather remarkably, I am the first graduate of Ohio State University to hold the Office of Mayor during my lifetime."

Obviously, the text of this brief address told those in attendance very little about the Mayor. Certainly, few people could make a rational choice based on such a scanty amount of information. The Mayor respected the audience and their presence but he made no effort to truly persuade them. Indeed, in general, that was Moody's relationship to the audiences at all of these events.

The speaking of Mayor Moody during the weeks preceding his election constituted an impressive contrast
to the public appearances and comments of his opponent. In reviewing the manner in which Moody handled each of the different types of speaking situations, the self-analysis he provided to the writer of the intentions and effects of his rhetoric proved to have been a very accurate reflection of reality.

Those situations in which the candidate had the opportunity to interact with his audience to the point where they dictated the topics of discussion (i.e., interview/call-in; questioning after debate) were most conducive to Moody's efforts to teach and to instruct. In these instances, Moody had the opportunity to enlighten the audience on those subjects which were important to them in deciding which candidate to support. Thus, the Mayor's credibility did not suffer when he refused to respond to Rosemond's charges during the debate before the Bar Association; his actions stated that he was going to let the voters, not the opposition, determine the issues -- those matters that made a difference -- in that election. This deference to the discretion of the electorate symbolized Moody's respect for the wisdom of the voters and their ultimate primacy in selecting the better candidate.

The attendance of Mayor Moody at "Candidate Night" events and at the meetings of civic organizations
communicated the presence of the candidate. Though
the Mayor in neither situation never really assumed a
strong, direct candidate image, the fact that he was a
candidate was known and regardless of what he said or
didn't say, that pre-eminent fact must have affected
how his audiences received his messages. That sub-
stantiates the observation made earlier that Moody
preferred the Mayor role.

The difficulty in summarizing the effects of
Moody's speaking is that it is impossible to calculate
how many people were ultimately exposed to his communi-
cation. Tom Moody responded to what the people of
Columbus felt to be important questions, he openly dis-
cussed the record of his administration, and he avoided
the role of candidate when possible. All of these
achievements probably contributed to favorable impres-
sions being formed about Mayor Moody, if for no other
reason than they were all so consistent with the mythic
ideal of "a politician who really says something."

Those who were in the actual audiences to which
Moody spoke probably reacted positively to the Mayor's
character. And, as hoped, many of those people ex-
presses their sentiments to others not in attendance.
But how much of the total electorate was contained in
those groups in large part determined the impact of
Moody's speaking. Given the frequency of his appearances, the diversity of the audiences, and the use of the mass media to communicate, it can only be concluded that a large number of voters were in contact with Tom Moody, the candidate, during the campaign.

Summary

This chapter has critically examined the nature, the quality and the probable effects of the actual substance of the Tom Moody Re-election Campaign. Criteria for the evaluation of the effort generated by the staff of Mayor Moody's campaign were developed and applied to each of the messages disseminated to the voting public. Moreover, the speaking of Tom Moody during the campaign has also been analyzed, though by different criteria.

The important insight to be re-emphasized at this point is that though these two bodies of rhetoric were produced and communicated almost independently of each other, the residents of Columbus who were exposed to both of these rhetorical efforts perceived them as originating from a single source. They had no reason to separate the rhetoric of Tom Moody from the rhetoric of his campaign.
That these two bodies of rhetoric were thus cognitively synthesized together by the electorate must be considered in passing final judgement on the campaign. A campaign has phases; its elements fluctuate in importance and significance as time passes; it is, above all else, an integrated persuasive effort. Thus, the complex of communication perceived and absorbed by the audience of the campaign becomes the ultimate unit of analysis for consideration in the final chapter.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The winning strategy of Steve Pruitt, Rosemond's campaign manager, depended upon a low turnout of voters on Election Day. In that manner, the significance of the large number of votes expected to be cast for Rosemond in the black areas of Columbus would have been amplified. However, voters showed up to vote on Election Day in nearly record numbers across the city. Of those registered to vote, nearly two out of three people actually exercised their privileges. With that turnout, Rosemond lost the election -- as Mayor Moody was returned to office with over sixty-five percent of the total votes cast.

This thesis has presented an analysis of the campaign that was waged by the incumbent and his supporters to persuade the electorate of Columbus to re-elect Tom Moody. Staged in this nation's twenty-first largest city, the Moody campaign confronted a rather peculiar rhetorical situation and formulated in response to the prevailing circumstances a persuasive strategy of "let's make this campaign fun." That, in and of itself, was
innovative. Yet, in developing the content of the campaign -- the channels of communication, the messages, and the tactics of presentation -- the Moody campaign inadvertently imposed a challenge to its potential effectiveness when the decision was made to implement the media extensively during the course of the election. Indeed, the limitations imposed by the very nature of radio and television upon the campaign's ability to communicate substantive information about the candidate threatened to keep the campaign from fulfilling the normative expectations of the electorate for such knowledge.

**Summary**

A campaign progresses through phases and, in order to provide an effective analysis, this thesis dissected the Moody campaign into its distinct phases and then analyzed the persuasive elements of each in the context of the prevailing rhetorical situation. As articulated in Chapter Two, the primary election in June, 1975 significantly defined the nature of the rhetorical situation which existed in September when both candidates were scheduled to begin campaigning.

For Dr. Rosemond, the occurrence of the "Kahiki Incident" posed several problems to his hope of unifying
the Democrats of Columbus behind his candidacy. Moreover, the fact that he was black seriously impeded his potential to even truly communicate with large numbers of voters. The difficulties that confronted Rosemond were, of course, encouraging to the staff of Moody's campaign. Yet, as discussed, the primary election also presented several constraints which would hinder the campaign if they were not satisfactorily resolved. Voters had not turned out as anticipated; many people questioned the accuracy of the slogan "quietly effective," and Moody's image among the masses as an "intellectual stuffed-shirt" remained undesirable. There existed also some favorable constraints: Moody's name was well-recognized; the electorate, despite the existing skepticism about Moody's suitability, universally seemed to accept "quietly effective" as a criteria for assessing the candidates; and, the disorganization and lack of commitment prevailing in Rosemond's campaign enhanced the effectiveness of Moody's well-organized, experienced staff.

The nature of the audience, the dominance of the state bond issues as the principal topic of political discussions and the continuing non-competitive candidacy of Rosemond stimulated the staff of the Moody campaign into assuming an air of confidence. Believing
that they could satisfactorily design campaign communication which would resolve the constraints which threatened the success of Moody while also "having fun." Gafford, Rotaru, Richards, and Casey -- all the Mayor's men -- constructed a complex series of distinct messages designed to be delivered through different channels of communication which were integrated together by three colorful posters, a song, and the campaign slogan. The Mayor, an extemporaneous speaker, complemented the efforts of his staff with a full schedule of speaking engagements throughout the weeks preceding the election.

As the campaign moved through that phase of time between September 1 and the first broadcasts of the media commercials, it became increasingly apparent that Rosemond would not generate any threat at all to the success of the campaign. Moody, in fulfilling his own standards for performance, was active speaking and, when jointly appearing with his opponent, he consistently conveyed the message that he was the most knowledgeable, capable and trustworthy candidate. Throughout this time, Rosemond made charges against Moody but they went unanswered. The Mayor ignored them for what seemed to be ethical reasons; his staff saw no reason to respond and perhaps open a 'Pandora's Box' of trouble.
From October 21 until November 4, the Moody campaign was operating at its full potential. As brochures were distributed throughout Columbus, albeit in a less organized pattern than planned, the campaign's commercials were being broadcast over radio and television. Moody increased his appearances before the public, encouraged partisan loyalists to be vigorous in their efforts to turn out the vote and responded to any questions that were asked of him by the voters of Columbus. Though some alterations were made to the specific tactics of presentation, the campaign essentially unfolded as planned.

In the last chapter, considerable analysis of each element of the campaign communication was presented. Utilizing the persuasive objectives of the campaign staff as standards to evaluate their output, each message was considered. Designed to interact in the cognitive processes of those exposed to the campaign, the diverse messages did, for the most part, respond to the situation well and effectively countered the restrictive nature of the constraints.

Through vigorous appeals to both the nature of prevailing circumstances and basic national values of citizenship as well as numerous low-key reminders to "vote November 4," the campaign most successfully
encouraged voter participation in its literature. The message was more implicit in the campaign song and the time restrictions precluded the commercials ("Wilbur Jones, "Election Day") from stating a very complete case. But the commercials did enhance the force of the literature by using the potential of radio and television to express to voters the dynamic and active qualities of Mayor Moody, the absence of which in the messages of the primary election was blamed for the minimal voter interest. Finally, there was the reinforcement effect of the telephoning.

In response to claims that Moody’s quiescence had not resulted in any substantive achievements, the campaign devoted most of its energy to detailing the evidence which proved otherwise. Emphasizing the notable accomplishments, especially the trash pulverization system, the campaign virtually overwhelmed the average voter with information, especially through the literature. The lack of any real unity in the two most substantive presentations ("Things are Happening" tabloid page and brochure) weakened their understandability and perhaps their ability to maintain the interest of the voter. However, their purpose was probably still achieved as voters, bored with the content, simply glanced at the rest of the material and concluded that
Moody had indeed been productive. The diversity of the accomplishments for which Moody took credit, either directly or by implication, insured that nearly any voter would have found some items responsive to his interests and concerns.

But perhaps the most rhetorically fascinating element of the campaign's communication was the effort developed to improve Moody's image. As noted earlier, there can be a great deal of content communicated implicitly. Such was the case with the Moody campaign's strategy to amend the "intellectual stuffed-shirt" characterization of Moody. The song made the ambiguous claim that Moody was a good man. Save for Jones' superlatives, nothing else was stated explicitly. The quality of his accomplishments listed communicated the Mayor's values and priorities; the musical score of the song expressed indirectly that Moody, to have sponsored the music, must be sophisticated and restrained since he avoided "hard-sell" advertising; the posters similarly expressed dimensions of Moody's character; and, the ever-present element was the low-key tone of the entire campaign and its reflection of Moody's approach to administering the city.

Moody's campaign speaking served to substantiate the effects of the campaign designed by his staff in
several ways. Certainly, with the flexibility available to him in most of the speaking situation: in which he found himself, Moody used the opportunity to amplify upon his accomplishments in a manner best suited to the particular audience. The speaking appearances allowed Moody to exploit the influence attributed to his office; he led not only Republicans but also the entire electorate. But perhaps the greatest merit of Moody's speaking was his open deliberations upon questions that concerned the voters.

Conclusions

In synthesizing together the campaign rhetoric of Mayor Tom Moody's re-election campaign, it is possible to respond to the central issue of this thesis. In essence, the question was simply whether or not the expectations of the electorate in a local election for a discussion of the issues could be fulfilled by a campaign which delivered its principal content through the channels of the mass media.

As Bitzer's analysis suggests, a response to the constraints prevailing in a situation does not guarantee that the companion exigence be remedied. That requires a "fitting" rhetorical response to the situation. For the Moody campaign, a "fitting" campaign had to resolve the

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65 Bitzer, op. cit., p. 45
constraints which were particular to the 1975 mayoral election. But, Moody's campaign also had to respond to those constraints which exist as lasting elements of the situation which confronts any local political campaign if it was to be an effective persuasive effort. In the final analysis, the degree of independence which existed between the rhetoric generated by the candidate and the rhetoric produced by his staff facilitated the campaign's fulfillment of the rhetorical contract that existed in this election.

As Gafford, Rotaru, Richards and Casey began to devise the overall strategy of the Moody campaign, every consideration they made focused on the variables and factors which were temporal and subject to change as the campaign progressed. The staff assumed responsibilities for the dynamic constraints, the ones that could demand multiple responses as the rhetorical situation fluctuated. They worried about those elements which threatened their success and were comforted by the elements which enhanced their potential. Yet, though they effectively embodied in their rhetorical output adequate responses to all of those constraints, one constraint remained unresolved—the expectation of the electorate for "democratic dialogue."
To interact with a candidate in pursuit of insights about his philosophy, record of achievements, or proposals has long defined the ideal behavior of the American voter. Indeed, the local candidate remains the only one with whom the voters can truly interact. To the voter, that interaction, the substantive discussion, the ability to be heard by someone who matters—all of these have become terribly important. They wish to discover what a candidate for local office will do for the reality which is most immediate to their daily lives.

Tom Moody, adopting the rhetorical stance of the "noble lover," satisfied the expectancies of his constituency. In answering the questions of the people who called him when he appeared on television and radio shows, who addressed him from the audience viewing a debate, who challenged him when he appeared at their "Candidate Night," Moody displayed unequalled respect for the concerns of the voters. Disregarding the arguments of his opponent, Moody told the voters what he felt they needed to know—information about what their government was all about, explanations of his record and of his expectations for the future, and insights into the psyche of Tom Moody. The Mayor did those things not to win the election but to fulfill his obligations as
The incumbent officenolder. However, in so doing, Moody responded to the inherent constraint of any campaign situation. That complemented the efforts of his staff and assured a truly "fitting" rhetorical campaign.

It is important to recognize that the campaign's success in motivating the electorate of Columbus to re-elect Tom Moody could not have been realized had it not been for the fact that a campaign does indeed represent a complex integration of separate phases and elements. The rhetoric communicated through the commercials and the literature never would have satisfied the expectancy of the audience for dialogue with the candidate. The finite restrictions of the message channels (radio, television, and print) precluded it. On the other hand, Tom Moody, in his public speaking, could never have been so successful in implicitly communicating as much as the radio, television and printed materials did. Only through the cognitive integration of these elements in the minds of the voters could the rhetorical success of the campaign be realized.

This becomes important when the relevance of these findings are generalized for all of local campaigning. The restrictive nature of the mass media does not seem to be subject to change in the foreseeable future. Thus, the only mechanism for preserving "the dialogue of democracy" in local campaigns using the mass media becomes
oral discourse. Even then, it seems that it would only be the exceptional candidate who reflected Tom Moody's "noble lover" stance who would use oral discourse for the necessary purpose. Save for those campaigns, the future seems bleak for the voters of this nation. Having lost contact with the larger bureaucracies, they now must struggle to preserve their participatory ideals against the inevitable increase of media as a channel for the persuasive messages of local politics.

One must wonder, however, whether Mayor Moody's campaign would have implemented its distinctive strategy had the incumbent been seriously challenged. The dynamics of the campaign process with the predominant influence of feedback would surely have been realized; the necessity would have existed to campaign from early in the summer through November; money would have to have been expended in completely different ways; and, the rhetoric would surely have acquired a more defensive tone in many of the campaign's messages. But the greatest possible influence might have been on the candidate himself who could not have afforded the harmful effects of not being totally responsive to his opponent.

Does this suggest that the success of the Moody effort was only realized because it faced a non-
competitive situation which was, to be sure, atypical in the American arena of politics? Perhaps so, but that certainly does not render this thesis inapplicable to other campaigns. Indeed, by studying the atypical example, several interesting insights have been gained. First, the Moody campaign illustrates the potential for preserving unity, cohesiveness and persuasive strength that can be achieved by a political campaign. How the various communication elements may be integrated together and how one element (the speaking) can in fact complement the rest of the campaign emphasize the creative directions that any campaign might follow.

Second, for what seems to be the first time, a new methodological approach to the study of campaign communication has been attempted. Utilizing a progressive analysis of each phase of the campaign, a truly comprehensive appraisal was developed from which particular judgements about the rhetorical significance of certain messages or forms of communication could be rendered. Imagine the uselessness of an analysis of Moody's radio commercials which did not discuss the television advertisements and brochures. Admittedly, this thesis could have been far more detailed. But, given the quality of the campaign examined, the degree of comprehensiveness realized was most suitable. It is
exciting to realize the potential future research can harness if only the researchers would dedicate their efforts toward securing a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of campaigning.

There remains one final observation to be made, one which is a very difficult one to articulate. In analyzing the final summaries of the voting on November 4 in the mayoral election, the disturbing fact emerged that much of the voting in that contest was directed by racial criteria. Despite each candidate's sincere lack of tolerance for any discussion of the matter of skin color, the voters behaved for the most part as if Rosemond's blackness made all the difference. In the Near East neighborhood, which was eighty-five to ninety percent black and traditionally Democratic, Mayor Moody received only ten percent of the vote. Yet, another traditionally Democratic neighborhood, the Far West Side, which provided Pfeiffer and Dorrian much of their primary support, voted differently. There, where Moody was expected to run poorly, he collected eighty-four percent of the votes. Over eighty-five percent of the area is white.

These examples are, to be sure, the most graphic illustrations. But, consistently, black areas supported Dr. Rosemond; white areas voted for Moody. If the outcome of their contest was pre-determined the day that
Rosemond qualified to be a candidate on the November ballot, there exists the simple question of whether or not the campaigns were even noticed. Though many surely did consider the messages and the rhetoric of both candidates, the evidence suggests far more voters did not. Thus, the efforts of Moody's staff, the efforts of the Mayor and their mutual effectiveness in response to the rhetorical situation they faced may have been unnecessary. But that does not detract from their rhetorical accomplishments; it only seems to minimize the significance of the effects achieved.
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A - RADIO COMMERCIALS
Radio Commercials

The six radio spots produced for the Moody campaign were each sixty seconds in length. The text of each commercial appears below along with a brief explanatory note.

1. "Keep a Good Man on Our Side"

   Set to music, the following lyrics were the theme song of the campaign. The song is sung by female voices. The spot concludes with Mood) "tagging" the commercial.

   Singers -- In a world that's full of problems,
   It's nice to look around and see
   Things are happening in our town
   That are good for you and me.

   Because we've got a good man on our side,
   working everyday.
   We've got a good man on our side,
   Working in a quiet, steady way.

   Other places have their ways,
   While ours is sure and slow.
   But we're moving on to brighter days;
   We're sure because we know

   We've got a good man on our side,
   Working all the time.
   We've got a good man on our side.
When you look around you see the signs of a good man,
Keep a good man on our side!

Moody -- Sponsored by the Tom Moody Re-election Committee.

#2 - Musical Interlude #1

This spot replicates Spot #1 except that the tag at the end is deleted and the third stanza is replaced by the following:

Moody -- This is Mayor Tom Moody. I'd like to thank my many friends and supporters on the Tom Moody Re-election Committee--Democrats, Republicans, and Independents -- for making this musical interlude possible.

#3 - Musical Interlude #2

This spot opens with the melody of "Keep a Good Man" and, after the first few notes, fades into background music during the following:

Moody -- This is Mayor Tom Moody. I hope you enjoy this sixty-second musical interlude sponsored by the Tom Moody Re-election Committee.

The music then fades back up at the beginning of the second stanza to complete the spot. It should be emphasized that the music was only the melody -- no lyrics.
The first two stanzas of the song, with lyrics, begins this commercial. Then, dropping the lyrics, the song becomes background for the following:

Announcer - That good man is Mayor Tom Moody.

Moody - You've heard much today about the financial troubles of other big cities, the states, and the nation. But that's not the case in Columbus. As long as I'm Mayor of Columbus, you will not be asked for more taxes. Through efficiency and sound fiscal management, we will continue to live within our budget. Columbus is a healthy community. I pledge to do my best to keep it that way.

Music fades up with the last notes of the fourth stanza, the chorus then enters with "Keep a good man on our side!"

Wilbur Jones

This spot begins with the melody for the first line of the song. The music then becomes background for the following:

Jones -- Thousands of people in Columbus believe Mayor Tom Moody should be re-elected for four more years. That's why we of the Tom Moody Re-election Committee are paying for this radio announcement. This is Wilbur Jones, Tom Moody's campaign chairman.
Tom Moody is, without question, the finest man I have ever known.

Tom Moody is the finest leader Columbus has ever had.

That's why we must re-elect Tom Moody for four more years. But there is one thing that bothers me. Far too many people -- Democrats, Republicans, and Independents -- are taking Tom Moody's re-election for granted. Tom Moody needs your vote.

Moody -- This is Tom Moody. I urge you to vote Tuesday November fourth.

The music fades up with the last notes of the fourth stanza; the chorus then enters with "Keep a good man on our side!"

#6 - Things are Happening

This spot, the most substantive of all, starts with the first stanza of the song, music and lyrics. Then, the lyrics are dropped and the music becomes background for the following:

Announcer - Since the good man, Tom Moody, has been on our side, things have been happening in our town, like the new solid waste system, the completion of the outerbelt, the improvement
of COTA bus service, the largest recreation and parks building program in the city's history. Because of Tom Moody's leadership, the city once again has confidence in City Hall which has led to massive revitalization of downtown Columbus paid for by the private sector. Because of Tom Moody's quietly effective management, the city's budget, despite a nationwide recession, has been balanced with no tax increases.

The music fades up with the last notes of the fourth stanza; the chorus then enters with "Keep a good man on our side!" Then, Moody -- Sponsored by the Tom Moody Re-election Committee.
APPENDIX B - TELEVISION COMMERCIALS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>SCRIPT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>:05</td>
<td>Moody in dark suit looks over shoulder as camera follows in medium close shot until Moody walks past camera left. In background, full trees give way to tall buildings recognizable as downtown Columbus.</td>
<td>WE'VE GOT A GOOD MAN ON OUR SIDE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:08</td>
<td>Moody at office desk in shirt sleeves examining papers, pen in hand, talking. U.S. Flag in background and bookshelves identify it as Moody's office. Shot at medium-close, desk level.</td>
<td>WORKING EVERYDAY: WE'VE ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:12</td>
<td>Moody at construction site, pointing and talking to second man. Camera zooms in over man's shoulder for extreme closeup.</td>
<td>GOT A GOOD MAN WORKING ON OUR SIDE IN A QUIET, STEADY WAY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:15</td>
<td>Moody talking, looks up toward camera from desk. Extreme closeup shot.</td>
<td>[chorus enters] WE'VE GOT A GOOD MAN ON OUR SIDE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:19</td>
<td>Children [black and white] playing on modernistic outside playground equipment. Pull-away to very long shot.</td>
<td>WORKING ALL THE TIME: WE'VE GOT A GOOD MAN ON OUR SIDE. WHEN YOU LOOK AROUND, YOU SEE THE SIGNS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:23</td>
<td>Camera tracks two bikes (man and woman) which appear from behind bush and proceed slowly down bike path. Medium shot.</td>
<td>SIDE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:28</td>
<td>Downtown poster. Camera tracks from bottom to top. &quot;Tom Moody&quot; logo in blue appears at end of track.</td>
<td>KEEP A GOOD MAN ON OUR SIDE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:09</td>
<td>Moody in white shirt, sleeves rolled, walking through garbage dump, surveying the scene. Piles of garbage and bulldozer in background, medium follow-shot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:12</td>
<td>Extreme close-up of Moody talking; shot center-left profile.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:15</td>
<td>Moody in shirtsleeves with workman, standing beside trash conveyor belt. Moody talking and pointing to conveyor; workman responds. medium shot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:18</td>
<td>Long shot of shaded residential street as trash truck slows to pick up trash at curb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:21</td>
<td>Moody in shirtsleeves standing beside bin, observing trash truck dump load of trash into the bin; medium-long shot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:24</td>
<td>Long follow shot of cars driving down residential street with street lights conspicuous.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:29</td>
<td>Pull-away shot of neon-light bulb poster. At end of pull-away, &quot;Tom Moody&quot; logo fades in at bottom of screen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SCRIPT**

[jingle in, then fade low]

FROM WASTE TO ENERGY:
THAT WAS MAYOR TOM
MOODY'S DREAM

THAT DREAM HAS BECOME REALITY

FROM YOUR HOME,

TO THE NEW TRASH PULVERISER

TO STREET LIGHTS

[jingle, chorus]

KEEP A GOOD MAN ON OUR SIDE.
## TV Spot #3 - "ELECTION DAY"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>SCRIPT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>:06</td>
<td>With jingle fade in; camera focuses on &quot;Official Seal&quot; on paper. The word &quot;Columbus&quot; is obvious. Camera then follows up and stays with Moody's hand signing &quot;Tom Moody&quot; to the document.</td>
<td>[jingle in, then fade low] TUESDAY NOVEMBER FOURTH IS AN IMPORTANT ELECTION DAY - NOT JUST FOR TOM MOODY - BUT FOR YOU AS WELL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:10</td>
<td>Camera in medium shot, Moody in shirtsleeves, hands document to secretary (wearing &quot;QE&quot; badge) and then turns back to work on desk. Camera zooms in for close-up.</td>
<td>MANY IMPORTANT ECONOMIC ISSUES ARE ON THE BALLOT ALONG WITH THE CITY COUNCIL AND SCHOOL BOARD RACES. PLEASE, FOR YOUR SAKE AND THE SAKE OF YOUR CHILDREN VOTE ELECTION DAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:14</td>
<td>Moody in suit at construction site, pointing to construction and talking to another man. Camera shot from waist level slightly behind man and up.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:17</td>
<td>Moody standing, talking. In background, grassy field and chain-link fence. Camera shot extreme close-up off center.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:20</td>
<td>Moody in shirt sleeves at desk talking across desk, using both hands to gesture. Camera shot from desk-level, at side of desk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:23</td>
<td>Moody, talking with sincere, friendly appearance. Extreme close up, right profile.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:29</td>
<td>Eagle poster. Camera tracks from top to bottom. &quot;Tom Moody&quot; logo fades in at bottom.</td>
<td>[jingle, chorus] KEEP A GOOD MAN ON OUR SIDE.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VOTE

Tuesday, November 4: It is an important election day.

Columbus is making progress, but much remains to be accomplished. That's why we need to keep Mayor Tom Moody, the good man, on our side.

Far too often we fail to take the so-called off-year elections seriously. Some of our municipal elections (like this one) have been attended by fewer than half of the eligible voters.

When that happens, majority rule ends... minority rule begins.

Every adult citizen in Columbus should participate in the process of electing a mayor and city council.

Leadership at City Hall is not the only matter of importance confronting the voters during this 1975 election. The mayoral and council candidates will share the ballot with important economic bond issues and tax levies, both state and local. And, the Columbus Board of Education election must not be lightly considered. Decisions facing the new Board of Education in the months ahead could have a dramatic impact upon our children for generations to come.

Voting is among our most cherished rights as citizens of the United States. It is the taxpayers' most powerful weapon in the effort to harness the big spenders in government.

Tom Moody needs your vote to win.

Columbus needs Tom Moody.

Vote, Tuesday, November 4, 1975.

The Tom Moody Re-election Committee
5033 Bradley Ct., Columbus, Ohio
Balanced Transportation System for Columbus becomes reality under the leadership of Mayor Tom Moody.

Recent energy problems highlight the vital role of preservation of the old system. During the 1970's and 1980's, new transportation alternatives were taken for granted. Suddenly, in our history, we are realizing that we are living in a deceptively peaceful era. Choices we could have made a decade ago are now being forced upon us by circumstances beyond our control. Fortunately, in Columbus, we have made a major beginning in the quest for transportation alternatives through the creation of COTA, the Central Ohio Transportation Authority.

The city is making progress toward bringing Port Columbus into the inter-regional jet age; the bicycle system is under construction; and the city's freeway system rapidly is nearing completion with the 85 mile Outerbelt Expressway (I-270) being opened to traffic last summer.

All of the above accomplishments reflect a bold, long-range policy to provide a balanced transportation system for all citizens.

Unprecedented activity since Mayor Tom Moody took office in 1972 has brought recreational and park facilities within reach of virtually every Columbus neighborhood.

The new, planned Recreation and Parks Department's quality leisure time activities to every citizen of our community. Since the Tom Moody Inauguration, nine neighborhood recreation centers have been opened or will be under construction by the end of this year; two new swimming pools have been built; tennis courts have been increased from 42 in 1970 to 71 in 1976; many miles of cycling and hiking trails have been built or are under construction; new ball fields have been added, along with the new Riverfront Amphitheater and an additional municipal golf course; and construction is scheduled to begin during 1978 on three new Downtown Parks.

The City-operates 31 community centers, six senior citizen centers, one indoor swimming pool, eight outdoor swimming pools, two Art and Crafts shops, two Golden Hobby shops, the Conservatory at Franklin Park, five poolside shelter houses, the Park of Roses, two golf courses, Indian Village Day Camp, the Mobile Art Van and Zoobilee, 128 supervised playgrounds, 139 baseball and softball diamonds, more than 1200 miles of cycling and hiking trails, and more than 1000 acres of land and water.

Unprecedented construction activity is underway in Downtown Columbus.

Neighborhood cleanup campaigns — a plus for the entire city.

We also have declared war on visual pollution and signed a through-the-ocean policy for Columbus, passed into law last year. The campaign includes a three-year environmental effort by citizens, industry and the City.

The administration of Mayor Tom Moody has encouraged this development with planning and public improvements because of the obvious advantages a modernized Downtown will offer the City, not the least of which are profits and jobs. The private sector needs the continuing support of City Hall. In related development plans for the Convention Center are nearing completion in 1975 with the City pressuring the recently established Columbus Convention and World Trade Center to be the major source of financing. This will eliminate the need for bond issue or taxpayer funds.

Quality of life is the ultimate measure of a community.

City government reflects dramatically upon the individual's quality of life through such agencies as Police and Fire, through services such as transportation facilities, recreation centers and parks. Through the Federal Community Development Act the City can now help to improve housing and neighborhoods.

The City of Columbus has embarked upon an ambitious program to stabilize healthy neighborhoods and to reclaim those which have fallen prey to urban decay.
WASTE TO ENERGY

Columbus, because of the leadership of Mayor Tom Moody, is on the verge of converting yesterday's most troublesome refuse and trash—tomorrow's most precious asset—electrical energy.

When Tom Moody campaigned for the mayor's office in 1971, he frequently discussed his dream of a better way to collect and dispose of the mountains of trash created daily by the residents of a modern American city. Despite the technological advances of our disordered society, man, in 1971, still disposed of his refuse the way his distant ancestors did: by dumping it somewhere, hopefully out of sight, and hoping it would go away. Some piles did burn trash, but inefficiently, in polluting incinerators.

Columbus has discovered a better way. Mayor Tom Moody was sworn into office on January 1, 1972. On that day he officially launched the intensive investigation to find a better way to cope with a problem which had plagued mankind for centuries. Moonlighting as an educational research followed the Mayor's inaugural. Scientists, economists and experts from numerous fields joined together to probe, to experiment, to search. Meanwhile, we were jolted by the reality of the energy crisis, adding a new urgency to the problem.

The research paid off in less than two years.

Halfway To Tomorrow

The City early this year reached the halfway point in that revolutionizing project, which promises to have a profound effect upon the economy, the environment and the energy crisis for generations to come.

The new trash pulverization system was placed in operation during April of this year. The system consists of three pulverizers with adjacent trash transfer stations. The initial stage of this system already has made significant impact upon the economies of refuse collection in Columbus, through a reduction in travel time and fuel use by sanitation crews.

A new source of energy plus a cleaner environment.

Environmentally, the pulverizers hold the eventual promise of the elimination of unpleasant and unhealthy dumps and landfills.

From our home to sanitation trucks to the new trash-pulverization station to energy.
Columbus: The City of Today—With a Future

October 12, 1992, will mark the 500th anniversary of one of the most profound dates in the history of the world—the discovery of the new world by Italian explorer Christopher Columbus. It goes without saying that Columbus, Ohio, the largest city in the world named for the explorer, should play a role in that commemoration.

Certainly cities such as Palos, Spain, Columbus's port of embarkation; Genoa, Italy; Columbus's birthplace; San Salvador, Guatemala, where the explorer first stepped upon new world soil; and other historic sites significant to him will participate in the 500th anniversary celebration. These facts, however, should not diminish the importance of our city in commemoration activities.

Columbus Mayor Tom Moody has a dream for 1992 that transcends the conventional. He wants more for Columbus than the Olympic Games and a world fair. Tom Moody believes Columbus, Ohio, can create the lifestyle that will serve as a model for the world when we pass the discovery milestone and enter a new century.

The key to achieving our goal is management.

Let's look at the record.

Since 1972, the voters overwhelmingly have approved a series of tax changes in our archaic Municipal Charter, giving Mayor Tom Moody the management tools to bring municipal government into the 20th Century. With just 25 years to go, we must prepare now to enter the 21st Century.

Leadership and management have enabled us to adopt a regional approach to such major services as water, sewer, drug abuse enforcement, emergency medical care, and transportation. Our solid waste management system also will allow a regional approach to one of America's most critical environmental problems.

Sound money management has been the hallmark of Columbus Municipal government since 1972. The City has been operated in the black during the almost four-year period, with year-end balances averaging $4.1 million annually. There have been no new or increased taxes since Tom Moody has been mayor.

Columbus, a healthy city where people are working...

Columbus enjoys a relatively stable economic base which has permitted it to consistently register an unemployment rate 2.3 to 2.5 points below the Ohio and national averages. As a result, the city's tax revenues, pegged as they are to income, have not suffered severely in comparison to New York City, Detroit, or Philadelphia.

But inflation, more than unemployment, has been felt at City Hall. Nevertheless, the New York Times recently placed Columbus among an elite group of cities which have retained excellent bond credit ratings. The Times credited Columbus's growing population and sources of income as well as pointing out that the city operates under one of the "more efficient forms of government organization."

Once again, the key to our success has been management...
Insure its future! Vote November 4th!

Inside:
2: Why Vote!
3: The Mayor’s Job.
4 & 5: City Council.
6: Things are happening!
7: City and State issues.
8: Municipal Court.
Why vote Tuesday, November 4th?

It might be easy for some to find excuses not to vote, but on Tuesday, November 4th, there should be two very important reasons to go to the polls: your pocketbook (taxes) and the future direction of your city.

Both areas are up for decision on Election Day. Columbus voters will decide on twenty different City and State ballot issues. Many involve no new taxes. Others could increase taxes. It is up to the voters to know these issues and to vote intelligently. Many important services are involved and all require your study and consideration.

Columbus will elect its Mayor for the next four, important years. Being the Chief Executive for America's 21st largest city is a big job. Requiring the voters' best choice. Additionally, four City Council members will be elected, determining the political balance on this law-making body for the next four years. The City Board of Education, while not connected with the Mayor, City Council, or City Hall, will have four of its seven members elected on November 4th.

What does it all mean? You have an important responsibility, voting and making the best selection. Especially in this Bicentennial period we should remember that this hard-won right is not automatic. Our vote only counts when we use it. Make it count on Tuesday, November 4th.

Who should be Mayor for the next four years?

Your decision on Tuesday, November 4th, will decide Columbus 'Mayor for the next four years. It's an important decision because our Mayor has many vital responsibilities.

The Mayor must administer a yearly budget of $176 million, involving 6,000 employees in eight departments and 25 divisions. Such vital services as police, fire, water, sewer, sanitation, health, housing, streets, recreation, airports, manpower training, and planning must be accomplished through the Mayor's direction.

Why Tom Moody?

Both candidates for Mayor are respected in their professions, but the voters must match the best man for the demanding job of being Mayor. Only Tom Moody has the experience of doing the job as Mayor. People have had a chance to observe how he handles the 24-hour-a-day stress and tension of such an important position.

Accomplishments

As Mayor, Tom Moody can point to many achievements since he became Mayor in 1972. City budgets have been in the black all three years (with early belt-tightening by Mayor Moody this year helping Columbus to avoid the drastic service cut-backs seen in other major U.S. cities). No new taxes have been sought or are planned. Important city services have been added and expanded. Public facilities have been built and improved. Cooperation between the city, county, and suburbs is at an all-time high.

Quietly Effective

Tom Moody believes Columbus voters want: effective, business-like leadership for their tax dollars. Mayor Moody's style is not loud and flashy. He's a promises rarely politician who tries to produce big headlines. Mayor Moody prefers a low-key approach that achieves meaningful, lasting results. Being quietly effective has helped make things happen in our town. And Mayor Moody seeks your vote to keep Columbus progressing.
The Mayor's Job

To each citizen, the Mayor's job might have a different meaning, but when you put everyone's opinions together, it might show that most often mentioned are two words — people and money.

People. There are 75,000 people in Columbus. Each an individual, each with different needs and hopes. And when you look at the Columbus metropolitan area, it totals over a million people. But there's only one Mayor who's expected to show leadership for all. Young and old, black and white, rich and poor. A Mayor who can be knowledgeable in highly technical areas, who can understand the day-to-day concerns during his weekly "Open Door" sessions with individual citizens; who can represent America's cities in meetings with the nation's highest leaders; and who can manage a multi-million-dollar, multi-phased service operation that affects all citizens. It's all in a Mayor's job, but it still means people. Representing them. Communicating with them. Working directly with them.

Money. Should the Mayor really have to worry about the finances in these days of nearly bankrupt cities? A good Mayor can't afford not to think about the dollars, and whose they really are. It's the people's money. Their hard-earned wages. It's the people's tool to provide needed services and the resources for their future and that of their children.

The people and the money go together. A Mayor who understands the importance of both and who helps to achieve the potential of each is a success. And a Mayor who can multiply these resources to even greater results has truly achieved the expected hopes of a community.

On this page are some pictures that try to express some aspects of a Mayor's job: communicating to and with people, thinking about major and minor problems, officiating at ceremonial functions, and just managing the daily affairs of a major city. It does not show the scope and complexity of the job. It does not illustrate the demands in time and stress of such a job. But hopefully it does show a man trying to do the best job possible and seeking re-election to finish the tough job he started on January 1, 1972.

Vote November 4th.
Things are happening in our town!

Top City: Columbus was designated in September as a city with an "excellent" quality of life. In national research conducted for the EPA, Columbus had the lowest percentage of people traveling to work by car. In 1972, the city had only 1,200 cars per capita, compared to 2,000 in 1975. Columbus now has more than 2,500 cars per capita, making it the most car-free city in the nation.

Solid Waste Recycling: Columbus is the only city in the nation with a non-hazardous waste recycling program. A new electric power plant, which converts solid waste into electricity, is under construction.

Recreation and Parks: Since 1972, the area of municipal parks has increased from 52 to 77 acres. The city has opened 12 new parks, including a new downtown park.

Police Operations: Efficiency increased in 1974, with a 17% decrease in calls for service. Crime in Columbus, like in all cities across America, has increased. But many steps are being taken to help: new centrally-located police stations, better in-service training and college education, successful minority recruitment, new recruit classes, and better complaint procedures.

Downtown Development: Columbus' downtown skyline has been dramatically altered since 1972 with new major additions planned for this year. Private capital has or is planning to invest $500 million in the downtown this decade.

Convention Center: Financing plans have been finalized for the Convention Center. This will be the major funding source, eliminating the need for citizen taxation to complete this vital civic and economic project.

New Municipal Court: Much needed Municipal Court facilities will be constructed without new taxes. To be built adjacent to the County Jail, this new building will centralize the local judicial system and provide other tax savings.

Fire Protection: A nationally-ranked fire division has gained in prestige since 1972. New equipment and stations have been added, while the emergency squads continue to attract wide attention for their efforts.

Freeway Constructions: Since 1972, Columbus has completed the freeway system, upgraded the North and South 177 freeways, and nearly finished the final leg of 1-70 West.

Manpower Training: Columbus' new CETA Manpower Training has been completed and is helping provide hundreds of jobs.

Community Development: Columbus is starting to receive the $952 million over the next six years as a part of the new Community Development Act, helping to revitalize older areas of our city.

Other Firsts: Among the other major areas of municipal improvement includes: expanding cable TV to 61,000 homes, new family of parks, new City-County Animal Control Program, new Citywide radio and television, neighborhood clam-up efforts, improvements in consumer protection, Port Columbus modernization planning, workhouse modernization and expansion, downtown traffic computerization, and 24-hour weather service.

Vote November 4th