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**THE JOURNAL OF THE
TENNESSEE SPEECH COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION**

published by

THE TENNESSEE SPEECH COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION

Fall 1980

Volume VI

Number II

THE JOURNAL OF THE

TENNESSEE SPEECH COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION

published by

The Tennessee Speech Communication Association

VOLUME VI

NUMBER 2

CONTENTS

CARTER--REAGAN: CREATING IMAGES: AN ANALYSIS OF THE OCTOBER, 1980 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE Jacqueline Gearhart	3
THE TOWN MEETING -- A DOWN HOME APPROACH Hallie Coppedge	15
THE CARTER CAMPAIGN IN TENNESSEE 1980 Mike Williams	21
THE REVISED TSCA CONSTITUTION	28
NEWS AND NOTES	39

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CARTER - REAGAN
CREATING IMAGES
AN ANALYSIS OF THE
OCTOBER, 1980 Presidential Debate
Jacqueline Gearhart

From the President's standpoint, the greatest staff problem is that of maintaining his contact with the world's reality that lies outside the White House walls . . . the concept that "even your best friends won't tell you" about unpleasant things applies with tremendous force to the President.

- George E. Reedy,
former press secretary
to President Lyndon
Johnson, in his book,
The Twilight of the
Presidency

Martin Schram uses this quote in his book Running for President 1976 - The Carter Campaign to illustrate the main weakness of the Ford campaign in 1976. Four years later, the same statement could apply to the man who was victorious over Ford and who obviously fell victim to a disease that affected many of his predecessors:

Presidents get out of touch. They become isolated. They learn of the world's reality through the people who work for them, which is to say that they all too often don't learn of it at all . . . dissents are softened, harsh judgments modified, stinging phrases toned down; by the time view is presented to the President, it is not the view that the rest of the world is seeing. He has lost contact.¹

The essence of the failure of the whole Carter campaign was reflected in Carter's October 28 debate with Reagan. In

analyzing the rhetoric and the ideas expressed by both candidates in the debate, it can be seen that the concept of "creating a desirable image" is paramount in a political campaign. Simply asking Aristotle's famous question, "To what extent did the speaker use the available means of persuasion?" is hardly adequate in analyzing a communication situation such as a Presidential campaign. Certainly, Logos, Pathos and Ethos are of great importance in a debate, but should not necessarily be used as "a recipe book for critics, as states Professor Otis M. Walter in his essay "On the Varieties of Rhetorical Criticism."² Walter states that the results of the use of Aristotle's Rhetoric as the basis for speech criticism are largely sterile because the Rhetoric is often misused to provide only one aim (need I repeat the famous question?), which is not always the most appropriate, nor does it provide the most insight.³ Often a speaker may use ethical, logical, and pathetic proof to a large extent, yet not convince his audience that his ideas are the best for them. In most communication situations involving persuasion, the speaker create desirable images of himself and of his ideals, and that images correspond to those of his audience. As Walter Lippman states, "He who captures the symbols by which public feeling is for the moment contained, controls by that much the approaches to public policy."⁴ This aspect was a major downfall of President Jimmy Carter in his October, 1980 debate with Ronald Reagan.

Carter attempted to portray an image of a strong, capable, single leader in whom the public could put all of their trust to manage the affairs of the nation. However, this image was somehow distorted in the process of communication. Carter, instead of bringing himself close to the people to gain their trust, gave the impression of being an elitist. He set himself apart from the voters by stressing the point that he was "one man, alone, in the oval office." Although he made frequent attempts, he could no longer give the impression, as he did in his 1976 campaign, that he was "just a simple man, like every one of you." Instead, he aligned himself with past Presidents, placing an even wider gap between himself and the people of his country. Reagan, on the other hand, kept the focus off himself, and continued to associate his ideals and goals with those of the people.

Carter's first statement in the debate, which was a reply to a question about defense buildup, was very self-centered:

I've had to make thousands of decisions as President serving in the Oval Office. . . I'm a much wiser and more experienced man than I was four years ago when I debated Gerald Ford.

After making a short statement about military defense, he reiterated:

I might also add that there are decisions made in the Oval Office by every President which are profound in nature. There are troubled spots in the world. How those troubled areas are addressed by a President affects our nation directly. That is a basic decision that must be made by every President that serves. That's what I've tried to do.

Reagan, in response to the same question, used a more universal tone in his speech: "We must maintain peace . . . responsibility for preserving peace falls on us . . . America has never gotten into a war by letting things get out of hand . . . Good management in preserving peace requires that we control the events. . ." He never let the glory or the blame fall on himself or any individual, but instead, through the simple use of the first person plural, involved "us," the whole American people, in the decision-making process.

This type of rhetorical contrast, along with a contrast of ideals which reveals a misreading of the people's wishes on the President's part, continues throughout the debate. As Carter continues to alienate himself from the people and their viewpoints, Reagan reinforces the alienation with subtle accusations that "Jimmy Carter equals Big Government."

Reagan is in the position, of course, to more readily associate himself with "government that is closer to the people"-- state and local government--and disassociate himself with federal government, which he takes every advantage of doing during the debate: "Carter. . . has accused the people of living too well. We don't have inflation because the people have been living too well. We have inflation because the government has been living too well." Reagan later goes one step farther by asking

a rhetorical question which is conveniently placed in the format of the debate so that Carter cannot reply to it.

In the Question, Reagan replaces the impersonal image of "government" with a personal image of Carter, himself: "I'd like to ask the President this: Why is it more inflationary to let the people keep their money and spend it the way they like than to let him keep that money and spend it the way he likes?" At this time Reagan, very strategically and effectively, points directly at his opponent.

In an effort to portray himself as the one man in whom the people can put their trust, in contrast with an image of Reagan as a man who must consult experts and delegate his authority to others, Carter instead succeeds in alienating himself from the people: "There have been six or eight areas of combat evolve in other parts of the world. In each case I alone weighed the decision with moderation, with care, with thoughtfulness, sometimes consulting experts. I have learned that when an issue is difficult, chances are the experts will be divided fifty-fifty. The final decision is made by the man in the Oval Office. It's a lonely job. . . but a gratifying one." In correlation with this type of contrast, Carter often accuses Reagan of being an irresponsible, belligerent man with dangerous ideas. In doing so, Carter appears to be trying to belittle Reagan,

using ammunition such as "experience in the Oval Office." The result is that Carter ends up appearing pompous.

A similar contrast involves Reagan's use of illustrations which associate himself with the people: "I wish the President could have been there when I was talking with a group of teenagers who were Black. . . "and" I stood in the South Bronx on the same spot that Carter stood on in 1977. It looks like a bombed-out city. . . and I talked to a man who asked me, 'Do I have reason to hope that I can somehow take care of my family again?'" In doing this, Reagan draws a picture for the audience that shows himself in touch with the people and their desires. The only person that Carter mentions talking with or asking advice from is his daughter, Amy, and the only time he associates himself with a group of citizens is when he says "I am a southerner. I share the opinion. . . to deregulate major industries." The group that Carter most frequently associates himself with is that of past Presidents: "If there had been one less vote per precinct, John Kennedy would never have been President. . . Humphrey would have been President, not Nixon. . . ." This tactic could be either advantageous or detrimental, depending on how many people share his opinion of past leaders. If it was advantageous at all, Reagan succeeded in pulling the rug out from under Carter by stating that even though Carter claimed to be working for the same SALT Treaty as his predecessors,

president Ford is "emphatically against" the treaty Carter proposes.

In addressing the question about the future of a multi-racial society, Reagan uses the phrase "All of us together" can work toward that goal. However, Carter replies to the question in a quite different manner by twice mentioning the fact that he brought several minority individuals into his administration. Yet those few individuals only very indirectly affect society as a whole, and it is doubtful whether Carter's emphasis on this fact appealed to the millions of poor, uneducated, lower-class Blacks to whom the question referred.

Although Carter frequently mentions the fact that he is in the "mainstream" of America, he seldom uses any rhetoric to illustrate it. Reagan, on the other hand, never makes any direct statement that "he is one of us," but through the use of subtle suggestion, drives home his point. Examples of this are his continued use of the first-person plural: "I'd like to see us a little more free, as we once were," and his reference to that institution which is closest to the heart of the Middle Class American: "Free Enterprise can do a better job of producing the things that people need than government can," and again in his suggestion to "take government off the backs of the people--and turn it back into your hands again."

It is also obvious that Carter is out of touch with what the "mainstream" of America wants. Probably one of his sharpest blows is when he states, "Inflation, unemployment, the cities, are all important issues, but they pale in insignificance in the duties of an American President, when compared with the control of nuclear weapons." Although this statement might ultimately be true, it should be viewed as a matter of opinion, and obviously not the opinion of the American electorate. According to an April 1980 Gallup survey, "the problem cited most often is the high cost of living--by seventy four percent--far overshadowing the percentage who name international problems--seventeen percent."⁵ This concern about a decent standard of living is not peculiar to the U.S., but seems to be a characteristic everywhere, perhaps indicating that it is a part of human nature to be first concerned about one's own welfare. Dan D. Nimmo states in his book Popular Images of Politics:

A comprehensive study of the aspirations and fears of mass populations throughout the world appeared in 1965 (Hadley Cantril, The Pattern of Human Concerns (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1965). Investigators interviewed representative samples of the population of twelve nations (a total sample of nearly 20,000 people) about their personal hopes and fears and concerns they held for their nations.

The results revealed that the people in the nations under study were primarily concerned with economic, health, and family matters rather

than social, international and political affairs. Economic aspirations and fears were particularly dominant concerns; ranked in the order of the number of people who named a particular concern, "hoping for an improved or decent standard of living" was the chief concern of the world's population.⁶

In light of these findings, it seems that Carter's emphasis on international affairs is a bit misguided. His continued mentioning of things such as "acts of violence against Jews in France and in Israel," of "preserving the peace and extending it to others--in the Middle East, the negotiations between Israel and Egypt are a step forward," seem to overemphasize issues that the American public is not as concerned about as it is about its own pocketbook. On the other hand, even when Reagan replies to a question about arms control, he does not let the economic issue slide: "We must have a consistent foreign policy and a strong economy."

Carter's continued emphasis on peace and pacifism is probably a bit strong also, considering that when in January of 1980, he himself declared that the U.S. would use military force if necessary to defend the Persian Gulf countries against a possible Soviet attack, by a better than three-to-one ratio the American public gave its backing to Carter's position, with seventy one percent in favor of nineteen percent opposed.⁷

Another rhetorical slip of Carter's was his response to the question about a multi-racial society. He began by saying "our nation is one of refugees, of immigrants, who have hopes

for a better life. . ." His point that America has always been a multiracial society is a pertinent point in answering the question, but his choice of words could be better, considering the recent, rather touchy, "Boat People" incident with Cuba. According to an April-May Gallup report,

Among the ninety seven percent who have heard or read about the immigration of Cubans to Florida, fifty six percent say the U.S. should not allow the Cubans to settle here, while thirty five percent hold the opposite view. The findings from another question dealing with our immigration policy in general make it clear that many who oppose the entry of the Cuban refugees are concerned about the unemployment rate in the U.S. In fact, two out of three persons believed the U.S. government should halt all immigration until the national unemployment rate--now at 7.8 percent--falls below five percent.

From the beginning of the debate through the closing statement, Carter portrayed an undesirable image of himself, and failed to parallel his issues of emphasis with those of his audience, while Reagan focused not on himself as an individual, but on his ideals which corresponded with the viewpoint of the audience. Carter's closing statement was weak in that it dwelled on the past and made little mention of the future, while Reagan's statement involved more action: "All of these problems can be cured. All solved." For the first time in the debate Reagan mentioned that he would like to be a leader "of a crusade against our economic woes. . . and I would like to lead it with your help." According to

Nimmo, "one issue that voters respond to is whether conditions are 'good' or 'bad.' The popular image of the nature of the times can produce defections from the party of one's own self-image. . . In these instances (when conditions seem bad) the nature of the times provides a symbol of a growing discontent, wariness, and a time for change."⁹ Obviously Carter and Reagan together convinced the American public that it was time for a change.

NOTES

Jacqueline Gearhart is a major in English at Middle Tennessee State University.

¹Martin Schram, Running For President 1976--The Carter Campaign (New York: Stein and Day, 1977), p. 251.

²Otis M. Walter, "On the Varieties of Rhetorical Criticism," Essays on Rhetorical Criticism, Thomas Nilsen, ed. (New York: Random House, 1968) p. 158-172.

³Walter, p. 162.

⁴Walter Lipmann, Public Opinion, (New York: Macmillan, 1960), p. 88.

⁵The Gallup Opinion Index, Report number 177 (April-May, 1980), p. 22.

⁶Dan D. Nimmo, Popular Images of Politics, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), p. 105.

⁷The Gallup Opinion Index, Report number 178 (June 1980), p. 29.

⁸The Gallup Opinion Index, Report number 177 (April-May, 1980), p. 6.

⁹Nimmo, p. 123-124.

THE TOWN MEETING -

A Down Home Approach

Hallie Coppedge

Since the campaign of 1828, when Andrew Jackson ran for President, the appeal to the common man has been a popular tactic for Presidential candidates. In 1976, Jimmy Carter ran for President, proclaiming himself to be just a backwoods peanut farmer from Georgia. The image proved beneficial to the candidate who went on to become the 39th President of the United States.

Four years later, Jimmy Carter became an international figure and not surprisingly, the down home country image got lost beneath a cavalcade of unexpected crises. It was as if a country woke up to find that the southern accent and the informal hospitality were not the remedies for their problems. So in 1980, it was not surprising that Americans were more likely to judge the President on his record rather than his heritage. But on October 9th, 1980, when Jimmy Carter paid a visit to Tennessee, it was apparent that this strategy was still thought suitable for acquiring the southern vote.

Carter was at home in Tennessee as he bounded upon the stage at the Grand Ole Opry. In the background there was a large figure of a guitar suspended in the air and a sign saying, "Welcome President Carter." The band of Bill Monroe played bluegrass tunes that may not have been

the primary favorite of metro Nashvillians, but was fundamentally helpful for setting the mood. It seemed to all to be an attempt to get Tennessee to rally around our southern president. Sitting in the audience, as this writer was, getting caught up in the awe of actually seeing the President, it was easy for one to want to rally around this plain man who was "just like us."

The first sentence with which Carter began his speech was, "It is really good to be back home." After that, a roar of applause filled the auditorium. His opening remarks were typical of a candidate trying to appeal to an area that he was from. The South, in particular, is an area of the country that has thrived on emotional events. Whether it be the revivalist preacher preaching about the salvation of man or the highly explosive civil rights issue, characteristics of southern heritage are powerfully passionate. Jimmy Carter, using his soft southern accent, hoped to raise from the Tennessee audience enough emotion to support their southern boy in 1980.

The first part of President Carter's speech was filled with sentimental expressions of how good it was to be back home. He stated that the real reason he came was to listen to Bill Monroe who had played on the White House lawn earlier. Carter reflected about his boyhood and the dreams he had had. As a young farm boy who grew up on bluegrass music, he had ambitions to become President and stand on

the stage at the Grand Ole Opry. After this explanation, Carter made the joke that he never knew he would have to be President before he could stand on the stage. Whether or not Jimmy Carter really had these dreams is debatable. But pointing out that he was born and bred in the heart of the South and that this honest, hardworking background probably led him to have honest, hardworking goals, he provided the audience with a chance to reminisce about the romanticized fairness of a democracy which allows every man the right to become whatever he wants, even if he is from the humblest background. Carter then began to bolster Tennesseans' pride by mentioning the three Presidents that came from the state: Johnson, Jackson, and Polk. Jackson was fondly remembered for planting magnolia trees (a southern favorite) around the White House. Johnson was merely mentioned as one who had trouble with the Republicans. And then Carter reminded the audience that Polk was remembered by the press in 1976 as the last President from the South. This of course was also a reminder to southerners that Jimmy Carter was their official representative who brought recognition back to the South. The rest of his speech dealt with defense, something that is not likely to be linked with southern heritage. But Carter managed to link Johnson, Jackson, and Polk's names at the end of the speech as Presidents who like himself were concerned over defense.

This appeal to the South as the roots and the backbone of American integrity was similar to a speech Carter made during his 1976 campaign in Arkansas. The first line of that speech was, "It's good to be back in Arkansas." Carter reflected then about the last southern President elected to the White House and mentioned a visit he made to another southern state, Alabama. He told how he was the first Democratic nominee to ever come to Alabama to campaign. This was probably very helpful to him in 1976 because it proved that being a southern Democrat he was glad to come down home. His Arkansas speech spoke of living up to "what the people of our region have represented." He then went on to explain the jobs of various representatives of Arkansas who fulfilled actions that were integral for the advancement of the South. One was helping the rural areas, which "helps us throughout the South." Another was a congressman who was going to "carry on the great southern tradition," whatever that is. Then Carter went on to claim how proud he was to be a Democrat and a southerner. So the idea to jump on the southern bandwagon was one that really pulled Jimmy forward in 1976. Unfortunately, 1980 proved his tactics to be much weaker.

Nonetheless, the Town Meeting was an example of an extraordinarily relaxed confrontation between one man and 2000 other people. It was as comfortable as the

Fireside Chats. Carter answered with genuine interest the questions that were presented to him by members of the audience.

A question concerning his plans if he failed to be re-elected led Carter down memory lane once again. He spoke of his Georgian ancestors and the simple life in Plains, Georgia. Shortly thereafter, a question concerning the consolidation of schools presented Carter with the opportunity to paint a picture of his country schoolhouse that had a graduating class of 23. He successfully let it be known that he was in favor of any helpful progress that could be provided by consolidation, yet elaborated about the immeasurable worth of small country schools.

One of the most effective means in which Carter came across as a "common neighbor" was the way in which he addressed his questioners by their first names. From watching the Town Meeting on television, one could see that he was writing their names down after they introduced themselves. But as I sat in the Town Meeting audience I did not notice that Carter was doing this, so the first-name references were just another extra that promoted the feeling of informality and southern hospitality.

Judging from the election returns, one might conclude that Carter's attempt to rekindle the flame of southern patriotism failed in 1980. Perhaps it did, mainly because

it was overshadowed by a conservative stronghold that is also very much a part of the South's heritage. The Town Meeting, however, was an excellent example of a candidate utilizing his appropriate characteristics to communicate with a certain region of the country.

NOTES

Hallie Coppedge is a major in Mass Communications at Middle Tennessee State University.

THE CARTER CAMPAIGN IN
TENNESSEE 1980

Mike Williams

Jimmy Carter was President of the United States, and was running for re-election on the Democratic ticket in the 1980 Presidential election. Four years earlier, Carter had captured an overwhelming majority in Tennessee and defeated Republican President Gerald R. Ford by 200,000 votes. In 1976 the fourth congressional district in Tennessee gave Carter the largest majority of any congressional district in the country.

Yet, on November 4, 1980, Jimmy Carter was defeated in his try for Tennessee's 10 electoral votes and in his bid for a second term in the White House, by Republican nominee Ronald Reagan.

President Carter was defeated by only 5,576 votes; however, such an overwhelming victory in 1976 should not have turned into defeat in 1980, especially in a state which the Democratic National Committee had targeted to win, no matter how small the margin.

At first glance, there appears to have been a complete and total breakdown of the Democratic Machine, which for so many years had controlled Tennessee State Politics. This however, could not have been the case. For even with a Republican Governor and a well financed and concentrated effort to wrench control of the state legislature from the Democratic Party, the Republicans were able to gain only

one seat in the State House of Representatives and none in the State Senate. Clearly the old party machine was still intact.

What then were the factors which led to Jimmy Carter's defeat in Tennessee in the 1980 Presidential election?

This paper will attempt to provide an analysis of these factors. In order to explore these liabilities, however, the author will first discuss the strategy which the Carter campaign employed in Tennessee. It must be understood that the author of this paper was actively involved in the Carter campaign and, therefore, was not unbiased. This paper was written from a campaign worker's point of view, and every attempt will be made here to discuss matters which deal with that campaign in Tennessee.

Campaigning Strategy

The Carter campaign used the same strategy which Tennessee Democrats had been using in state elections for years.¹ This was, in effect, a four step process:

- 1) An attempt was made to cut losses in upper East Tennessee, in what is now the first and second congressional districts, and traditionally Republican area.

In order to achieve this, the Democratic campaign forces assigned a chairman to both districts and tried to build a county level organization in each county in the districts. Also, President Carter made one campaign stop in the area.

- 2) A concentrated effort was made to build a large lead in Middle Tennessee, especially in the fourth congressional district with its large percentage of Democratic voters, and in Hamilton and Davidson counties with their large black populations.

This area was the key to the whole campaign, which started very early in Middle Tennessee. Even before the nomination was secure, Rosalyn Carter had made a campaign stop in Murfreesboro, the largest city in the fourth Congressional district.

During the general election campaign, Middle Tennessee was bombarded by political celebrities: Chip Carter made a stop in Nashville to open the campaign headquarters: Jim Sasser and Ned Ray McWherter took a two day bus tour of the fourth Congressional district to promote the President, Joan Mondale spent one day campaigning in the area, and the President himself came to Nashville for one of his famous town "meetings."

- 3) The Democrats tried to cut their losses in rural West Tennessee where pockets of Republican voters could cut into the Middle Tennessee lead, especially in Madison and east Shelby counties, and win by a large margin in downtown Memphis.

In order to accomplish this, traditional Democratic voters were called upon. Counties with histories of large Democratic turnouts were targeted for extra effort. Blacks in Memphis were relied on heavily.

- 4) A huge voter registration drive was conducted, since a large voter turnout generally helps a Democratic candidate.

This was potentially dangerous. There was the possibility that by registering liberal voters, who would traditionally vote for the Democratic candidate, the drive would actually register Anderson votes.

Campaign Liabilities

There was a vital flaw in this strategy, even though it had worked well in the past in gubernatorial and other state elections. When, however, employed in Presidential elections in Tennessee, the Democrats have met with more than a little disappointment. Tennessee has given its electoral votes to only two Democrats in the last seven elections.

This is possibly due to the different make-up of a Presidential campaign. In a state election, the candidate is always available--he will be at every "watermelon cutting" in every county in the state. Throughout the election, the statewide candidate is a familiar person, or can become one.

In a Presidential election, the candidate is more or less insulated from the voters. Because of the massive territory in which he must campaign, he cannot become as familiar a person as the statewide candidate can.

Of course this was as true for the Reagan campaign as the Carter campaign, but with official duties of the Presidency and pressures of the office upon him, President Carter may have seemed more distant than Reagan.

A second liability of the Carter campaign in Tennessee was the makeup of the Tennessee staff. With the exception of Jim Hall, Carter's campaign coordinator, the campaign

was made up of people from out-of-state. The campaign manager and deputy campaign manager were both brought into Tennessee, just to run the campaign.

This caused some resentment among Democrats who, in the past, had taken a large part in running the campaign. The managers were not familiar with the people of Tennessee and, according to some campaign volunteers, did not seem to care about the people. Some felt that the managers may have been great in Washington, but were lousy as Tennessee campaign managers.

In the words of one worker, "they don't know anything about the people in Tracy City--how can they make a decision to influence their votes?" Another said, "they just don't care about the people around here--they just want to play hardball with the boys from Washington."

Probably the greatest single liability of the Carter campaign was the disappointment which the people of the United States and Tennessee felt with the dismal record of the Carter administration. Tennessee had given their full trust to Jimmy Carter in 1976 and the majority of voters seemed to feel that he had let them down.

Summing It Up: Why Carter Lost

According to a poll taken by the New York Times and CBS News on election day, the overwhelming reason that voters gave their vote to Reagan was the need for change.

David Fox, press secretary for the Carter campaign in Tennessee, stated that "it was the economy, the hostages, the debate, everything. You could tell from the way Carter looked at Reagan (in the debate) that he did not like him and that did not go over very well."²

Senator Jim Sasser of Tennessee said, "I think the events of the last week of the campaign played a part in shifting votes to Reagan."³

Bill Brock, GOP national chairman, agreed that the electorate was voting for a change. Brock said, "I think that the voters have decided that we need a lot of new faces in politics."⁴

Perhaps the reason for the Carter loss was best summed up by a Bill Boner staff member on election night: "We made a mistake by assuming that Tennessee is different than the rest of the country, and really the people here are affected by the same things which effect the people all over the country."

And that was the case. The dissatisfaction which was felt by the country with the Carter administration, according to most polls, was also felt in Tennessee. Because it was, the Republicans were able to capitalize on the dissatisfaction to win a narrow victory over Jimmy Carter in Tennessee, a state which gave him overwhelming support only four years earlier.

NOTES

Mike Williams is a major in Economics at Middle Tennessee State University.

¹From conversations with Congressional District coordinators. The Republican strategy was exactly opposite--beat Carter in East Tennessee, hold the line in Middle and win a narrow victory in West Tennessee, according to the Nashville Tennessean in its post-election coverage.

²From the Nashville Tennessean, November 5, 1980.

³From the Nashville Tennessean, November 5, 1980. Sasser was talking about not only the renewed talk of the Iranian hostage crisis, but in Tennessee, former Democratic Governor Ray Blanton was indicted. This could have brought out some "anti-Democratic" votes.

⁴From the Nashville Tennessean, November 5, 1980.

A Word About the New TSCA Constitution

At the fall, 1980 meeting of the Tennessee Speech Communication Association, a decision was made to revise the Constitution of TSCA to update it and make some areas of it more workable. The Executive Committee charged this writer with chairing the work of revising it. Shortly after Christmas, by mail and telephone vote, the Executive Committee approved the revised Constitution by a 10-0 vote with 3 not voting. In accordance with the Constitution, the revised Constitution was then submitted to a mail vote of the members of the organization. A 2/3 majority of those responding by February 20 was required for passage. The result was that the revisions easily passed.

One problem TSCA has had in the past has been in locating a good copy of a Constitution. Consequently, the newly revised document has been published in this Journal so everyone will have a copy available when needed.

Several changes should be pointed out--some of these are minor; some are more significant. Some of the minor changes include replacing references to "chairman" with "chairperson," and references to "the Association" with "TSCA." Some changes reflect what, in effect, we are already doing. We have a chairperson of the Religious Speech Communication group, but there was never a vote

previously on adding this interest group. If you have been using a really old Constitution, you may notice that "Broadcasting" was not listed as an interest group; this was voted on and accepted by the membership, but a revised Constitution has not been published since that date.

The old title "Director of Research and Publications" has been replaced with "Journal Editor," and his duties include the obvious--editing and distributing the Journal. The title of Vice-President has been changed to President-Elect. Along with this change of title has come a change in responsibility that should make the work of the President much smoother--the President-Elect now has the responsibility of planning for the fall meeting.

Standing committees have been reduced to two. The old Committee on Research and Publications has its work accomplished, in effect, by the staff of the Journal. The Committee on Professional Ethics has not been a very active one over the years. This leaves TSCA with the two critical standing committees--the one on Membership, of which the President-Elect is chairperson, and the Committee on Awards, whose chairperson is appointed by the President and approved by the Executive Committee. Of course, any special committees which are deemed necessary may also be appointed.

A major change concerns the date of elections and the date of installation of officers. Elections have been moved from February to May and installation of officers has been changed from May 1 to the time of the fall meeting. The belief has been voiced by several that this will result in smoother transitions and better planning.

One final change concerns the dues paid each year. Prior to this time, the dues have been set by the By-Laws; now the responsibility rests with the Executive Committee. The result is that TSCA has an easier mechanism to adapt to different economic times.

The current officers of TSCA shall serve until the fall meeting of 1981, with the exception of the Journal Editor who was re-elected by the Executive Committee for another two year term last fall. By May 1 of this year, you will have received from the Executive Secretary, if you are a paid-up member, your ballot for new officers. On the following pages is the text of the revised Constitution and By-Laws.

CONSTITUTION

TENNESSEE SPEECH COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION

Article I: Name

The name of the organization shall be the Tennessee Speech Communication Association, hereafter referred to as TSCA.

Article II: Purpose

TSCA seeks the improvement of speech education at all levels in Tennessee, encourages research in speech communication, and fosters community recognition of effective communication.

Article III: Membership

Membership in TSCA shall be open upon application and payment of dues to any person interested in promoting its purpose.

Article IV: Officers

Section 1: The officers of TSCA shall be a President, President-Elect, Executive Secretary, and Journal Editor. The President-Elect and Executive Secretary shall be elected by the membership of TSCA: the Journal Editor shall be nominated and approved by the Executive Committee.

Section 2: The President and President-Elect shall serve for a period of one year in that capacity. The Executive-Secretary shall serve for a period of three years; the Journal Editor shall serve for a period of two years.

Section 3: The duties of each officer shall be as follows:

- A. President: It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all business meetings of TSCA and of the Executive Committee, to appoint committees

and committee chairpersons with the approval of the Executive Committee; to serve as a liason officer between TSCA and all related organizations; to serve as ex-officio member of all standing committees; and to perform such other duties as are usually attached to the office of President.

- B. President Elect: It shall be the duty of the President-Elect to serve as membership chairperson; to plan the program of the fall meetings; and to assist the President with the total work of TSCA as the President may assign. The President-Elect shall become President at the conclusion of his term.
- C. Executive Secretary: It shall be the duty of the Executive Secretary to perform the usual duties of secretary, treasurer, and business manager including the keeping of the minutes of meetings, the receiving and dispersing of funds, and the preparation of periodic reports on the financial condition of TSCA, and to perform such other duties as the President may assign.
- D. Journal Editor: It shall be the duty of the Journal Editor to edit and have distributed the Journal of the Tennessee Speech Communication Association and other publications TSCA may sponsor; to promote research among the membership

of TSCA; to direct the scholarly publications of TSCA.

Section 4: The President-Elect shall succeed the President should the President's office become vacant.

Section 5: The Executive Committee shall have the authority to fill any vacancy other than the Presidency.

Article V: Executive Committee

Section 1: The Executive Committee shall consist of the current officers of TSCA (as defined in Article IV, Section 1), the immediate past President, and the chairpersons of the standing committees and interest groups.

Section 2: The Executive Committee shall discharge the work of TSCA.

Article VI: Amendments

Section 1: Amendments to the Constitution and By-laws may be initiated by a majority of the Executive Committee or by a petition submitted to the President by any ten members of TSCA.

Section 2: All proposed amendments shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for its consideration. If the Executive Committee approves the proposed amendment, it must be submitted within thirty days of endorsement to a mail vote of the membership. If the Executive Committee rejects the proposed amendment, the President must submit the matter at the next business meeting of TSCA. If a majority of those present and voting at

the TSCA meeting endorses the proposed amendment, it then must be submitted to a mail vote of the membership within thirty days.

Section 3: Final action on an amendment shall be taken by a mail ballot. A two-thirds majority of those voting shall be required for adoption of the amendment.

Section 4: Amendments shall take effect immediately following their adoption.

BY-LAWS

Article I: Dues

Section 1: There shall be five classes of membership in TSCA: Student, Regular, Sustaining, Emeritus, and Honorary.

Section 2: Full-time high school, undergraduate and graduate students may be admitted to student membership. Annual dues for student memberships shall be set by the Executive Committee.

Section 3: Any other person may be admitted to regular membership. Annual dues for regular members shall be set by the Executive Committee.

Section 4: Any other person willing to contribute additional financial support may be admitted to sustaining membership. Annual dues for sustaining membership shall be set by the Executive Committee.

Section 5: Any member of retired status because of age or disability who has held continuous membership in TSCA for fifteen years shall be granted upon application to the

Executive Secretary an emeritus membership and shall be exempt from payment of dues and entitled to all privileges of TSCA.

Section 6: Any person who by virtue of service or performance has contributed substantially to the purposes of speech communication in Tennessee may be elected to honorary membership by a majority of the Executive Committee. There shall be no dues for honorary members.

Article II: Meetings and Conferences

Section 1: A business meeting of TSCA shall be held during the fall term at a time and place to be determined by the Executive Committee. Additional business meetings may be called by the Executive Committee.

Section 2: An annual conference of TSCA may be held during the fall term at a time and place to be determined by the Executive Committee.

Article III: Nominations and Elections

Section 1: No later than March 1, the President shall appoint with the approval of the Executive Committee a Nominating Committee of at least five members of TSCA who shall name at least two candidates for the office of President-Elect and at least two candidates for the position of chairperson of each interest group. Every third year the nominating committee shall name at least two candidates for the office of Executive Secretary beginning in 1975. The Chairperson of the Nominating Committee shall

notify the membership of the time and place of the meeting at least ten days in advance of the meeting, extending an invitation to any member in good standing to make suggestions to the Committee, either in writing or by appearing in person. No later than April 15, the Chairperson of the Nominating Committee shall make his report to the Executive Secretary of TSCA.

Section 2: Voting for President-Elect, Executive Secretary (during every third year), and interest group chairpersons shall take place during the month of May. Ballots shall be mailed to the entire membership by the incumbent Executive Secretary by May 1. The ballots shall always provide for Write-in candidates. Only ballots postmarked on or before May 20 will be counted.

Section 3: It shall be the duty of the incumbent Executive Secretary to notify the entire membership by mail of the results of the balloting by June 1. If the Executive Secretary announces a tie vote for any office, the names of the two candidates receiving the most votes shall be submitted to a run-off ballot by mail.

Section 4: Installation of new officers shall take place at the time of the annual Fall business meeting of TSCA.

Article IV: Committees

The Committee structure shall consist of standing committees. The committees shall be appointed by the President with the approval of the Executive Committee. All standing committees

shall make recommendations to the Executive Committee and shall exercise such powers as authorized by the Executive Committee. Those committees with standing status are:

- A. Committee on Membership, whose function it shall be to encourage persons interested in the purposes of the organization to become members.
- B. Committee on Awards, whose function it shall be to determine recipients of the awards authorized by the Executive Committee.

Article V: Interest Groups

Section 1: Interest groups shall be established to represent major specializations in speech communication, their activities to be directed by elected chairperson. Standing interest groups are: Theatre, Forensics, Curriculum, Rhetoric and Public Address, Interpersonal-Group Communication, Interpretation, Broadcasting, and Religious Speech Communication.

Article VI: Representatives to

Southern Speech Communication Association

The President is ex officio a representative to the Southern Speech Communication Association. He shall appoint one other representative. One of these representatives shall be a teacher of speech communication in high school, the other shall teach speech communication at the junior college level or above. These representatives shall represent TSCA at meetings of SSCA Executive Councils held at the annual SSCA Convention.

Article VII: Quorum

Section 1: A quorum at any meeting of the Executive Committee shall be a simple majority of its membership.

Section 2: A quorum at any business meeting of TSCA shall be those members attending.

Article VIII: Amendments

Amendments to thses By-laws shall be through the process described in Article VI of the Constitution.

Executive Committee Minutes

12:30 - Meeting called to order, September 19, 1980.

Editor David Walker report

Institutional memberships are up this year thus no additional monies need to be transferred from the general treasury. Sending letters to specific people seemed to stimulate institutional memberships.

Since Walker's 2 year term is about to end we need to appoint a new Director of Research & Publication.

David Walker was nominated and approved by the Executive Committee for another term as editor.

Secretary Report:

Money on account as of 9/18/80:

\$327.20 Journal
247.50 TSCA

The President needs to appoint a membership committee. Making it operational soon so that all parts of the state may be pushed for members. With the major focus of the committee being attendance at the Fall Conference. We need members through personal contact as well as press coverage of the Fall conference.

Next Fall Conference:

Montgomery Bell State Park

September 25-26 reserved (by Walt Kirkpatrick) for Fall '81.
\$12 a head per night--meal service available
Buffet (\$3 or 4 a person)
Large and small meeting rooms available, swimming pool, golf course, etc.,
*Also cabins for groups or family, camping facilities.

Hillman moved that we house the convention at Montgomery Bell Fall '81 and set up tentative arrangements for Fall '82 at Montgomery Bell. Walker seconded. Motions approved.

Discussion indicated that other state park facilities might also be surveyed and possibly tentatively secured for Fall '81 reservations. The concern being that we schedule early enough to secure facilities.

Constitutional changes were discussed. David Walker was appointed to make these changes and send copies to the executive committee so that the revised constitution could then be sent to the membership.

Nominating Committee *(appointed by the president)

Richard Dean, CHAIRMAN
Joan Gardner, HS-Nashville
Mike Osborn, Memphis
Robert Woodland, Nashville
Tom Webb, HS-Clarksville

Awards committee report:

Speaker of the year - James L. Bomar, Jr.

Teacher of the year - Tom Webb

\$51.75 Bill for the trays for the awards of the year submitted.

TSCA Business Meeting, September 19, 1980.

Called to order by the President

Announced by Mike Osborn, current 2nd Vice President of TSCA for need of support of SSCA. We need to join and be active in that association. Tennessee can be a leader in the Southern Association. Dick Ranta has been nominated for the office of 2nd Vice President of SSCA. Finally, we as a state can be leaders as we develop our competency standards.

Nominating Committee announced and urged them to meet during this convention....they will correspond by mail.

LD BUSINESS..NONE

NEW BUSINESS

Jim Holm moved that the TSCA appoint Dean Richard Ranta, Memphis State University, to form an AD HOC committee, representing each of the interest groups and educational levels of the TSCA, 1) to study the issues involved in funding by performance competencies; and 2) to bring to the 1981 meeting of the TSCA recommendations for action that the association might consider in developing a process of accrediting speech programs.

Richard Dean seconded! Unanimously passed.

Awards: Dr. Richard Dean

award for outstanding speaker made by Dr. Hal R. Ramer
President of Volunteer State Community College,
Gallatin, TN

James L. Bomar, Jr. accepted his Award.

Tom Webb accepted his Award.

Meeting adjourned.

Conference information:

32 Registered for the Conference

6 sustaining memberships
26 regular memberships
2 student memberships

36 people purchased Brunch tickets.

Ralph Hillman

Executive Secretary

Report from the Journal editor (Chairperson, Committee on Research)

Financial status: Excellent. Current balance is \$327.20. Fall issue will be easily financed. Spring issue should be financed out of institutional memberships which are in excellent shape. Price of printing has been cut back (to meet rising inflation costs) by using both sides of paper instead of one. Future issues will probably use reduction system so that pages will be smaller (same amount of material--type will be reduced)--result will be a more professional looking job and decreased postage rates possibly.

Editorial status: Fall issue (Vol. VI, number 2) will be 8th issue by current editor.

Manuscripts: From its inception to the present, very few members of TSCA have supported the Journal by submitting manuscripts. Many of our manuscripts have been from people outside the organization, or have been point-of-view articles specifically requested by the editor. If the Journal is to make it, the current practice of long praying and meditation prior to publication must be replaced with more articles.

Sincerely,

DAVID WALKER, Chairperson
Committee on Research & Publications

PUBLICATION INFORMATION

THE JOURNAL OF THE TENNESSEE SPEECH COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION is published twice yearly in the Winter and Spring. Subscriptions and requests for advertising rates should be addressed to David Walker, Box 111, MTSU, Murfreesboro, TN 37132. Regular subscription price for non-members is \$4.00 yearly, or \$2.00 per issue. The TSCA JOURNAL is printed by the MTSU Print Shop, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN 37132. Special fourth class postage is paid at Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN.

The purpose of the publication is to expand professional interest and activity in all areas of the field of speech communication in Tennessee. Articles from all areas of speech study will be welcomed, with special consideration given to articles treating pedagogical concepts, techniques, and experiments.

All papers should be sent to the editor. Authors should submit two copies of their manuscripts, each under a separate title page also to include the author's name and address. Manuscripts without the identifying title pages will be forwarded by the editor to a panel of reader-referees who will represent the varied interests within the discipline.

All papers should be double-spaced, typed in standard type with a dark ribbon, and on standard typing paper. Margins should be standard and uniform. Notes need to be typed single-spaced on separate sheets following the last page of the manuscript proper. The first footnote should be unnumbered and should contain essential information about the author. This footnote will be eliminated by the editor from the manuscripts sent to the panel of readers. Any professional style guide, consistently used, is acceptable. Accuracy, originality, and proper citing of source materials are the responsibilities of the contributors.

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