

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Abstract approved:

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On January 2, 2016 a militia occupied the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Oregon and captured national attention. The militia vowed to occupy until certain demands were met, and among these demands was a call for less federal control of land. While the occupation lasted 41 days, the militia remained unable to negotiate any of their demands with the federal government. Thus, the occupation and this iteration of a modern militia movement were unsuccessful. There is extensive research addressing the evolution of the militia movement. However, there is a glaring absence of literature addressing rhetoric created by militia groups. Therefore, this research serves to address this gap by comparing rhetoric cultivated by the Malheur militia and Governor Kate Brown to determine why the Malheur militia's movement was unsuccessful. This research focuses primarily on metaphor usage and the messages they derive within three discourses created by the parties mentioned above. As a stylistic token, metaphor is able to suggest various audiences most

receptive to the messages and understanding cultivated by the metaphor. By comparing Governor Brown's rhetoric with the militia's, this research revealed several interesting conclusions. First, that the militia used significantly more metaphor in their discourse to justify their actions amongst a wider audience. Secondly, Governor Brown's subdued use of metaphor only served to reinforce society's expectations of the occupation and militia. Lastly, the Malheur militia's movement was unsuccessful because the metaphors in their discourse didn't appeal to a larger public. Through metaphor, the militia remained unable to connect and identify with the larger public.

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Metaphor, Malheur, and Government: A Comparative Rhetorical Examination of
Metaphor Usage in the Occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge

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I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

Samantha Siegner, Author

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Prior to January 2016, Oregonians and the larger American public had never heard of Burns, Oregon and Malheur County. Burns can be found in the eastern reaches of Oregon, and houses a small population primarily dedicated to ranching and farming. It is neither a bustling metropolis nor a popular destination spot, unless one is interested in hunting, visiting the Steens Mountains, or bird watching at the National Wildlife refuge in Malheur County. Like many small towns, the isolation experienced lends simplicity and is greatly valued by all within the community. Unfortunately, this peace was disrupted when an armed militia group occupied the National Wildlife Refuge in Malheur County and forced news media to cast a spotlight on Burns, Oregon. Thereby, effectively putting the small town on the maps of Americans everywhere, and creating chaos for the residents. Although the media attention happened overnight, the story begins much earlier with the Hammond family.

Dwight and Steven Hammond (father and son respectively) operated a ranch outside of Burns in Diamond, Oregon. In June of 2012, the duo was convicted and found guilty of two arsons: the “Hardie – Hammond Fire” and the “Krumbo Butte Fire” (U.S. Dept. of Justice). The “Hardie – Hammond Fire” burned 139 acres of public land in 2001 (U.S. Dept. of Justice). Witnesses testified that the fire was started on the Bureau of Land Management’s (BLM) property to destroy evidence of deer that were illegally killed there by Steven Hammond and his hunting party (U.S. Dept. of Justice). After starting the fire, “...Steven Hammond called the BLM office in Burns, Oregon and claimed the fire was started on Hammond property to burn off

invasive species and had inadvertently burned onto public lands” (U.S. Dept. of Justice). Secondly, the “Krumbo Butte Fire” happened in August 2006 when a lightning storm started several fires and forced the BLM to institute a burn ban while “firefighters fought those fires” (U.S. Dept. of Justice). Unfortunately, the Hammonds started several backfires to protect their cattle’s feed without notifying or receiving permission from the BLM during the time frame that the burn ban was in effect (U.S. Dept. of Justice). Similarly, these fires burned public land (U.S. Dept. of Justice).

An arson committed on federal land is coupled with a minimum 5-year prison sentence (U.S. Dept. of Justice). In 2012, the Hammonds argued that the punishment for arson was “unconstitutional” (U.S. Dept. of Justice). In fact, setting backfires is a common practice employed by the BLM to prevent fires from spreading. The judge agreed with the Hammond’s plea, and said the mandatory sentence would “shock the conscience” and was “grossly disproportionate to the severity of the offenses here” (Perkowski). As such, Dwight and Steven Hammond were given and served reduced sentences (U.S. Dept. of Justice). Then, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, prompted by federal prosecutors, reopened the case because the original prison terms were “too lenient” (Perkowski). On October 7, 2015, Dwight and Steven were resentenced to five years in prison with credit for their time already served (U.S. Dept. of Justice). The tight knit Burns community reacted unfavorably.

Many within the community felt the resentencing was unjust and actively shared the Hammond’s plight on social media outlets. The story circulated and caught the attention of Ammon Bundy, an activist who harbors anti-government

sentiments. Bundy posted several YouTube videos implying that the Hammonds were being intimidated by federal prosecutors (Peacher and Sepulvado), and asked all “patriots” to “stand up” and “report to Burns by January 2, 2016” (Vinograd, Fieldstadt, Dicasimirro and Rudansky). Ammon Bundy, and Robert Lavoy Finicum led their supporters, known as a militia, to peacefully protest in Burn, Oregon.

Their mere presence was met with mixed responses from the community. Rancher Melodi Molt said, “We aren’t associated with the Bundy crew but we agree with a lot of things that they are doing...But they are way more aggressive than what we want to do” (Peacher and Sepulvado). Some were more leery of the militia and their polarized message. Gary Marshall, a rancher, pointed out the cooperation between the federal government and the community by saying, “A lot of people who work at the BLM are of families of the community. It’s not in any way a ‘them against us’ kind of scenario here” (Peacher and Sepulvado). The federal government employs more than 50 percent of the workforce in Harney County and employees have a strong working relationship with the government (Peacher and Sepulvado). Additionally, many community members were asking for the militia to leave and concerned that they would be left with the consequences of the militia’s actions (Peacher and Sepulvado). On January 2, 2016, Bundy and Finicum led militia members to occupy the National Wildlife Refuge in Malheur County: effectively disregarding the community’s wishes and attitudes.

The occupation was used to illuminate the injustice served to the Hammonds, and symbolically opposes the federal government’s overwhelming control of public

lands. These notions were supported by the militia's demands seen in *The Oregonian*,

They want immediate freedom for imprisoned local ranchers. They want federal deeds voided and private owners to take over the property. They want the county to control the refuge. They want federal grazing permits vacated, leaving ranchers free to graze as they choose. (Zaitz)

Their demands were not met or addressed beyond this coverage seen in news sources. Instead, FBI agents were sent to contain the situation.

Despite this, the militia continued to occupy. Militia member Ryan Payne said, "We will be here for as long as it takes," echoing the conviction adopted by militia members (Johnson and Healy). However, the movement was coming to a close. On January 26, 2016, Robert Lavoy Fincium, the soft-spoken co-leader of the militia, was shot and killed by State police officers (Rosman and Wilson). Fincium was driving a car with several passengers to John Day for a meeting with the Grant County Sheriff. The passengers remained unharmed, as Fincium was shot several times upon exiting the vehicle. The circumstances surrounding Fincium's death were highly disputed despite the FBI's concluding investigation. Shortly after Fincium's death, Ammon Bundy and several other militiamen were arrested (Perez and Yan). On February 11, 2016, the occupation ended when the final four militiamen occupying the National Wildlife Refuge turned themselves over to the FBI (Domonsoke).

Throughout the occupation, the militia cultivated and disseminated rhetoric through radio, television and print media. A response from State and Federal

governments was largely absent, until Governor Kate Brown spoke out at a press conference in Salem, Oregon and released several letters imploring the Federal government to take action. Inevitably, the FBI intervened and the militia failed at achieving the aforementioned goals. Why was the militia's movement unsuccessful? My work will endeavor to answer that question through a comparative rhetorical analysis of artifacts cultivated by the militia and Governor Kate Brown. Specifically, I will be focusing on how the metaphors within the militia's rhetoric and Governor Brown's letters fought to garner support from the larger American public. I will first identify and interpret the metaphors in the artifacts separately using a framework provided by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By*. Then, comparing the types of metaphor used and their messages, I will be able to understand the audiences the various artifacts catered to. As a stylistic token, metaphor provides insight into the type of audience most receptive to the messages conveyed by the metaphors and the discourse as a whole. Using Edwin Black's "The Second Persona," I will identify the audience best suited for the rhetoric as indicated by the metaphors present in the artifacts. Finally, I will be able to draw conclusions as to why the Malheur militia movement didn't achieve the goals mentioned above.

But first, it is necessary to contextualize this particular occupation with regard to historical conflicts between ranchers and the federal government, and the long-standing militia movement. Specifically, these next sections will demonstrate and identify the sources of enduring tension between ranchers and the federal government. In addition, I will address the evolution of the traditional militia

movement. Both topics are necessary as they provide the foundation for understanding this particular conflict, occupation, and militia.

History of the Conflict

Historically, the relationship between ranchers, farmers and the federal government has been tense. The institution of grazing fees and the federal government's overwhelming ownership of rural land mass have caused much of this tension. Both problems stem from American westward expansion and the resulting Taylor Grazing Act.

Prior to the Taylor Grazing Act, the Homestead Act of 1862 gave settlers 160 acres of land for a small fee and required "five years of continuous residence" (Library of Congress). Under the Homestead Act, about 270 million acres (10%) of the United States were settled (Anderson 120). However, the 160 acres afforded to the settlers wasn't large enough to sustain most ranching operations (Hurlburt 203). As such, many took advantage of free grazing on public lands (Hurlburt 203). However, the lack of regulation lent problems for ranching operations. Virgil Hurlburt outlines the problems in the *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* saying,

Nomadic grazers roamed at will, destroying feed and poaching water. The 'first come' was the 'first served.' The lands still in public ownership yielded no taxes and could not be leased. Competitive free use resulted in a serious overgrazing problem. (203)

Without range control, the "carrying capacity" of the lands was diminishing and negatively affected agricultural operations (Hulburt 203). Not to mention, bigger

operations tended to monopolize water and made it difficult for smaller ranches to survive. A solution to these problems was on the horizon.

The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to create grazing districts from suitable public domain (Hulburt 204). Grazing permits were then granted to citizens (with an agricultural operation) within the districts for a ten-year period (Hulburt 204). These permits are not free, but allow the ranchers to graze the land at an extremely low price. Furthermore, permits can be renewed as long as the rancher is compliant with the rules and regulations (Hulburt 204). At the time, the Taylor Grazing act was viewed favorably by the agricultural industry. The lack of range management had led to a ravaged land unsuitable for carrying livestock (Hulburt 206). Today, the Taylor Grazing Act remains similar with minor provisions about length of use and cost of permits.

Many ranchers, particularly in the western United States, no longer view these regulations favorably. According to a study conducted by Karen Lowrie and Michael Greenberg, the unhappiness stems from the amount of land the federal government owns. In the eastern United States "...there is very little land under federal ownership" (Lowrie and Greenberg 703). The federal facilities in these areas are viewed positively because they create jobs for the local communities and the lands often attract tourists (Lowrie and Greenberg 703-704). The western United States is different: as much as 75% of the lands in these states are owned by the Federal government (Lowrie and Greenberg 704). In these states, attitudes toward the federal government are less friendly and hostile at times (Lowrie and Greenberg 704). The percentage of conflicts was higher in counties where federal land ownership was

higher (Witt and Alan 97). These conflicts became the foundation for the Sagebrush Rebellion: a renascent movement opposing oppressive federal land control.

The first Sagebrush Rebellion was born in the late 1970s as a response to the creation of several federal environmental policies, like the Endangered Species act (Thompson). These laws enacted new regulations and included studies of “wilderness” areas that prohibited the use of that land for the time being (Lewis 200). Miners, loggers, and ranchers were enraged because they had to operate differently and not all the land was available for use (Lewis 200). The intent of the rebellion was to achieve “private ownership of the lands” (Lewis 199), which was similarly outlined in the demands made by the militia occupying the wildlife refuge. This movement had more diverse support, and included local politicians, state legislators, U.S. congressmen, ranchers, loggers, and miners (Thompson). This rebellion was fought primarily through political channels, and Senator Orrin Hatch’s bill to transfer control of federal land to the states “died during the 96th Congress” (Lewis 200). Although the rebels operated mostly within the legislative system, there were threats of violence and vandalism (Thompson). However, these threats weren’t acted upon. The “symbolic climax” of this rebellion is said to have taken place on July 4, 1980 in Grand County, Utah (Cannon and Embry 370). The county commissioners “led a group of hundreds of locals in bulldozing a road into a Wilderness Study Area in protest of what they saw as a BLM land grab” (Thompson). All the while, they were carrying a flag and singing the star-spangled banner (Cannon and Embry 370).

Eventually, the first Sagebrush Rebellion died out. Largely due to the election of President Ronald Reagan and appointment of Secretary of Interior James Watt,

who supported the goals of the Sagebrush Rebellion (Thompson). They didn't agree with complete transfer of federal land to the States, but they lessened regulations and promised to involve and consider locals in federal land management (Thompson). Thereby, assuaging the Sagebrush rebels. Also, the ranchers, logger and miners realized that the federal grazing fees, and royalties would be less expensive than the fees that would be imposed by the State. The complete transfer of federal land to the states no longer made sense.

Since then, there have been several more flare-ups in the movement. The second reoccurrence of the rebellion came as a response to President Clinton's designation of the Grand Staircase Escalante monument in Utah (Shea). The Grand Staircase Escalante is the nation's largest national monument and its designation angered the rebels. Congressman Scott McInnis gave a feisty speech on the House of Representatives' floor, and Larmer paraphrases his message: "These monuments were undemocratic and elitist, he said, because they shut out true Westerners-ranchers, miners, loggers and off-road vehicle enthusiasts from the decision-making process..." (Larmer). Unfortunately, this speech and the sagebrush rebel's efforts haven't amounted to much. The rebels' "trumpeted legal victories" haven't held up in "higher courts or are yielding ambiguous results"(Larmer). Yet, the movement resurfaced in Malheur County.

History of the Militia Movement

Although the occupation of the National Wildlife Refuge was considered an iteration of the Sagebrush Rebellion, it was also connected to the long-standing militia movement. The connection can be seen specifically through Ammon Bundy

and Robert LaVoy Finicum's labeling of themselves and their supporters as a militia. This section will outline the history of the traditional movement to illustrate its evolution and connection with the modern militia in Malheur.

In Mark Pitcavage's article, "Camouflage and Conspiracy: The Militia Movement from Ruby Ridge to Y2K," he defines the militia movement as, "... a loose collection of paramilitary groups that self-identify as 'militias' and individuals with strong sympathies for such groups" (958). Important to Pitcavage's definition of militia is the word "paramilitary." The modern militia movement has connections to the right-wing paramilitary movements of the past: the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirt Legion and the California Rangers (Pitcavage 959). Central to these movements were the "quasi-military" organization and "concerns ranging from survivalism to White supremacy" (Pitcavage 959). These groups shared the militaristic characteristics seen in more modern militia movements. For instance, modern militias often organize and mobilize quickly in response to a perceived threat. This was exemplified by the hasty arrival of Bundy, Finicum and other militia members in Burns, Oregon shortly after Bundy called for mobilization through a Facebook video ("Bundy Ranch"). Despite this similarity, the modern militia movement is largely reflective of a different group: the Posse Comitatus (Pitcavage 959).

The Posse Comitatus was originally a piece of legislation passed and enacted in 1878 (Buttaro 1). The Latin phrase is translated as "power of the country" (Buttaro 2). This legislation sanctioned a law enforcing body to bestow power on a group of men for the purpose of managing and addressing "civil disorders" (Buttaro 2). The Posse Comitatus' connection to the militia predated the act of 1878, when Parliament

“...passed a new militia law...that authorized the militia to suppress ‘Insurrection, Rebellion, or Invasion...” in 1662 (Butarro 2). At this time, the Militia and the Posse Comitatus became synonymous despite the legal differences between the two.

The phrase “Posse Comitatus” resurfaced in the 1970s as the name of an Oregon militia group led by Henry “Mike” Beach (Pitcavage 959). Pitcavage states the ideology of the group in the following passage,

The core belief of the Posse was that Americans had been misled as to the entire nature of their government; what most Americans perceived as the legitimate government was in fact an illegitimate body that had usurped the rightful one through conspiratorial means. The Posse claimed that the true form of government was a near anarchic, highly localized form of government centered on the county sheriff... (959)

The Posse felt that county sheriffs would combat the intrusive nature of State and Federal governments (Pitcavage 959). These beliefs gained support by the extreme right, who were unsettled by the Federal government’s intervention on behalf of African Americans during the Civil Rights movement (Pitcavage 959). The Posse disliked the Federal government’s position on many of these large social issues and overtly opposed them.

Not surprisingly, the larger public didn’t support the Posse’s extreme views. Therefore, William Potter Gale attempted to legitimize the Posse and other militia groups (Pitcavage 960). Using the term “unorganized militia,” Gale hoped to “...link his group [Unorganized Militia of the Committee of the States] to the militia mentioned in the constitution and federal and state law...” (Pitcavage 960). He died

before completing this endeavor, but his attempt to connect militia groups to the Constitution and the historical American militia is reflected in the modern militia movement.

Many speculate that the modern militia movement arose in response to the tragedies in Ruby Ridge, Idaho and Waco, Texas (Pitcavage 958). Although the Weaver family and Branch Davidians were “reclusive groups,” many were surprised the government would kill those “who refused to conform” (Pitcavage 961). As might be assumed, militia groups organized and mobilized in response to these events. Their actions can be examined in the contemporary definition of militia: “...Formal, structured, private organizations of armed citizens that declare themselves as militias...that generally arise in reaction to a particular environment or crisis” (Hamilton, *Militias in America*, 2). While this definition still reflects characteristics of past militia groups, there are ideological differences separating the past militia groups from the present.

Central to the modern militia movement is the belief that the federal government is an intrusive institution that violates individual liberties by overstepping the bounds of the Constitution (Hamilton, *Militias in America*, 41). As a result, the militia is ground in their conviction of the second amendment and right to assemble to combat the federal government’s abuse of power (Hamilton, *Militias in America*, 42). Among the most popular issues militias are concerned with is land regulation (Hamilton, *Militias in America*, 42). As mentioned above, ranchers, loggers and miners within the western United States are among the most interested in these land management issues. Consequently, Hamilton states that many federal officials have

reported threats and even attacks against their establishments believed to be local militia groups (*Militias in America*, 42). Although the Malheur militia didn't "attack" the National Wildlife Refuge, the armed occupation was reflective of the modern militia ideology: anger toward the federal government, and conviction in the Second Amendment. This will be more clearly articulated in the literature review.

Background of Bundy and Finicum

Before introducing the rhetorical artifacts, a brief overview of Ammon Bundy and Robert LaVoy Finicum is needed. Both were considered leaders of the militia in Malheur, and have a history worth noting. Their histories characterize them, and provide insight into how their (militia's) rhetoric was received by the larger public.

The Bundy name gained publicity in 2014. Cliven Bundy, Ammon Bundy's father, was involved in a public standoff with the federal government in Nevada. The conflict began when Cliven refused to pay the federal government for grazing his cattle on public lands (Altman). Cliven had amassed more than one million dollars in unpaid grazing fees (Altman). The Bureau of Land Management (BLM), under court order, moved to impound a portion of his cattle, but was met with resistance (Altman). Cliven and a host of armed individuals on horseback prevented the BLM from achieving their goal. Eventually, the BLM and SWAT teams backed down and Cliven was not penalized for his actions. In fact, a year later Robert Crooks, founder of the Mountain Minutemen said, "[The] BLM no longer exists in this section of Nevada" (Altman). The BLM virtually stopped managing that region of land "because of safety concerns" (Altman). For these reasons, ranchers and the larger

public recognize the Bundy name, and associate it with various titles: rebel-rouser or patriot.

Although Robert LaVoy Finicum demonstrated with the Bundys in Nevada, he remained fairly unknown (Zaffos). Finicum ran a ranching operation located in Northern Arizona (“One Cowboy’s Stand for Freedom”). Until his death, Finicum remained an active proponent for individual liberty and disseminated his views through video blog posts on his YouTube channel. These posts described the government “stalking” the individual liberties of Americans (“One Cowboy’s Stand for Freedom”). Finicum often urged the audience to “stand for freedom,” and place limits on the federal government as noted in the Constitution (“One Cowboy’s Stand for Freedom”). The ideas stated in his video blogs are manifested in the militia rhetoric, and his friendship with Bundy makes Finicum “guilty by association.”

The Artifacts

The rhetorical artifacts were chosen to be representative of the main conflicting parties: the militia and the government. The federal government was largely uninvolved rhetorically aside from sending FBI agents. As such, I will be using Governor Kate Brown’s response as representative of the state government, which calls upon the federal government to act. Representative of the militia’s rhetoric will be a radio interview Finicum participated in days before his death. Finicum’s interview reflects the messages and rhetoric disseminated by the militia throughout the entirety of the occupation. This collection of artifacts encompasses the main messages portrayed by the opposing sides of the conflict, and articulated the

dominant narratives to be accepted or rejected by the greater American public. First, an overview of the artifacts is needed.

Representing the entirety of the militia rhetoric throughout the occupation is a telephone interview conducted by *Resistance Radio*. Finicum was interviewed shortly before his death by various hosts on *Resistance Radio* for nearly fifty minutes and left once complete. However, *Resistance Radio* allowed listeners to call in and respond for another thirty minutes. I will be using the first fifty minutes of this interview as the preliminary artifact within the analysis. The interview entitled, “Live from Oregon [sic] with LaVoy Finicum Standing for Freedom,” allowed Finicum to explain why the militia was occupying, what a typical day was like at the National Wildlife Refuge, and his predictions for the future of this movement. To briefly summarize the interview, it operates primarily on three structural metaphors: the government as a monarchy, government as a wolf, and the conflict as a battle. The focus on government is intentional and used to showcase how it has overstepped its bounds. Eventually, Finicum assures those who may not be able or willing to participate, that the militia will do the work saying, “...We’re to hold our course, we’re to work hard, and we’re to uphold freedom and the Constitution and God will do the rest” (Finicum 13). Although this interview was not broadcast to the public, and likely only heard by those who supported the militia, it was largely representative of the rhetoric cultivated by the militia and broadcast by mainstream news sources at various times throughout the occupation.

Kate Brown’s response is seen in a collection of artifacts: two letters addressed first to President Obama and second to Attorney General Loretta Lynch

and FBI director James Comey. Both letters were sent on January 20, 2016, and the first was addressed to Attorney General Loretta Lunch and FBI director James Comey. In this letter, Governor Brown conveyed the diversity found within Harney County and the harm being done to its residents by the militia's occupation. Governor Brown then urges federal officials to take responsibility and action, as the "occupation has occurred on federal land." In her second letter to President Obama, Governor Brown reiterates her conversations with federal officials about the "occupation of the National Wildlife Refuge by armed radicals." Again, urging the federal government to swiftly end the occupation. Federal action occurred shortly after these letters were released. On January 26, 2016, Robert LaVoy Finicum was shot and killed by FBI agents, and arrests of many key militia members were made. While these letters may have instrumented the end of the occupation, this claim cannot be made with certainty.

As mentioned, this paper will serve to understand why the Malheur militia failed in garnering support from the larger public. This research will proceed by first addressing past literature on militia movements, rhetoric, and the rhetoric of social movements in general. In essence, this section will be used to further understand the Malheur militia movement and justify my research on this topic as there is large gap in literature addressing my interest. Next, I will clearly outline the methodology applied to the analysis of the artifacts. This methodology blends Lakoff and Johnson's work on metaphor with Black's conception of an audience. Then, this method will be rigorously applied to the artifacts mentioned. Finally, we may have some clarity as to why the Malheur militia movement failed.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Presently, there is an absence of literature examining the rhetoric cultivated by the militia in Malheur and Harney Counties. As such, this review will examine literature surrounding past militia movements and rhetoric of radical groups, and agitative or confrontational movements. By focusing on these particular areas, connections to the Malheur militia's rhetoric and Governor Brown's response may be traced.

First, there has been minimal research done to address the rhetoric cultivated by militia groups. Instead, scholars have dedicated their efforts to historicizing the militia movement with emphasis on identifying and understanding key groups and events. The events and groups receiving the most attention are as follow: Ruby Ridge, Idaho and the Christian Identity group, Waco Texas and the Branch Davidians, and the Oklahoma City Bombing and its connection to the militia movement. These three events are often credited with marking the beginning of the modern militia movement. Although these are among the most recent events and groups to surface, there is extensive literature addressing the history of other militia or paramilitary groups: the Ku Klux Klan, the Posse Comitatus, and Lyndon LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committees. Among the chief scholars historicizing the militia movement's evolution are Kenneth Stern, Lane Crothers, and Neil Hamilton. A critical examination of the militia's history doesn't serve the purpose of this review. However, there are several reoccurring patterns and themes surrounding militia action and beliefs in regard to some of the major events mentioned. I will use the events at Ruby Ridge and Waco to represent militia activity

that was covered nationally. While a lesser known militia incident will be used to demonstrate consistency in the pattern alluded to above. This next section will highlight the militia's affiliation with armed standoffs, and their fierce allegiance to their belief systems.

The Militia Cycle

There is a common occurrence of bloodshed following militia action. Yet, there is a more specific pattern operating within the militia actions occurring in Ruby Ridge and Waco. This pattern demands that the militia group or individual responds to a stimulus, acts out against authority, engages authority with weapons, and then eventually ends with the arrests and/or deaths of militia members. In Kenneth Stern's *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, he illustrates the aforementioned pattern happening in Ruby Ridge, Idaho with the Weaver family. The Weaver family moved to Idaho in response to their growing concern of government oppression specifically within the education system (Stern 19). Idaho law was more flexible in regards to homeschooling (Stern 19). Vicki articulates her reasoning for homeschooling in the following quotation, "Everybody knows the government is not right...We don't have the freedom to believe what we want. We moved here to remove our children from the trash being taught in public schools and to practice our beliefs...to keep Yahweh's laws" (Stern 19). Vicki references the Weaver family's dedication to the Christian Identity ideology, which will be discussed later. Although this was not the response (geographic relocation) to a stimulus that led to the standoff, it is important to note that those within militia

groups are constantly responding to stimuli in ways that honor their belief system. For some, like the Weavers, upholding a militia ideology becomes a lifestyle.

The real response came a year after Randy Weaver (the father) was indicted for selling two illegal sawed-off shotguns to an informant during a sting operation set up by the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) (Stern 21). Weaver had been released, but failed to return for his court date, opting instead to hide out in his cabin with his family. The U.S. Marshal Service sent letters to his home in an attempt to negotiate Weaver's compliance with the court system (Stern 22). The Weavers responded with the following quote, "Whether we live or whether we die, we will not obey your lawless government" (Stern 22). This quote indicates the Weaver's conviction and demonstrates their response and action against authority.

The Weavers engaged the U.S. Marshal service in a firefight that broke out while the Marshals were surveilling Weaver's property. Unfortunately, that night saw the death of Sam (Weaver's son), and U.S. Marshal Degan (Stern 23). Both sides suffered injuries, and Vicki Weaver was shot the next day while holding the door open for both Harris and Weaver who were returning from the shed where Sam's body was (Stern 32). While the Weavers engaged authorities, it eventually ended eleven days later with Weaver's surrender (Stern 33). Thereby, marking the end of the pattern.

This same pattern can be seen in an instance involving Posse member, and farmer, Gordon Kahl. Kahl a farmer, and a passionate speaker, spoke at rallies when hard times fell upon him and other farmers (Hamilton, *Rebels and Renegades*, 292). Kahl refused to pay his income taxes and had violated his terms of probation when

federal marshals tracked him down to his farm in Medina, North Dakota (Hamilton, *Rebels and Renegades*, 293). The federal marshals were met by a roadblock, Kahl, his son, and several other armed individuals (Hamilton, *Rebels and Renegades*, 293). A shot was fired (likely by Kahl's son) and an exchange proceeded that left two dead and four wounded marshals (Hamilton, *Rebels and Renegades*, 293). Kahl's son was shot, but taken to the hospital (Hamilton, *Rebels and Renegades*, 293). Surprisingly, Kahl remained unscathed and fled to Arkansas where he hid for several months until federal marshals found him (Hamilton, *Rebels and Renegades*, 293). The marshals surrounded Kahl's bunker, Kahl fired a shot that killed the local sheriff, and marshals then fired into the bunker and killed Kahl (Hamilton, *Rebels and Renegades*, 293). Hamilton says this about Kahl's death, "To many radicals, Kahl's death reinforced their view that the federal government stood for oppression. He was killed, they said, for his belief in Identity Christianity, a murder intended to stifle freedom of speech" (*Rebels and Renegades*, 293). Yet, the pattern remains true with Kahl responding to the federal marshals, disobeying and engaging authority in a firefight that eventually ended with his death.

More tragedy would only continue in Waco, Texas in 1993. The Branch Davidians were a Texas based group founded in 1935 by Victor Houteff (Stern 58). Houteff foresaw the end of the world and the beginning of a "new era" happening on April 22, 1959 (Stern 58). However, Houteff's prophecy didn't pan out. It was time for a new leader: David Koresh. Koresh imparted the beliefs outlined below,

He [Koresh] focused on the decoding of cryptic apocalyptic passages (such as

the Seven Seals of the Book of Revelation) that he understood to refer to the present: the inbreaking of God's will into human history was about to occur, with a cosmic struggle between good and evil; the forces of evil would be concentrated in the present center of earthly power, the government of the United States...The Battle of Armageddon must be waged with maximum effort by the faithful to draw down the heavenly host and bring in the City of God. (Stern 59)

As such, Koresh began to accumulate a large supply of weapons and ammunition (Stern 59). Slightly different than the Weavers, Koresh was first and foremost responding to an ideological stimulus: acting only on his beliefs of what might happen.

Word spread of Koresh's weapons supply and ATF agents received a search warrant for the illegal firearms and Koresh's arrest (Stern 59). Koresh was ready for the attack, shots were fired and there were casualties on both sides (Stern 60). After fifty-one days, the standoff came to an end when the FBI approached the compound, fired weapons, and deployed gas to force the Davidians out. Sadly, fires broke out killing 80 Davidians (Stern 60). Again, the militia group loses.

Developing from each of these events was confusion, outrage, and paranoia. Resulting in literature that worked to uncover the truth of the standoffs and understand the stories of those involved. Furthermore, the dangerous nature of the standoffs and sometimes swift resolutions may have prevented the cultivation of rhetoric on part of the militia. Yet, the pattern of action taken by the militias in these situations can be observed. The group or individual responds to a stimulus

(sometimes ideological) and acts out violently when tested by authority, which results in casualties and finally the arrests of the militiamen. This pattern demonstrates the radical nature of militia groups, and effectively characterizes them as a radical or extremist group if unclear before. This next section will focus on literature addressing militias more generally in regards to ideology, formation and the rhetoric the militia and other radical groups create.

Militia Ideology

In Lane Crothers' article, "The Cultural Foundations of the Militia Movement," he focuses on addressing the circumstances that lend formation of a militia group, its organization, and the militia's ideology. Militias commonly construct their identity by defining the enemy (Crothers 226). Often, this manifests as a particular identity that Crothers describes:

...They present themselves as the legacy of the American Revolution: bands of hearty individualists protecting their freedom – through violence if required – against the corrupt machinations of an overbearing central political authority. (226)

The "overbearing political authority" is termed as either the "Shadow Government" or the "New World Order" (Crothers 226). Essentially, the militia believes the government is corrupt and media outlets are being manipulated for "selfish ends" (Crothers 226 and Freilich 15). These efforts inevitably will end America's independence and cause them to merge with other nations (Hamilton, *Militias in America*, 41). Thereby, creating a New World Order. This notion was fed by conspiracy theories that arose in response to the incidents at Ruby Ridge, Waco and

Oklahoma City (Goodrick – Clarke 280). For instance, the aftermath of Ruby Ridge cultivated a conspiracy that the federal government plotted to “get” Randy Weaver “on his mountain” (Crothers, *Rage*, 89). Compelling questions such as, why were agents carrying machine guns on a surveilling operation, why throw stones on the road unless to attract the attention of a dog, and how could an expert sniper accidentally shoot Vicki in the head feed the conspiracy (Crothers, *Rage*, 89). While conspiracy theories surrounding those events provide interesting support for the presence of a “Shadow Government,” the militia relies on other instances to identify their enemy.

The government’s corruption can be seen prominently in the 1990s with the changing political environment. Communism had been vanquished and the U.S. became the leader of a United Nations task force dedicated to fighting the war in Iraq (Goodrick-Clarke 279). This relationship created “rhetoric about a supranational government,” and growing regulations under Clinton’s administration sparked fear in the militia movement (Goodrick-Clarke 279). Clinton’s campaign for stricter gun laws and the passage of the Brady Law restricting “firearm purchases” only indicated “government tyranny” (Goodrick-Clarke 279). Yet, the most indicative action was the passage of the 14th Amendment.

Militia members feel that within the 14th Amendment, the “requirement that states follow federal rules” contradicts the Founders’ intent that individual liberties are paramount (Crothers 227). Most problematic for militia groups is the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). The IRS represents the government’s infringement on an “individual’s right to the fruits of his property and his labour” (Durham 66). As such,

militias view legal systems as failing and corrupt (Durham 66). The creation of the Federal Reserve Bank and regulatory restrictions on land use exemplify the federal government's unconstitutional abuse of power (Crothers 226-227). The Posse Comitatus proposed a simple solution to this problem in the 1970s (Durham 66). Proposing that militiamen become involved in the legal system and "decide on and execute the law" (Durham 66). If there were resistance by judges or other legal authorities, they would be sentenced to death (Durham 66). While this tactic wasn't adopted, many militias remain extremely distrustful of the American legal system.

The enemy has been vaguely identified as the "Shadow Government" or "New World Order," with reasons supporting the corruption. However, there are specific ways that militias in general characterize their enemy. In *Far-Right Fantasy: A Sociology of American Religion and Politics*, James Aho specifically describes four steps militias engage in characterizing their enemy (not limited to the "Shadow Government"). The first step is labeling or imposing a "slandering title" on the enemy (Aho 133). There are two qualities needed in a label. First, the label must evoke characteristics that are similar to the militia, so the militia is able to recognize pieces of themselves in the enemy (Aho 133). Second, the characteristics evoked must differ from the militia whether it is in regards to "skin color...language...or behavior" (Aho 133). This allows for the enemy to be the perfect "scapegoat" and "carry away" the militia's unfavorable characteristics (Aho 133).

Next, militias engage in satanization where they use myths and legends to show why the labeled enemy is evil (Aho 133). These myths are born from theology, biology, pop-psychology, and pop-sociology (Aho 133). Using a combination of

myth and anecdote, the militia leaves no escape for the enemy. Denial often only confirms the enemy's participation in the act they are accused of (Aho 134). Most notable within this process is that the militia is excused from their part in constructing the enemy (Aho 134). It is the enemy's fault and they are simply victims (Aho 134).

After the myths have been instilled in the minds of children they become mistaken as fact in the embedment phase (Aho 134). It is easiest to manipulate children, as they haven't learned about the labels used and the enemy's actual social standing (Aho 134). By instilling these myths and lessons within the younger generation, the militia fosters a hate for a particular enemy within that demographic (Aho 134). All there is left to do is act on their hate.

In the sacrificing stage the militia slays the enemy either figuratively (imprisonment) or literally (beating) (Aho 134). They must rid the nation of this enemy and restore the values previously held: democracy, individual liberty etc. (Aho 134). For the militia this process can be unifying, as it focuses on remembering the coveted cultural values and reinforces their hatred of the enemy (Aho 134). In doing so, the militia forgets that the enemy is their own creation (Aho 134). Unfortunately, this process only reinforces the stereotypes associated with militia groups. Namely, that they are paranoid radicals.

Nonetheless, by characterizing the enemy, the militia attempts to legitimize their presence and actions (Crothers 227). They have created an enemy and any actions taken by the militia are steps to defeat it. Like a hero standing up to a bully, the militia "stand-up together" to better the world for everyone (Mulloy 125). Also, militias highlight their role historically exemplified during the American Revolution

to provide further justification for their actions. While militias didn't have a significant impact in the Revolutionary War, their contributions at battles in Lexington and Concord (as well as others) are not untrue (Crothers, *Rage*, 28). This laid the foundation for the myth and was made fact by popular culture movies and stories (Crothers, *Rage*, 31). Furthermore, militias often cite US code 10 USC 311 that says, "...all 17-45 year-old men" can be a part of an organized or unorganized militia (Crothers 228). While these militia groups are of the unorganized variety, they are legally able to form. Thereby, legitimizing the militia's formation and purpose: "...challenging illegal actions...resisting abuses of federal power...to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States" (Crothers 227).

The militia's enemy and purpose are clear but their beliefs can differ from group to group. This section will serve to address the general ideological similarities between militia groups before highlighting a few differences specifically in regard to theology. Central to the militia's ideology is their right to bear arms. Afforded by the second amendment, this right is viewed as an individual's means of self-defense (Crothers 228). Again, the militia's fixation with guns stems from the Constitution and the purpose they serve to stave off enemies and preserve "individual liberty" (Freilich 17). Often times militia supporters feel that resorting to weapons are their only choice. In an interview with a female militia supporter, Deborah Homsher quotes an individual who justifies the use of weapons in protecting individual liberty saying, "...are people [militia] who feel the government is pushing so hard that they don't want to be pushed anymore. So they're saying look this is the line; this is the Constitution, live by it. We intend to" (Homsher 150). The second amendment is

viewed as the militia's right to bear arms against a "tyrannical government" (Hamilton, *Militias in America*, 41). There are several issues that militia groups are especially receptive to: gun control, land regulation, and grazing rights (Hamilton, *Militias in America*, 42).

Furthermore, militia groups claim to differ from other right-wing groups in their belief of equality for all (Crothers 229). Ironically, the militia recognizes a special group of "sovereign citizens" as stated below,

The Republic has Citizens of its own called American Nationals. Those are the Sovereign Citizens who qualify as such by being Members of the Posterity referred to in the Preamble and can only be the Natural Born or Naturalized White Inhabitants of each state whose forefathers delegated by solemn agreement certain powers to the Congress of the 'United States.'" (Crothers 229)

Although the militia believes that all citizens have rights afforded by the Constitution, only the "sovereign citizens" have the "...right to assess, consent, or nullify government's actions" (Crothers 229). If an African American doesn't like a policy or law enacted by the federal government, they don't have a right to reject the decision (Crothers 229). Why? Because the federal government is responsible for affording the African American individual's rights through the passage of the 14th Amendment (Crothers 229). Unlike the "sovereign citizens," African Americans (women, and other minorities as well) were not born with these rights and cannot judge the government. Surprisingly, the militia does not view these claims as racist, but as a "differential application of rights" (Crothers 229). They believe that

everyone has the same rights such as free speech (Crothers 229). Yet, the “sovereign citizen’s” connection to the founding fathers justifies their heightened status and ability to judge the government. Militia groups believe their “actions in defense of human liberty will bring benefits and protections for everyone...they are the nation’s truest defenders” (Crothers 229).

Religion, specifically a version of Christianity, plays a large role in militia ideology and action. While each militia may adopt a slightly modified religious view, the biblical narratives adopted frequently justify racism and inequality as seen above with the discussion of “sovereign citizens.” Most recognized by scholars are Identity and Fundamentalist Christian ideologies. While all militia groups do not adopt these, an explanation of them sheds light on how religious views are generally used to justify militia actions. The Christian Identity asserts that white Christians are the “...‘true Israelites,’ Jews are the offspring of Satan, and blacks and other minorities are ‘pre – Adamic,’ meaning that they were of another subhuman species created before Adam and Eve” (Stern 46). Christian Identity believers theologially supported this claim by pointing to the story of Adam, Eve and the birth of Cain and Abel (Stern 46). The wicked Cain, after killing Abel (representative of the white race), “decreed eternal racial conflict” and “ran off into the jungle to join pre-Adamic nonwhites” (Stern 47). Imaginably, the Christian Identity religion provides a foundation for racial discrimination. Furthermore, the Christian Identity holds that America is the “promised land” because it houses the “white Christians who are the lost Israelites” (Stern 47). Identity followers vow to fight against their enemies until “racial victory and the Kingdom of God is theirs” (Durham 67). Estimates indicate

that anywhere from two to fifty thousand people practice Christian Identity (Goodrick – Clarke 235). Christian Identity is extremely similar to the “sovereign citizens” discussed above, and provides explanation for racist, yet devout, “patriotic” attitudes found in militia movements.

Fundamentalist Christians typically preach a gloomy end of the world that is upon us (Stern 58). To summarize their beliefs Durham says, “...fundamentalist Christians have long believed that we are in the End Times, the vital moment before the coming of the anti-Christ, the battle between the forces of good and evil and the Final Judgement” (71). Evil is concentrated in the “center of earthly power” and representative of the federal government (Stern 59). Fundamentalists truly believe that a battle will occur and they must exhaust all efforts in trying to defeat this evil (Stern 59). Militias practicing Christian Fundamentalism typically work toward accumulating weapons that may be used in this battle (Stern 59). This religious view and facet of militia ideology is less common than Christian Identity. However, the general characterizations of good and evil are commonly employed in militia rhetoric.

The greater public often characterizes militia groups as “right-wing extremists.” While that may be accurate, militia groups share an individualism inherent in American political culture. Their concern with the individual’s rights afforded by the Constitution and demand “that communities of sovereign individuals have the right to negotiate the use of land, style of life, and social systems are all hallmarks of individualist thought” (Crothers 233). While their actions may be extreme, the individualism found within their ideology relates to a larger public. This realization isn’t always easy to admit by America’s larger society.

An understanding of the militia's ideology sheds light on the social and political circumstances surrounding the formation of a militia group. Crothers vaguely explains that militia groups will form if they observe an opportunity to exploit a weakness in the federal government, or if "new grievances are imposed on groups and individuals" (229). For instance, the 1980s and 1990s brought economic change that created a shift from smaller, family businesses to larger corporations (Crothers 130). Many disgruntled farmers, and small business owners faced losses and searched for answers (Crothers 130). Conclusions drawn by militia groups (a New World Order was behind their suffering) were more widely accepted by these disenfranchised.

The circumstances leading formation of a militia continue in George Michael's *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA*. Michael claims that the formation of militias has been a "reactive and defensive measure to perceived federal tyranny" (Michael 47). A founding member of the Michigan Militia, Norm Olson, says this about the purpose of his militia:

Our objective of course was to prevent another Waco. Our objective was to put the government on notice that if it were to execute another holocaust like the Mount Carmel tragedy or murder, it would pay dearly. We have interceded whenever there has been a federal siege. We have interceded to let the federals know that if there is bloodshed that there will be a costly, costly butcher's bill to pay. (Michael 48)

Unlike Crothers, Michaels and the Michigan Militia emphasize the formation of a militia as a defense mechanism rather than an opportunity to exploit a perceived

weakness in the federal government (Crothers 229). In this sense, formation is reactionary. In fact, Olson asserts that many militias encourage members to share their fears (Michael 49). The militia will listen to the fear stated, assess the merit of the fear, and then “face” or deal with the fear (Michaels 49). Once an issue or fear has been dealt with, and there is no imminent or present danger, the militia will recede into the background (Michael 51). The movement is not in a decline, but merely waiting for a new fear to arise. In this manner, fear is a foundational aspect of militia groups and their formation, which informs the paranoid characterization they often receive.

Once circumstances demand militia formation, there is need for order and structure within the group. Militia structure is debated with some scholars arguing militias don’t have a formal structure and others insisting they do. In an effort to address both viewpoints, I will discuss “above” and “below” ground militia structures.

A formally structured, or “above ground” militia group is visible and interacts with the public (Chermak 69). They are usually actively involved in their community, whether it is discussing political issues or answering questions community members may have about the militia (Chermak 69). An “above ground” militia often has a central leader, called a “Colonel” (Crothers 232). Typically, the militia will buy land to conduct weapons trainings and teach “guerilla warfare tactics” (Crothers 232). The time allotted for training varies between these militia groups, but most meet once a month (Crothers 232). Importantly, time is spent educating members and engaging

with potential recruits and inquisitive people through an Internet presence (Crothers 232). A militia leader stresses the benefits of the “above ground” structure saying,

“I determined first of all that the militia was going to be public, open and visible. If we were going to have our legitimacy and credibility, we had to have visibility. Because each one of those are interrelated. In other words, you cannot have legitimacy and credibility if you are hiding away someplace in the woods. (Chermak 70)

The militia leader’s reasoning is correct, and “above ground” militias have been deemed more moderate because of their visibility, active involvement in communities, and often hold less racist views (Freilich 14).

Unfortunately, “below ground” militia’s don’t receive the same moderate characterization. They rely on a “leaderless resistance” model, which demands organizing in “autonomous secretive underground cells” (Freilich 14). The number of “below ground” militias increased drastically after the Oklahoma City bombing (Freilich 14). Mostly for fear of being heavily scrutinized by media and law enforcement (Chermak 70). This particular organization makes it more difficult for informant and government infiltration to occur (Freilich 14). The relationship between above and below ground militias is poor, with each one distrusting the other. “Above ground” militias refer to their counterparts as terrorists, and “below ground” militias call them “traitors to the cause” (Freilich 14). Nevertheless, both feel justified in employing their respective organizational structures.

Militia ideology, circumstances for their formation and organizational structure have been addressed. The above facets will serve to provide insight into

how militias compose rhetoric. There are clear connections to themes born from their ideology, structure and circumstance and manifested in the militia's rhetoric: paranoia and patriotism. This section will examine the limited literature on militia rhetoric and use supplementary literature on the rhetoric cultivated by other radical groups, and rhetoric used in social movements.

Militia Rhetoric

In Lane Crothers' *Rage on the Right: The American Militia Movement from Ruby Ridge to Homeland Security*, he addresses the militia's fixation on the American Revolution. The American Revolution is a story taught from a young age, and valued deeply by many within the United States. It is a compelling story that portrays "gentle" people leaving their homes to fight an oppressive British government (Crothers, *Rage*, 25). These people wanted nothing more than to be left alone, and have "no ambition to impose their political will on others" (Crothers, *Rage*, 25). After being provoked long enough, they have no choice but to stand outmatched against the British military and fight against oppression (Crothers, *Rage*, 25). The myth of the American Revolution can be a powerful tool used by militias because it has been made factual through films like *The Patriot* (Crothers, *Rage*, 31). The greater public recognizes the story and appreciates the heroism portrayed by Mel Gibson. As such, militia groups often use the story of the American Revolution to legitimize their actions, and induce patriotism in their rhetoric. For militias, they often rationalize their actions in a similar fashion to the story of the American Revolution (Crothers, *Rage*, 31). Then, it becomes clear that the righteous militia has

no choice but to act against the oppressive federal government. How then, is this story utilized in militia rhetoric?

In D.J. Mulloy's article "Liberty or Death: Violence and the Rhetoric of Revolution in the American Militia Movement," he addresses themes often central to a militia's rhetoric: violence and the American Revolution. Militias often reference the American Revolution or the Constitution as a "means of bolstering both their individual and collective sense of identity" (Mulloy 124). They use violent and confrontational language and feel justified in doing so because the founding fathers employed it when standing against the tyrannical British government (Mulloy 124). Furthermore, violent and abrasive rhetoric demands attention and recognition, which is the militia's goal (Mulloy 124). The primary audiences that this rhetoric strives to reach are: potential militia members and mainstream political change agents (Mulloy 124). Although a militia's rhetoric frequently implies impending violent action, the use of language imploring others to "stand-up" and "make a difference" serves to recruit future members for the movement rather than inspire immediate action (Mulloy 125). Unfortunately, the main rhetorical tactic used to reach the change agents is similar, and often falls short of persuading political action. The rhetoric achieves recognition, but fails to garner serious attention (Mulloy 124).

In "Resistance, Rebirth, and Redemption: The Rhetoric of White Supremacy in Post – Civil War Louisiana," Marek Steedman demonstrates how white supremacists used rhetoric that attempted to unify the public and stress the need for resistance against the government. Most interestingly was the framing used to portray the governmental authority as "lawless" (Steedman 106). In effort to justify

resistance, the rhetoric focused on cases where the government had trampled on “popular sovereignty” (Steedman 106). The rhetoric commonly portrayed the enemy as a “tyrannical” government (Steedman 106). White supremacists used “moral law, God’s law, or individual conscience” to inspire action if emphasis on the government’s lawlessness wasn’t enough (Steedman 106). Again, it became a battle of good fighting evil. Also, the rhetoric justified armed resistance (Steedman 106). Rather than practice civil disobedience, the discourse stressed that armed resistance was their (white supremacists) “duty in the face of wrongdoing by the government” (Steedman 106). This rhetoric elevated the nature of atrocities committed by the government, framed them as morally and socially wrong, so the only option was armed resistance. This pattern can be seen in the Malheur militia’s discourse.

Overall, extremist groups attempt to reframe their beliefs and goals to make their cause more receptive to the larger public. In his article “‘Half the Battle’: Cultural Resonance, Framing Processes, and Ethnic Affections in Contemporary White Separatist Rhetoric,” Mitch Berbrier illustrates how reframing occurs in White Separatist rhetoric. In essence, reframing in White Separatist rhetoric focuses on how racism is viewed by the public (Berbrier 437). This example is similar to other extremist groups who are challenged with portraying their views in ways that can identify with the larger public. An extremist group must identify the biggest ideological hurdle preventing others from acceptance and reframe it positively. This requires an understanding of current cultural values (Berbrier 437). David Snow and Robert Benford provide an interesting theoretical basis for rhetorical framing used in social movements.

Snow and Benford argue that social movements (particularly those of a radical nature), must construct new meanings for a movement to have potential success (204). A movement is trying to change conventional policies, beliefs, or ideas and must elaborate why this change is beneficial or necessary. To begin, one must start with a foundational “stock of folk ideas and beliefs” and build upon these as the movement progresses (Snow and Benford 204). This notion is known as “frame resonance” (Snow and Benford 204). Obviously, “the greater the correspondence between values promoted by a movement and those held by potential constituents, the greater the success of the mobilization effort” (Snow and Benford 205). If the frames employed are not resonating with the public, the movement must practice “frame transformation” (Snow et al. 473). In essence, the movement must cultivate a rhetoric that better aligns with conventional values, ideas, and beliefs. If you don’t adapt and evolve, you die.

It is no secret militia groups have had a difficult time achieving support from a larger public. Although the militia’s actions and beliefs are often to fault, perhaps there are other forces slowing their progress: the media. In Steven Chermak’s *Searching for a Demon: The Media Construction of the Militia Movement*, he elaborates on research he conducted in a chapter entitled “Terrorists and Outsiders.” Chermak examined the frames used by media outlets to describe militia activities during 1994-1998 in newspapers. Before conducting the study, Chermak created nine frames that would serve as the categories for the study (Chermak 114). These frames are as follows: threat – terrorist, threat – growing movement, outsider, conspiracy, gun policy, racist, religious, no threat, and legitimate concerns (Chermak 115).

The first two threat frames, emphasize the danger of militia groups (Chermak 116). They focus on the violence displayed by individuals (militia members), and a concern for their growing numbers which could overthrow the government (Chermak 116). The outsider frame highlighted the militia's peripheral social status (Chermak 116). The conspiracy frame focused on the militia's paranoia and beliefs about the "Shadow Government" (Chermak 116). Next, the gun policy frame emphasized the militia's fixation on weapons and their right to bear arms (Chermak 117). The racist frame focused on the militia's historically racist and anti-Semitic tendencies while evaluating if their anger was directed at a specific group (Chermak 117). The last frame that was anti-militia was the religious frame, which addressed the militia's "warped" religious views (Chermak 117). The two frames that were pro-militia: no threat and legitimate concern, emphasized the militia's concern with social issues and their harmlessness to citizens (Chermak 117).

The three frames used most often by the media were threat – terrorist (17.2%), threat – growing movement (20.2%) and outsider (20.0%) (Chermak 118). Chermak found that the use of these three frames contributed to the demonization of militia movements by producing fear, and reinforced societal norms by highlighting behaviors and ideologies not tolerated through the outsider frame. Chermak's work provides insight into how militias are portrayed by news media, and can be helpful in understanding other reasons why the militia movement has failed to garner support from the larger public.

The Rhetoric of Social Movements

With most of the militia and radical groups' rhetoric addressed, this section will continue to examine literature on the rhetoric of social movements and the strategies employed. In *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, John Bowers and Donovan Ochs analyze the rhetoric used to elicit social change by focusing on tactics used by the dominant establishment (control) and the protesting group (agitation). Bowers and Ochs define rhetoric as “the rationale of instrumental, symbolic behavior” (2). Rhetoric is both symbolic and instrumental if verbal or nonverbal behavior compels action or the creation of “another message” (Bowers and Ochs 2).

As the title of their work implies, there are two sides to a movement: agitation and control. Bowers and Ochs define them clearly,

Agitation exists when (1) people outside the normal decision-making establishment (2) advocate significant social change and (3) encounter a degree of resistance within the establishment such as to require more than the normal discursive means of persuasion. Control refers to the response of the decision-making establishment.” (4)

This definition purposefully excludes groups who may identify with the goals of an agitating group, but fail to go beyond the “normal discursive means of persuasion” (Bowers and Ochs 6). Additionally, agitation can be based on vertical or lateral deviance (Bowers and Ochs 7). Vertical deviance includes subscribing to the “value system of the establishment,” but rejecting the distribution of power within it (Bowers and Ochs 7). Whereas, lateral deviance entails rejection of the entire “value system” (Bowers and Ochs 7).

The rhetoric cultivated by agitators employs these strategies: petition of the establishment, promulgation, solidification, polarization, non-violent resistance, escalation/confrontation, guerrilla and Gandhi, and revolution (Bowers and Ochs 17). For agitative rhetoric to be most effective, these strategies should be used in the order they occur above (Bowers and Ochs 17). During the “petition of the establishment” phase, the advocates make their case to the establishment (Bowers and Ochs 17). This includes presenting evidence, but also determining how to present it by considering the audience and an appealing “linguistic style” (Bowers and Ochs 17). If the agitators don’t receive a suitable response, they move to win support from the public in the “promulgation” stage (Bowers and Ochs 17). Often times this entails holding informational meetings, picketing, and distribution of informational material (Bowers and Ochs 17). Central to this strategy is the involvement of mass media, and dissemination of a story favorable to the agitators (Bowers and Ochs 19). Meanwhile, “solidification” is happening within the agitating group. This strategy addresses the processes and activities the group employs to build and reinforce chemistry and cohesion within its members (Bowers and Ochs 20). Symbols are commonly used to achieve this while simultaneously reinforcing the group’s goals (Bowers and Ochs 25).

The strategies begin to escalate in the “polarization” phase. During this phase the agitators demand allegiance to a side, and anyone uncommitted to the agitation side, is believed to be supportive of the establishment (Bowers and Ochs 26). Next, the “non-violent resistance” strategy “consists of actively resisting laws or customs in such a way that the establishment must either succumb or remove the resisters”

(Bowers and Ochs 32). The establishment is forced to physically remove the agitators or concede to their demands (Bowers and Ochs 30). If completed correctly, the non-violent demonstrations can contribute to the success of the “escalation/confrontation” strategy. During this phase, agitators depend upon the growing apprehension within the establishment to cause over preparation on their end (Bowers and Ochs 35). Thereby making the establishment look foolish (Bowers and Ochs 35). The next phase, “Guerilla and Ghandi,” employs the use of both physical destruction and non-violent resistance by separate groups (Bowers and Ochs 36). If unsuccessful, the agitators go to the “revolution” phase, which means war (Bowers and Ochs 37).

When considering the strategies employed by agitators, the controlling establishment must prepare for the worst and be equipped to repel any attack made (Bowers and Ochs 40). These preparations contribute to an image of strength that can prevent an initial attack, or make the agitators seem foolish (Bowers and Ochs 40). When agitators demand change, the controlling establishment responds using one of the following strategies: avoidance, suppression, adjustment, or capitulation (Bowers and Ochs 41). “Avoidance” can include the use of several different rhetorical tactics. One of those utilized frequently is counterpersuasion. The controlling establishment will engage agitators and attempt to convince them that they are wrong (Bowers and Ochs 41). Other tactics used in an “avoidance” strategy include: evasion, secrecy with rationale, and denial of means (Bowers and Ochs 41-45). If avoidance tactics fail, the establishment uses “suppression” to “stop the spread of ideology by thwarting the goals and personnel of the agitative movement” (Bowers and Ochs 47).

Often, this includes harassing the agitative leaders so they have less time to devote to the movement and become fearful of what might happen if they continue (Bowers and Ochs 47). More obvious is “denial of the agitator’s demands,” which is only recommended if the larger public is supportive of the stance taken by decision makers within the establishment (Bowers and Ochs 50). Other strategies used within the suppression phase are purgation and banishment (Bowers and Ochs 50).

The “adjustment” strategy entails adapting structures, goals or personnel within the establishment “as a response to an external ideological challenge” (Bowers and Ochs 52). This strategy requires that the adjustment made isn’t perceived as surrender, as the agitative group will feed off this weakness (Bowers and Ochs 52). Tactics used within this strategy include: changing the name of the regulatory agency, sacrificing personnel, accepting some of the means of agitation, and incorporation of agitative personnel or ideology (Bowers and Ochs 53-54). The last resort is the controlling establishment’s surrender or the strategy of “capitulation” (Bowers and Ochs 55). This is not done voluntarily unless “total destruction by a superior force is imminent” (Bowers and Ochs 55). The rhetorical strategies outlined by Bowers and Ochs can be used to understand the progression of the rhetorical strategies used by the movement in Malheur.

While Bowers and Ochs provide a larger perspective for understanding a movement, there are more narrow rhetorical strategies that can be employed. Specifically, social movements can use rhetorical symbols and phrases to incite, inspire and identify the movement. Michael Calvin McGee argues that these “ideographs” can be used to influence and control a mass, or individual’s reality. In

“The ‘Ideograph’: A link Between Rhetoric and Reality,” McGee generally defines an ideograph as a term or phrase that supports an ideology (427). Ideographs can be especially powerful because they “signify and ‘contain’ a unique ideological commitment” that rely on common experiential and social gestalts for comprehension (McGee 428). Individuals have been socialized to understand these terms and create positive or negative associations with the concepts evoked by the ideograph. Ideographs derive their meanings from both historical and situational contexts (McGee 436). History refers to the evolution the ideograph’s meaning has undergone through time, while the situational understanding is derived from the present circumstance (McGee 434). Both aspects work together to create a culturally coherent understanding of the ideograph.

Examples of ideographs are as follow: freedom, world peace, equality, and patriotism. Inevitably, they are regularly used in a “rhetoric of control” for their ability to “achieve conformity in behavior and belief” amongst a larger public (McGee 428). The public already accepts certain ideographs, and improper usage is not tolerated (McGee 436). As is inaction or “those who refuse to respond appropriately to claims on their behavior warranted through agency of ideographs” (McGee 436). Ideographs can be an influential rhetorical tool used to frame a movement, their goals, and their ideology.

The Malheur militia did not struggle to frame their identity, goals or ideology. However, there were other obstacles hindering their success, the reputations of Bundy and Finicum. In Herbert Simons’ “Requirements, Problems and Strategies: A Theory of Persuasion for Social Movements,” he focuses on the success of a social movement

as dictated by the actions of its leader. Simons argues that a social movement is structured like a corporation, and leaders of the movement must meet three rhetorical requirements (Simons 34). The requirements of a leader are as follow: “They must attract, maintain, and mold workers into an efficiently organized unit...They must secure adoption of their product by the larger structure...They must react to resistance generated by the larger structure” (Simons 34). Furthermore, the leader must continually build the movement members’ morale so they are compliant and feel justified in the rhetorical strategies being employed. The rhetorical strategies Simons outline are, moderate, intermediate and militant (Simons 37). The moderate strategy embodies peaceful reason, and portrays the enemy as a “condition or a set of behaviors...never the person he is seeking to influence” (Simons 37). A militant strategy seeks to change the attitude of their “primary target” by “direct action techniques and verbal polemics” (Simons 37). It is a direct attack on the target. This strategy requires hostility, confrontation, and serves to dramatize the issue while making the establishment’s ideology or structure appear flawed (Simons 37). The intermediate strategy is a blend of both moderate and militant, with the hope of capitalizing on the advantages of each (Simons 37). This strategy might directly target the establishment, but do so by demonstrating the behaviors that need changed. Simons’ work contributes to the understanding of the rhetorical responsibility placed on a movement’s leader and the rhetorical strategies employed to further the movement’s agenda. However, the movement won’t be successful if the rhetoric is not functional.

Charles Stewart expounds on the functions rhetoric must serve in a movement in his article, “A Functional Approach to the Rhetoric of Social Movements.” These functions can happen simultaneously and the success of the movement is not tied to the order in which they are completed (Stewart 142). The functions are as follow: transforming perceptions of history, transforming perceptions of society, prescribing courses of action, mobilizing for action, and sustaining the movement (Stewart 142-144). First, rhetoric must transform the “way audiences perceive the past, the present and the future” (Stewart 142). Recognition of the social condition in these time periods allows for the movement to frame the problem and demonstrate why action is necessary (Stewart 142). To transform “perceptions of society,” rhetoric must characterize the opposition and “strip such opponents of their legitimacy” (Stewart 143). The goal is to alter the audience’s perception of the opposition, so that the opposition comes to “represent all that is evil” (Stewart 143). Thirdly, the rhetoric must advise the audience on what “should be done” (Stewart 143). This entails why, how and who should make the changes (Stewart 143). Often times, this manifests as a list of demands (Stewart 143). Furthermore, rhetoric must serve to incite or “mobilize” action (Stewart 144). Lastly, rhetoric must “sustain” the movement by providing answers and justifying reasons for hurdles, explaining why they haven’t reached their goals, and generally, why progress is slower than expected (Stewart 144). During this time, it is important that the movement remains visible to their audiences and the larger public (Stewart 144).

Although this literature review by no means encompasses all of the literature addressing militias, their rhetoric, and the rhetoric of social movements, it

encompasses the major themes addressed by scholars in those areas. Most literature on militias has focused on the evolution of militias, and major events that have sparked the movement. When addressing the rhetoric created by militias, I found very little recent research done that differed from an ideological critique. These critiques all focused heavily on the militias' tireless references to the American Revolution. The rhetoric of social movements has been studied more extensively, and selections were chosen at my discretion, and based primarily on the rhetorical functions and strategies used in movements.

I have concluded, that there is a gap in literature addressing rhetoric cultivated by militia groups. Perhaps this is because the movement often flares up and dies quickly, or because little rhetoric can be cultivated by a militia member hiding or fighting for their life. Nevertheless, a rhetorical critique comparing the militia rhetoric to that of their opposition (the federal government) has not been completed in academia. More unique to my research is the rhetorical focus on metaphor, which (to my knowledge) has not been addressed in other militia movements. The coupling of metaphor, militia and government will serve to understand how the worldviews expressed in the discourses can or cannot be accepted by the larger public.

Chapter 3: Methodology

When studying the artifacts, I noticed an overwhelming use of metaphor within the discourses. Upon further examination, the metaphors served as the foundation and force behind the rhetorical messages. For this reason, I have focused my study to the use of metaphor to understand their purpose, placement, and messages portrayed in the artifacts. The methodology employed will rely heavily on metaphoric theory developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. This section will begin by defining metaphor and examining the power it controls in rhetorical discourse. Then, I will clearly outline the framework for analysis developed by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By*. Finally, I will discuss Edwin Black's conception of an ideal audience to understand the audience cultivated by the rhetoric. Thereby allowing me to draw conclusions about the effectiveness the artifacts had in reaching a larger audience.

Metaphor

Metaphor has long been recognized as a stylistic device or a trope that creatively fosters understanding and cultivates new meanings. Kenneth Burke defines metaphor as "...a device for seeing something in terms of something else. It brings out the thisness of that, or the thatness of this" (503). Lakoff and Johnson define metaphor similarly: "...understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (5). Other scholars define metaphor slightly different. For instance, I.A. Richards denotes metaphors as "...a borrowing between an intercourse of thoughts, a transaction between contexts" (94). Thereby placing more of an emphasis on the contextual and relational facets of metaphor. Nevertheless, scholars

can generally agree that metaphor allows for understanding of an object, idea, or person in terms of something typically viewed as unrelated.

Often, the terms “tenor” and “vehicle” are used to describe parts of a metaphor. Although there are several other terms that help to specifically characterize the language around a metaphor, these will be used to understand how a metaphor is structured and creates particular meanings. The tenor, as described by Richards, is the subject of the metaphor (Richards 96). This tenor is interpreted by the individual who is making or receiving the metaphor (Richards 96). The vehicle is the object or concept that’s attributes are being ascribed to the tenor (Richards 97). For example, in the common phrase “love is war,” love is the tenor (subject) that is being given the qualities of war (vehicle).

Furthermore, scholars agree that metaphors compel a persuasive force. Aristotle touches on this power, saying metaphor “gives style clearness, charm, and distinction as nothing else can” (Aristotle 1405a). They creatively and simultaneously evoke emotion, thought, and experience to elicit understanding. Metaphor isn’t simply a trope to be identified and characterize the rhetor’s style, but can suggest a way of thinking and understanding (Osborn and Ehninger 223). Specifically in regard to social problems and movements, metaphor often frames the story being told and generates the direction of the solution (Schön 255). This can occur with subtlety, but the impact is astounding. Metaphors compose an individual’s conceptual system (Lakoff and Johnson 3) and thus can be effective in shifting attitudes in discourse (Osborn and Ehninger 232). Studies conducted by Michael Osborn and Ehninger, John Bowers and Osborn, and Lamar Reinsch have worked to

prove the persuasiveness of metaphor. The results have differed in slight ways, but all have demonstrated that metaphor is more effective in creating attitudinal change than literal language or other tropes like similes (Bowers and Osborn 151).

There are several specific advantages to using metaphor. First, metaphors can be used to appeal and connect with a mass (Osborn and Ehninger 233). Metaphors can be used to create simple, general reactions, which serve to further the agenda of the discourse and rhetor (Osborn and Ehninger 233). Secondly, the rhetor desires a prompt reaction, and metaphors "...provoke a ready, almost automatic response" (Osborn and Ehninger 233). Overall, metaphors foster quicker comprehension and can easily provoke emotional responses (Osborn and Ehninger 233). In essence, metaphor can be a powerful tool at the disposal of the rhetor. Especially when tasked with furthering the agenda of a social movement.

While it is clear that metaphors are generally persuasive and highly effective rhetorical tools, it can be difficult to pinpoint the source of a metaphor's power. Lakoff and Johnson provide a framework for understanding the various types of metaphor, their uses, and how metaphor relies on both culture and experience. Their approach emphasizes the pervasive nature of metaphor and highlights the ways in which it informs and creates realities for individuals and a collective. Thus providing an appropriate framework for understanding separately and then collectively the artifacts cultivated by the Malheur militia and Governor Kate Brown.

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson

Lakoff and Johnson offer a new perspective on metaphor by arguing that our conceptual system and how we live is structured by metaphor. Their argument is illustrated in the following passage,

The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor. (Lakoff and Johnson 3)

Metaphor is pervasive in everyday language and structures an individual's relationships and realities. A metaphor's persuasive capacity is impressive and tied to the experiences of those receiving and unpacking the metaphor. They are commonplace, but the subtlety with which they can be employed allows for framing, creation, and acceptance of the rhetorical message.

Lakoff and Johnson delineate between three types of metaphor: orientational, ontological and structural. These types rely upon different cultural and experiential values to achieve meaning. First, orientational metaphors "...organize a whole system of concepts with respect to one another...giving a concept spatial orientation" (Lakoff and Johnson 14). Because they are rooted spatially, their meanings are derived primarily from "our physical and cultural experience" (Lakoff and Johnson 14). Orientational metaphors are especially important as denoted by the following

passage, “In other words, the structure of our spatial concepts emerges from our constant spatial experience, that is, our interaction with the physical environment. Concepts that emerge in this way are concepts that we live by in the most fundamental way” (Lakoff and Johnson 56-57). Orientation serves as one of the foundational blocks in our conceptual system.

Lakoff and Johnson provide examples in their discussion of the up – down orientation. For instance, happy is often associated with an upward orientation. Physically we understand this because a “drooping posture” typically indicated sadness while an “erect posture” indicates a “positive emotional state” (Lakoff and Johnson 14). Furthermore, there are connections between spatial orientation and culture. The example “virtue is up” indicates that humans place value on obeying societal standards that allow for everyone’s wellbeing (Lakoff and Johnson 17). If you don’t obey these standards, someone might say, “They *fell* off their rocker,” or “That was *low*.” Both of these examples illustrate the ongoing dichotomy between up and down and the values placed on them.

As mentioned, orientational metaphors are heavily reliant on both physical and cultural experiences. This relationship between physiology and culture can be intertwined, with each informing the other (Lakoff and Johnson 17). While America may place a large value on the up-down dichotomy, other countries may not (Lakoff and Johnson 14). Additionally, the spatial orientations (particularly up-down) can generally define a “coherent system rather than a number of isolated cases” (Lakoff and Johnson 17). In this manner, we can quickly and easily understand something as being generally positive or negative.

Next, ontological metaphors are used to view our experiences, an event, idea, or activity as entities or substances (Lakoff and Johnson 25). This allows for easy categorization and quantification of the abstract concept being described (Lakoff and Johnson 25). Ontological metaphors serve a wide range of purposes: referring, quantifying, identifying aspects, identifying causes, setting goals, and motivating actions (Lakoff and Johnson 26-27). Often times ontological metaphors don't appear metaphorical because they are commonly used (Lakoff and Johnson 27). Categorizing and imposing boundaries are natural to human behavior, and sometimes done unconsciously. This is why ontological metaphors can be difficult to identify and recognize as metaphorical. However, closer examination finds that they often highlight a specific aspect of the entity or substances being referred to, which is important to note (Lakoff and Johnson 28).

There are several examples of ontological metaphors presented in the text. The most memorable is the *mind as a machine* (Lakoff and Johnson 27). Lakoff and Johnson discuss how phrases such as, "Boy, the *wheels* are *turning* now" and "I'm a little *rusty* today," refer to the mind as a machine (Lakoff and Johnson 27). These natural references inspire one to understand specific aspects of a machine. For instance, the first example could refer to the efficiency of a machine, while the second highlights how finicky a machine can be. Although they are understated, ontological metaphors can highlight or hide certain aspects of a vehicle being employed.

Lastly, are structural metaphors, which are considered the "richest" of all metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 61). These metaphors "use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another (Lakoff and Johnson 61). The less

abstract concept is commonly the foundation of the structural metaphor. When both concepts are equally complex (for example: “argument is war”), it is necessary to think about their interaction and points of connection (Lakoff and Johnson 5). Then, the critic may be able to understand how different characteristics of the concept are emphasized or hidden by the metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 10).

Like ontological and orientational metaphors, structural metaphors rely on experience. More specifically, they trigger one’s experiential gestalts, or “multidimensional structured wholes...that emerge naturally from our experience” (Lakoff and Johnson 81). Structural metaphors “superimpose the multidimensional structure of part of the concept ...upon the corresponding structure” (Lakoff and Johnson 81). By doing so, they create a coherent experience through organization of these experiential gestalts (Lakoff and Johnson 81).

In the *argument is war* metaphor, one can understand how argument is framed in terms of war even without ever having engaged in physical combat (Lakoff and Johnson 63). This reflects the cultural system we live in. The metaphor evokes different concepts, like how one can attack, defend, evade, or intimidate to achieve what they want in an argument. These concepts are understood because all individuals have engaged in argument and have an understanding of war. While this metaphor is easily understood, structural metaphors can use more abstract concepts.

From their work, Lakoff and Johnson propose an experientialist perspective to understand how metaphor comports with reality. The experientialist perspective arose as a response to the inadequacies found in objectivist and subjectivist thinking. Briefly, objectivism holds that there is one reality in which “we can say things that

are objectively, absolutely, and unconditionally true and false about it” (Lakoff and Johnson 187). Reality is fixed and clear language should be used to describe the objects composing it (Lakoff and Johnson 187). Contrarily, subjectivism embraces intuition and feeling, and uses both to understand and define reality (Lakoff and Johnson 188). Subjectivism accounts for what is important to individuals, making it more personal and tailored to one’s experiences (Lakoff and Johnson 189). While both subjectivism and objectivism have merit, the experientialist perspective pragmatically encompasses both.

Experientialism asserts that truth is relative to one’s understanding (Lakoff and Johnson 193). Lakoff and Johnson explain this relationship in the following passage,

This does not mean that there are no truths; it means only that truth is relative to our conceptual system, which is grounded in, and constantly tested by, our experiences and those of other members of our culture in our daily interactions with other people and with our physical and cultural environments. (193)

Experientialism emphasizes the role interaction one has with their environment in creating meaning. In essence, we would not be able to understand our world without engaging the people, things, and concepts in it. Metaphor embodies this definition as it “unites reason and imagination” to create a type of thinking called “imaginative rationality” (Lakoff and Johnson 193). Metaphor bridges gaps in our understanding by allowing us to understand partially things beyond total understanding (Lakoff and

Johnson 193). Both metaphor and experientialism rely on interaction with cultural and physical environments (Lakoff and Johnson 194).

Edwin Black

Related to the experientialist perspective is Edwin Black's conception of an ideal audience: the second persona. Black asserts that a discourse has particular stylistic tokens that inform a second persona (Black 111). This is an audience that is most appropriate (or would be most receptive) for the discourse or speech (Black 112). These stylistic tokens allow the critic to link the second persona to an ideology. It is the term ideology that connects experientialism to the second persona. The relationship between these theories can be seen in the following quotation:

Especially must we note what is important in characterizing personae... It is ideology—Ideology in the sense that Marx used the term: the network of interconnected convictions that function in a man epistemically and that shapes his identity by determining how he views the world. (Black 112)

Ideology is determined by how the individual derives truth from one's experiences and then structures his or her conceptual system accordingly. Metaphor can then be used as a token to inform ideology and how one interacts with the world they create.

With a clear understanding of the importance and power metaphor possesses, I will proceed with my analysis. First, I will identify the metaphors according to the three types outlined by Lakoff and Johnson: orientational, ontological and structural. Then, I will interpret the messages conveyed by the metaphors with respect to the cultural and physical experiences being evoked. Lastly, I will examine the second persona implied by the metaphors and discuss why the rhetoric cultivated by the

Malheur militia and Governor Kate Brown was successful or not in garnering wider support.

Chapter 4: Analysis

The occupation of the Wildlife Refuge by the militia was a bold rhetorical act that brought the conflict between the militia and federal government into the national spotlight. Rhetoric was cultivated by the militia and media, but the state and federal governments remained largely silent. Upon occupying, the militia was faced with several hurdles to gain wider support and sustain their movement. First, they needed to justify the illegal armed occupation of a federal building. Second, they needed to combat the stereotypes associated with militia groups: extremists, radicals, racists, and conspiracy theorists. This task was obviously made more difficult by the act of occupying. And thirdly, they needed to have evidence indicating that the federal land management policy should be changed. The militia continually cultivated rhetoric, although it didn't necessarily address the aforementioned hurdles. Meanwhile, the nation waited for a federal response. FBI agents were sent. After the occupation had been going for several weeks, Governor Kate Brown finally made a public response to the situation. Brown's letters marked a significant moment in the occupation, as they urged the federal government to end the occupation. Oregon was fed up.

Metaphor was a powerful tool used by both sides to simplify one's understanding of the occupation, the role of the militia and the federal government, thus inviting the audience to choose a side: the militia or the government. The analysis will first address the metaphors found within the interview, "Live from Oregon [sic] with LaVoy Finicum Standing for Freedom." Following will be an analysis of the collection of letters written by Kate Brown to President Obama, Attorney General Loretta Lynch, and FBI Director James Comey. After conducting separate analyses

of these artifacts, I will be able to identify the conflicting messages and different strategies used by the militia and Governor Kate Brown. Thereby, allowing for an assertion of which side's rhetoric was more effective and contributed most to the greater public's view of the militia.

The Militia's Rhetoric

As previously mentioned, prominent within Finicum's interview was the use of three structural metaphors: government as a wolf, government as a monarchy, and the conflict as a battle. However, there are several other notable metaphors within the discourse. As such, I will address the various metaphors as they belong to the three main metaphoric categories: orientational, ontological and structural. Orientational metaphors are grounded spatially and orient a system of concepts in accordance with our physical and cultural understanding of space and direction (Lakoff and Johnson 14). Ontological metaphors are used to portray a concept, experience or thing as a substance or entity (Lakoff and Johnson 25). Essentially, these metaphors imbue the thing with boundaries or a tangible quality. Finally, structural metaphors "superimpose" aspects of a concept on a different thing, so as to understand the thing being structured in a specific way (Lakoff and Johnson 61). Often times structural metaphors highlight or hide certain characteristics of the concept structuring the thing (Lakoff and Johnson 10). The metaphors will first be identified, and then interpreted with regard to context and the work outlined in Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By*.

Oriental Metaphors

After exchanging brief pleasantries with the radio hosts, Finicum justifies and gives a general overview of the occupation. Immediately, Finicum uses an orientational metaphor (spatially grounded) to describe the media's coverage of the occupation saying, "...the media have kind of covered this [occupation] upside down..." (Finicum 1). Physically, this metaphor represents an object unnaturally oriented. The metaphor's physical basis is tied directly to one's cultural understanding of "upside down." In American culture, "up" is often good or right, while "down" represents its opposite: bad (Lakoff and Johnson 16). As such, this orientational metaphor characterizes the media coverage generally as bad, incorrect and confusing. When simultaneously understanding the cultural and physical bases of the metaphor, the media's coverage is implied as being unnatural and wrong. Therefore, inviting the audience to understand that the media has neglected their responsibility to provide a fair and accurate account of the occupation as demanded by their job title.

By first framing the media as irresponsible, Finicum tempts the audience to want the "real" story. If the media is not accurately covering the occupation, where can the public find the truth? As Finicum has been largely involved in the occupation, he appears to be a logical and credible source: one that the listeners can look to for the "real" story. The discourse's consumers most affected by this subtlety, would be those who identify with the militia. I am specifically referring to the militia's paranoid attitude and their distrust of information disseminated by groups or organizations who could be in league with the government: mainstream media (Stern 39). In this manner, the orientational metaphor further classifies the media as an

enemy. However, the language surrounding the original excerpt does not suggest that the media is the militia's central adversary. Rather, it is the paranoid ideology of a militia-like individual who may draw such conclusions.

Next, Finicum focuses on the work happening within Malheur and Harney Counties saying, "It's been very exciting to start to see the ranchers going about and to uphold the Constitution...it's really good to see the citizens themselves rise up and upholding that Constitution and requiring the federal government to return to the confines of the law" (Finicum 1). The spatial language "uphold" and "rise up" indicate that the ranchers or citizens are doing the right thing in occupying. Similar to earlier discussions, the use of "up" culturally characterizes the actions as good or just.

Furthermore, the Constitution is an extremely important American document that represents the freedoms and rights afforded to those within the United States. Symbolically, it represents these American values: democracy, freedom from tyranny, and cooperation between the public and government. It was a document composed after combatting an overreaching British rule with hopes for a different future. By implying that the federal government is acting outside the Constitution's parameters, the orientational metaphor sets up the conflict as good versus evil.

The militia, ranchers and citizens "upholding" the Constitution represent the good (light) side, while the government embodies evil and a disregard for the limitations placed on them by the Constitution. This becomes an example of Michael Osborn's light and dark archetypal metaphors. The cultural and spatial connection between "up" and "good" further characterized the metaphor as a light metaphor. Light and dark metaphors are especially powerful "Because of their strong positive

and negative associations with survival and developmental motives, such metaphors express intense value judgments and thus may be expected to elicit significant value responses from an audience” (Osborn 117). As may be surmised, most American’s would react negatively to a government infringing upon the individual liberties and parameters outlined in the Constitution.

Additionally, light and dark metaphors often “express an attitude of inevitability” (Osborn 117). Essentially, the conflict between the federal government and the citizens is presently happening. The tensions have been building and are leading up to a confrontation as seen by the language in this excerpt: “...it’s really good to see the citizens themselves rise up” (Finicum 1). As a result, the audience is less shocked to hear about the conflict. Like the sun rising each day, the occupation is natural and inevitable (Osborn 119). To some degree, this metaphor serves to lessen the stigma associated with an armed occupation of a federal building.

Lastly, this metaphor is an invitation to join the battle. The value placed on the Constitution by the light/dark metaphor asks the audience to choose which side they will support (Osborn 117). If they value the Constitution, maybe they should join the fight and “uphold the Constitution” (Finicum1). If they don’t value the Constitution, then they support a federal government who operates outside of the “confines of law” (Finicum 1). The militia uses this metaphor to simplify the audience’s understanding of the conflict. They provide two clear choices, but the symbols and feelings evoked by the prevalence of the term “Constitution” force the audience’s hand. The only right response means siding with the militia.

In the next section of the interview, Finicum continues to explain the daily happenings at the National Wildlife Refuge. He emphasizes how calm and peaceful it is out there before saying, "...the federal government continues to ramp up the war preparations and the war grounds but they definitely are taking on the harder line" (Finicum 2). Although the other metaphors have used "up," the usage here refers to an increase or more in "war preparations" (Finicum 2). The FBI (as an extension of the federal government) looks foolish for over preparing (Bowers and Ochs 35) when the militia is minding their own business and enjoying a "peaceful," "calm" and "relaxing morning" at the refuge (Finicum 2). By highlighting the excessive increase in "war preparations," Finicum makes the government look foolish and aggressive.

The above excerpt uses both an ontological metaphor (concept given boundaries) and orientational metaphor. At this time, the understanding of the ontological metaphor is necessary because it works with the orientational metaphor to achieve a specific message. The ontological metaphor operating within the excerpt above imbues the government with specific qualities of a line. A line can have different qualities but the adjective "harder" invokes a straightness and directness associated with a line. Here, we see an unwavering government staving the predetermined course with rigid inflexibility. Although the government is a larger establishment, direct and aggressive behavior can be interpreted as cruel and insensitive. Both characteristics are less than desirable when portraying the establishment that represents our country. Furthermore, this metaphor reinforces the light/dark portrayal above by demonstrating that the federal government is moving

forward in anticipation of a battle. Thereby pressuring the audience to choose a side (the militia's side) and fight against this evil.

When pairing these orientational and ontological metaphors together, the audience is invited to view the unfeeling government as foolishly preparing to pursue a harmless enemy. These metaphors, but specifically the ontological metaphor, mark the beginning of the negative characterization of the government throughout the discourse. Here the government can be loosely understood as a soldier: callous and unwilling to change their line. The usage of battle terms like "war preparations," and "hardening of postures" support viewing the government as a soldier.

The audience most receptive to these metaphors continues to be militia-minded individuals, who anticipate that this conflict will escalate into a battle. This battle will be the government's fault not the militia's. Similar instances have escalated and ended in firefights in Ruby Ridge, Idaho and Waco, Texas. Both instances demonstrate the militia's insistence on their innocence and the federal government's responsibility in initiating the war. Additionally, the picture of an impending war painted by the words "ramp up," "war preparations" and "harder line" promise the militia-minded a chance to fight for their beliefs. Their radical and unfailing loyalty to their cause will inspire them to come support their fellow militia men. This has been true during other times of turmoil, and is exemplified by the militia presence supporting Weaver and his family during their standoff with the government in Ruby Ridge, Idaho (Stern 25).

The militia's sense of duty and unfailing loyalty to their cause is often tied to their religious beliefs. Militia groups use religion to justify their actions, or

discriminatory beliefs (Sterns 47 and Crothers 229). In this section, Finicum reassures the radio hosts that sending prayers can be just as valuable as sending resources (Finicum 3). Finicum says,

Ya know, every meeting we have we come from all different denominations and that doesn't make a difference. We all kneel down and we pray for God's blessings and guidance upon us and we get up and we go to work. (Finicum 3)

Rather than discriminate or exclude a group of people as other militia groups have done, Finicum tries to illustrate the unity and religious cooperation in Malheur. The second sentence illustrates the act of a person praying, and then implies God's blessing upon their work. The act of kneeling down hints at humility and vulnerability. While rising up indicates that they have received God's guidance. This orientational metaphor may resonate with many people, because 70.6% of the adults (18 and older) in the United States identify with, or practice Christianity (Wormald). As implied, this metaphor is both physically and culturally grounded which makes the occupation easier to understand for those who identify with Christianity. The audience physically sees the militia's dedication to a higher power and the militia's purpose to do God's work.

Many of the remaining orientational metaphors in the discourse utilize the "up" orientation. They follow chronologically: "...And they're rising up" (Finicum 5), "Well you know that, that you are swimming up, doing good, when you are swimming upstream...soon you begin to pick up steam" (Finicum 7), "...people are starting to rise up" (Finicum 8), "...we here at this refuge have risen up" (Finicum 11), and "...now is the time for people to stand up" (Finicum 11). These orientational

metaphors are all grounded in the physical action of standing up, as well as the cultural value of standing up for oneself and your values. Differences in opinion and belief are allowed (sometimes...) in our country and society places value on holding these firmly and acting when they are trampled upon. These orientational metaphors are powerful because they speak to everyone who has ever stood up for something they believed in. It is often an admirable thing to do and the militia, along with others, has stood up and is “rising up” in response to the injustice served by the federal government.

Additionally, these orientational metaphors first demonstrate the militia’s actions they have taken. They have “risen up” and led by example. The last upward oriented metaphor says, “And now is the day. Now is the time for people to stand up” (Fenicum 11). By first leading the charge to stand up, the militia can finally call upon others to “stand up” with them. Overall, these upwardly oriented metaphors positively characterize the militia’s actions. Culturally, most understand the value in standing up for one’s beliefs. As a result, the militia’s actions can be justified and explained as simply “standing up” for what is right and good.

There are several other orientational metaphors that will be discussed in conjunction with the ontological and structural metaphors that they accompany. However, it is important to notice that the majority of orientational metaphors were taking advantage of the “up” orientation. They were often used to positively characterize the militia’s actions, and invited the audience to choose sides in the battle of good (militia) vs. evil (federal government). Their repetitive nature serves as a constant reminder of the good and necessary work being carried out by the militia.

Ontological Metaphors

The first ontological metaphor (gives a concept substance, boundaries or other tangible qualities) to be examined denotes wealth as a tangible substance. Finicum discusses the federal government's reason for opposing the militia saying,

You need to understand that those, that the federal government hires are not stupid, they know what real wealth is. They know it's in the things that you can actually hold, kick and feel. They know that the energy, power, ya know, minerals uhm, resources, that's where the wealth is. So they are controlling that, they are seeking that and locking it off from the citizens of the counties and of the states. (Finicum 4).

Here, wealth is used to describe the resources on the land that the federal government is managing. Wealth is commonly understood within our culture, but it is more abstract than money. As Finicum says, wealth can be resources, minerals, or power, which are used to generate income through use or harvesting of them. By referring to the land and the entities on it, Finicum illustrates the close ties that the families have with the land. The land is their livelihood.

By first illuminating this relationship, the second ontological metaphor within the excerpt becomes more powerful: "locking...off" the wealth from the citizens. The land belongs to the citizens who use it and depend upon its "wealth" to make a living. This metaphor implies that the government is physically keeping the land from the citizens for their use. It makes the government appear manipulative and insinuates that they are greedy. Rather than share the "wealth," they are "controlling" it and keeping it from the citizens who rely on it to survive. Greed is not a favorable

attribute, and this metaphor serves to illustrate the government's unsavory character and actions. Ultimately, affecting the hardworking citizens of Harney and Malheur Counties.

Similar to the last ontological metaphor, Fincum illustrates the law as a cage. As a general summary of what is happening in Malheur County, Fincum says, "And yeah, they're saying that federal government, you're the server, you're not our master and you must return to the confines of the law" (Fincum 8). The metaphor begins with personification of the federal government. Rather than an institution, the federal government is viewed as a person, and more specifically as a server. The server and master relationship has long since been understood as being oppressive for the server. Its mention brings forward images of slavery, likely referring to the United States as a slave to the British government. This assertion is assumed because the American Revolution is frequently mentioned and used to create a prominent structural metaphor within the discourse.

The oppression evoked from the personification of the federal government and likely reference to the American Revolution, reminds those of the great document preventing British tyranny: the Constitution. The Constitution binds and confines the government from overstepping their authority. Effectively, the Constitution should prevent the oppressive server/master relationship seen in history from happening again. As, the Constitution gives power to the American people. This document is a cage to hold the powerful, and history has shown its necessity. As the metaphor suggests, the federal government is currently operating outside of the law. Criminals disobey and operate outside of the law. But more importantly, the metaphor alludes

to the possibility of history repeating itself. Is America becoming the very British government they abhorred? You get to decide.

The ontological metaphors primarily operate in the passages mentioned above, but there will be more highlighted in conjunction with the structural metaphors that they accompany. Within this last section, we saw two prominent ontological metaphors that served to give a tangible quality to the land at the center of this conflict and demonstrate the government's lawlessness. Both metaphors served to highlight the injustices happening and had the potential to cultivate feelings of outrage. After all, the victims in this situation are "we the people." The metaphors highlight the federal government's greed and reference our nation's historical founding to unite and relate to the audience. By focusing on these powerful themes, the metaphors have immense potential to move the audience.

Structural Metaphors

There are numerous structural metaphors found within the discourse, and they will be addressed chronologically as their order within the discourse is important. First, the media is portrayed as an artist. This is evidenced in this excerpt spoken by radio host Diana: "They've [media] really painted it to...you guys are the villains and the public's afraid of the militia and all this nonsense on mainstream media" (Fenicum 2). When addressing the orientational metaphor involving the media, we saw the media depicted unfavorably. There is a reoccurrence with that attitude here. An artist gets to choose what goes on the canvas, thus providing a subjective snapshot of an event, thing, or feeling. This metaphor highlights the media's subjectivity and focus on a single aspect of the conflict. Therefore implying the media coverage is lacking a

holistic perspective that is needed to understand the events happening in Malheur. Although the media's picture may be dazzling, it hides the truth.

So, Finicum is here to set the record straight and begins to frame the federal government as the villain. Two excerpts will be used to support that assertion, and the first comes after Finicum explains the Hammond story saying,

...the BLM let the federal government come and charge them [Hammonds] as terrorists, throws them in prison, and the judge says, ya know, three months and a year for the boy, and then ya know, seven years later or, or, the feds come back and say we want more flesh. (Finicum 4)

Most notable within this excerpt is the beginning of depicting the government as an animal. More specifically, a meat-eating animal that was hungry. The descriptive word "flesh" structures the animal as unfriendly, elicits fear, and dehumanizes the government by attributing beast like qualities through the metaphor. This rudimentary characterization primes the audience for a more specific metaphor later on.

The depiction of the federal government as a villain continues in this excerpt spoken by Finicum, "So it was about them stealing their land, and getting them off their range" (Finicum 4). The federal government is again seen as a thief or criminal that preys on the weaker, law abiding citizens. These two excerpts work to create the structural and archetypal metaphor that the government is a villain. This simplistic characterization evokes disgust and other negative feelings, as villainous action is not valued in American culture. The subtleties in language that contribute to the archetypal metaphor often "...wish to effect crucial changes in societal attitude, [and]

to speak to audiences beyond his [rhetor's] own people..." (Osborn 117). Essentially, Finicum is trying to reach a broader audience in hopes of cultivating more support to elicit the change desired: less federal control of land.

The next structural metaphor more specifically characterizes the villainous government as a wolf. Finicum further explains what is happening in Malheur and all over the world saying,

You're seeing the people, the ranchers, the citizens of these countries, these counties, these states say: no more, we're done, we're through. And they're rising up and they're throwing off, and they say federal government, you have crawled out of your den like a devouring wolf. There were parameters and rules and laws to bind you into a very narrow set of functioning parameters. And you have left those. You have torn off the restraints that we the people have put upon you, and you stalk our liberty like a devouring wolf, like a cowardly wolf, seeking itself on the weakest. (Finicum 5)

Because this excerpt is powerful, I will examine how the various metaphors work together to compose a rich structural metaphor. Present first is the orientational metaphor of having the citizens "rise up" to challenge the government. Here, the audience associates "up" as good. The federal government has broken laws, which is deemed unjust by society and American culture (Lakoff and Johnson 18). The ontological metaphor referring to the laws as a den or cage evokes thoughts of the Constitution that is continually referred to in the discourse. The audience's experience with American history (leaving the monarchy in Great Britain) shed light on the importance of law and order to protect the individual citizen's rights, thereby

justifying the militia's stand and imparting an understanding of "up" and the work they are doing as good (Lakoff and Johnson 18). This archetypal metaphor is powerful, because it places value on "up". Standing up for yourself or your beliefs is a core American lesson and affordance that indicates strength and power. This seeks to motivate subtly, as is the nature of an archetypal metaphor grounded in orientation (Osborn 116).

Next, an ontological metaphor is employed to understand law and rules as a den or cage that contains the wolf. The wolf is an entity meant to be restrained because of the danger it poses as a wild, and devouring animal. This ontological metaphor feeds off of the audience's experience with wild animals, which are inherently unpredictable and dangerous. Without the law restraining the federal government, the individual is vulnerable. Thereby sparking an interest in action or defense against the enemy.

Furthermore, the excerpt then uses the wolf as a vehicle to describe the government, and is a prominent structural metaphor (Richards 96). In the preceding passage, Finicum hints at this metaphor, "...the feds come back and say we want more flesh" (Finicum 4). This elicits fear, and dehumanizes the government further as a beast. In conjunction, the audience is invited to think of the federal government as a once conquered and chained wolf that has now "torn off the restraints" imposed by the people. As mentioned, this has historical significance, and the language found in "we the people" alludes to the Constitution and invokes feelings of injustice. The wolf doesn't acknowledge the restraints that are the foundation of our government.

This serves to elevate the severity of the problem, and make more obvious the injustices Finicum feels are present in this conflict.

Additionally, the language of “crawled,” “devouring” and “stalking,” serve to partially structure the wolf metaphor. The audience then understands the danger of the government as a wolf that is hungry and hunting prey, not a majestic and endangered animal. “Crawling” is especially powerful, as it references things that crawl and evokes thoughts of insects, which are traditionally seen as foul (Richards 120). As a result, the wolf is viewed as undesirable and abominable. Furthermore, the audience may then become fearful, as they realize that the wolf is stalking their liberty. Here, liberty is a tangible possession and if you are weak, it may be taken from you. When interpreted as so, the audience is invited to act. The language persuades the people to strengthen themselves and stand up against this wolf if you value your liberty. Again, the militia simplifies the choice by weaving deeply held American values into their rhetoric.

After this descriptive characterization, a smaller structural metaphor implies that the media is a disease. Radio host Justice Bernard says, “And so whenever we see the liberal news and media out there spreading something ya know that’s not true, I try to get in there and correct ‘em on it, and everything” (Finicum 7). The timing of this metaphor serves to remind the audience that the news media cannot be trusted. They are diseased and spreading their illness to all they come in contact with. Like an anecdote, *Resistance Radio* tries to combat the “liberal news media” by setting the record straight. Similar to the other metaphors that frame the media, this reinforces

the militia's distrust of larger establishments connected to the federal government (Stern 39).

Next, Finicum uses language that implies generally that the occupation is a machine or vehicle. Excerpts that inform this assertion are as follow: "They [people donating resources] keep this whole thing going," and "...you know that you must expect the opposition but that's okay because pretty soon you begin to pick up steam" (Finicum 7). When paired together, these excerpts imbue the occupation with the qualities of a train. Like a train, the occupation takes a crew to get it running or to "keep this whole thing going" (Finicum 7). At first, the train moves slowly out of the station but begins to pick up speed or "steam" as it gets the wheels running and hits the open tracks. Sayings within American culture like "I feel like I got hit by a freight train," help the audience understand the power behind a train's movement. This experience structures the audience's understanding of the occupation. Similar to a train, the social movement created is going to be difficult to stop. In fact, this movement is so powerful that it might just mow down anything in its path. This serves to give the audience confidence in the movement. Lastly, the train is a transportation vehicle. The movement sparked by the occupation can be understood similarly as trying to transport people to a different place. Specifically, an America where there is less federal management of land. The militia has boarded and their destination is set.

Most notably, Finicum has thus far characterized the enemy through structural metaphors. Now, he begins by defining the problem through the government as monarchy metaphor. Before a particularly powerful passage, Finicum previews the

metaphor saying, "...federal government you don't rule with complete impunity upon these lands...and the mineral rights, those belong to the states and the counties to be administered as they decide, not as a central power decides" (Fincium 8). The keyword within the excerpt is "rule." When coupled with the personification of the federal government discussed earlier, "rule" serves to define the federal government as a king. The use of "central power" operates to partially structure the audience's conception of monarchy negatively. Unlike our nation's beloved democracy, a monarchy relies on a single power to decide for the entire country. American history reminds the audience of our involvement with a single ruler and the consequences that led to our nation's founding.

Fincium explicitly addresses American history in an excerpt that juxtaposes the past involvement with a monarchy and the present state of our government:

Don't you remember what our founding fathers were dealing with? It was, it was the King's highway, the King's forest, the King's land. You were a subject upon the King's estate. And so that's what we have here. We are, we are treated as subjects upon a central power's estate and we must bow to them and plead to have the ability to have some access to their estate, their land, their power, and we are saying no, we're Americans, we're free people.

(Fincium 9)

This quote begins by taking the audience back to a time that they conceptually remember. Fincium literally refers to the monarchy that America was a part of before, as a means to showcase the hypocrisy of our current government. Fincium implies that our government is a monarchy in the preceding excerpt, and further

supports this with his use of metonymy in this quotation, “And so I am sitting in their castle, I’m sitting in their fortress, and we’re saying no” (Fincium 10). The castle represents the Wildlife Refuge as an extension of the federal government (federal building) and the federal government as a monarchy. The partial structuring of this metaphor focuses on the fact that a monarch controls the subjects by exercising control over the land. Language found within the surrounding paragraphs feature words like “dictate,” and “bow to them,” which work to express the power a monarch has and can exercise (Fincium 9).

Both excerpts refer to our American history with Great Britain, and preview the potential for an uprising like previously experienced. This is further evidenced by the presence of a “Declaration of Emancipation” that Fincium says ranchers are signing to free themselves from the federal government (Fincium 8). This action is an interesting synthesis of the titles, “Declaration of Independence,” and the “Emancipation Proclamation.” The “Declaration of Independence” refers to the freedom obtained from leaving the monarchy in Great Britain. While, the “Emancipation Proclamation” alludes to the freeing of slaves. Fincium hints at slavery in a passage mentioned above that discusses the relationship between server and master (Fincium 8). Here, he makes the connection between the individual (server) and the master (government), which illuminates the connection between slavery. When considering the following excerpts regarding monarchy and slavery, Fincium connects our government to monarchy, and elements of monarchy to slavery. He does so by partially focusing on the relationships present in slavery and a monarchy: master to server, and King to subject. It is in this manner than an

enthymeme allows for the audience to associate our government with a monarchy, monarchy with slavery, and therefore our government is enslaving and exploiting us. Therefore, the government as monarchy is perceived as unfavorable, and suggests the question: how do you fix an unfavorable government? History and Finicum's rhetoric hold the answer: an uprising.

The next section illustrates the suffering that has happened at the hand of the federal government, and perpetuated by inaction from those able to help. Finicum discusses the unfairness associated with the reopening of the Hammond case calling it the "...most current example of real tyranny and suffering" (Finicum 9). The Hammonds were fined and required to pay 400,000 dollars, or their ranch would belong to the federal government (Finicum 9). To accentuate the suffering happening, Finicum uses the following metonymy, "...he [Dwight Hammond] worked himself to the bone" (Finicum 9). A bone represents the basic frame of a human. When an individual dies, eventually all that will be left is their bones. Images of bones often elicit morbid thoughts, as does this metonymy. The audience receives the image of a tired, gruesome looking Dwight Hammond who all but killed himself trying to meet the demands of the tyrannical federal government. This metonymy functions as evidence supporting the cruelty our government (as a monarchy) engages in.

While Dwight Hammond is suffering, the "liberal attorney" was sitting by idly allowing it to happen. Watching others suffer while having the ability, but failing to act, is frowned upon. Finicum works to cultivate outrage and stir the audience to action by describing the attorney in the following passage,

Mr. Attorney, you sit here in a comfortable chair, in this warm building and you sat and ate a nice breakfast, and you were with those that you associate with in your own home, and you move freely about this country. And you treat this, these people, these human beings that are suffering at this time as if well that's just the way it is, and we must live with it. And how dare you. How dare you sit in your comfortable chair, with your full belly, and you pay no attention to the travesty, the sufferings of your fellow human beings. (9)

This passage persecutes the attorney, but more generally, those who are failing to act. By first highlighting the Hammond's suffering through metonymy, the detriment caused by inaction becomes more apparent. How can you simply sit by and allow this to happen? By focusing on the harm done to a single family (specifically Dwight), Finicum makes the conflict more personal. In doing so, he cultivates guilt with the intent of eliciting action on behalf of the Hammond family.

Furthermore, both passages work to support the overarching government as a monarchy metaphor. A monarchy brings about suffering for the individual, who must "bow" to the King's wishes and demands. In this case, Dwight Hammond was unduly punished twice for a crime and forced to pay an exorbitant sum. Otherwise, the federal government would take his ranch. Meanwhile, others in positions of power watch these happenings with indifference (attorney). These passages bolster the militia's justification for occupying and taking action. The attorney example is used to emphasize the militia's compassion and initiative.

The end of the interview showcases the war preparations being made and the inevitable battle to follow between citizens and government. The following excerpt is

Finicum's response to how the people of Harney County are collaborating, and the ending addresses the fact that unity in the county will not deter the government:

But you've got to understand also if the federal government does fully attend [the town-meeting] they do not intend on losing their kingdom. They are not building up this armament and this saber-rousing for no reason, and this is the day that we fully intend to carry it, and they full intend to carry it. And by Divine Providence I believe that we shall see the day carried in our favor. (12)

This quotation is especially important given that it is at the end of the interview, and summarizes many of the themes and metaphors already identified. It begins by metonymically suggesting that our government is a monarchy by reducing this concept to "kingdom." The quote then builds off of kingdom and implies a battle that is to take place. In this case, the federal government was building up an armament in the form of an FBI presence in the county. Further evidence of the war preparations taking place can be seen in Finicum's earlier response,

But I do know, or I do believe that they [FBI] are positioning themselves that when they so choose, that they will "quarant" us off and that they will, there has definitely been a hardening of their postures, uh and the ability to, to talk to them in a "member-ly" way is starting to dissipate (6).

A "hardening of postures" refers to the rigid way in which a soldier marches to battle. The two sides are no longer able to have civil conversations, and this indicates the government's shift in attitude. Much like before a real battle, civilities dissipate and preparation increases on both sides. Furthermore, it alludes to the maneuvering the government can do in Finicum's use of "quarant." In a battle, commanders will

position their soldiers strategically to give their side an advantage when the battle begins. Finicum believes that this is happening now, and gives the audience a sense that a battle is upon us.

It is the government versus the citizens. The implication of war preparation and the “we” and “them” language cultivates the structural metaphor: the conflict as a battle. It is inevitable that a battle of some nature will happen, as both sides fully intend to stand rigid in their beliefs, and see their efforts through to the end. The militia has portrayed themselves as righteous, compassionate, and reasonable. They are defenders of the Constitution, liberty, the Hammond family, and the citizens who are economically reliant upon the federally controlled land. The rhetoric refuses to ignore that the militia is justified in engaging the enemy in a battle. Furthermore, the entire interview has worked to simplify the conflict so that the audience might choose which side they want to be on. Although Finicum doesn’t explicitly ask the audience to join the battle, he elicits fear, anger, and guilt. All are feelings that can inspire the action he desires.

Lastly, the notion of Divine Providence is mentioned and indicates the religious belief of the rhetor and potentially the ideal audience. Divine Providence refers to the belief that God is the creator of all, and anything that happens within the universe is his doing (McCann and Johnson). Throughout the interview, we see evidence of “up” as good. The prevalence of this language and upward oriented words indicate Finicum’s belief in the righteous nature of their efforts. This further characterizes government as an evil adversary that is fighting against the righteous and godly cause of the occupiers.

The larger structural metaphors: government as a wolf, government as a monarchy, and the conflict as a battle prominently drive the rhetoric. They serve to define the enemy, the problem, and the imminent battle. Within this section, there are other structural metaphors that work toward supporting and structuring the themes erected from the larger metaphors. Their importance has been noted. Furthermore, there are several ontological and orientational metaphors that compliment the larger structural metaphors. Often these commonplace metaphors work to subtly shape attitudes, which greatly increases the force behind the larger structural metaphors.

Overall, the metaphors within Fincium's interview functioned to justify the militia's presence, identify the enemy, and garner support for their movement. His use of metaphor was impressive throughout the interview, and worked to simplify the problem in terms of good and evil. Emphasis was placed on the righteous nature of the occupation and the militia's endeavors through the upward oriented metaphors. The ontological and structural metaphors generally functioned to characterize the government as a thief (wealth as a tangible substance) and beast (wolf metaphor). The American Revolution was alluded to throughout the entirety of the interview, and laid the foundation for justifying the militia's actions while identifying the federal government as the enemy. Fincium relied on the patriotism evoked by the historical memory to unite the audience and inspire action against the government. Lastly, I would note that Fincium's blending of metaphor types and messages was cohesive and coherent. Most importantly, the metaphors remained (generally) consistent with the militia ideology while not overtly expressing their beliefs. In essence, they tried

to tone down the doom, gloom and conspiracy. But, were they successful? Let's compare it to Governor Kate Brown's response.

Kate Brown's Response

The occupation of the Wildlife Refuge demonstrated the militia's belief that the federal government was overstepping their authority in regard to land management. The militia was seeking change only capable through and by the federal government. Yet the federal government remained largely quiet aside from the FBI presence within Harney and Malheur Counties. So, when Kate Brown commented on the occupation through these letters it was significant. This was the first response from any form of government, and provided the public with guidance on how to perceive the occupation. Differing from Finicum's radio interview, Brown's letters are not as ripe with the three categories of metaphor. Therefore, this section will focus on the main structural metaphors within the artifacts and discuss any orientational and ontological metaphors as they arise to support the larger themes.

In the first letter addressed to Attorney General Loretta Lynch and FBI Director Comey, Brown conveys her concerns about the occupation. She uses four structural metaphors to incite the federal government to end the occupation: the occupiers as radicals, the occupiers as criminals, occupiers as outsiders and the Harney and Malheur communities as victims. The first sentence of the letter explicitly refers to the militia as radicals with Brown saying, "Earlier today I spoke with Mr. Comey to share my issues with the handling of the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge by armed radicals" (Brown 1). There is nothing metaphoric in explicitly calling the militia "armed radicals" at this point. However,

other aspects of the sentence operate to give meaning and reinforce associations automatically made with the term “armed radicals.” By mentioning the conversation she had with FBI Director Comey, Brown legitimizes her claim that the militia are “armed radicals” (Brown 1). Movies and media have created experiences for the public that indicate the FBI intervenes when the really “bad guys” are involved.

Additionally, the phrase “armed radicals” is inherently loaded and vague (Weaver 213). This phrase sparks the imagination of the audience. “Armed radicals” elicits images of fear, extremism, and remind the public of other radical groups: the Klu Klux Klan, or black separatist groups. Notably, this serves as a reminder that the militia has traditionally been a radical group and connects them unfavorably to those groups just mentioned. Brown is not wrong in denoting them as “armed radicals,” and this label fits social expectations. For the term radical not only refers to their actions, but also their beliefs that don’t conform to societal norms in obvious and extreme ways. The beliefs of the militia aren’t addressed because they are inferred from their actions. Essentially, the audience surmises that only crazy or extreme beliefs would lead to an armed occupation of a federal facility. No further questioning is necessary. This serves to separate the larger public from the militia group, making it difficult for them to identify with the militia’s beliefs and actions despite the efforts made in the Malheur militia’s rhetoric.

This characterization is further supported by this quotation explaining the problem the militia’s presence has created: “What adds to the tensions felt by the community is the reality that multiple ‘supporters’ of these individuals have joined, staying in local motels in the City of Burns...” (Brown 1). The quotations

surrounding “supporters” undermines the militia’s following. Brown implies that it is unimaginable that a group like this would have supporters. This is the first instance where the characterization of the militia as radicals is metaphorically supported. As the governor of Oregon, Brown’s words carry an additional weight. This forces the audience to question the demands made by the militia and their reason for occupying, if they haven’t already been dismissed.

Brown again explicitly refers to the militia as radicals in this excerpt,
 ...for more than two weeks now, these radicals have been allowed to stay unlawfully in the refuge approximately 30 miles to the south of Burns, Oregon, in Harney County. While it is easy to assume that an occupation in such a remote location does not threaten public safety and does not harm any victims, that perception is far from accurate. (Brown 1)

Surrounding the term “radicals” Brown highlights the federal government’s inattention to the issue. By characterizing the militia as radicals and portraying their actions as “unlawful,” Brown brands the federal government’s lack of action as irresponsible. By allowing the “radicals” to occupy “unlawfully” the government is disregarding the safety of the community. Furthermore, setting this precedent of inaction could be detrimental for the federal government’s image. It is understood that the federal government has a duty to preserve the basic “unalienable rights” bestowed on the people: “Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” If they stop doing that now, what may happen in the future?

Now, the larger audience: the general public, begins to question why the government hasn’t acted. This is further prompted at the end of the letter when Brown

says, “Because this occupation has occurred on federal land, it is appropriate that the FBI and other federal law enforcement entities are the leaders on any response to it, and we appreciate the recognition of their responsibility in this situation” (Brown 2). Here, Brown specifically states why the federal government needs to respond: the occupation physically falls under their jurisdiction. By emphasizing the extreme nature of the group and the harm they are doing, failure to act is again viewed as a disregard of their duty.

Next, Brown sets up the occupiers as outsiders metaphor by highlighting Harney County’s accomplishments. Brown emphasizes the “collaborative approach” the citizens have historically taken when solving difficult issues (Brown 1). Furthermore, she specifically points to the successes sprung from this approach highlighting the, “Malheur Refuge Comprehensive Conversation Plan, and Harney County Wetlands Initiative” among others (Brown 1). Thus, indicating the effectiveness of the citizen’s collaboration. Brown demonstrates the citizens’ capability to internally handle their own issues. Moreover, Brown’s use of the term “collaborative” suggests that a “collaborative approach” is not being used in the current situation. Instead, the “outsiders” are running the show.

The occupiers as outsiders metaphor continues and structures our understanding of outsiders adversely. Brown chastises the outsiders and media in this quotation,

It is for this work [the plans and initiatives mentioned above] that they [citizens] should be recognized, and yet the national focus has instead been

fixed on outsiders seeking to exploit and manipulate a local matter for their own agenda. (1)

When looked at in conjunction with the previous passage, the term “outsiders” is framed negatively. Brown portrays the outsiders as meddling, unnecessary, and taking advantage of the citizens. Additionally, an “outsider” is someone who doesn’t belong. Whether this is grounded geographically, or socially. Both interpretations support the understanding that an outsider doesn’t fit in. Like radicals, they are on the periphery, depending on the situation and context. The situation is clear: armed radicals have occupied the Malheur Wildlife Refuge. Brown determines the context by emphasizing the community and the plans and policies created to better manage the land. The context and situation are incongruous, and the audience questions why outsiders are involved when the community can solve their own issues.

Not only is the outsiders’ presence unnecessary, but also their actions have detracted from the community’s accomplishments. The outsiders are stealing the spotlight, and an opportunity for the community to be recognized. Although Brown uses the language “outsiders” to depict the militia, she is also hinting at criminal characteristics when she refers to the militia capturing the “national focus” (Brown 1). The militia has not earned this attention like the hardworking community members. Although “recognition” is not often thought of as a tangible possession that can be stolen, Brown implies so in the excerpt mentioned above, “It is for this work that they should be recognized, and yet the national focus has instead been fixed on outsiders...” (1). By highlighting this unfairness, the audience understands how the militia has taken something precious from the community members. The Malheur

National Wildlife Refuge and Harney County community will forever be remembered for the armed occupation instead of their collaborative efforts.

Interestingly, Brown's usage of visualization terms such as "focus" and "fixed" directly respond to the orientational metaphors used in Finicum's interview. Brown works to highlight the aspects of the militia that the public should be focused on; namely the militia's radical and criminal actions. Brown is here to "set the record straight." While the militia emphasized their work and attracted attention using the upward orientation, Brown chastises them and frames their recognition negatively. In doing so, Brown endeavors to more accurately depict the militia and their actions in accordance with societal norms. As mentioned, the orientational metaphors within Finicum's interview serve to portray the militia's actions positively. They do so by emphasizing an upward posture or action, which evokes images physically, that are informed culturally. By using spatially grounded language (focus and fixed), Brown directly combats the messages conveyed through the militia's orientational metaphors. Rather than condone the spectacle and attention they are receiving, Brown says the attention is unduly given. In essence, the militia hasn't earned the recognition. Instead, they are stealing this from the community.

As revealed, Brown imbues the militia with criminal characteristics despite referring to them as outsiders. This is notable, and will be addressed later. However, by implying the occupiers are criminals that have stolen the spotlight, the audience is faced with identifying the victim. The terms "exploit" and "manipulate" are used to describe the occupiers' involvement in a "local matter" (Brown 1). When paired with the above understanding of the occupiers as stealing the community's deserved

recognition, this explosive language depicts the community as the victims. Therefore, Brown cultivates sympathy for the community, and pressures the federal government to address the criminal act.

When an individual is deemed a criminal, human nature sparks the question what did they do? After weighing the severity of the criminal's offense against their experiences and beliefs one makes a judgment. As if anticipating this sequence, Brown says,

...for more than two weeks now, these radicals have been allowed to stay unlawfully...While it is easy to assume that an occupation in such a remote location does not threaten public safety and does not harm any victims, that perception is far from accurate. (1)

Note the reappearance of the term "radicals" in conjunction with the terms "public safety," "harm," and "victims." These terms serve the purpose of reinforcing the connotative meanings associated with "radicals." Thereby reinforcing the occupiers as dangerous, extreme, and currently harming innocent and hardworking victims. Brown uses "unlawfully" to refer to the occupiers' stay, which reinforces the structural metaphor of the occupiers as criminals. It is important to note that the criminal characterization accurately depicts the militia's actions. Again, this passage doesn't appear metaphoric. However, the usage of terms "unlawfully," "public safety," "harm" and "victims" structure the occupiers as criminals metaphor by reinforcing the associations and experiences evoked. Not only are the radicals dangerous and a threat to the public's safety, but their actions are unlawful and they have yet to be punished.

While Brown continually uses language to reinforce multiple structural metaphors, she explicitly uses the terms “radicals,” “outsiders,” and “criminals” in that reoccurring pattern for the entirety of the discourse. First, this order is used to capture the audience’s attention and convey the severity of the issue with the term “radicals.” This language cannot be ignored. Then, Brown uses the term “outsiders” to reinforce the occupier’s lack of connection to the Burns community, inevitably suggesting that the occupiers don’t belong. Lastly, Brown concludes the characterization by portraying the occupiers as “criminals.” Thereby, making the federal government’s inaction obvious and irresponsible. The order of these terms tells the story in a logical way: the occupiers are an extremist group that is not welcome in the community and the federal government has failed to address their criminal actions.

The systemic repetition of these terms and metaphors continually reinforce Brown’s assumed objective to move the federal government to action. However, the language surrounding these terms often modifies the terms in ways that suggest the appearance of a different metaphor. This excerpt qualifying the occupiers as outsiders exemplifies my assertion, “...the local community was put under strain by the presence of outsiders who made unrealistic demands and began harassing law enforcement and their family members” (Brown 1). While the terms “outsiders” and “local community” are consistent with Brown’s message that the occupiers aren’t welcome, the use of the phrases “unrealistic demands” and “harassing law enforcement” suggest the appearance of the occupiers as radicals metaphor. Radical groups often make outrageous demands and don’t fear law enforcement. In the case

of militia groups, the members are regularly willing to die for their cause (Stern 50), which makes them nearly immune to the repercussions prescribed by law enforcement.

Another example of the differing language can be seen in this quotation, “The residents of Harney County are being intimidated in their own hometown by armed criminals who appear to be seeking occasions for confrontation. The harm being done to the innocent men, women and children in Harney County is real and manifest” (Brown 2). Again, the term “criminals” and insinuation of harm supports the structural metaphor: the occupiers as criminals. However, the excerpt reinforces both the occupiers as outsiders and the occupiers as radicals metaphors. By explicitly referring to the community, Brown reinforces the understanding that the occupiers are unwelcome and the unfairness associated with harming people in their own community. Additionally, the phrases: “seeking occasions for confrontation” and “tensions increase exponentially” surrounding the aforementioned excerpt suggest radical behavior. Radicals are known for resurfacing in response to a large event like the showdown between Weaver and the federal government in Ruby Ridge, Idaho. In other words, they seek out confrontation with their enemy. Why? Confrontation handled improperly by the enemy can be detrimental for the larger institution and unifying for the radical group. The phrase, “tensions increase exponentially” infers that the situation is escalating. Like the incidents at Ruby Ridge or Waco, if the federal government doesn’t act appropriately and quickly against these radicals there could be severe repercussions.

Above, I demonstrated how multiple structural metaphors can be present when it seems Brown is specifically characterizing the occupiers as radicals, outsiders or criminals. Brown is able to do this because of the commonality these metaphors share: they all accurately describe the occupiers. The effect imposed on the audience is a coherent experience (Lakoff and Johnson 81). The partial structuring of the terms: radicals, outsiders and criminals all share the basic experiential gestalt that the actions associated with the terms are bad. This doesn't mean that the actions of a radical are the same as an outsider, but simply that they are both viewed unfavorably as dictated by the language qualifying them in the discourse. By connecting these experiential gestalts through the crude perspective of being socially unfavorable, Brown organizes "experiences into structured wholes" making the audience's experience coherent (Lakoff and Johnson 81).

The achievement of a coherent experience is significant because it highlights the "important aspects of an experience" (Lakoff and Johnson 83). The aspects highlighted within these metaphors reinforce the occupiers as the bad guys. Often this association is done unconsciously (Lakoff and Johnson 82), but is powerful because it informs how one should understand and act upon the occupation at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge (Lakoff and Johnson 83). Rather than understand the entirety of the occupation and the events leading up to it before making a judgment, the metaphors create a memorable and coherent experience that is achieved with less effort (Lakoff and Johnson 83). By creating a coherent experience through those three structural metaphors, Brown has simplified the occupation and

highlighted the important aspects. The audience will remember the occupiers as the “bad guys.”

The last structural metaphor operating within the discourse is the Harney County community as a victim. I have mentioned how the occupiers as criminals metaphor has helped inform the community as a victim. However, there are several keywords throughout the discourse that are used when referring to what the occupiers are doing to the community. For instance, the word “strain” appears several times to indicate the duress the “local community” is experiencing from the occupation (Brown 1). Other keywords include: “exploit,” “manipulate,” “unlawful,” and “being intimidated” (Brown 1-2). These words serve two purposes. They first structure the various characterizations of the occupiers. By doing so, the audience is able to understand how the occupiers are creating problems for the local community. The occupiers are intimidating and exploiting citizens, while causing an overall strain on the community that is taking a toll. However, these words can also stand alone to create the community as the victim metaphor. Nonetheless, the pairing of these words with the characterization of the occupiers adds consistency within the discourse.

Most notable in Brown’s first letter is her subdued use of metaphor as compared to Finicum’s rhetoric. Brown has the easier task because the militia have acted in ways consistent with radical groups, criminals and outsiders. She doesn’t need to get the audience to see them differently. At first glance, it appears Brown isn’t using metaphor. However, I argue that by using language unlike the characterization she is explicitly saying, Brown implies a different metaphor. The

inconsistencies in language also serve to structure the metaphors with generally unfavorable characteristics. While these characteristics may be assumed from the terms radicals, outsiders and criminals, Brown makes it more than clear there is nothing honorable or righteous about their actions. In essence, she doesn't have to be creative with her use of metaphor. Instead, she simply has to reinforce the experiences and associations evoked by these characterizations.

Brown's Second Letter

Brown's second letter addressed to President Barack Obama is brief. However, there are several reoccurring themes and connections to metaphors already mentioned in Brown's first letter. Namely, Brown references the occupiers as radicals and criminals, while portraying the citizens as the victims. Most of these characterizations can be examined in this passage,

During my conversations, I conveyed harm that is being done to the citizens of Harney County by the occupation, and the necessity that this unlawful occupation end peacefully and without further delay from federal law enforcement. (Brown, "To President...", 1)

Brown succinctly summarizes the essence of her first letter addressed to Lynch and Comey while reinforcing the idea that the occupiers are criminals and the citizens are the victims. There is no need for further examination of these particular metaphors as they have been covered previously. However, note that Brown remains consistent in her characterizations. Thereby, giving the audience a clear message that fosters understanding of the occupation.

While all of the metaphors addressed thus far have been structural, there is an ontological metaphor (gives a tangible quality to an entity) present within both of Brown's letters. These can be seen in the following passages, "...to share my concerns with the handling of the occupation..." (Brown, "To President..," 1), "I request on behalf of my fellow Oregonians that you instruct your agencies to end the unlawful occupation...as safely and as quickly as possible" (Brown 2) and "...I appreciate your consideration of our [all Oregonians] desire to see this situation come to a close..." (Brown, "To President..," 1). The purpose of the ontological metaphor can be best characterized as "motivating" (Lakoff and Johnson 27). The occupation is understood as an entity that can be "handled" or something that can be fixed by the federal government.

Yet, the most prominent part of the ontological metaphor is Brown's language: "...on behalf of my fellow Oregonians" (Brown 2) or "On behalf of all Oregonians" (Brown, "To President..," 1). Brown is asking for a swift end to the occupation because all of Oregon desires this. Ontological metaphors are limited in how they can structure a concept (Lakoff and Johnson 27). But this metaphor clearly identifies the occupation as a fixable entity, and gives the simplistic understanding that something needs to be done quickly (Lakoff and Johnson 26). It serves as a call to action: end the occupation.

The aforementioned ontological metaphor also informs a more subtle structural metaphor that is composed within the discourse but also by the context of the letters. That metaphor is the federal government as a manager or boss. Both letters are addressed to powerful federal officials: President Obama, Attorney General

Loretta Lynch, and FBI Director James Comey. Brown addresses those capable of directly acting to end the occupation. By doing so, she hints at their jobs as managers and keepers of the peace within our country and states. Like a manager, it is the federal government's responsibility to handle issues that arise in their office or in this case "on federal land" (Brown 2). Although it isn't always pleasant, it is their responsibility. As Brown says, "...the FBI and other federal law enforcement entities are the leaders on any response to it..." (2). Brown recognizes the federal government's managerial status, and has been patient while awaiting a resolution. Out of respect for the federal government's authority Brown says she has limited "public comments" regarding the occupation but with "considerable difficulty" (Brown 2). Yet, nothing has been done. Like a disgruntled employee, Brown is pleading that action be taken to "bring this untenable situation to an end and restore normalcy to this community" (Brown 2). After all, handling the occupation is the federal government's responsibility as reiterated throughout the discourse.

While this concludes the identification and analysis of the metaphors within Brown's letters, I would like to address the glaring lack of the term "militia." Throughout both discourses Brown only refers to the occupiers or militia as "radicals," "outsiders" or "criminals." The closest she comes to the term "militia" can be seen in this quotation amidst a passage addressing the effect the militia's growing presence in Burns, "...that multiple 'supporters' of these individuals have joined..." (Brown 1). As addressed previously, the term "supporters" implies the presence of the larger militia movement, and delegitimized them.

Additionally, Brown further snubs the militia by not using the name they commonly refer to themselves as. This prohibits audience members from associating the militia with the American Revolution. Often, the militia justifies their existence and tries to garner support by relating their role to America's historical militia (Crothers 228). This theme was consistently used in Finicum's rhetoric. Without the presence of the term, the public is not able to associate the militia with the patriotism demonstrated in our nation's past. Arguably, this association makes the most powerful case for legitimizing the militia's actions. Brown neutralizes the militia's powerful rhetorical weapon and prohibits this association from happening.

Overall, the two letters exclude the militia as an audience. Brown neither directly addresses the militia nor does she engage with any of the messages cultivated in their rhetoric. Her actions exclude the militia by talking around them, and effectively delegitimize their movement in Malheur. This only bolsters the characterization of the occupiers as criminals and radicals. Both are characters that the government will not negotiate with. Lastly, the letters work together to create a consistent understanding that the occupiers are unfavorable characters and the federal government needs to end the occupation. While the metaphor usage is subtle, it works in reinforcing the associations commonly made with a militia group. All Brown had to do was call the militia and their actions what they were. Remaining consistent with social norms was her task. For the larger institution this is rarely difficult, and Brown executed it flawlessly.

The Militia and Brown

This section will proceed by highlighting the notable similarities and differences between the collections of discourse. First, I will identify the ideal audience suited for the rhetoric using Black's conception of the second persona. Through the experientialist perspective, I will discuss the worldviews portrayed by the rhetoric and the ideal audience and assess their validity in America's larger culture. Thereby, identifying incongruities that may inform the reception received for the rhetoric cultivated by Brown and the militia.

The ideal audience suited for a rhetorical discourse is known as the second persona (Black 111). Determining the second persona requires careful attention to the "stylistic tokens" within the discourse (Black 112). In this case, what do the metaphors and language used suggest about the attitudes of the second persona (Black 113)? When examining Brown's letters, there is a subtlety in the way the structural metaphors reinforce each other. For example, Brown characterizes the occupiers as outsiders but uses the loaded terms "exploit" and "manipulate" within the sentence to reinforce the radical characterization (Brown 1). Even the government as a manager metaphor is subtly suggested by the recipients of the letter and terms like "leaders" and "responsibility" (Brown 2). Essentially, Brown doesn't have to be obvious in identifying the problem, because societal expectations have already done that. This implies that the second persona negatively views criminal action, people meddling in others' affairs, and extremist groups. While there are exceptions, the larger American public would identify with these attitudes. Even Brown believes this when she credits herself for speaking "on behalf of all Oregonians" (Brown, "To President..." 1).

Especially potent is the use of “radicals” within the discourse. In a 2015 survey conducted by the Public Religion Research Institute, Doctors Daniel Cox and Robert Jones found nearly 75% of Americans deemed terrorism a “critical issue” in the United States (Cox and Jones). The negative framing of “radicals,” implications of their fringe nature, and disregard for law enforcement resonate with the larger public’s understanding and fear of terrorism. Furthermore, the expectation that American’s have for punishment of unlawful activities again reinforces the larger public as composing a part of the second persona.

In addition to the larger public as the second persona, Brown’s letters specifically cater to the attitudes of a governing authority, the federal government. Although she chastises their inaction, the problems insinuated by the occupiers as radicals, outsiders, and criminals metaphors cannot be ignored by the federal government. The demonstration that harm is being done resonates with the importance placed on public safety by the federal government. Furthermore, criminal and radical action cannot be taken lightly especially given the American public’s concern with terrorism.

Brown’s letters appeal to the larger American public and the federal government. Both audiences are necessary to elicit change. The American public can choose to support or disavow the militia, which puts additional pressure on the federal government to address the militia’s occupation. By addressing both audiences, her rhetoric has the potential to be effective. Although a correlation cannot be determined, the FBI effectively ended the occupation several days after these letters were sent. Finicum was shot and killed by agents and many militia

members were arrested. Furthermore, the presence of the larger American public within the second persona indicates that most people view the militia or their actions negatively. Because they cannot identify with criminals, radicals or outsiders, the public chose to support the end of the occupation. While other militia members may have travelled to support the movement happening in Malheur, they remained too few to sway the masses. By primarily framing the militia negatively through known unfavorable cultural terms, Brown demonstrated the value society places on safety, law and order.

The second persona envisioned by Finicum's interview included a much narrower audience. Namely, the metaphors catered primarily to individuals who share an ideology similar to the militia. Because the interview was ripe with metaphor, I will focus primarily on how the upward situated orientational metaphors, the law as a confining entity, and the big three structural metaphors informed a militia-like ideology as the second persona. First, emphasis on "up" in the orientational metaphors demonstrated the militia's conviction that their actions were just and good. Contextually, these metaphors emphasized the militia "standing" or "rising up" against the federal government. This is the very essence of what a militia seeks to do: stand against "federal tyranny" (Michael 47). The action emphasized imitates a militia's goals, while the cultural understanding of "up" situates their actions as good and justified. Although Finicum may have had the capability of garnering a wider audience based on the cultural association between "up" and good, he was unable to achieve it when contextualizing the term within the militia

movement. Furthermore, the action-oriented attitude present within militia members (Crothers 227) identifies with the “rising up” and “standing up” language seen.

Next, the militia’s fascination with the Constitution can be seen in the ontological metaphor depicting the law (specifically the Constitution) as a cage (Finicum 8). This metaphor creates a fear of the federal government by implying that the federal government is not being held by the Constitution anymore. This fear resonates with militia-minded individuals who uphold and defend the Constitution (Crothers 227) when the government is overreaching its authority (Crothers 226). Although other groups may feel that the federal government isn’t upholding the Constitution, they differ from the second persona. The second persona possesses more paranoia, as the dehumanization of the federal government suggests. While this ontological metaphor precedes the government as a wolf metaphor, it is inferred that the federal government is a beast that needed caged. Hence, identifying closely with a militia mind and their conception of the corrupt “Shadow Government” (Chermak 116).

The last category of metaphors (structural) closely identify with the militia ideology. The main three structural metaphors: the government as a monarchy, government as a wolf, and the conflict as a battle demonstrate the rage, paranoia, and willingness to act present within the militia ideology. First, the government as a monarchy relies on the historical reference to the American Revolution. Although many Americans feel proud of the stand taken, the emphasis placed on the government as a monarchy falls short in reaching a wider audience. Why? Because most people are unable to associate our current government with the historical British

monarchy as they don't feel exceedingly oppressed in regard to taxes, regulations, etc. Finicum primarily talks about the agricultural land that the "King" controls. While this is a clear allusion to the monarchy, he only identifies with those who are affected by the government's control of the land. The demographic is ranchers and farmers. In fact, many of Harney and Malheur counties' ranchers and farmers had sided with the militia. This is not unusual, as there are more conflicts regarding land management in rural areas where there is a large federal presence (Witt and Alan 97). Finicum highlights the injustice of the monarchy, which becomes embodied in the federal government's handling of the land. Inevitably, this serves to create rage amongst those who hold the story of the American Revolution close to their hearts: the militia.

Secondly, the portrayal of the federal government as a wolf is dehumanizing. It implies that the government is dangerous and needs to be caged again. This implication resonates with someone who distrusts and dislikes the government because of their overt dismissal of the law. Past movements like the Sagebrush Rebellion (viewed as a parallel to the Malheur occupation) have tried and failed to make their case for less federal control of land. The larger public would not question these results handled in the courts and communities. However, a militiaman or woman would. Their dedication to their cause is unflinching. They continually question the federal government and view their actions as corrupt (Chermak 116). It is only a suspicious and paranoid attitude that would view the government as a wolf "stalking" their "liberty" (Finicum 4). Again, the militia creates rhetorical discourse most receptive by those similar to them.

Lastly, the conflict as a battle serves to excite and highlight the action oriented nature of the second persona. While many people will support a cause, there are a select few that are willing to die for one. Traditionally, these individuals are viewed as radicals, because it is difficult for some to understand why they would sacrifice their life for that cause. Yet, this metaphor attracts those willing to fight for this particular cause or perhaps those who feel disenfranchised by the government. Again, the militia ideology fits this mold as their dedication to their beliefs demands they take a stand against the federal government (Crothers 227). Sometimes this calls for sacrificing your life, although it isn't the ideal outcome.

The militia rhetoric generally hoped to affect change in regard to federal land management practices, and freeing the Hammond family members from jail. To do so, they would need to appeal to the federal government (able to make the change) and the larger public (who may pressure the government to elicit the desired changes). Finicum's interview failed in reaching both audiences. The majority of the interview negatively framed the government's actions to inspire others to join and fight (or protest) against the federal government. This was not an appropriate tactic for negotiating (with the federal government) the changes desired. While it did attempt to reach a larger audience, the militia's rhetoric failed and catered to a militia-minded audience. Thereby making it difficult for the larger audience to identify with the messages, themes and actions reflected in the militia's rhetoric.

The second personas within the artifacts are representative of a militia-like individual and an average member of society. Generally, Brown's rhetoric informs a second persona that has negative attitudes toward crime, extremist groups, and a

dislike for outsiders. While Fincium's rhetoric creates a second persona that has an extreme distrust and dislike for the government, and an unfailing dedication to their cause that is grounded in the Constitution. It is more clear why the militia's rhetoric (specifically Fincium's interview) and cause failed to gain wider support. The audience most receptive to their rhetoric represents a fraction of the population. Nonetheless, I believe that another factor puts the militia at a disadvantage: the difficulty of creating a shared experience.

It is unlikely that even if the militia's rhetoric had appealed to the audience capable of the change they desired, they would have gotten that change. This is because the same case has been made numerous times. However, if the militia had been able to appeal to the larger American public and garner a significant following they may have been able to negotiate some of the changes. To do so, the militia would have needed to overcome the stigma associated with an armed occupation. The understanding and negative associations made by the larger public in regard to an armed occupation have been continually reinforced by their interaction with people and the environment (Lakoff and Johnson 230). The idea of an armed occupation or something similar is an experiential gestalt held by the larger audience. The militia would have to persuade an individual (and the masses) that what they were doing was not crazy, while the individual's life experience was telling them otherwise.

To do so, Lakoff and Johnson recommend the use of metaphor because it has a knack for communicating "unshared experience" (231) and creating a "shared vision" (232). This involves identifying common experiences and having "flexibility in your worldview" (Lakoff and Johnson 232). Fincium's interview took advantage

of metaphor and attempted to create a shared experience primarily through a historical allusion to the American Revolution. But, Finicum was unable to disentangle the militia's rigid worldview from the discourse to invite a "shared vision." Moral of the story: the militia did not create experiential gestalts that fit within one's "natural dimension of experience" (Lakoff and Johnson 235). It was nearly impossible for the larger public to understand and identify with the militia's rhetoric because the worldview reflected in the metaphors differed from social expectations. Instead, they reinforced the militia ideology.

While the militia certainly made Brown's job easier, she managed to use metaphors consistent with the experiences of the larger public. An armed occupation of a federal building is illegal, criminal, and radical. Brown simply had to reinforce these ideas, which she did through language structuring the overarching metaphors. Furthermore, Brown's rhetoric directly combatted the metaphors employed by Finicum. Finicum used many metaphors to simplify the audience's understanding and change their view of the occupation and conflict. Essentially, Finicum hoped to portray the militia favorably and the government as an enemy that needed to be conquered. Brown's simple characterization of the militia contested these portrayals. By partially structuring the metaphors, Brown emphasized the negative facets of the militia and their occupation. When coupled with her stature and authority, Brown's message resonated with the larger public. Brown's metaphors portrayed the militia in a manner consistent with our experience and conceptual system. Hence, Brown's rhetoric was more effective in reaching a larger audience.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis has endeavored to understand how the metaphors present within rhetoric cultivated by the opposing sides in the Malheur conflict were effective or not in appealing to a larger audience: the general public. Using Lakoff and Johnson's views outlined in *Metaphors We Live By*, I have identified the significant ontological, orientational and structural metaphors operating within the artifacts. Then, I interpreted their role in characterizing or structuring a new concept in terms of something else. Eventually, this allowed me to determine the worldviews suggested by the artifacts' metaphors using Black's conception of a second persona. Despite the focus on metaphor, an interdisciplinary perspective was necessary to contextualize this conflict as part of the long-standing militia movement, and provided insight into the attitudes adopted by each side in this current situation. This section will address the conclusions and implications gathered from this research. As well as, highlighting the limitations within this study and making suggestions for future research.

Robert LaVoy Finicum's interview represented the militia's rhetoric. The pervasive use of metaphor worked to positively frame the militia's actions while emphasizing the abominable enemy: the federal government. Within the orientational (typically spatial) metaphor category, Finicum primarily used the "up" orientation to evoke the positive cultural associations made with "standing up" or "upholding." In doing so, the militia's actions may be viewed in a more positive light. Next, ontological metaphors give substance or boundaries to an entity, thing, or idea (Lakoff and Johnson 25). Most notable within this section was imbuing the

Constitution with the qualities of a cage. By doing so, the audience was invited to understand that the government, operating outside the law, was free from their cage. This served to cultivate a fear of the federal government and justify the militia's actions. Lastly, the structural metaphors portrayed the government as a wolf, a monarchy and ended with characterizing the conflict as a battle. The first two of these structural metaphors served to frame the government negatively by dehumanizing them and comparing their actions to those of Great Britain in the historical American Revolution. While the latter, promised a battle between the militia (good) and the federal government (evil). The militia's rhetoric primed the audience to choose their side, and take action against injustice and evil as highlighted by their negative portrayal of the federal government.

What began as a simple explanation of a day at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, turned into a justification of the militia's presence there, and a description of the federal government's wrong doings. While the federal government remained largely quiet (aside from an FBI presence), Governor Kate Brown began to speak out. She wrote two letters addressed first to Attorney General Loretta Lynch and FBI Director James Comey, and the second to President Barack Obama. The use of metaphor within these letters was much more subdued. Why? Brown didn't have to invite the audience to view the militia in ways different from what they already understood: radicals and criminals.

Nevertheless, her language within the letters serves to reinforce the audience's understanding of radicals and criminals while not explicitly calling them by those terms. This directly combats the militia's identity cultivated in their rhetoric. The

militia's goals and actions are no longer viewed as righteous and positive. In addition, Brown uses the structural metaphor of the militia as outsiders to illustrate they don't belong in the Harney and Malheur Communities. By showcasing the communities' past accomplishments creating collaborative land management initiatives and policies, Brown highlights how the militia is stealing their recognition. Rather than focus on the good work accomplished, the national gaze is trained on the militia. It is the structuring of this metaphor that invites an additional metaphor: the community as victims. This metaphor combats the militia's logic that they aren't harming anyone. It creates a sense of anger amongst the audience and a desire for an urgent end to the occupation. Brown inevitably calls upon the figures addressed in the letters to end the militia's stay.

When compared, it becomes obvious that Brown's rhetoric was more effective at reaching a wider audience. Brown portrayed the militia in ways consistent with one's cultural experience and their historical understanding of the militia movement. The armed occupation of a federal building solidified the public's judgment of the militia. It is important to note that even before the occupation the militia would be tasked with creating a discourse that could vastly shift the public's beliefs about land management and the federal government. This would have been an almost insurmountable task, and the armed occupation only added another hurdle. Now the public, if undecided, couldn't help but view the militia as a radical group.

As a result, it is not surprising that Finicum and the militia relied heavily on metaphor within their discourse. It was necessary for them to explain their actions in terms of something else that might resonate with the general public. Nonetheless,

these metaphors failed in reaching this demographic because they catered mostly to a militia-minded individual. This was seen in the language supporting the metaphors as well as the metaphors themselves, which closely followed common militia ideologies.

What does this mean for the militia movement in Malheur and as a whole? For the militia in Malheur, they failed. Their rhetoric was unsuccessful in reaching a larger audience because it was laced with their ideology, and further hindered by the armed occupation. While I can appreciate the vivid and overwhelming use of metaphor in the interview, this use of figurative language wasn't by choice. The militia had to frame their beliefs and actions in a way that was different from one's typical understanding of militia groups and their experience with armed occupations. Essentially, the militia was tasked with portraying a historically unfavorable, fringe group as justified and favorably leading an armed occupation of a federal building. Metaphor was completely necessary to shape this new perspective that the militia wanted to create. Unfortunately, the metaphor usage in the militia's rhetoric was unable to coerce a larger audience into believing the militia was acting appropriately. The militia's beliefs, attitudes, and actions are currently too extreme for the public to accept even when using metaphor.

Now, I will not simply suggest that the militia movement needs to rethink their goals and beliefs (although this may be helpful). Instead, I believe that my work has demonstrated how negatively characterizing the government and relying primarily on the Constitution and allusions to the American Revolution are not working. They are not resonating with the public because they have been used before and are predictable. The militia movement and social movements in general need to

find the most effective ways to connect with the public through their rhetoric. When constructing various messages, these movements should first examine the historical success of similar messages and themes used by past movements. After conducting this assessment, the movement can determine if past messages and themes have merit in the current social climate. If these messages cannot be justified, then the movement will need to examine their target audience, determine what they value, make assumptions about their life experiences and tailor a message consistent with the movement's goals. If the rhetoric isn't eliciting a change within the target audience, then the movement must adapt and change their rhetoric to suit the needs of the audience.

Next, my work has implications for the various levels of government. Namely, that state and federal governments still take longer than expected to handle situations involving militant groups. The occupation in Malheur lasted 41 days, and is indicative of our governments' hesitancy in handling these potentially explosive situations. Yet, I think that the business-like and efficient tone and language within Brown's letters did little to incite the militia group. This was positive, and Brown's lack of the term "militia" delegitimized the movement by failing to recognize their connection to the militia outlined in our nation's Constitution. As mentioned, the Constitution is a foundational document for militia groups, which is often used to justify their formation and actions. By subtly excluding "militia" from her language, Brown didn't foster the patriotic attitudes that are often evoked by the aforementioned connections. Furthermore, it was important that the situation did not escalate like past incidents in Ruby Ridge or Waco, as people could be endangered and only

arouse the anger of other militia groups. Brown's lack of metaphor did not provoke other militia groups and made it difficult to argue against a criminal characterization. In this regard, Brown's rhetoric was simple and effective. Additionally, I believe that the lack of federal government response (aside from the FBI) was also beneficial. By not responding through media outlets, the federal government effectively delegitimized the militia and the arguments they held. However, it should be noted that the occupation could have been handled quicker.

Furthermore, my research contributed to rhetorical criticism and specifically metaphor. Metaphor can be extremely subtle and powerful in evoking emotion and associations. I believe that my work demonstrated this assertion through the upwardly oriented and structural metaphors found in Finicum's interview. Because of their subtlety and power to highlight and hide aspects of a thing or idea, more should be dedicated to discussing the ethical implications surrounding the use of metaphor. Although metaphors can help one understand, they also frame this understanding by the context and language surrounding it. Because metaphors are a pervasive part of our conceptual systems and used frequently, the question should be asked: is the metaphor helpful or exploitive? When addressing the ethical implications of the metaphor, research should account for the audience intended and the ideologies they hold in addition to the metaphor and language used. Also, examination of the rhetoric's context should be included to determine if the occasion warranted a particular metaphor. This combination of audience ideology, language used, and context would allow the critic to judge if the metaphors used were exploiting a particular audience on a given occasion. However, more research would

need to be done to identify and include other factors in a framework for judging the ethical implications tied to metaphor use.

Like any study, there are limitations to my research. First and foremost my research only focuses on the occupation and rhetoric cultivated in response to the situation in Malheur. I am unable to draw wider conclusions about rhetoric from militia groups and their opposition and the reception they receive from the general public. In addition, my focus is on a single artifact chosen to represent the militia's entire rhetoric throughout the occupation. While I feel that it is largely representative, there are indeed other news articles, interviews and photos worthy of being studied. These articles may have represented the militia's beliefs, goals, and attitudes differently. While a similar argument may be made against the collection of artifacts representing the government, Brown's response was the first response made by a government body higher than local officials. One may argue that there were other responses made later, and there were, but many occurred after the final arrests were made. Nonetheless, it is necessary to understand that the scope of my research is extremely limited in focusing on three artifacts from a long occupation.

Furthermore, it is unrealistic to think that the militia in Malheur is representative of all militia groups. While there are similarities, it would be flawed to draw conclusions about the larger militia movement based on the study of this particular militia group. Additionally, the government or opposition's response reflects the views articulated by Kate Brown. These views can be argued to be reflective only of the Oregon population. Again, it is not reasonable to draw conclusions about the greater American public from this demographic.

I propose more research on this topic. While it may be lofty to expect, a comparative analysis of the militia's rhetoric and the media's coverage of their actions throughout their stay in Harney and Malheur Counties would be interesting. This would demand a focus on the rhetoric and media responses from these key events: the Hammonds imprisonment, Bundy's presence in Burns, the occupation, Finicum's death and the arrests of the last militia members. Not only would this give a more complete understanding of the militia's rhetoric and the evolution it underwent throughout this movement, but also how it was viewed and covered by the media who cater to the general public. This research would give a more complete view of the conflict and those involved.

The next limitation to be considered is my own bias, and the bias associated with any rhetorical analysis. First, I was made aware of this topic by my family and friends who live in Harney County or ranch outside of the town. Although this wasn't personal for me, it was for them and I took an interest. Secondly, there is bias associated with identifying and interpreting the various metaphors present in the artifacts. I was unable to address every metaphor used within the artifacts, and had to judge which ones were most significant. This depended on the frequency used, placement of the metaphor, and overall message conveyed by the metaphor. Furthermore, metaphors rely on one's experience to create the message. My experiences may lend a different interpretation in certain instances even when trying to be objective. As a result, I propose that further research should be done on rhetoric cultivated from militia groups and their opposition during times of protest and action.

This would add to the discussion of messages conveyed and themes created from the rhetoric, which may or may not compliment my work.

Lastly, my work solely focused on the metaphors operating within the rhetorical discourses. There are other ways to rhetorically analyze discourses that were not included. Using other theories and concepts may have lent a unique and different conclusion than the one drawn in this research. Therefore, I recommend a different methodology applied to these artifacts to provide more insight into the reason why the militia's rhetoric failed to gain traction from a larger population.

Overall, future research needs to address the rhetoric cultivated during times when the militia movement has resurfaced and is actively involved in eliciting change. There is a glaring absence of literature addressing this, and my work has contributed to filling this void. I believe that through careful examination of rhetoric created from the various sides during these times will not only provide insight into the differing viewpoints, but could be helpful when studying the evolution of rhetoric in these situations. This can be used to gauge the progress made by the movement, and their ability to adapt to the cultural expectations during a particular time period.

Additionally, future research should examine radical groups (not necessarily militia) and their use of metaphor within their discourse. I think there may be a correlation between increased metaphor usage and radical groups trying to elicit change. As mentioned above, metaphor is a tool used to foster understanding of one thing in terms of another. I have a suspicion that compared to the larger institution these radical groups are fighting against, they are using more metaphors. Additional research would be needed to make such a claim. If a relationship were corroborated,

it would provide a basis and need for more research addressing the ethical usage of metaphor mentioned above.

This research has endeavored to identify and understand the metaphors operating within the discourses cultivated by the militia and the government (Kate Brown). The metaphors used were most receptive among two audiences: a group of militia-like individuals, and the larger public. It is no secret that the militia catered to the first audience, while Brown catered to the second. Although ripe with metaphor, the militia's rhetoric failed to garner a different audience. Yet, it may be argued that the militia was tasked with a tough job made more difficult by the act of occupying the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Nonetheless, they failed in securing an audience different from themselves and making headway in accomplishing their goals. While some characterized the militia's efforts as valiant, others called them domestic terrorists. So what is the takeaway? Even a metaphor has limits: they can only hide so much.

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Appendix

“Live from Oregon[sic] with LaVoy Finicum Standing for Freedom”

Justice: And welcome to radio resistance radio live network my name is Justice Bernard, your host. With special guests Diana Beck, Phil Spencer, Ron Effles, and our very very special guest Mr. Lavoy Finicum who's with us tonight. Live up in Oregon and we do have a surprise guest for him that I will introduce this person here in a little bit. Hello Mr. Finicum, how are you doing?

Finicum: I am doing very well, thank you so much Justice.

Justice: It's very good to have you back on our show again.

Finicum: Well good how's everybody been doing, there's been a lot of _____ since we've sat and talked.

Justice: Yeah there has I think the last time we talked, last we talked was a couple months ago about your ranch when they were sabotaging your water lines and everything and now the standoff of Oregon, and uh that's one of the things that we wanna get out and I'm gonna let you speak and then here in a little while I have something I want to spring on you in a little bit, any ways for the callers, do call in if you'd like, the number is 647-945-7386 if you'd like to ask Lavoy some questions and uh anyway go ahead Lavoy and take off. The show belongs to you

Lavoy: Okay, alright well I'm sure people will try to call here in a little bit, the media have kind of covered this upside down but the activity, the events with what's going on here surely it's not died down. No it was quite a whirlwind um in the last 3 weeks, but this whole thing here is like uh... the very first of January, now we're here over 3 week in and it's been an exciting time. It's been very exciting to start to see the ranchers going about and to uphold the Constitution, to help uh defend the rights of the ranchers, the great rationalists, that they have right to access these lands, to use the resources, to enjoy them, to hunt on them, and that the federal government does not have the soul power of control and ownership of these lands. So that's the very issue, it's a constitutional issue and its really good to see the citizens themselves rise up and upholding that Constitution and requiring the federal government to return to the confines of the law.

Justice: Alright and what we've been hearing so far from the videos is a bunch of lies and cover ups that they're saying that the citizens down there don't want you guys down there and we're also hearing that some of the militia people down there have already been captured coming down, I was wondering if any of that's true or is that false?

Lavoy: Well I don't know of anybody being captured, it wasn't any of us I'll tell you how the day went yesterday. It's been so so intense, so little sleep. I slept in til 6, and got up and showered, and put on my best Levi's and went into town to church and relaxed a little bit and said it's sure time to kinda go unwind a little bit so I can yank it hard Monday, and ya know. And so the picture that's painted is very much not what is on the ground happening here at resource center.

Diana: Oh my goodness, really, wow. They've really painted it to... you guys are the villains and the publics afraid of the militia and all this nonsense on mainstream media. I'm so happy to hear that, that's really wonderful.

Lavoy: Go ahead... I was just saying I've been telling the media and stuff that uh you know, I hear that in town it's really a lot of fear and intensity with all the federal agents and all the police and state troopers and they've been running around with guns and well why don't you come out here and relax and maybe have a picnic and visit with us and so.

Diana: There you go.

Lavoy: It's more calm, in fact, yesterday morning, I got up and walked outside and you couldn't hear a sound and the sun was just coming up and it was peaceful and I thought man what a relaxing morning and stuff. It was very good but there's definitely a lot of (undecipherable) rallying going on around us we see that and hear that and that's unfortunate the federal government continues to ramp up the war preparations and the war grounds but they definitely are taking on the harder hard line. They drone us often they fly us all day long.

Diana: Oh my goodness.

Lavoy: So we just carry on we don't worry about it, we're working hard, we're getting a lot done and it's just amazing that the ranchers and people that are rising up here and across the country. And so it is, you can understand, go ahead.

Justice: I know there's been a lot of supplies coming down your way too from donations and stuff and we felt bad because we wanted to go up there and we were low on resources ourselves and everything and we are gonna still try to somehow to get down there. Me, Ron, and a few of us and everything so I know there's a friend of ours who went down there I don't know if she made it down there or not, I haven't heard from her. So as to when I had messaged you not too long ago and I had gotten a little worried about Ammon because I had talked to him about a week ago then I lost contact with him so I was wondering if he's okay or if he's just...

Lavoy: Let me give you an update on things a little bit uh I think everybody's pretty well that's been following this on the other outlet sources is that everybody's alive and well. On Saturday we had that, that tremendous signing ceremony and uh Ammon spoke, Ryan spoke uh. His beautiful family came out and sang and performed for the people. And this rancher flew in from New Mexico to support the ranchers here and he signed the declaration of ya know, emancipation from the federal overseer-ship.

Diana: Yayyyy

Lavoy: And that's the same way they did it down in Utah...

Diana: Yayyyy

Lavoy: And then we all just kinda sat around and just kinda patted each other on the back and said let's just sit and enjoy this for a minute.

Diana: Praise God, that's wonderful.

Three people talking at once, making no sense.

Diana: America is watching very closely too. They're watching and waiting to see what these people are gonna do and I'll tell you there are a lot of people ready to jump.

Justice: Mmhmm.

Lavoy: Well I want to say this to you, I've got a lot of people that wanted to come and sometimes our resources just haven't been able to be where we want to be but your prayers, I'm telling you, that your prayers are felt here. The people (undecipherable) here most of the time, and we feel your support from all across the country. Ya know, every meeting we have we come from all different denominations and that doesn't make a difference. We all kneel down and we pray for God's blessings and guidance upon us and we get up and we go to work.

Diana: Yes.

Three people talking at once, making no sense.

Justice: Can you tell the people why all this started in the first place 'cause there's been some mixed communications, like you said, with the media, liberal media news has fabricated so much lies out there that I know a lot of people are confused about what's really going on that, ya know, and everything I was hoping that you could explain what started that?

Lavoy: Yeah sure, I, I can uh, if you'd like I just kinda give you uh, a summary of what happened and how we got to this place where we're at.

Justice: Okay

Lavoy: The match that lit this fuse was that great travesty of justice that was uh, that happened to the Hammond family where they were thrown into prison not once, but twice for a fire of just 140 acres of brush. And, and I'm here to tell you that we have two witnesses who have come forward and talked to us and say that that brush fire that they went to prison for the first time, and you need to understand this fire happened 11 years ago, so we're talking about something that happened over 11 years ago.

Diana: Good grief.

Lavoy: And this, yeah, and this fire that was set, was a uh, a fire, a back fire that the Hammond's set to stop a fire that was coming that would have burnt all their range and the feed for their cattle. Now we've had two witnesses who've come to us and have said that it was not a lightning strike fire that started that fire that the Hammond's lit the back fire to, to stop. That fire was further away. They said that there were two BLM rangers with the drip pots, that started that fire that then circled that range of the Hammond's. And the Hammond's then stopped that fire that the BLM started, and then the BLM let the federal government come and charge them as terrorists, throws them in prison, and the judge says, ya know, three months and a year for the boy, and then, ya know, 7 years later, or, or, the feds come back and say we want more flesh. And so they re-litigate the sentencing, they throw them back in prison for a fire that they themselves started, that the Hammond's put out, and, and you've got to understand the depth of this travesty.

Diana: That's pure evil.

Lavoy: Yeah, and then to put it on, once they get convicted, then they say they forced the Hammond's to sign what's called the right of first refusal. They say you may not sell anything more than \$500, nor buy anything more than \$500 without our permission. And if you sell anything, you must give us the right of first refusal. In other words, if you sell part of your ranch, you must sell it to us first.

Diana: Oh my word.

Lavoy: They fine them \$400,000 and then they give them a small amount of window in which to come up with that money. And so obviously they have to sell their ranch, and who do they have to sell it to?

Diana: To the feds.

Lavoy: To the federal government. So it was about them stealing their land, and getting them off their range. That's all it was, pure and simple.

Diana: This all started originally over a desert turtle that was allegedly going extinct of some nonsense. I remember this well, because I got very much involved in that one, but boy, this is going on and on. Now I'm hearing that it's actually about the uranium, the gold, and all the other natural resources that are on that land is what they really want.

Lavoy: Of course, now let's think about this a little bit. You need to understand that those that the federal government hires are not stupid, they know what real wealth is. They know it's in things that you actually hold, kick and feel. They know that the energy, power, ya know, minerals, um, resources, that's where the wealth is. So they are controlling that, they are seeking that and locking it off from the citizens of the counties and of the states. Now this county used to be the wealthiest county in all of Oregon, but the federal government's come in here and closed off their ability to log, to ranch in large manger, and to have access to the resources of the land. And now Harney county is the poorest county in the state of Oregon. And so it is a travesty that is affecting the people directly.

Diana: So they've tried to chase everybody out, virtually.

Lavoy: Over 100 ranchers, over 100 ranchers over the last couple of decades, they have moved off man land or another. I sat down with a lady from here and she's pointing at this ranch here and that ranch there and says yeah they flooded those out, they flooded those out, they burned those out, they put this bike in here and then they allowed the waters to rise up and flood the ranches, flood the homes, until the people were bankrupt and had to leave. And then, they let the waters recede, they opened it up, and just took the land.

Diana: That's horrible.

Justice: Wow.

Lavoy: The people say well that couldn't happen in America. This is America, we'd know about that. Ya know, Fox News would be right on that, ya know, CNN would be right on that, and I'm here to tell ya, no it is happening. It's happening currently, it's happening now.

Justice: It's happening not just there, it's happening there in New Mexico, Arizona, and ya know, some other states as well.

Lavoy: Absolutely, so what is happening, you're seeing the point of this here. You're seeing the people, the ranchers, the citizens of these countries, these counties, these states say, no more, we're done, we're through. And they're rising up and they're throwing off, and they say federal government, you have crawled out of your den like a devouring wolf. There were parameters, and rules, and laws, to bind you into a very narrow set of functioning parameters. And you have left those. You have torn off the restraints that we the people have put up on you, and you stalk our liberty like a devouring wolf, like a cowardly wolf, seeking itself on the weakest.

Ron: Lavoy, this is Ron. Uh I was kinda curious. I've been hearing, I've been watching a lot about it, um, that (undecipherable) show. And uh, I need to know, I think there's some miscommunication in this area too, like uh, Pete saying everybody needs to try to come or whatever, well then we have other people who say no you can't go because they blocked it off, or they're not allowing people in, and not allowing people out. What is the status on that? Is people still able to get in there or not? Do you know?

Lavoy: Well my wife says well you been up there a long time, I oughta come up and see you, so she drove up and spent the last couple days up here and she just left, uh, yesterday, and drove on back and uh, so people come and go. The media drives in, they wander around the grounds, they visit with us, they interview us, uh all day, ya know, everyday, and so you can come and go. But I do know, or I do believe that they are positioning themselves that when they so choose, that they will "qaurant" us off and that they will, there has definitely been a hardening of their postures, uh and the ability to, to talk to them in a memberly way is starting to dissipate. Um you know they're bringing in much more, many more assets, more personnel, and so they're doing a lot of saber rousing and uh, but you know, that is what it is, and we just keep moving forward.

Ron: Well speaking of your wife, I do have a very special guest right here, and it is your daughter, and I think she is, uh would like to talk to you if it's okay, ya know, to see how you're doing.

Daughter: Dad, hello.

Lavoy: Hey, how are you doing?

Daughter: I'm good, how are you?

Lavoy: I am doing wonderful. I wish I could give ya a hug. This is such a lovely surprise.

Daughter: I know. Yes, I wish I could be there, I'm on the computer, doing all that I can there but I just wish I could be there.

Lavoy: Oh, you know, you're doing what you're doing from outside is exactly, I mean, you couldn't do probably more than the same thing you're doing now on the inside. And you know, you and all those you're working with, uh the work that you're doing is just, uh, invaluable, in getting out the message and making sure that uh, it's a accurate message.

Daughter: Yes, yes. Well I love you, and I don't want to take the air time for the story, but...

Three+ people talking at once, doesn't make sense.

Justice: I'm hoping you'll stay on the air

Lavoy: Tell 'em what you saw when you guys woke up, my daughters and my sons and said "do you know what dad just did?" Tell 'em, I'd like to know myself what were ya thinking when ya heard it on the news.

Daughter: Well, I, I wasn't surprised because of your conviction and your passion on this matter. So I wasn't completely caught off guard, however I quickly got online and found the quickest YouTube livestreamer that I could find, to see where you were, if I could see your face, and I was really grateful for Pete (undecipherable), um, I, yes I slept with my phone a few times with the live feed going, making sure that you were still alive, especially that night when you were sitting out, um, in front of the entrance.

Lavoy: That was a pretty intense night, we truly thought we were just on the verge of getting hit.

Daughter: Yeah that was, um, a million prayers were being said, and I know that everybody was watched over.

Lavoy: We were, we were definitely watched over. Most definitely.

Justice: Well I'm happy that we were able to bring you two together, me and (undecipherable) had text earlier, and I said, let's surprise 'em and bring and, and then everything, and spring it on you, and so. But uh, I know there's a lot more questions I know a lot of people would like to ask. So if you'd like the phone number 647-945-

7386. If you'd like to call in, the lines are open. And uh you know I know you guys are still accepting donations and stuff so if you'd like you can give that information out where they can donate and so forth.

Diana: That would be good, and if you could tell us what you need, ya know, what kind of supplies you need, and how we could get those to you.

Lavoy: Ya know what, it has been so helpful, since the first people that showed up, the first night, were the ranchers, and they came with some beef, and some beans, and stew, and when we rolled in here, I mean that morning was 7 below. And so we're sitting out here it's freezing cold, and so they rolled in, and they were so gracious to give us the support and the people across the country have shipped in food and beans and supplies, and good food. And the real heroes are those ladies back there cooking for us and keeping us well fed with good meals and I just have to take my hat off to them, and acknowledge those people behind the scenes that don't get the spotlight or the limelight or however you wanna put it.

Diana: God bless 'em.

Lavoy: They keep this whole thing going.

Diana: That's wonderful.

Justice: That's good news for sure. And I do know for a fact that there's a lot of people supporting you guys. I've been reading a lot of articles and a lot of groups, groups support you and I know I was talking to some police officer friends of mine up here in Las Venice, and they support you guys, and uh and everything so you do got some support from law enforcements all over as well. You know, uh and stuff. And so whenever we see the liberal news and media out there spreading something ya know that's not true, I try to get in there and correct 'em on it, and everything. And that doesn't go as planned, but you know how that is.

Lavoy: Well you know that, that you are swimming up, doing good, when you are swimming upstream. And you know that you must expect the opposition but that's okay because, pretty soon you begin to pick up steam. For example, the Harney, um the county just north of us, Grant county, have reached out to us, there's a strong sheriff there, and the citizens are asking us to go and meet with them tomorrow, so that's where we're headed tomorrow.

Three people talking at once, doesn't make sense.

Lavoy: Yeah, and then on Friday, in Malheur county, to, I believe to the east of us, there's a rancher who is getting ready, he's going to sign that, that declaration of

emancipation from the feds. And that is, yeah he's got ranchers that are standing by him and he's doing it on his own, we're just going to come over and watch him, and so you know it is, it is, the people are starting to rise up.

Diana: Really?

Lavoy: And, yeah. And they're saying that federal government, you're the server, you're not our masters and you must return to the confines of the law.

Diana: Yes, now let me ask a question about homesteading. Do they have homesteading there in, uh, Oregon? Do you guys homestead your land when you buy, you know, when you buy your land does it come as homestead rights?

Lavoy: Uhm you know, those things I am not sure of with all the in's and outs of the kickers of, uh, Oregon. This is the issues that we're working with, it's that these lands are still public lands and the rights are already established upon it just like I explained on my ranch. These ranchers, the only thing that they own is the grazing rights. So were fighting for not only the ranchers grazing rights but were fighting for that hunter's right to access the land because the fed's are locking that off too. And for the camper to be able to come out and camp and recreate.

Diana: Yes.

Lavoy: And so we're fighting for all the American citizens to have rights and openness to these public lands, uhm we're just saying federal government you don't rule with complete impunity upon these lands as you have done for so long. These are rights. That hunting right is regulated by the States, you get your fish and game and wildlife out of here. These grazing rights belong to the ranchers, you don't own those and the logging rights and the mineral rights those belong to the states and the counties to be administered as they decide, not as a central power decides.

Diana: Well I had read, you know it's probably been over a year ago now, some articles where the federal government was shutting down state forests all over the country, they were starting to shut them down and not allowing people to camp over night and so on. And making it impossible for them to gain access, and...

Lavoy: Well sure, right up at my ranch they just put up a blue sign, that says, "Kelly point closed between this time and this time". Don't you remember what our founding fathers were dealing with, it was it was the king's highway the kings forest the kings land. You were a subject upon the king's estate. And so that's what we have here. We are we are treated as subjects upon a central power's estate and we must bow to them and plead to have the ability to have some access to their estate, their land, their power. And we are saying no, we're American's, we're free people. You

know these, you're not free if you do not have access to the resources of the land, if you, if the federal government says we own all this land a third of it, remember one third of the land and we rule, and again that's the verbiage, is we have exclusive legislative power whatsoever. That's the wording that goes clear through to the Supreme Court. It means we make the laws, and enforce the laws, and execute the laws and we throw you into our prisons when you do not abide by what we dictate.

Diana: That's exactly right and American's need to understand that you know. So many people don't even get, they don't even understand.

Lavoy: It's real. I mean the Hammonds is just the most current example of real tyranny and suffering. I mean 75 years old and the man has already served time, they come back and say "No you're going to serve 5 more years". You know at 75 those last five years, those are pretty precious years.

Diana: Yeah they are.

Lavoy: And we're saying, and he worked himself to the bone. Driving truck 16 hours a day to pay off the last of that 200,000 dollar, it got paid off, he had like 400,000 dollars to pay and he had like 200,000 left to pay and he worked like crazy so that his wife would not be left with nothing. And he got it paid off just before he went into prison, and so it is intolerable. We will not tolerate it, we will not stand for it. And they think "Ohhhh you'll never get them out, you're delusional". And we're saying "No we're not delusional". Are we here on this place that was once claimed by the Federal government or not? That's not a delusion. You think it's going to be delusional that the Hammonds are going to remain in prison for the full five years? No it's not. We will not stand by idly and let this travesty go. I said today just with some attorney that was a liberal attorney trying and and, you know I says, "Mr. Attorney, you sit here in a comfortable chair, in this warm building, and you sat and ate a nice breakfast, and you were with those that you associate with in your own home, and you move freely about this country. And you treat this, these people, these human beings that are suffering at this time as if well that's just the way it is, and we just must live with it. And how dare you. How dare you sit in your comfortable chair, with your full belly, and you pay no attention to the travesty, the sufferings of your fellow human beings.

Diana: So they're out there raising cattle and what not to feed you.

Lavoy: Yeah and you do nothing to strengthen our country. To be a productive member of this society and to give and to be an upstanding citizen, over something that you started BLM. You started the fires and then they stopped them so you threw them in prison, not once but twice. And so that was the match. I wouldn't be here, I wouldn't be sitting here in this newly minted Harney County Resource center which

they thought was theirs. This wild life refuge, national wildlife refuge. And so I am sitting in their castle, I'm sitting in their fortress, and we're saying no.

Diana: Well it belongs to the people of Oregon.

Lavoy: Yeah, it's ours the people. It belongs to Harney County, it belongs to Oregon and we shall make sure that it is handed over to Harney County and you federal government shall never ever come back here.

Justice: That's the way. Wow. Uh what about the uh let's see what is it amendment one uh what is it 1:8:17?

Lavoy: Oh yes it's article one section 8, clause 17. And that's a very important point and because this is a ninth amendment issue a tenth amendment issue but also in the body of the body of the constitution and of course the spirit and intent of this great document, but let me just go over that just a little bit here. I think I can find it here, I'm pulling up this, I left mine at home so I've got another one that's not marked up so well. But uhm right here. It's in article one section 8 clause 17. And so the people understand this, let me just go over this. See our founding fathers knew they had just escaped from a kingdom where it was the king's land, the king's forest and knew that if you control the land you control the people. So they wanted this new central power to not have the ability concentrate the control of the land under it's umbrella. So here they explain exactly what land the federal government may own and control. And so to start in that clause it says "To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district not exceeding 10 miles square, as may, by cession of particular states and the acceptance of congress become the seat of the government of the united states". Well that's D.C. And so they couldn't even just go and enforce it from a state, they said they had to go to a state and the state had to say, "okay we shall give it to you", we shall ceded it to you. You cannot take it by force, and it can't be more than 10 miles square. And so you know Maryland and I think West Virginia, they ceded that 10 miles and so that's Washington D.C. And so constitutionally, they have complete power over that 10 miles square, they make all the laws, all the rules, all the regulations. And that's right and appropriate. That's the hand of the government, and it's in the constitution. Then it goes on and it says, and let me get the line, here it is, "and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State" and so in other words if you want more land, you must purchase it. And from whom? From the state legislature. You must get the consent of a state legislature to purchase the land. You cannot take it by eminent domain Mr. Federal Government, you must come to the state and ask to purchase it, and the legislature must give consent. Then it get's even more narrowly defined. They say for exactly what it must be for, and it says, "In which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings". In other words, only for the defense of our nation. Okay, it's

right and appropriate for the Federal government to come to Arizona and say, “We would like to build an Airforce base”. And the state legislature will convene and say “Well yes I think we can clear some title and we will give you this land here but you must purchase it, and so here is a bill of sale, here’s what you paid us for it and we consent to it. And then they say “No, nooo, we own the land, we don’t have to ask permission, we have control of one third of the land mass and we combine executive, legislative, and judicial powers under one head and we shall do as we please”. And we say, “Wait, wait, is this not the supreme law of the land?” And we as the people say yes. We the people said Federal government, this is the confines of what you must conduct your business. But they say, “No we shall do whatever we please.” So finally after exhausting all means to get the federal government to abide by the law, the people themselves, we here at this refuge have risen up and said “No more”, we will no longer tolerate this. At every step, and every legislative measures have been exhausted, all the judicial measures have been exhausted, and you are bound and determined every year to grow your empire. So here we have taken a step forward and said, “You need to return, you need to go back, you need to be law abiding”. And so...

Diana: Oh wow. So get off my land (chuckles)

Lavoy: (Chuckles) Yeah, go home! Go home. Take your ball and go home. Go protect our borders.

Diana: Hey there you go, there’s a great idea.

Lavoy: You have a constitutional duty to protect the borders. You know spend as much energy protecting the borders as you are with these few rock buildings over here. You know...

Diana: Amen!

Lavoy: Building up an armament that you’re building up to come and get stuff out here. And let’s see you go do your duty. Seal the border. Make sure that the people coming in are vetted, that they come through a legal process, and that the rule of law is upheld. And yet nah they won’t do the things that we told them they are to do. They will do all the things that they want to do. So yeah, this is a constitutional issue. And now is the day, now is the time for people to stand up. It’s not next month, it’s not next year.

Diana: No it’s right this minute.

Lavoy: It’s right now, it’s today.

Diana: I couldn't agree more.

Justice: Well Lavoy, the people there in Harney County...I know that that meeting was, that judge Graspby wanted to have was cancelled. Are the people in Harney county, are they seeming to stick together now more than they were?

Lavoy: Yeah, what is happening is we're seeing a shift, we're seeing that, well first of all, all the ranchers come to us, and a lot of them they started coming in dark because they didn't want to get the reprisals from the feds and now they're just encouraging. And so everyone, only one rancher, out of all the hundreds we have met and talked to, everyone agrees wholeheartedly. There has only been one rancher that said no I don't agree with you. And then his uncle stands up and says listen here nephew, listen here you're in the wrong. But you've got to understand also if the federal government does fully attend they do not intend on losing their kingdom. They are not building up this armament and this saber-rousing for no reason, and this is the day that we fully intend to carry it, and they full intend to carry it. And by divine providence I believe that we shall see the day carried in our favor.

Diana: That's right, amen, I agree with you. I have a questi....

Justice: What's actually happening is evil and good. You all are the good, and the evil, well of course we know who that is. I believe the lord is looking down, and because you're handling yourselves in the way that you are, you're doing it in a godly way. You're not trying to wrong or use these strong arm tactics. You're using strictly the law of the land and you're doing it in a godly way. You're being peaceful, but you're getting your point across. And I believe the Lord, he's looking down and he's smiling over you, I really do. And from this point forward I really believe that.

Other guy: Same here, we've seen a lot of miracles happen before. There in the Arizona stand off we were seeing it, we're seeing it here, that's why a lot of things are going as good as it is. God's hand is over this as well and everything you know. You know, I just wish that we could be there with you. We we're disgusted because we didn't have the resources.

Lavoy: Do not underestimate, do not underestimate what you do on the outside by simply speaking on this radio, by bringing attention to it, by you're cares, your concerns, your prayers. It will be sufficient, it will be...it will be...enough. And know that we are determined, we are fixed. See this is not a place of fear in here, the fear is out there. We know that God's hand is over this and however it turns out, it's going to be okay. And all we're to do, it we're to hold our course, we're to work hard, and we're to uphold freedom and the constitution and God will do the rest. We will do everything in our power, and God will do the rest. He will fill in the gaps.

Justice: That's what I feel like.

Diana: Amen.

Justice: I pray for ya'll everyday. I pray for your safety.

Other guy: Well I hate to interrupt, but we do have to take a small break, and we will be back here in about 10 minutes.

Lavoy: I really appreciate it, unfortunately I'm going to have to run. I wish I could spend another hour visiting with you good folks. I just am so proud of you and all that you're doing for us. And unfortunately I do have to run off to some other things, and so if you would please excuse me I apologize

Justice: Well that's no problem. God bless you and I hope everything turns out well, and you're always welcome to come here on the show anytime. And Taraeh do you have anything to say to your dad before we go?

Taraeh: I love you and keep the faith and we're all praying for you and...

Lavoy: Well daughter, I am so proud of you, you bring nothing but joy and sunshine in my life, and I want you to know how much I love you daughter and so with that I shall catch you soon and your prayers continue and we shall carry on for another day.

Justice: God bless you.

Other guy: Please let everyone you know up there...

Lavoy: Thank you, see you later.

Governor Kate Brown's Letters



KATE BROWN
Governor

January 20, 2016

The Honorable Loretta E. Lynch
U.S. Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20530-0001

The Honorable James B. Comey
FBI Headquarters
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20535-0001

Madam Attorney General and Director Comey:

Earlier today I spoke with Mr. Comey to share my issues with the handling of the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge by armed radicals.

The citizens of Harney County are resilient and diverse and include members of the Burns-Paiute Tribe. Like most Oregonians, those from Harney County have a history of resolving difficult issues through a collaborative approach. They have worked hard through the years to develop the Malheur Refuge Comprehensive Conservation Plan, the Harney County Wetlands Initiative, the Harney County Restoration Collaborative, the Harney County Wildfire Collaborative, and SageCon. It is for this work that they should be recognized, and yet the national focus has instead been fixed on outsiders seeking to exploit and manipulate a local matter for their own agenda.

As you are both aware, for more than two weeks now, these radicals have been allowed to stay unlawfully in the refuge approximately 30 miles to the south of Burns, Oregon, in Harney County. While it is easy to assume that an occupation in such a remote location does not threaten public safety and does not harm any victims, that perception is far from accurate.

Even before the events of January 2, 2016, the local community was put under strain by the presence of outsiders who made unrealistic demands and began harassing law enforcement and their family members. While all were prepared for a tense but lawful protest on January 2 in the town, few were prepared for what would follow.

The unlawful seizure of the refuge by criminals seeking to advance a misguided agenda is in and of itself a strain. What adds to the tensions felt by the community is the reality that multiple "supporters" of these individuals have joined, staying in local motels in the City of Burns, and the criminals on the refuge are allowed to travel on and off the premises with little fear of law



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enforcement contact or interaction. The residents of Harney County are being intimidated in their own hometown by armed criminals who appear to be seeking occasions for confrontation. The harm being done to the innocent men, women and children in Harney County is real and manifest. With each passing day, tensions increase exponentially.

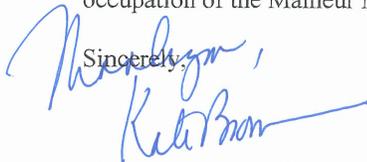
In addition to the federal agents deployed in town, the Oregon State Police and counties and cities from around the state are continuing to deploy additional officers to enhance local patrol and community safety. The reality is that this is not a sustainable law enforcement model for any extended period of time.

Because this occupation has occurred on federal land, it is appropriate that the FBI and other federal law enforcement entities are the leaders on any response to it, and we appreciate the recognition of their responsibility in this situation. They asked state officials, including me, to limit our public comments, which I have done, with considerable difficulty.

However, for the citizens of Harney County and indeed all Oregonians, I must insist on a swift resolution to this matter. Efforts to negotiate have not been successful, and now it is unclear what steps, if any, federal authorities might take to bring this untenable situation to an end and restore normalcy to this community.

I request on behalf of my fellow Oregonians that you instruct your agencies to end the unlawful occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge as safely and quickly as possible.

Sincerely,



Governor Kate Brown

KB/HM/sb



KATE BROWN
Governor

January 20, 2016

The Honorable Barack Obama
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Mr. President:

On January 19, 2016, I spoke with Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Intergovernmental Affairs Jerry Abramson to share my concerns with the handling of the occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge by armed radicals. Today I spoke with James Comey, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I followed up on these conversations by sending the enclosed letter.

During my conversations, I conveyed the harm that is being done to the citizens of Harney County by the occupation, and the necessity that this unlawful occupation end peacefully and without further delay from federal law enforcement.

On behalf of all Oregonians, I appreciate your consideration of our desire to see this situation come to a close, and I thank you for your timely attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Governor Kate Brown

KB/HM/sb



