

Introduction

The relative power of state governors has dramatically increased over the past several decades. They have evolved into major players within the domestic policy arena (Saffell and Basehart 145). From environmental policy to education, welfare reform to the deregulation of public power – governors are playing an active, expanding role. Throughout the political world there is a growing recognition that governors can impact policy initiatives beyond the borders of their states (Saffell and Basehart 145). It is now common for the National Governor's Association and subsidiary organizations to define issues, establish the boundaries for debate, and prescribe comprehensive solutions to identified public problems. In recent times, governors have shown themselves increasingly willing to utilize formal as well as informal associations to collaborate on shared problems and seek intergovernmental solutions. Despite the differences in structural power that exist among the several states, it is important to recognize that modern governors are now much more than merely the "chief clerk" of their states. In their book, Navigating Boundaries: The Rhetoric of Women Governors, Brenda DeVore Marshall and Molly A. Mayhead claim that, "it is impossible to find a person in this country who has not been affected by the policies of state government or governors" (Marshall and Mayhead 1). This assertion implies a critical truth. Governors have "come of age." They exercise vast powers in the carrying out of their duties and we ignore their words and their perceptions of the world that frame those words, at our own risk.

Modern governors perform a range of functions. As the chief executive of their states they construct budgets, manage state bureaucracies, and through the use or threat of the veto – shape legislative agendas (Harrigan and Nice 254-258). As the senior elected politician of their state government, governors also perform the duties of party boss, chief campaigner, and lead fund-raiser for legislative races. To succeed, governors consciously amass and wield their power through use of staff, management of public expectations, intergovernmental collaborative actions, and through party dealings (Harrigan and Nice 248-271). In function, most governors exercise powers similar in nature, albeit smaller in scale, as a President of the United States. In their discussion of this comparison, Marshall and Mayhead cited political scientist Terry Sanford. Sanford concluded that,

The governor, by his very office embodies his state. He stands alone at inauguration as the spokesman for all the people... He must, like the President of the United States, energize his administration, search out the experts, formulate the programs, mobilize support, and carry out new ideas into action... Few major undertakings ever get off the ground without his support and leadership. The governor sets the agenda for public debate; frames the issues; decides on the timing; and can blanket the state with good ideas by using his access to the mass media... The governor is the most potent political power in the state.
(in Marshall and Mayhead 3)

As the "most potent power in the state," governors are the "the face" of their state government, the face of their state party, and ultimately the face of most state policy. Like presidents, governors utilize the powers at their disposal to implement key desired policy objectives – policy objectives that are the result of their sense of mission, their sense of purpose. In his book, The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House, James David Barber asserted,

A President's worldview consists of his primary, politically relevant beliefs, particularly his conceptions of social causality, human

nature, and the central moral conflicts of his time. This is how he sees the world, and what his lasting opinions are about what he sees. Style is his way of acting; world view is his way of seeing. Like the rest of us, a President develops over a lifetime certain conceptions of reality – how things work in politics, what people are like, what the main purposes are. These assumptions or conceptions help him make sense of his world, give some semblance of order to the chaos... A man's world view affects what he pays attention to and a great deal of politics is about paying attention.
(Barber 5)

Therefore, if governors are indeed like presidents, than they also make choices based upon their worldview, choices that in turn either advance or retard specific policy development. And we know that governors function in similar fashion to presidents. They translate their worldview into rhetoric that in turn becomes the basis for state policy. With the undeniable growth in gubernatorial power it becomes prudent that further study be done so that we better understand how and why governors make the policy choices they make.

After thorough investigation, I have concluded that a singular method for gaining absolute certainty regarding gubernatorial decision-making does not exist. The available scholarship spans the disciplines of history, political science, psychology, sociology, and rhetoric. Together it offers a virtual banquet of plausible causation theories. From this work it is obvious that gender, education, religious affiliation, race, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, era of existence, character, and natural talent are all vital factors in human development and subsequently in the development of a personal understanding of the world. However, there is no consensus on the most important factor. Each of these factors offers a particular insight but none can adequately account for all aspects of the human decision-making process. It appears that there exists no singular method because there exists no singular process. Even Barber, a major believer

in the role of character as an indicator of aggregate performance, argued that, "those who reduce all explanation to character neglect... highly significant channelings. For beyond the root is the branch, above the foundation is the superstructure, and starts do not prescribe finishes" (Barber 8). His assessment offers wise counsel. Instead of reduction and simplification, the subject requires closer scrutiny and more thoughtful analysis. It demands an approach that supplements previous study. Accordingly, this essay is neither an affirmation nor an attack on any earlier work. Rather, it is an advancement of another factor for consideration for those interested in fashioning a more precise understanding of the macro interrelationships at work in gubernatorial decision-making. This study is an exploration of how metaphors associated with professional orientation have helped provide Oregon Governor John A. Kitzhaber, M.D. with a language to lead. Ultimately, it is an analysis of how governors form their worldview, and why it matters.

Professional Orientation

Professional orientation is an arrangement of truths and representations of truths that evolves through the process of formal training and field experience. It enables the professional to uphold values and measure relative success. This orientation provides members of a professional craft with a distinct language through which to question, to learn, and to know their world. Thus, professional orientation is a factor in cognitive development and must be measured as an influence in the development of a worldview. Interestingly, this notion has not been previously examined on its own merits. Although much has been learned through examination of the impact of other factors of influence, few studies even mention the role of professional training or its potential implication.

Scholars including Barber, Harrigan and Nice, Saffell and Basehart, assert the relative advantage of general education experiences and occupational opportunity in the career development of elected leaders. Many political scientists recognize the importance of personal or professional connections develop while performing occupational duties. However, there has not been adequate study on the significance of a governor's formative development (in terms of a core philosophy of governance) in relation to the worldview constructed and affirmed by a particular professional orientation. Scholars have nibbled at the crust but have yet to take to a bite; this paper is an attempt to do just that.

Although we often overlook it, the choice of profession itself provides insight into the nature of an elected leader. It showcases core values as well as a glimpse at how a leader chooses to interrelate with her/his world. More than that, understanding the metaphorical orientations of the professional training a governor has mastered can tell us a lot about how s/he sees the world. For example, a trained lawyer may mentally process a political decision through a "trial" lens whereby one "side" wins only at the expense of another; a trained soldier may understand a political conflict through the lens of "war." Another governor, a person trained in business may see a problem through the lens of "profit" carefully determining potential benefit versus cost, while a trained columnist may process a decision through a "story" lens that distinguishes issues more on the relative interest of the outcome than its consequence. Whatever the profession there exists a context. This context is defined by and through metaphorical expressions in our language that are bound to key metaphorical conceptions in a systematic way (Lakeoff and Johnson 1-13). Therefore, whatever the context there exist metaphors that provide relative meaning. These metaphors provide clues for the professional: how to measure

success, how to understand change, and how to "play the game." This is important because we know that metaphors are "routinely elaborated into motivating perspectives" and that "vestiges of these generating images will regularly appear in speeches (or texts) as the speaker's favorite vehicles" (Ivie 349).

Gubernatorial rhetoric is the origin of policy initiation. It is the act from which policy begins. Governors use words to define an agenda, to praise or criticize specific actions as symbols of relative values, and to organize the spectrum of political choice. They select language that conveys an understanding of the world that explains their rationale for and against specific actions. Through their private and public communication governors translate their values through employment of "favorite" vehicles. I argue that many of these vehicles are first learned and then sustained through professional experience. This rhetoric is an expression of root political perceptions as well as their relative grasp of policy dynamics. In function, this rhetoric supplies needed clues to an electorate seeking information about political choices. In this way, the language governors use to explain policy is instrumental.

In terms of gubernatorial rhetoric, the great strength of metaphor is also its weakness: metaphors are tailored vehicles. Whenever a governor employs a particular metaphor to explain a "truth," rival metaphors, by definition, are not selected. It is important to recognize that all representations of truth have an inherent structural limitation. Robert Ivie argued, "the value of locating underlying metaphors is in revealing their limits or untapped potential as sources of invention...Speakers lose sight of alternatives when they become accustomed to routine expressions of images no longer serving their original purposes" (Ivie 349). Ivie further argued that, "stripping away the

outer layers of literalized metaphors" can allow us to discern original intent as well as possible reconstruction (Ivie 349). In other words, it is possible to discern a speaker's purpose – the underlying mission expressed in words – through identification and analysis of root metaphors. With this in mind, the study of the relationship of the self-selected profession of a governor to the key policy metaphors advanced through her/his rhetoric is crucial because professional experience provides governors (and others) with tools through which to measure the world, instruments through which to express core values.

Methodology

Earlier I argued that all professions were bound by context and that context was framed through metaphor. I focused upon metaphorical criticism for this study because I believe that more than any other linguistic device metaphors can fix the relative boundaries of public discourse through reduction of complex ideas into consumable bits of information for an electorate with varying levels of political sophistication. Metaphors can serve as a universal translator comparing known truths with political notions. Thus, governors actually create a situational language that can drive public understanding of policy choices. In other words, "metaphors are more than mere ornamentation: they are the means by which arguments are expressed" (Burghardt 335). This is a vital point: metaphors are the language of argument and thus the best means of analysis. To prove that professional orientation is at least a factor in driving gubernatorial rhetoric and subsequent policy choices, this study examines the primary metaphors employed by John Kitzhaber in major speeches delivered between April 28, 1999 and October 18, 2001.

This assessment is intended to illustrate how his selection of metaphors, driven in large measure by his professional orientation, communicated a worldview that as a result, shaped the public debate surrounding key policy initiatives. To achieve this, I followed the procedure for metaphorical criticism outlined in Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration & Practice. In her book, Sonja K. Foss has assembled the work of rhetorical scholars and established clear guidance on the formula for useful metaphorical analysis. She argued that the following must be done:

- 1) examination of the artifact for a general sense of its dimensions and context; 2) isolation of the metaphors in the artifact; 3) sorting of the metaphors into groups according to vehicle if the metaphors deal with the same tenor or subject or according to topic if the metaphors deal with various subjects; and 4) analysis of the metaphors to discover how they function for the rhetor and audience. (Foss 362)

Ultimately, the purpose of metaphorical analysis is to seek out, find, and determine the function of the primary metaphors a rhetor uses. This study should provide insight into how John A. Kitzhaber shares ideas, promotes concepts, and frames choices regarding public policy. However, before any useful analysis of his selected metaphors can begin, it is first necessary to provide a working knowledge of the man.

Background

John A. Kitzhaber, M.D. became Governor of Oregon on January 9, 1995. A former state legislator, he had served in the Oregon State House of Representatives as well as the Oregon State Senate, serving his last three biennial sessions as President of the Oregon State Senate (Oregon Bluebook 283). Kitzhaber came to office with a reputation as an experienced leader and a policy innovator with national prominence. In November 1998, Kitzhaber was re-elected to office with an overwhelming majority of the

votes cast. It was the first time in nearly a century that a Democrat had been re-elected as governor (Bluebook 283). Known for his laid-back style, intellectual curiosity, and photogenic appearance, Kitzhaber has maintained high approval ratings throughout his tenure. Kitzhaber, a trained emergency room physician with two decades of experience as a physician as well as a politician, has been called the most powerful and most perplexing personality in Oregon politics (Duin March 21, 1999).

Kitzhaber has carved out for himself a reserved standing among his peers on healthcare and environmental issues through his work on the "Oregon Health Plan" and the "Oregon Plan for Salmon and Watershed Recovery." Largely because of his analytical nature, he has been called "an elusive wonk in an effusive world" (Duin March 21, 1999). However, Kitzhaber is widely recognized for his ability to find compromise when others cannot. Steve Duin, a columnist with the Oregonian once wrote, "This is a guy, after all, who got the environmentalists and the timber folks to agree. Who built from scratch a health plan that required significant resources..." (Duin March 21, 1999). As the analysis will highlight, Kitzhaber understands, expresses, and drives public policy through the lens of a physician. His rhetoric provides clear evidence that he advances specific policy conceptions that are founded upon a metaphorical framework of "health." Omnipresent in his language is an implied understanding of his duties to the patient – the State of Oregon – as practitioner-in-chief. He makes choices based upon his notion of long-term health, even when it isn't in his political interest to do so. Kitzhaber remains the only governor to "go on record" in support of breaching four Lower Snake River Dams; doing so when he knew it would cost him (VanDevelder B5).

Analysis

The analysis revealed that regardless of topic, situation, and audience, there exists a consistency of language selection employed by Governor Kitzhaber. Woven throughout the fabric of his speech are three primary metaphors: sustainability, the Oregon Mystique, and Enlibra. Interestingly, these three metaphors compliment each other in terms of a systemic view of an activist citizenry. The first to be examined, sustainability, is an expression of systemic health. Sustainability as Kitzhaber defines it encompasses all aspects of community concern. The term serves as a vehicle to further a collaborative response to changing circumstances – a response with a long-term outlook. The second to be examined, the Oregon Mystique, is imagery that ties together the pioneer heritage of the state, the environmental ethic of the 1960s, and an appeal for intergenerational continuance. The final to be examined, Enlibra, is a term that Kitzhaber uses to advance an idea of balance that brings together diverse interests for collective prosperity. This vehicle sponsors a "we can have it all" spectrum of expectation, adroitly tied to individual responsibility and communal sacrifice.

Sustainability

On October 18, 2001 Governor John Kitzhaber delivered his "Sustainable Forests" address before the Oregon Board of Forestry, Department of Forestry, and public guests. In this speech he asked and answered his own question. He stated, "Today I want to give you my own personal vision about sustainable forests to help facilitate this discussion. But first, what do we mean by 'sustainable'?" (Kitzhaber October 18, 2001) He then went on to explain,

I define sustainability as managing the use, development and protection of our environmental, social, and economic resources in a way and at a rate that enables people to meet their current needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs. What is important to understand about this definition is that it requires that we recognize the interdependence between our environment, economic, and community needs that we find a balance between these often-competing values.
(Kitzhaber October 18, 2001)

To illustrate his point, Kitzhaber asked the audience,

Imagine, if you will, three overlapping circles – one representing our economic needs, one representing our environmental needs and one representing our social or community needs. The area where the three circles overlap is the area of sustainability – the area through which run all the elements of a good quality of life; a healthy, functioning natural environment; a strong economy with jobs and job security; and safe, secure communities where people have a sense of belonging and purpose and a commitment to each other. These elements – these threads, which together weave the fabric of sustainability – are things we hold in common. They represent a common set of desires and aspirations that add value and quality to our lives.
(Kitzhaber October 18, 2001)

In an effort to explain what sustainability meant specifically to the management of public forests in Oregon, Kitzhaber continued,

I believe that sustainable forest management rests on a foundation of six key building blocks: 1) Establishment of a single overarching policy object which drives forest management plans; 2) Reframing the debate between commercial forestry and environmental stewardship; 3) Basing decisions on interdisciplinary science; 4) Managing at the landscape level; 5) Ensuring broad public involvement in and ownership of the management plan; and 6) Redefining our relationship with our federal partners. (Kitzhaber October 18, 2001)

Nearly a year earlier, in his October 26, 2000 "Building a Sustainable Future for Oregon" speech, Governor Kitzhaber told his audience that, "when we talk about sustainability, we are really talking about quality of life, a combination of elements which together, produce the richness of place and experience that we associate with Oregon" (Kitzhaber October

26, 2000). In this address Kitzhaber focused on the challenges to sustainability in Oregon. He argued that,

There are three basic causes for what is happening around us:
1) Globalization and the shift from a natural resource-based economy to an information-based economy; 2) The impact of meeting federal environmental standards, especially the Endangered Species Act and the Clean Water Act; and 3) The impact of growth on Oregon communities.
(Kitzhaber October 18, 2000)

It is telling that in response to these self-identified challenges, Kitzhaber took the time to spell out several specific policy initiatives including investment in economic diversification for rural Oregon, efforts to curb growth through focusing on increasing density in populated areas, realignment of tax policy to encourage economic growth, investment in transportation and empowerment of collaborative intergovernmental associations called "Community Solutions Teams" (Kitzhaber October 18, 2000). He answered a slate of systemic problems with a coherent systematic approach. Kitzhaber concluded the speech,

As William Jennings Bryan said: "Destiny is not a matter of chance, It is a matter of choice. It is not something to be waited for, it is something to be achieved." If we are willing to recommit ourselves to the Oregon community – and to the proposition of "One state, one people, one destiny" – than surely our future will be a sustainable one.
(Kitzhaber October 18, 2001)

Sustainability is a powerful idea. It expresses the concepts of long-term economic viability, environmental stewardship, and individual well-being. It suggests that through careful management near-term and far-term concerns can be addressed and met. Much like a plan for patient well-being, it assumes that measurement of subordinate systems will provide necessary clues for prudent changes in behavior. Underlying this concept is

an assumption that the patient is willing to collaborate on a shared outcome. This "favorite vehicle" is wholly consistent with the "system health" paradigm; interrelated symptoms in need of a systemic cure.

The Oregon Mystique

While sustainability is the most frequent, Kitzhaber consistently used another metaphor to explain the landscape of policy context. As an experienced politician and student of human nature, it appears that Kitzhaber has a clear understanding of the interrelatedness of past, present, and future in terms of policy reach. His rhetoric is evidence to the fact that he recognizes how and when a linguistic bridge between past and future can "bring the public along." When seeking to connect past successes to present challenges, Kitzhaber anchored his ideas to the legacy of former Oregon Governor Tom McCall and resurrected the image of the "Oregon Mystique." This vision is an extension of what Henry Nash Smith described as "the garden," a mythic conception of the west as a "Paradise on Earth" waiting for human re-transformation (Smith 147). This vision casts the yeoman (the citizen in modern terms) as the agent of perfection, charged with nothing less than remaking the system of nature in human terms (Smith 147-150). Through union with Oregon's past, Kitzhaber was able to highlight an intergenerational obligation required of all Oregonians to perfect "the system" for long-term as well as short-term gain. In his January 21, 2000 "State of the State" address, Governor Kitzhaber stated,

When we talk about Oregon's greatness, we always talk about our public beaches. We talk about our land use planning program and our protected farm and forestlands and open spaces. And that has given this state more options, more choices in how we grow and develop than probably any other state in America. We talk about our parks system. We talk about the Bottle Bill.

All of these things are, indeed, part of the Oregon heritage, the Oregon ethic, the "Oregon Mystique" as Governor McCall referred to it. It is a spirit of community building and preserving this special place, this home of ours. It is a spirit and an ethic that defines us as much as the powerful landscapes that surround us...I don't want to lose that...I don't thin anyone here wants to lose it. It is part of who we are here. It is why we came to Oregon. It is why we stay... (Kitzhaber January 21, 2000)

Later in the address, Kitzhaber tied the mystique metaphor to specific collective duties and individual responsibilities. He concluded that,

The point is that this Oregon ethic, this heritage that we point to so proudly, this quality of life that we enjoy in this state, this booming economy – didn't just happen. These things are not inherent in the soil and the water. They didn't come with the place. Although I think the place helped to inspire them. The fact is, that these things we cherish about Oregon have to be constantly renewed in ourselves and in our community. And bringing our citizens to recognize that is a major challenge. Bringing them to see that if we continue to do no more than point to a heritage built by others - and do nothing ourselves to nurture and renew that heritage for the future – then we run the substantial risk of seeing both our quality of life and our good economy slip from our grasp. (Kitzhaber January 21, 2000)

Inherent to Kitzhaber's understanding of Oregon as patient and of policy as cure – he has a deep-seated faith in the power of healing. Expressed as "renewal," "restoration," and "resuscitation," Kitzhaber routinely ended his speeches with an expression of the possible based upon an implied assumption that the patient will maintain the path of healing.

Evidence of this is found near the end of his January 21, 2000 address,

Your job and mine is no less than to rekindle both the spirit and the consensus that has marked this state's proud past – a vision and a commitment to Oregon that has given us a robust economy, a remarkable quality of life and a whole host of options for how we grow and develop into the future...We need to recommit ourselves to that vision and shoulder our responsibility to do what is necessary to move it closer to its full potential. (Kitzhaber January 21, 2000)

To secure the desired image, Kitzhaber chose to conclude his speech with a quotation from author Wallace Stegner. He said,

It reads: "One cannot be pessimistic about the West. This is the native home of hope. When it fully learns that cooperation not rugged individualism is the quality that most characterizes and preserves it, then it will have achieved itself and outlived its origins. Then it has a chance to create a society to match its scenery." No less than that is our goal. (Kitzhaber January 21, 2000)

When reviewing these language selections it is obvious that Kitzhaber is sought to orient the public towards a shared systemic view of recovery and reinvention. He adroitly resuscitates the notion of the Oregon Mystique whenever he needed to remind the citizenry of the systemic nature of progress. In this way he promoted the relative "health" of Oregon as a dependent variable – dependent upon the willingness of the citizenry to continue to march towards perfection. It seems clear that Kitzhaber understands the world as an interrelated structure that fuses past, present, and future actions with social responsibility, collaborative tools, and self-determined outcomes. In this way, the Oregon Mystique is more than an emotional appeal. It is a metaphor for what was and what can be. This vehicle is a means to unite and inspire, a banner to rally behind to improve the condition of the state and its people.

Enlibra

Although sustainability and the Oregon Mystique are often used to communicate Kitzhaber's worldview, a third metaphorical construct provides still further insight. This vehicle, "Enlibra" is an outward expression of how and what Kitzhaber views the role of government to be. Enlibra is itself, the result of a long-term collaboration with Governor Mike Leavitt of Utah to provide a workable environmental strategy that is both rational

and effective. Kitzhaber defines Enlibra as a Latin hybrid that means, "to move toward balance" (Kitzhaber January 6, 2000). It is a political approach that ties real-time decisions to the push/pull constraints of available science, community investment and public need. Interestingly, the vehicle "balance" applied to governance actually promotes the early principles of Greek health – to the body politic. In his January 6, 2000 address on "The Oregon Approach to Environmental Problems," Kitzhaber announced the core principles of Enlibra: 1) national standards, neighborhood solutions; 2) collaboration, not polarization; 3) reward results, not programs; 4) science for facts, process for priorities; 5) markets before mandates; 6) change a heart, change a nation; 7) recognition of benefits and costs; and 8) solutions transcend political boundaries (Kitzhaber January 6, 2000). Taken as a whole, these eight principles form a "prescription" that leads to the path of health. The essence of Enlibra is a political manifestation of the virtues leading to long-term health, vitality, and enduring community health. Kitzhaber explained that,

...by embracing the concept of a new shared doctrine for environmental management, I am not rejecting or discrediting the tools of the past. I believe in the need for a strong framework of federal environmental laws, I believe in the need to have the ability to enforce them, and I believe in access to the courts. But I also believe – just as strongly – that we need to have both the wisdom and the courage to see beyond them... At stake is more than salmon and watersheds. At stake is whether this new approach – with its strong foundation in science and in respect for communities – will be accepted and help us solve the environmental challenges of the new century. At stake is whether we can find a way to pursue our individual and often conflicting objectives that builds community rather than disrupts it... (Kitzhaber January 6, 2000)

The image left hanging in the mind of the audience accentuates Kitzhaber's notion of long-term patient health being the only true measurement of successful governance. The implication of his January 6, 2000 address is that the purpose of government is to provide

the tools necessary for communities to make rational choices; to help foster a collaborative spirit that will in turn produce long-term economic, environmental, and social health. In fact, in his "Speech to the Sustainability Forum" delivered on September 7, 2001 Kitzhaber stated,

The primary tools of government are laws, regulations and the allocation of resources. And with these tools government does many things very well. It provides infrastructure that fosters private sector investment and economic activity – everything from railroads to highways to water and sewer systems to telecommunications...It enforces laws and incarcerates those that break them. It provides for the national defense, establishes health and safety regulations and maintains a system of public education. What government does not do very well, however, is to bring people together to solve problems – especially when the problems are complex and the solutions require the participation of many people... (Kitzhaber September 7, 2001)

This image of an able government dependent upon a willing community to form collaborative solutions allows Kitzhaber to "prescribe the cure." Later in the speech Kitzhaber changes the structure of his address to showcase the need for a balanced approach. He continued,

What we are doing today is unique. Oregon is becoming the birthplace of a new way of conducting public business. We have built the foundation, and it is now time to build the structure that will give us a place to come together to solve the problems and seize the opportunities of today that our current government system cannot or will not address. I need your help in creating a place that draws its strength from every individual, business organization, and agency that steps forward to be a part of creating a sustainable future for Oregon... A place that links each of us with our community partners in collaborative problem solving rather than mortal combat. A place that empowers citizen and business efforts to contribute to sustainable solutions rather than stifling them. A place that rewards community efforts in self-governance rather than regulating them. A place that is not based on Republican or Democrat party values but rather on community values. A place focused on opportunities rather than mired in political and legal gridlock. A place that restores our sense of community, our faith in ourselves –

and in our ability to come together and shape our common future... (Kitzhaber September 7, 2001)

Through the metaphor of balance, Kitzhaber provides vivid imagery of the need for discipline, cooperation, and individual effort. He links balance to long-term reward. Through Enlibra, Kitzhaber stresses the new functions of government while simultaneously appealing for a more personal commitment on behalf of the governed. Kitzhaber weaves the notion of sustainability throughout the speech – even as he emphasizes the role of balancing interests as the means toward the end. It seems clear that the principles of Enlibra illustrate the systematic context Kitzhaber understands his world through. Rationally driven policies that result from wide spread collaborative action is the fundamental prescription for meaningful action. His goal is nothing less than the continued health of his patient – his tools are science, process, and collaboration. It should be noted that his remedy, Enlibra, spawned as a regional product, has become the standing policy of the National Governor's Association. This literal marriage of pragmatism and principle has thus become an agent for balanced environmental policy initiation, development, and implementation throughout the nation (National Governor's Association Webpage: www.nga.org).

Conclusion

When examining the language of John Kitzhaber it is obvious that his use of sustainability, the Oregon Mystique, and Enlibra (balance) is as instrumental as it is ornamental. Each of these metaphors carry a particular set of images that help clarify a pattern of understanding that views Oregon as "patient," political problems as "diseases," government policy as "prescription," and governor as "healer-in-chief." As a whole,

these primary metaphors illustrate a root metaphor: health – a metaphorical structure that is itself the logical systemic orientation for physicians. Regardless of the issue, Kitzhaber seeks an outcome consistent with an understanding of what is healthy for his state. He measures success not in terms of "win/loss," "the best story," or even "the bottom line," but rather in terms of the relative health of the patient as a whole. I contend that his instinctive search for a scientific understanding of the causes and solutions to political problems is the result of a profession orientation that affirms the scientific method.

Kitzhaber forms rational conclusions based upon available data and then focuses personal and public resources on implementation of long-term solutions. As illustrated by his position on the Lower Snake River Dams, Kitzhaber spends finite political capital on seeking out systematic cures to social diseases, often in the face of public criticism and/or political cost. He looks beyond temporary "relief" choosing instead to work on systemic cure. This is instructive when trying to ascertain how and why he approaches his duties as governor, how and why he makes the choices he makes.

In the final analysis, I argue that the gubernatorial rhetoric of John A. Kitzhaber, M.D. is shaped by the language of his professional training and experience. His policies reflect a pattern of assumptions that are extensions of his medical perspective. I further argue that his words have produced a particular kind of policy dynamic – a political environment controlled by the boundaries of his worldview. His consistent use of medical metaphors cannot be coincidental. In truth, his choices reveal a great deal about how Kitzhaber understands the nature of politics as well as his own role within "the arena". With this in mind, it seems reasonable to assume that his is not an isolated case. As professionals in their respective fields, governors use their "favorite" metaphorical

vehicles to assign value and explain meaning. Through their language they manage their political world. Whatever their particular professional orientation, root metaphors provide governors with a comfortable lens through which to discern truths and guide individual and collective behavior. In the end, we arrive at this: if the individual development of a governor is an important factor in leadership behavior, and through this study we now know that it is, then we must accept that the professional development of that governor plays a vital role in her/his decision-making and subsequent policy-making. Furthermore, we must recognize that greater awareness of the professional orientation of a governor provides the governed with additional insight into how s/he organizes their world, determines need, and prioritizes political action – and ultimately, allows us to better anticipate how s/he will govern.

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PAUL L. EVANS