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MEN AND MUSTANGS: FROM COMMUNICATIVE MESSAGES WITHIN THE WILD HORSE INMATE PROGRAM TO A COMMUNICATIVE THEORY OF LEARNING HOW TO TEACH

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Kristine L. Reyes

June 2014

Advisor: Dr. Elizabeth A. Suter

Author: Kristine L. Reyes Title: MEN AND MUSTANGS: FROM COMMUNICATIVE MESSAGES WITHIN THE WILD HORSE INMATE PROGRAM TO A COMMUNICATIVE THEORY OF LEARNING HOW TO TEACH. Advisor: Dr. Elizabeth A. Suter Degree Date: June 2014

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to discover the communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program. This dissertation developed the communicative theory of learning how to teach, a grounded theory based on the communicative messages of the Department of Corrections' officers and Bureau of Land Manager employees who work with inmates in a western state Wild Horse Inmate Program. I approached theorizing the communicative theory of learning how to teach from the applied communication perspective that communication is the enactment and application—symbolic and physical—of communication in daily life. The applied context was the Wild Horse Inmate Program where I interpreted the observed social processes revealed by the communicative messages. The conceptual categories and properties of the communicative theory of learning how to teach explained the process by which the Bureau of Land Management and Department of Corrections employees created the meaning of teaching as inmates learn. Utilizing Charmaz's (2006) grounded theory methods of data collection and analysis, interviews, ethnography and extant texts yielded patterns of behavior outside of the typical hypermasculine prison context. The communicative theory of learning how to teach consists of a running theoretical discussion merging six theoretical constructs: assessment (of self, others and situation);

adaptation (to learning style of inmate/students); articulation (reframing the instructions and learning objective so the student understands and can act); reflexivity (establishing the work of trial and error); acknowledgement (providing feedback to student for what did and did not work) and the final construct which binds the others; duty (meeting the responsibilities of the job). The communicative theory of learning how to teach situates learning how to teach as a discreet and cohesive communicative act. The theory clarifies the complex communicative acts involved in learning how to teach and organizes, interprets and provides examples of how each construct supports those engaged in teaching. The communicative theory of learning how to teach suggests that the theory model and its' six constructs provide a universal pattern of the process of learning how to teach, a pattern that applies beyond the boundaries of a Wild Horse Inmate Project.

Acknowledgements

I want to take this opportunity to thank all the people who did and did not support me throughout my doctoral journey. For those who did not, I thank you for inspiring me to rise above your expectations and to meet my own. For those who did support me, first thank you to Dr. Roy Wood for providing the entry into the Wild Horse Inmate Program and for your belief in the power of ethnography and participant observation. Thank you to Dr. Mary Claire Morr Serewicz for your kindness and patience and for your willingness to consider the human-animal relationship as a valid component of interpersonal communication. Thank you to Dr. Elizabeth Suter for being a challenging task-master and for being an exemplary role model of academic scholarship, research and writing. Further thanks to you Dr. Suter for allowing me to participate in your transnational adoption studies and for the opportunity to fully engage in data analysis and interpretation: I could not have completed this dissertation without the opportunities you provided for me and I will be forever grateful that you included me in your scholarship and I will remain inspired by the work you do. Thank you to Dr. Art Jones for your blessing and your continual supportive presence. Thank you to Dr. Carol Zak Dance for introducing me to communication studies and for being a solid and supportive inspiration throughout my academic career. Thank you to Dr. Frank Dance for your support and your personal tutorial on communication theory models. Thank you to my students at The Women's College for inspiring me to work as hard as you do. Finally I want to thank all the animals that have and continue to grace my life.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Mustangs, the wild horses associated with the Wild West, are rare sights in America today; however, protected by a 1971 act of Congress, tens of thousands of mustangs still roam remote regions of the western United States. Wild horses may symbolically enrich the lives of the American public, "Congress finds and declares that wild free-roaming horses and burros are living symbols of the historic and pioneer spirit of the West..." (Wild Free-Roaming Horses and Burros Act, 1971), and, working with these animals may influence the lives of male prisoners in western state correctional facilities. Inmates work in Wild Horse Inmate Program under the guidance of correctional officers who provide instructions and examples of how to train rather than break wild horses.

Popular visions of the American West are replete with cowboys breaking mustangs—the wild horses are rounded up, roped, tied down, forcefully saddled, and ridden to exhaustion. Although force-based horse breaking was part of the cowboy's life, most contemporary and many historical horsemen, including Native Americans, focused on non-forceful training methods, often referred to as horse whispering. Popularized by the novel *The Horse Whisperer* (Evans, 1995), and further mythologized by the movie version of the same title, these methods promote a relationship between horse and man in which the man must earn the animals' trust rather than force it into submission. The Wild Horse Inmate Program employs horse whisperer training methods for all interactions between inmates and mustangs. Instead of breaking a horse in one brutal session, the prison training takes an average of 90 days from initial contact between horse and an inmate, to a confident and willing saddle horse ready for adoption (Abbney, 2009). Wild Horse Inmate Program correctional officers take time to create a relationship with the inmates and act as a role model for how to interact with a wild horse rather than breaking them in on the job.

The Wild Horse Inmate Program is a collaborative project between the Department of Corrections (DOC) and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Wild Horse and Burro program. Bureau of Land Management employees are in charge of maintaining a limited number of mustangs in the wild and providing lifetime care for the surplus horses. The mustangs gathered from five western states are brought to the prison where they are evaluated, identified and either put up for adoption or set aside to go to long-term holding (the term used for life time care). The Department of Corrections employees are Wild Horse Inmate correctional officers who are first and foremost horsemen. These horsemen select a limited number of BLM mustangs to be trained by the inmates. The Wild Horse Inmate Program is affiliated with the Correctional Industries Program, the retail side of the correctional system. Adoption fees are paid to Correctional Industries. For purposes of this paper, a prisoner means any individual involuntarily confined or detained in a penal institution ("Research With Prisoners," 2008) and the terms inmate, offender and prisoner may be interchanged. According to Jack Laughlin, Division Manager of a western state Correctional Industries Program, "We manage

people" (Personal Communication, 2010). That management consists of the Department of Corrections keeping the general population safe by incarcerating convicted offenders and Correctional Industries Program using those offenders as employees for a plethora of revenue generating jobs. Inmate/employees learn their craft (furniture building, farm animal care—beef cattle and dairy goats, fish farming, modular office component construction) from correctional officers with extensive experience in a particular trade. For example, a master builder or finish carpenter will train inmates who work in the furniture division. That correctional trainer is first, an expert in his field, and second, a correctional officer through mandated training.

Distinct from other Correctional Industry Programs not only for the outdoor location, the Wild Horse Inmate Program final product, a halter or saddle trained horse, cannot be created by following drawings and directions. The horse is not created from inert material, but comes to the inmates as a raw, wild and dangerous beast to be gentled into a willing partner. The correctional officers in the Wild Horse Inmate Program must understand horses and pass that understanding on to inmates who may have never touched a horse. That understanding is only achieved through the consistent application of communicative messages from the Wild Horse Inmate Program correctional officers.

The choice of the Wild Horse Inmate Program as an area of study is influenced by four factors: 1) my observations that how people talk to for and about animals shapes the identity of human and creature, and how that interaction is performed in prison settings; 2) personal childhood experiences interacting with cowboys; 3) a one-day observation visit to a Wild Horse Inmate Program in a western state prison complex: and, 4) lack of academic information about the Wild Horse Inmate Program correctional officers.

The choice of the Wild Horse Inmate Program as an area of study is further influenced by my personal childhood experience of riding horses, and interacting with cowboys who owned and ranched cattle on the eastern plains of Colorado. Men like Monte, Beufort, and Doyle influenced my idea and ideal of masculinity as they competed in rodeos and local gymkhanas, mended fences, taught me how to ride, herded cattle, castrated foals and seemed to complete their work effortlessly. The masculinity I saw performed as a natural way of life, the cowboy ethic as I observed, spoke to me of personal strength, quiet resolve, the ability and willingness to complete any task and to shape a horse's behavior to be a willing partner. The film cowboy of gunfights, posses, Indian massacres, cattle stampedes, horse stealing and hanging, did not exist in my real world. The cowboys I grew up with were horsemen who worked day jobs and still managed to embody an ethos of quiet resolve and task completion. The term Cowboy Up may have evolved from the Hollywood mythology of the cowboy way: "When you're caught between the rock and the hard place of bad ideas, just ask yourself, 'What would Gene [Autrey], Roy [Rogers], Tex [Ritter] or Ranger Doug do?' That's the cowboy way. Shucks, ma'am, the cowboy way is America's ethical system" (Cusick, 2003, p.172). Cowboy up embodies the informal motto of the CIP-firm, fair and consistent. The horsemen I grew up with were firm, fair and consistent in their daily lives. These men spoke quietly, never resorted to force, always finished the task at hand and took the time required to work with a spooky horse or stubborn little girl. Every encounter ended on a

positive note, even if the session did not make much headway. My childhood cowboys, like their mythical and cinematic counterparts, knew that "For the cowboy, right's always been right, and wrong's always been wrong, and no matter where or in what time a man lives, that will never change, win or lose. That's one way to define the American cowboy" (Jensen, 2009, p. 95).

My interest in human-animal identity emerges from a lifetime of interacting with animals and the beneficial aspects that I have experienced which are now becoming apparent to other communication scholars (Wells, 2007). Although research has examined the animal-human bond, little has been directed toward prison populations where the presence of animals may benefit inmates and staff. Available literature will be reviewed later on in this chapter. Animal based training programs in prisons may address the question of "How [can] correctional educators address human needs, emotions or attitudes?" (Deaton, 2005, p. 46). Animal-based programs also "give the community an opportunity to see inmates doing good deeds" (Harkrader et al, 2004, p. 74). These good deeds translate into community support, including financial, which is crucial to the implementation and success of a prison animal program. After recent local news programs focused on a canine prison animal program, "the phones lit up with [supportive] responses from the viewing public. We love that kind of press" (Laughlin, Personal Communication, 2010). In addition to the social benefit to the community, correctional facilities with animal-based programs report lowered aggressive incidents between inmates, lowered rates of inmate depression and better relationships between

inmates and guards (Harkrader et al, 2004). Deaton (2005) also promotes prison animal programs.

Although at first, it appears that the majority of these programs provide vocational skills, work experience, or a service to the community, it becomes evident they are also highly therapeutic. Working with animals provides meaningful experiences for incarcerated individuals during which many important life lessons are learned. (p. 47).

Significant empirical evidence of the benefit or detriment of a prison animal program has yet to be published, although limited anecdotal evidence is promising: "Having inmates and animals help each other in a symbiotic relationship results in a winwin-win situation, with not only the inmate and animal benefiting but the larger community as well" (Furst, 2006, p. 424).

This study sought to discover ways in which Wild Horse Inmate Program correctional officers' communicative messages focused on patience, personal responsibility and success via prosocial masculine behaviors rather than deviant hypermasculine behaviors. These messages and how they are received and processed may determine how inmates either "cowboy up" to responsible acts of masculinity or remain limited by the behaviors that landed them in prison. Thus, the importance of this topic to the communication discipline is the message construction and means of delivery of what are and are not socially appropriate behaviors. If the messages, those which resonate and become embedded within a inmates identity and serve to override the intrapersonal low self-control and interpersonal and socially deviant messages received from other prisoners, are studied and identified, the criminal justice system may benefit by endorsing effective versus ineffective messages, and thus reduce correctional officer stress, improve rehabilitation programs, provide effective examples of socially acceptable behavior for inmates and reduce recidivism.

The Wild Horse Inmate Program may offer the inmates, whose force-based and anti-social activities landed them into prison, a means of reframing what it means to be a man—the general prison population is overwhelmingly male: 149 female inmates for every 3,161 male inmates (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2008). How do Wild Horse Inmate Program correctional officers communicate with prisoners whose behaviors of felony menacing, armed robbery, assault, household burglary, murder, motor vehicle theft, possession with intent to sell, failure to appear, and/or parole violations landed them in jail? Rather than using abrupt and force-based methods with the horses, methods that mirror the immediacy and force of law-breaking behaviors, prisoners must learn selfcontrol, patience and respectful behaviors from the correctional officer horsemen. A Wild Horse Inmate Program motto states, "The outside of a horse is good for the inside of a man" (plaque above the entrance to a western state Wild Horse Inmate Program) and I seek to discover the communicative messages of the Wild Horse Inmate Program

The inmate cowboy performs an identity far removed from stereotypical inmate behaviors; "Constructions of masculinity are fundamental to both crime, in particular violent crime, and to the practices and processes of imprisonment" (Seymour, 2003 p. 28) However, prison-based research and protected inmate populations are off limits to most researchers. According to Dr. Gennifer Furst, Assistant Professor in Sociology at William Patterson University, and published prison researcher, "Prison research is not easy. They don't want outsiders inside" (Personal Communication, 2009). Although "correctional facilities are an important site for [research], (Zoltan et al, 2012, p. 467) and there is a "shortage of contemporary U.S. prison research" (Reiter, 2014, p. 419) access for prison research remains a constant challenge. A potential prison researcher faces "a multitude of substantial barriers" (Reiter, 2014, p. 420). Those barriers include bureaucratic inconsistencies and top-down decision making. Other barriers include limited public accountability and the refusal of prison administrators to allow "people who neither live or work in prisons" (Reiter, 2014, p. 420). If the "collective goal of prison research is to make the prison world 'intelligible," (Leibling, 2014, p. 481) researchers may consider changing their goals and focus on studies conducted outside of prison walls.

The importance of studying a correctional officer population in general is framed by 10 factors: societal costs; financial costs; opposing penal goals (public protection versus inmate rehabilitation); male dominated prison culture; hypermasculinity; correctional officer control obligation, excessive stress, inmate influence; rehabilitation linked to correctional officers, and daily interpersonal messages. Therefore, my interest, based on how correctional officers interact with horses and inmates, drew me to examine the communicative messages of the Wild Horse Inmate Program. Although correctional officers have been the subjects of scholarly research, the Wild Horse Inmate correctional officers are an overlooked research population. To provide a foundation for studying these specific correctional officers, I will examine the social and financial impact of the U.S prison system. The term offender covers a broad range of identities that include: criminal, convict, inmate, prisoner, parolee, crook, felon, lawbreaker, and villain. The term offender, in varied labels, also carries with it the social stigmatization that further identify these individuals, to correctional workers and those on the outside, and perhaps even to other offenders, as dangerous: burglar, robber, car thief, murderer, killer, rapist, child abuser, gang member. The very nature of the correctional system identifies offenders as those who commit crimes against society—and are caught doing so. Once offenders are caught, convicted and sentenced, the main goal of the correctional system is to provide "public safety and institutional security" (O'Brien & Bates, 2003, p. 216) not to change offenders' behaviors. Crimes against society situates offenders' enacted and perceived social identities within reach of human communication researchers and thus opens a portal through which I propose to study the messages conveyed to prisoners within the Wild Horse Inmate Program.

For offenders within the correctional system, the concept of their identity and their multiple social roles extends far beyond the reach of most social science researchers. Accessing the prison population can be a daunting, tedious and frustrating process, often resulting in failure of the researcher to access their target participants, based on Authors' personal experience and anecdotes from other academics. Prison officials, according to Maureen O'Keefe, Research Director for the Colorado Department of Corrections, are concerned with "numbers, how effective prison work programs are based on the recidivism rate" (Personal Communication, 2010). The relational examination goals of communication scholars and qualitative researchers generally do not meet the requirements of correctional departments. However, the effectiveness of training/ rehabilitation programs depends solely upon the communicative strategies, the messages that correctional institutions and officers provide to inmates within their care.

The importance of studying a CO population is important to address social implications: America is supporting millions of prisoners. "One out of every 35 Americans has involvement with the criminal justice system on some level" (Cautilli & Weinberg, 2007, p. 256) through personal criminal behavior, friend or family relationships, employment with or through the justice system or as victims. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) of the United States Bureau of Justice, in 2008, over 7.3 million people were under some form of correctional supervision including:

- 4,270,917 on Probation—court ordered community supervision of convicted offenders by a probation agency.
- 1,518,559 in Prison—confinement in a State or Federal correctional facility to serve a sentence of more than 1 year.
- 785,556 in Jail—confinement in a local jail while pending trial, awaiting sentencing, serving a sentence that is usually less than 1 year.
- 828,169 on Parole-community supervision after a period of incarceration. These data include only adults who are on active or inactive parole supervision or some other form of conditional release, including mandatory release, following a term of incarceration. (Glaze and Bonczar, 2008)

Of those more than seven million offenders who take part in reentry each year-

the transition of offenders from prison to community supervision-(BJS Reentry Trends

in the U.S 2008), over two-thirds of released prisoners will participate in recidivism, a

relapse into crime. Recidivism is measured by criminal acts that result in the re-arrest,

reconviction, or return to prison with or without a new sentence during a three-year

period following the prisoner's release. (BJS Reentry Trends in the U.S, 2008). Studying

a correctional officer population who do not engage in hypermasculine job behaviors may

provide new insight and possibly new ways of rehabilitating prisoners to succeed in the outside social world rather than re-offend and return to prison.

Correctional facility financial costs to America are staggering. In fiscal year 2006 federal, state, and local governments spent an estimated \$214 billion for police protection, corrections, and judicial and legal activities, a 5.1% increase over the previous year, (Justice Expenditure and Employment Extracts Series, 2009). It is possible that studying how the "Wild Horse Inmate Program contributed to better emotional and psychological states of the inmates and staff" (Deaton, 2005, p. 61), may lead to a reduction in the financial and social costs of incarceration by examining the quiet behaviors, the communicative messages of the program correctional officers.

If correctional officers are the main influence over inmates, and if the officers' daily interactions are predominantly interpersonal messages, what are the communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program? What and how do correctional officer horsemen teach inmates as they learn to handle wild horses? To facilitate this discovery I will review existing literature on three aspects of prison culture to frame the research site and participants: masculine institution; inmate behavioral frameworks; and, the correction officer experience. Following this review, I will address the gap in current literature: the lack of knowledge about the Wild Horse Inmate correctional officer.

Prison as Masculine Institution

Male inmates dominate the US prison system and "a masculine gender identity may promote the self-assertive aspects of criminal thinking" (Walters, 2001, p. 686). Thus, the prison environment exists as a male bastion of dominance and violence supported by the actions of inmates and correctional officers. Masculine gendered influence is also evident within the Correctional Industries Program (CIP). The institutional model of the CIP does not allow for at-will employment, but rather forces an industrial/workplace framework upon incarcerated individuals who are dependent upon the institution, not just for livelihood, but basic survival needs as well; "The hierarchy and dominance so prevalent in prisons informs the function of masculinity as a tool used by prison staff to highlight their authority and undermine the power of the inmates" (Lutze & Bell, 2005, p. 138). Walters found that "gender role apparently played a more central role in male delinquency than female delinquency" (2001, p. 678). Prison industry is framed by paramilitary social structures that serve to control inmates by force and support gendered roles of physical and organizational power and rule (Seymour, 2003). Inmates are pitted against correctional officers in a constant duel for control and masculine identities remain tied to violent crime and to "the practices and processes of imprisonment" (Seymour, 2003 p. 28). The control always privileges the correctional officer. However, male inmates also have to defend their male authority within their various inmate groups (Lutze & Bell, 2005). Although masculinity is rarely talked about within or outside of prison, the concepts of power, domination and patriarchy are inculcated into the American psyche. If "prison is an ultramasculine world where nobody talks about masculinity" (Sabo, Kupers, & London, 2001, p. 3), scholars outside of the prison system display no such reluctance. Karp (2010) defines prison culture as "hegemonic masculinity characterized by authority, control, independence, heterosexuality, aggressiveness, and a capacity for violence" (p. 65) and further subsumes his definition within the term hypermasculinity to reflect "primary dimensions of dangerousness, acceptance of violence, and dominance" (p. 65). Inmates have little to no individualistic expression in clothes, activities, work, food or drink and thus their behavioral display of hypermasculinity may be the sustaining identity that protects them from the violent environment in which they live. That same hypermasculine identity may also serve to keep prisoners incarcerated or result in recidivism: prison settings " reinforce the very masculine qualities that highly correlate with criminal behavior" (Lutze & Bell, 2005, p. 135). Thus the prison environment that protects the public as a primary goal reinforces criminal behavior. The secondary goal of prisons is to guide inmates into behavioral modification through rehabilitative programs and the second section of this literature review will examine the variety and effectiveness of inmate programs.

Inmate Behavior Frameworks, Needs and Rehabilitation Programs

Cautelli and Weinberg (2007) enter into the behavior conversation by defining behavioral interventions (i.e. rehabilitative programs) and how they function. "Behavioral interventions were classified as strategies that focused on changing behaviors by setting behavioral goals and using positive and negative reinforcement to encourage or discourage clearly identified behaviors" (p. 256). The challenge is to educate inmates to recognize the socially unacceptable behaviors that put them into prison, provide them with means to adjust to prosocial behaviors and thus earn them parole and, best-case scenario, allow them to integrate into society and not reoffend. Whether labeled behavioral interventions or other monikers of rehabilitative programs—educational, therapeutic or vocational—"Behavioral interventions work [and] can moderately reduce misconduct [and] recidivism and can build self-control" (p. 259). Self-control appears to be the dominant aspect of behavioral interventions and all rehabilitation. Although all members of society are faced with temptations and opportunities to break the law, most refrain from these antisocial acts by exercising self-control or restraint. "[Low] selfcontrol is one of the strongest and most persistent correlates of crime" (Tittle, Ward & Grasmick, 2004, p. 149). Self-control is marked as a personal characteristic, not an inherent behavior. "Various social science theories [including symbolic interaction]...deal with a common central theme that seems to concern individuals' desire to exercise self-restraint in the face of temptation" (Tittle, et al., p. 151). The temptation for male inmates is to adhere to the normalized hypermasculine prison ideal that rewards masculine behaviors of survival through violence, offense and secrecy. Karp (2010) further examines hierarchy within prison systems.

Inmate hierarchies are established using the masculine resources available, primarily by hiding vulnerability and expressing physical dominance over other men, and reinforced by criminal history, are seen as adding to the hierarchical standing of prisoners whereas crimes against those weaker than the inmate are deemed emasculating. (p. 68.)

However, hypermasculine behaviors cannot be sustained for long periods and eventually inmates weaken through age, disease or stress. Additionally "the gender strategies enacted for survival in prison are also criminogenic risk factors that limit inmates' likelihood of successful societal reintegration" (Karp, 2010, p. 68). Karp (2010) suggests behavioral interventions that "help inmates redefine masculinity in a way that will help them succeed upon reentry"(p. 70). Therefore the hierarchy of masculinity would remain in place, the identity of a male prisoner as masculine remains in place while offering acceptable options [inside and out of prison] for masculine behaviors. Karp (2010) draws upon "Jung's belief that the human psyche includes a complex, universal, symbolic system that guides and patterns behavior" (p. 69). The pattern of masculinity includes "order, defense of territory, being a provider, and heterosexual attraction to women" (Karp, 2010, p. 70). Thus the very behaviors that resulted in incarceration are not those of socially acceptable masculinity but rather those of "misplaced masculinity [resulting in] violent, domineering and destructive behaviors" (Karp, 2010, p. 71).

Attachment theory may explain the development of violent behaviors among prisoners and may guide rehabilitative processes to address pathological behaviors. Surveying interpersonal relationships and accompanying behaviors among a male prison population, Ross and Pfafflin (2007) drew on scales and self-reports to classify violent offenders into four prototypes: "secure, ambivalent or enmeshed/preoccupied, dismissing [and] ambivalent/dismissing" (p. 93). Interpersonal behaviors were further framed within "a two dimensional space defined by affiliation (hostility vs. love) and control (dominance vs. submission)" (Ross et al., 2007, p. 93). Although a secure attachment style indicated the possibility for enacting prosocial versus antisocial behaviors, it was no predictor of such specifically within the hierarchical prison context. Developing a behavioral checklist "to monitor both positive and negative behaviors during [rehabilitative] therapy," Neville, Miller & Fritzon (2007, p. 181) sought "to model behavioral change over the course of therapy using an action systems framework" (p.

181). Action systems "provides a unified basis for understanding the way in which a person's actions are aimed at modifying some aspect of his external or internal world" (Neville, et al., 2007, p. 183). Small group sessions that focused on changing "patterns of behaviors, thought and emotions" (Neville, et al., 2007, p. 183) were helpful in breaking the cycle of antisocial behaviors, including [negative] interpersonal functioning that resulted in incarceration and recidivism. The behavioral checklist for therapy encounters resulted in the ability of researchers to "quantify therapeutic change" (Neville, et al., 2007, p. 198). Thus, therapeutic encounters "can be specifically tailored to meet the interpersonal style of the individual, rather than using generic therapeutic interventions" (Neville, et al., 2007, p. 198) and can reduce criminogenic behaviors.

The ultimate role of a prison is not to transform inmate behaviors; prisons exist for punishment and to protect the public from offenders (O'Brien & Bates, 2003, p. 216). Ultimately, "the enduring rationale for the existence of the prison relates to its function as an institution of control" (Bosworth, 1999, p. 62). In the past, the prison system was "dominated by the adage that 'Nothing Works'" (Cautilli & Weinberg, 2007, p. 259). However, a "concern for rehabilitation, education, and vocational training, [emerged from within the] hierarchical and bureaucratic structure, [which focused on] custody and control as the primary [goal] of prisons" (Seymour, 2003, p. 34). Focusing on prisoner's rehabilitation may provide a favorable public persona for correctional facilities and may provide an economic stimulus to the public; rather than repeated incarceration; rehabilitation provides an opportunity for prisoners to change the behaviors that resulted in their imprisonment. However, the likelihood of prisoners achieving rehabilitation is slim. "The experience of imprisonment may achieve little more than causing those who are imprisoned to become more resentful, more dangerous, more economically marginalized, and more misogynous" (Seymour, 2003, p. 28). Violence is a normalized aspect of inmate behaviors, both the behaviors that got them into the correctional system and the behaviors they enact while incarcerated. Masculinity and violence are conjoined aspects of offenders. Correctional officers and rehabilitation personnel, who recognize the constructed violent male identity, can help young offenders reconstruct an identity that allows for non-violence as an acceptable and preferred masculine identity. Gendered roles provide frameworks for children and just as gendered roles of masculine violence are learned, non-violent roles can also be learned. "Violence in America has been identified as one of the nation's most important social problems [and] the majority of violence in the United States is perpetrated by men" (Pleasants, 2007, p. 252). This violence is exacerbated in prison and Phillips (2007) provides concrete examples of behavior modification techniques for correctional personnel. The implications are that changes in masculine identity construction from violent to non-violent may result in lower rates of recidivism. Studies of male inmates dominate correctional journals, perhaps because the majority of incarcerated offenders are male. The Department of Corrections documentation of men and women's differing relational styles extends to a women's prison choir that is examined as a relational community, providing support, discipline and a spiritual escape from the physical prison boundaries. Music, as a part of penal education, can provide therapeutic benefits, acceptance of authority figures, adherence to rules and regulations and, "calls on participants to exercise personal and

interpersonal skills in a medium that is both structured by the rules of the choir, yet freeing and uplifting" (Silber, 2005, p. 252). Silber further examines the role of music in prison programs.

The preliminary findings from this study indicate that not only is the choir community unique in presenting an alternative to the criminal context; it is also a protected space, set apart and sufficiently different (with its own language and codes) to enable participants to take risks (p. 269).

The risks, however, may be too much for most inmates whose main goal is to survive their sentence.

Once in confinement, the inmate culture may influence more deviant behavior than what an offender might have been exposed to on the outside. Drugs in prison are commonplace. At any given time, the "percentage of inmates who test positive for drugs in their system could be anywhere from 60-80%" (Inciardi, Lockwood, & Quinlan, 1993, p. 123). The implications are that prisoners who use drugs in prison are more apt to acts of violence, and less susceptible to or interested in rehabilitation. "When you're in jail you don't give a shit, you've lost your rights anyway" (Inciardi et. al, 1993, p. 124). Given that drug related sentences have more than doubled prison populations in the last decade, and that inmates who use drugs in prison have a 70% recidivism rate, in-prison treatment programs are often mandatory, although prisoners may be resistant to such programs. Lack of interest in drug rehabilitation does not prevent California based prisoners from being coerced into therapeutic programs by "withholding good-time credits and privileges such as family visits" (Brown University, 1999, p. 104). Such coercive methods have resulted in a 16 % recidivism rate for inmates who complete, willingly or not, in-prison drug treatment programs. Although behavior-based drug

treatment programs are standard protocol, alternative treatments are being tested. Meditation as drug treatment was found to be moderately effective for inmates who participated in 10-day training courses. Following the training, participants were found to have lower rates of recidivism, less use of drugs and alcohol and reported a positive sense of self (Bowen, Witkiewitz, & Dilworth, 2006). Although no substantive link between prison drug use and suicide has been established, forced incarceration and lack of control over daily existence causes some inmates to consider and even to attempt suicide. The loss of their life as it was known damages self-identity. "Suicidal prisoners experience time as an acute sense of suffering and connected to the deterioration of their sense of self...individuals must learn to live by prison time, which necessarily involves the destruction of self-autonomy" (Medlicott, 1999, p. 211). The use of personal narratives illustrated how male prisoners either accepted their position, and were labeled goodcopers, and managed to construct some semblance of personal control over their incarceration, or were unable to cope and might attempt or even succeed at suicide due to the loss of autonomy and manageable self identity (Medlicott, 1999). Extending Medlicotts' (1999) study of suicidal prisoner, traumatic life events outside of prison were determined to contribute to an inmate's potential to attempt or commit suicide. Inmates are often the victims, in earlier life, of physical and mental abuse and abandonment. These "traumatic life events are associated with suicide risk and such an association remains in a population [inmates] with a high prevalence of traumatic life events" (Blaaw, Arensman, Kraaij, Winkel, & Bout, 2002, p. 9). The first goal of the correctional system is to provide "public safety and institutional security" (O'Brien & Bates, 2003, p.

216). The secondary goal is to provide some sort of rehabilitation for prisoners so they alter the behavior(s) that got them incarcerated: various rehabilitation methods are employed. Examining the application of President G.W. Bush's 2006 faith-based initiative to prison populations, under the program label of InnerChange, a supreme court ruling found that although...

InnerChange was able to provide inmates with a full range of classes and activities at a cost affordable to the Department of Corrections, it was the lack of conclusive data demonstrating the success of the InnerChange transformational model in reducing recidivism that proved most significant (Odle, 2007, p. 311).

The bible-based initiative was found to be no more effective than other rehabilitation programs, and that the initiative also violated the separation of church and state as prisoners were mandated to attend (Odle, 2007). An alternative to faith-based rehabilitation is Jablecki's (2005) concept of habilitation: "The civilizing, educational, and life-transforming experience caused by the power of knowledge to grab a human mind and redirect the course of a person's life" (p. 30).

Rather than faith-based rehabilitation, habilitation, achieved through study of the classic works of literature, decreased recidivism, reached a larger prison population, and promoted personal responsibility and growth (Jablecki, 2005). Mandated education programs are a central feature of all correctional rehabilitation programs. Phillips suggests that adding in a moral educational component will provide a larger space of transformation and thus rehabilitation for the inmate. Research has shown that offenders employ moral judgment thinking that may lead "to a disrespect of authority" (Phillips, 2004, p. 61), resulting in deviant or illegal behavior. Moral education programs have been successful in elementary and secondary schools with results of lower violence and

greater civility, framing the possibility for positive changes in a penal system. A program was designed "to encourage members [inmates] to understand, practice, and formulate their own opinions of morality and each character trait that is addressed" (Phillips, 2004, p. 62). The results were that "Individuals who completed the program significantly improved in their sociomoral reasoning" (Phillips, 2004, p. 70). The implications are that a moral education program may prevent recidivism. Cognitive restructuring is another rehabilitation technique. Pathfinders and Problem-Solving, correctional treatment programs, are employed as "cognitive restructuring programs for offenders [that] target the criminogenic content of thoughts believed to be the precursors of criminal behavior" (Spiropoulos, Spruance, Van Voorhis, & Schmitt, 2005, p. 74). Two offender groups, male and female were asked for evaluative measures after they participated in the programs. "The participants in both programs and across sites offered positive feedback" (Spiropoulos, et al, 2005, p. 84). Results indicated no significant difference in inmates' work or conflict activities, however there were significantly fewer institutional write-ups and lower rates of depression. The implications are that cognitive correctional programs may be a valid component of institutional rehabilitation efforts. "Rehabilitative frameworks [such as Pathfinders and Problem-Solving] must empower prisoners not only with an education and a trade, but also with the ability to cope and interact with society in a rational, peaceful, and lawful manner" (Coylewright, 2004, p. 405). Transformative mediation provides a framework within which inmates can successfully transition to life outside of the prison. Prison trained mediators learn how to resolve disputes in prison assisted by community mediators. The inability to resolve disputes legally may have

caused the prisoners' incarceration and "Prison Facilitated Mediation [along with others forms of rehabilitation-vocational training, drug treatment, adult education] may aid prisoners in their transition from the penitentiary setting to the community setting" (Coylewright, 2004, p. 395). Prison education programs may not lead to rehabilitation, however, educating inmates is still considered effective. The Prison Participation Education Scale (PEPS) is a qualitative instrument used to determine why inmates participate in prison education programs [when the prisoners have a choice] (Parsons & Langenbach, 1993, p. 38). Inmates were determined to have similar motives for attending educational classes as non-inmates—social, activity, and learning goals, although a final variant goal-avoidance, allowed inmates to escape (mentally) from supervised duties, guards and cooperation with other inmates (Parsons & Langenbach, 1993). Correctional education programs are aimed at reducing recidivism, and college education has been shown to have a positive effect on released prisoners (Stevens & Ward, 1997). However, not all educational formats are appropriate for all inmate learners and this study evaluates the effectiveness of educational programs from the inmates' perspective. The general inmate population has had little to no formal education and once within the correctional facility they have the choice of vocational or academic programs. The results of this study show that "inmates understood the connection between success in the academic programs and success after release. This finding provides support to the argument for maintaining, and expanding, educational programs in correctional facilities" (Tewksbury & Stengel, 2006, p. 23). A longitudinal study of inmates who earned Associates or Bachelors' degrees while incarcerated resulted in an almost negligible level of recidivism compared to those who earned a GED or high school diploma. The implications are that "it is less expensive to educate prisoners than to re-incarcerate them" (Stevens & Ward, 1997, p. 106). For inmates who attend college after incarceration, the stigma of being a convicted criminal does not go away. Prisoners who have served their time and who subsequently enroll in traditional college classes struggle to negotiate their identities within a non-criminal social environment. The greatest challenge came from incarceration developmental issues: "The participants believed that the lack of personal relationships during incarceration made them ill-prepared to handle relationships on campus and in their personal life once [they were] released" (Copenhaver, Willey, & Byers, 2007, p. 280). Recognizing the need to address issues before inmates were released and as a way to improve the performance of the American social system, the Federal Bureau of Prisons instituted a mock job fair to better prepare prisoners for reentry. Building upon the mandatory literacy programs, in effect since 1982, and vocational training programs, the mock job fairs bridge the gap between knowledge and skills learned and articulating those qualities to potential employers. The design of the job fair is not to offer jobs, but rather to address the issues that inmates bring to their reentry: "special issues relating to prisoners, or the fact that they had been out of the work force and have specific employment issues" (, 2002, p. 147). Fair activities include mock interviews with local employers and information sessions from local colleges. The low cost and positive results of the fairs-inmates rated the experience as nine out of a 10 point Likert-like scale, and employers said they would now consider hiring past offenders—suggest that job fairs may be a viable way for previous offenders to reestablish themselves as contributing members of society (Pavis, 2002). Whether inmates participate in job fairs or not, more than two-thirds of released prisoners will participate in recidivism, (BJS Reentry Trends in the U.S, 2008), thus increasing the burden on the correctional system as well as placing an additional burden on American taxpayers. A possible reason for the high recidivism rate is the usually punitive-based relationship between parolee and parole officer. For the parolee, there is little incentive, other than not going back to jail, for attaining or sustaining a behavioral change that will allow her or him to participate in and remain a contributing member of society. Behavioral contracting - the use of a written contract between clients (whether they be people seeking to lose weight, quit smoking or refrain from destructive or deviant behavior) and their [mental] health care provider or legal advocate—may provide a tangible option for setting forth parameters and expectations of parolee behavior. The use of earned discharge parole in the form of behavioral contracting between parolee and parole officer would provide some sense of control for the parolee and offer rewards for achieving goals rather than punishment for not achieving goals (Petersilia, 2007).

A unique and [anecdotally] effective rehabilitation source is found in prisoners working with and caring for animals, specifically horses and dogs. Dogs as social chums were first introduced into a hospital for the insane in 1919 with great success (Strimple, 2003). Since then dogs and horses have been trained and cared for in a nationwide variety of penal institutions. Results are that prisoners who work with animals, rarely reoffend, report zero rates of recidivism, maintain a sense of self-esteem and "a certain self-confidence that give them a 'leg up'" (Strimple, 2003, p. 73) when applying for

animal care jobs. Although resistance from the facility may be encountered because initially "Correctional officers perceive that they are losing some control of the correctional facility" (Strimple, 2003, p. 74), once any resistance is overcome, the benefits to the prison population, prison staff, animals in training and the general public are widespread. Using animal based training programs (horses and dogs) in prisons may address the question of "How can correctional educators address human needs, emotions or attitudes?" (Deaton, 2005, p. 46). The discovery of the therapeutic benefits of animals in prisons is linked to inmate as they learn vocational skills through their animal interactions. A qualitative study of male prisoners who train assistance and pet dogs examines the benefits of the program to the facility and to the inmates—less violence; non-judgmental relationships, and, approved physical contact—and the challenges to the facility—prisoners in competition for dogs, prisoners in adversarial positions with those who do or do not have dogs. The anecdotal conclusion is that the dog training program benefits outweigh the disadvantages (Britton & Button, 2005). Although therapeutic and behavioral benefits are anecdotally evident with prison animal programs, "One of the many benefits of successful inmate dog-training programs includes the excellent public relations that occurs in the community. These programs give the community an opportunity to see inmates doing good deeds" (Harkrader, Burke, & Owen, 2004, p. 74). Community support, including financial, is crucial to the implementation and success of a prison animal program. In addition to the social benefit to the community, correctional facilities report lowered aggressive incidents—one reported a 43% decrease since the dog training program began (Harkrader et al, 2004)— lowered rates of inmate depression and

better relationships between inmates and guards. A further anecdotal benefit is that of reentry offenders who report success in creating social networks, and finding and keeping jobs. Harkrader et al. (2004) report on the positive aspect of the prison animal programs they examined: "Prison puppy programs are a win-win situation for all involved and could very well signal a change in the way in which correctional facilities approach the rehabilitation of inmates in the future" (p. 79). Prison dog-training programs initially emerged as vocational training vehicles in which inmates worked with shelter dogs to socialize and obedience train each dog. The intent was to get the dog to a point where it would be adopted as a family pet. However, correctional facilities and service dog trainers soon realized that the correctional facility also was a suitable set-up for more advanced dog training. Many correctional institutions have now begun to additionally train dogs for specific service uses including: hearing dogs, seizure dogs, service dogs for handicapped, and guide dogs (Evans, 2002). Prisoner's benefit from advanced training experience—which may translate to employable skills, more dogs are trained and placed in lifetime homes, and more people who need canine assistance are obtaining it. The seemingly plethora of prison-based animal programs has yet to be evaluated for effectiveness. Furst (2006) prepared an outline of known prison animal programs and their reported effectiveness. Responses to a questionnaire mailed to correctional facilities, with prison animal programs, across the nation resulted in an overwhelmingly positive response from staff and administrators to the programs. Reentry inmates who had participated in a prison animal program were less likely to reoffend, and more likely to establish social support networks outside of prison. The main criticism of a prison animal

program was the inability to function as a revenue source, and resistance by facility staff. Although the empirical evidence of the benefit or detriment of an animal program is still unavailable, anecdotal evidence is promising.

Programs that pair inmates with homeless animals make it possible to help an inordinate number of animals as well. Having inmates and animals help each other in a symbiotic relationship results in a win-win-win situation, with not only the inmate and animal benefiting but the larger community as well. (Furst, 2006, p. 424).

A study prepared by the Office of the Deputy Commissioner for Women (Lai,

1998), provides a detailed framework for pet-facilitated therapy including historical and contemporary uses, the expected benefits of such a program and specific details on how to implement such a program, from conception to day to day activities. Inmates in all correctional facilities cannot be managed without the constant presence of correctional officers, and the following section examines the correction officer experience and how their workplace implicates their behavior and identity.

Correctional Officers

Correctional officers are often associated with coercion, brutality, and normalized

physical and mental violence directed at inmates. In an organization

Where masculinity equates to physical ability, many male correctional officers view the use of force as a fundamental feature of the job. A perpetual tension exists between security and rehabilitative functions, the latter associated with the feminine realm of emotions, nurturing, and 'weakness'" (Seymour, 2003, p. 36).

In the "prison culture heterosexuality, physicality, competition, confrontation and domination are unequivocally associated with credibility, respect and survival. These ideals, also privileged across wider society, are fundamental to both officer and prison relations" (Seymour 2003, p. 42). Although "one out of every 35 Americans has

involvement with the criminal justice system on some level" (Cautilli & Weinberg, 2007, p. 256), most Americans experience with correctional facilities and their inmates are limited to mediated representations in television and movies. These cinematic accounts of harsh prison guards have been reinforced by real-life contemporary accounts of brutal prisoner abuse uncovered in military and civilian prisons. Surveys conducted with correction officers (CO) and treatment staff (TS) indicated that CO were less "aware of how their behavior affects inmates and of their responsibilities for reinforcing treatment and rehabilitation concepts" (Antonio, Young & Wingeard, 2009b, p. 363) than were treatment staff. Considering that CO spend most of their time among inmates and are more likely to influence inmate behaviors than TS, "Reinforcing Positive Behavior" (RPB) training programs for all correctional staff sought to improve "staff respect toward inmates and how staff actions affect inmate behavior" (Antonio et al 2009b, p. 363). The difficulty in improving CO respect and positive influence on inmates resides in the work identity of these two groups. Therapeutic staff members are concerned with positive reinforcement of prosocial behaviors, and spend limited amounts of time among inmates. Correctional officers spend all their work time with inmates and are charged with "maintaining security such as monitoring inmate activities and responding to misbehavior, including fights, verbal abuse, and manipulation" as well as "reacting appropriately to inmates' prosocial behavior, including participation in rehabilitative programs" (Antonio et al, 2009b, p. 365). The burden of response to all inmate behaviors rests on the CO, and outcomes for their interactions are influenced by their race, gender, correctional culture and age: educational levels were shown to have no influence. If the

goal of correctional facilities is to change deviant inmate behavior into socially acceptable behavior, thus resulting in lowered recidivism, all correctional staff must "support inmate treatment and rehabilitation programs and activities" (Antonio et al, 2009b, p. 366). RPB training has shown to have significant influence on changing Department of Corrections attitudes resulting in "intervention programs [which] are administered correctly and [if] the appropriate offenders attend, the rate of recidivism could be reduced by 20% to 30%"(Antonio et al 2009b, p. 367). The success of RPB programs is tied to specific findings.

Rehabilitation programs found to be most successful in reducing recidivism—the desired outcome of correctional programming—incorporate cognitive–behavioral components, use positive reinforcers, and encourage sensitive interactions between staff and inmates. (Antonio et al, 2009b, p. 368).

However the challenge is to overcome the dominant correctional culture of physical and mental control of inmates and encourage instead a shift in current CO attitudes which includes a dominant view that "Inmates don't deserve to be treated with respect" (Antonio et al, 2009b, p. 375) and "that CO, compared with TS, were less likely to believe that their actions inside a prison will have an impact on inmate rehabilitation efforts or inmate behavior" (Antonio et al, 2009b, p. 381). Further research shows that CO and other staff behaviors directly influence inmate behavior.

Although a correctional officers' main job is overseeing inmate behaviors to ensure maximum adherence to rules and regulations, a team of support staff also work with inmates. Clinical staff provides treatment services and administrative staff, although their inmate contact is limited, provides institutional management (Antonio, Young & Weingeard, 2009a, p. 53). Providing positive support and reinforcement to inmates has

been considered the job of treatment services, although correctional officers can greatly influence treatment (rehabilitation) outcomes "due to the amount of time correctional officers spend with inmates" (Antonio et al, 2009a, p. 55). Thus the correctional officer becomes the deciding factor for success or failure of rehabilitations programs based on "their responses to a situation [which] can reinforce treatment or, quite the opposite, impede rehabilitation efforts" (Antonio et al, 2009a, p. 54). Training all correctional staff becomes a priority: "in their interactions with inmates, staff are taught to explain to inmates the benefit of using desired behavior; provide feedback and consistent reinforcement; and, recognize and correct criminal thoughts and thinking patterns" (Antonio et al, 2009a, p. 58). The importance of staff modeling and supporting socially acceptable behaviors is further reinforced by the "basic understanding that inmates are always watching" (Antonio et al, 2009a, p. 66). "Inmate supervision—often considered the chief responsibility of correctional officers—consists primarily of day-to-day informal verbal exchanges" (Antonio et al, 2009a, p. 54). However, correctional officers are additionally tasked with physically demanding activities during the course of daily duties. Determining a physical screening program for correctional officer applicants could result in more physically fit job candidates. Monitoring and quantifying "Oxygen consumption and the forces exerted by correctional officers ... while they were responding and then controlling and restraining inmates" (Jamnik, Thomas, Shaw & Gledhill, 2010, p. 52) resulted in performance standards for specific tasks: "cell search, expeditious response, body control, arm restraint, inmate relocation, and an assessment of aerobic fitness" (Jamnik et al, 2010, p. 49). These performance standards will influence a

required "fitness-screening test for correctional officers in compliance with recent legislation" (Jamnik et al, 2010, p. 56). Mental fitness for a correctional officer is conjoined with physical fitness in order to cope with the job. High-work frustration among prison staff has been associated with "lower job satisfaction, lower organizational commitment, and higher job turnover" (Melnick, Ulaszek, Lin & Wexler, 2009, p. 18). Higher levels of anxiety and professional insecurity within prison staffs...

Were correlated with a more punitive stance towards inmates; unless prison systems can foster greater inter-group cooperation, support, and perspective taking, staff members will be unable to tolerate the close relations with inmates necessary to a rehabilitative orientation" (Melnick et al, 2009, p. 22).

In the absence of workplace support systems, "staff members who attempt to help inmates deal with prison life or personal histories run the risk of being perceived as weak by their co-workers" (Melnick et al, 2009, p. 22). Correctional officers subjected to high levels of job strain—high psychological demands, reduced decision making opportunities, low levels of social support from the work environment, high levels of interpersonal violence at work due to constant contact with criminals —are likely candidates to experience psychological distress and to use psychotropic drugs to counter the negative affects of the workplace. The use of psychotropic drugs among correctional officers creates, "huge social and financial expenses [indicating that] programs aiming at reducing psychosocial risk factors and interpersonal violence in the workplace should be implemented" (Lavigne & Bourbonnais, 2010, p. 128). Implementation of stress management programs showed a significant improvement in mental and physical health risk factors to correctional officers. In addition to improved health, correctional officers reported increased "productivity, motivation, goal clarity and perceived support" (McCrary, Atkinson, Lipsenthal & Arguelles, 2009, p. 263). Further benefits were Department of Corrections cost savings of over \$1000 per correctional officer per year.

The review of relevant literature situated this study within the context of the prisons as masculine institutions and how masculinity implicates behavior and identity. The prison environment exists as a male bastion of dominance and violence supported by the actions of correctional officers and inmates alike. Behavioral frameworks and assessment of inmate needs provided examples of rehabilitation programs. Examination of the correctional officer experience situated the prison workplace and implications for correctional officer behavior and identity. Although rehabilitation programs-designed to positively influence prosocial behavior among inmates and thus reduce recidivism-are endemic to the correctional system, the main function of prisons is to provide "public safety and institutional security" (O'Brien & Bates, 2003, p. 216) not to change offenders' behaviors. Thus the rehabilitation programs, which could provide the transformative space within which prisoners learn how to embrace and enact socially acceptable behaviors, remain subordinate to control and management of prisoners. Inmate control, management and rehabilitation survive under the domination of correctional officers, whose applied and enacted communication behaviors may exist as the rare example of socially acceptable behavior. If the behaviors of the correctional officers who work in the Wild Horse Inmate Program, model the cowboy way of firm, fair and consistent behaviors, the inmates in the program have the opportunity to see masculinity enacted as the ideals and ethics of the mythic American cowboy, the

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offender, the incarcerated villain, may become through his relationship with the Wild Horse Inmate Program, the good guy.

My study draws attention to an understudied population, the people who interact with and train the inmates: the Bureau of Land Management employees and the Department of Corrections correctional officers (previously described) who work together within the Wild Horse Inmate Program. Research indicates that "many male correctional officers view the use of force as a fundamental feature of the job" (Seymour, 2003), however, training horses requires patience coupled with firm, fair and consistent behaviors enacted through quiet verbal and nonverbal communication, defined for this paper as quiet behaviors. These quiet behaviors, created and enacted by the correctional officer horsemen are a giant step removed from the "prison culture [where]...physicality, competition, confrontation and domination are evident" (Seymour, 2003, p. 42.) in inmate and correctional officer behavior. Beginning with the first touch between man and mustang to a final saddle trained riding horse ready for adoption, prisoners learn every step from the CO horsemen. Prisoners apply their newfound knowledge as they practice self-control, patience and respectful behaviors for themselves, and then apply those behaviors to successful interactions with the mustangs.

Research Question

Creating a research question that would encompass the unknown scope of the participants and site of the Wild Horse Inmate Program posed a challenge. I was unsure of my accessibility to the site and to the Department of Corrections and Bureau of Land Management employees who worked in the horse program. I was fairly certain I would not gain access to prisoners so I had to create a question that would encompass any situation I might encounter. Therefore I settled on the following open-ended question: What are the communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program?

I intentionally posed one research question as an open-ended inquiry for three reasons. First, only one other published study has examined a Wild Horse Inmate Program or similar prison horse program; therefore, I had no specific guidelines to follow. Second, I chose grounded theory data collection methods: interviews; participant observation; and, extant texts. Third, based on grounded theory, I analyzed data that emerged from the site and the participants. Grounded theory data collection and analysis were chosen as the most efficient and effective ways to explore whatever data might emerge from this previously unknown site and the people who inhabited it.

Site

The Wild Horse Inmate Program (WHIP) that I selected, one of five in the western states, is located on more than 2,000 acres of the prison complex. However, the location is not a stereotypical prison setting. To access the WHIP, visitors turn off a two lane county highway and drive a half- mile to the parking lot and prison entrance. The entrance structure is where people who visit inmates are checked in. For visitors, all check-in is done in the open. Visits continue throughout the year through snow, cold, rain or heat. The wind is a constant companion regardless of the temperature. On each scheduled adoption visit day at about 8:30 AM, a small passenger bus pulls into the gravel parking lot and the driver, usually a Department of Corrections WHIP employee, gets out. Following the bus is a large pickup truck driven by a Bureau of Land

Management WHIP employee. The DOC employee checks off the visitors on the roster while they sign waivers that they will comply with safety, behavior and accommodation issues. Visitors board the bus and the DOC driver takes his passengers through the fortified guard gate. Once past the gate, the road meanders up a slight ridge and passes seven massive concrete prison structures on either side of the road. Each structure is enclosed behind 10-foot high chain link fences topped with razor wire.

The road continues southeast over the ridge, turns right, becomes gravel and drops into a flat, fertile valley. On the right is an indoor fish farm then a vineyard for producing wine sold under the label of a nearby monastery. Cornfields stretch out on the left. No cellblock or chain-link fence is in sight. The road crosses an irrigation ditch and continues through willows and cottonwood trees. The bus continues along the road through this fertile valley, and then tops another ridge and finally after about three miles, the WHIP location comes into sight.

Looking much a stockyard, the holding pens for the mustangs cover the equivalent of about 30 football fields. The design of WHIP working location is a complex grid of horse holding pens (corrals), work areas, barns, hay storage, and structures that historically functioned as ranch houses or prison quarters. Surrounding the complex are the fields, canyons and plateaus of the general prison facility. The largest holding pens, the size of two to four football fields, are on the outside and smaller pens, about one football field in size, converge near the center. The center includes buildings, storage areas, horse pens and work areas. The buildings include a stone structure that functions as storehouse for inmate clothing and tack (saddles, bridles, horse blankets, halters), and

another stone barn used as an area for shoeing horses while they are tied up. Storage areas including covered sheds are mostly for the massive amounts of hay consumed by the horses, and some farm implements: tractors and farm trucks. An isolation area for ill and injured horses is separated from all the other horse pens and located in a long covered shed. The horse pens and work areas include one fenced riding arena, one unfenced uncovered riding arena (a ramada), individual pens for horses in training, round pens in which the horses are worked, and intake or squeeze chutes for restraining horses during processing or follow up procedures. Connecting everything is a series of alleyways similar to halls and the doors (gates) to these halls can be opened and closed like floodgates; horses can be moved from one area to another without any human contact. All pens and alleyways are constructed of massive steel pipe fences over six feet in height with horizontal bars every 14-18 inches. These constructions are consistent with stock fencing used throughout horse facilities in the USA. A person can slide between the horizontal bars of the fences, climb over them using the bars as rungs of a ladder, or perch on top for a better view if need be. The alleyways, the round pen work areas and some of the holding pen sides are faced with thick slabs of black rubber matting or sheets of corrugated iron to prevent horses, and perhaps inmates, from seeing over the fence or between the metal bars and being distracted.

About a mile from the central WHIP complex is an old ranch house, repurposed as the shared field headquarters for the BLM and DOC. A nearby barn stables the staff horses, selected for size and power, and trained for DOC and BLM staff. The WHIP employees are often on horseback and thus can see over the tops of the fences to keep an eye on all the horse and inmate activity. The ranch-house is where the adoptions papers are signed, where money changes hands, and where inmates operate desktop computers to track the health, feeding, safety, and location of thousands of horses, and the tasks of the 30-40 inmates who work with the WHIP.

Surrounding this entire area are the foothills, red rock canyons, wandering streams, massive snowcapped mountains to the west, all set off by the crystal blue of the western sky. This is an area of the prison without security fences, bars, handcuffs or prison guards. What remains the focal point of this entire setting are the horses: sometimes over 2,000 wild horses brought in off the range in compliance with the federal Wild Free-Roaming Horses and Burros Act of 1971: more horses than most people may see in a lifetime. When horses are first brought in, they are processed: freeze-branded, inoculated, inspected for general health, hooves are trimmed, adult male horses are gelded (neutered) and each horse is assigned a hang-tag neck band with their unique identifying number. The horses spread out in holding pens in all the colors of the horse rainbow: black, brown, grey, white, palomino, pinto, roan, sorrel, dun, grulla, and buckskin. Some of the horses exhibit primitive markings: dorsal stripes and tiger stripes on their legs. The BLM also has a small number, 20-50, of wild burros available for adoption. Each holding pen, regardless of size, has fresh water available at all times via automatic waterers and some pens also have stock tanks (400-500 gallon metal water tanks). Twice a day, inmates drive farm trucks through or past the pens and toss hay to the horses. After being processed, the horses remain in this largest horse-holding facility in the United States, for several months, until a very few are selected for training and

brought into the WHIP or adopted by visitors, and the rest are sent to long-term holding facilities scattered through the country, to be cared for until their natural death.

Regardless of Department of Corrections barriers, I found I could participate as an observer, through the twice-monthly mustang adoption visits sponsored by the Bureau of Land Management, who are responsible for the care of captive mustangs. I completed one observation visit to a Wild Horse Inmate Program to discover if it might be a site in which I could conduct research. After completing a background check and registering well in advance for the Bureau of Land Management adoption visit, I arrived at the prison complex on a bitterly cold and clear November morning. I will refer to this exploratory visit as my November visit. Four other visitors and I waited in a windy gravel parking lot for the two men who were to chaperone us on our visit. The BLM employee and a Department of Corrections correctional officer who met our small group could have come from central casting for a western film. Ben (all names are pseudonyms) was tall, lean, deeply tanned with a long silver ponytail and possessed penetrating brown eyes, a booming voice and brilliant smile. Monte was muscular and mustached with steady blue eyes over pink cheeks and a quiet calm voice with a bit of a twang. Both men wore worn blue jeans, cowboy hats, boots, and western cut down jackets. Each man seemed at ease with himself and with the strangers they were meeting and neither wore a gun, tazer, club or other visible weapon.

Rules for adoption visits were strict: no phones, cameras, recording or other electronic devices; no tobacco products, alcohol, drugs, or weapons; no shorts or sleeveless shirts: and, no dogs. All visitors signed consent forms agreeing to the restrictions and to adhere to all instructions from the BLM and Department of Corrections employees. As the visitors, myself included, were boarding the small bus which would take us almost a mile south into the heart of the prison complex, Monte repeated the restricted items: "No cell phones, cameras, recording or other electronic devices." A male visitor countered saying "I was told we could bring cell phones if we left them turned off." Monte immediately responded in that quiet voice: "No cell phones" and his steady blue eyes bored into the man's face. Although the male visitor appeared about to retort, he visibly pulled himself erect, turned and walked to his vehicle where he left his cell phone. Monte's quiet behavior was more powerful than if he had shouted back at the visitor. During the next five hours, I would see a variety of quiet behaviors from CO and BLM employees directed at inmates and visitors. What I also observed was that the seven total BLM and Department of Corrections employees observed that day appeared to be happy. These men seemed to enjoy their job, interactions with each other, inmates and visitors, and they appeared to truly care for, respect and admire the over 1,000 mustangs in their care. Although my intention was to examine how working in the Wild Horse Inmate Program could change inmate identity, I found a richer population to study, the men who are in charge of the inmates and the mustangs.

Chapter Two: Method

The purpose of this study was to discover the communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program. The grounded theory method of qualitative analysis was chosen to gather and interpret data. Ethnography, interviews and textual analyses were the data collection methods. The data collection totaled over 40 hours of ethnographic observation, five interviews and six textual analyses. Ethnography and interviews yielded data from which basic social behaviors and communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program (WHIP) emerged. The interviews expanded the framework of the ethnographic observations and added literal voices to the communicative messages within the WHIP. Textual analyses (one documentary, one scholarly source, a newsletter article and two transcripts of TV news features) provided background information. Although the texts did not provide academic substance for data application they served as third party examinations of the site and the social processes that took place within view of cameras or reporters. Viewing the documentary (McKeown & Zaritsky, 2007) prior to visiting the WHIP location alerted me to the geographical setting, a prison location not easily accessed for academic research purposes. The documentary also served as practice for line-by-line coding after the entire film was transcribed.

Grounded theory is often used as a qualitative method for collecting and interpreting data. The grounded theory process can extend beyond the collection and interpretation and provide the basis for a mid-range theory. A mid-range theory differs from the "'all-inclusive' grand theories" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 32) such as relational dialectics (Montgomery & Baxter, 1988) or communication privacy management (Petronio, 1991). Mid-range theories provide a framework for a theoretical discussion which shows action and change and which remains grounded in the data. Thus, grounded theory relies on the researcher allowing the data to direct the discovery rather than the researcher directing the data. My research question sought to find communicative messages, which can be found in all social situations. My research question did not hypothesize a possible finding therefore, I feel I remained open to the data, and allowed them to speak to me, rather than imposing my own view of what was happening. However, one does not wander into a random site and begin collecting data. Grounded theory requires a starting point of interest or inquiry. This starting point is the sensitizing concept (Blumer, 1969).

The sensitizing concept assists the researcher in developing research questions, composing interview questions, and generally setting course toward gathering enough significant data to analyze and arrive at a conclusion. I chose to create my starting point by integrating two, seemingly unrelated, perspectives on specific intra and interpersonal relationships. I began with my personal experiences that I felt, and hoped, could be observed within the WHIP site. Initially, I drew on my interest in and experiences with horses, cowboys, horsemen and the human-animal connection, and considered how those diverse topics dealt with issues of personal identity and identity management. Then I incorporated the reviews of the literature—that I completed for my dissertation

proposal—on inmates, prison rehabilitation and correctional officers. The literature review provided a foundation for issues of personal identity and identity management within the penal system. Merging personal experience and interest with the literature review allowed me to construct a conceptual location populated by members of those diverse groups as they engaged in the communicative activities necessary to manage their respective identities and behavior goals. Thus I was able to create a generalized research question—What are the communicative messages within the WHIP? From that point I was able to construct 35 generalized interview questions that might allow response opportunities from any segment of the conceptual location. Many of the questions were based on "Sample of Grounded Theory Interview Questions" (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 30-31). Two example questions are: 1) What term/title do you use to refer to yourself and other coworkers? and 2) How would you describe your job to someone outside of your work or social circles? Although the sensitizing concept may be the starting point for grounded theory it may not be the ending point. Grounded theory must be grounded in the data; therefore the data initially sought may not be the data that emerges.

The method of grounded theory is notable for constant comparison of all the data, in this case data collected from ethnography, interviews and textual analyses. The collected and compared data is then coded into recognizable forms and the initial and dominant form is the conceptual category. A conceptual category is formed by analysis of behaviors and actions that define and provide a framework for an intended goal. An intended goal for a WHIP employee may be to monitor self and inmate behaviors for safety. Thus the employee must adapt to others' (inmates, other personnel) communication styles in order to create and maintain a safe working environment. Conceptual categories are then segmented in the observed properties of the conceptual categories, and re-examined against additional evidence in relation to the properties. The collection and analysis of this data will serve to create the theoretical discussion of a grounded theory of learning how to teach.

Design and Procedure

Discovering the communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program required physical access to the prison. Upon approval from the university's Institutional Review Board to participate in BLM sponsored public visits to the prison, I applied to take part in the horse adoption visits. Public participants must pass background checks, sign consent forms agreeing to all restrictions, and while on the prison grounds must remain in the company of a BLM and/or DOC official and comply with all instructions. Visitation rules are strict: no phones, cameras, recording or other electronic devices; no tobacco products, alcohol, drugs, or weapons; no shorts or sleeveless shirts, and no dogs. Although adoption days are promoted as twice a month on Fridays, budget cuts and other circumstances resulted in fewer days, usually once a month, for visitation. After passing the background check, I would contact the BLM and sign up a week in advance of each visit. The initial background check sufficed for all subsequent visits. After completion of three adoption visits over a four-month period, I requested, and was granted written permission from the BLM to interview willing employees. The Institutional Review Board approved the interviews with BLM employees before I requested their participation. Requests to interview Department of Corrections staff were denied.

However, the head trainer for the DOC retired after 12 years of service and became available for interviews as a willing private party.

Data Collection

Ethnography.

Over the course of 14 months, 10 visits were made to the prison on scheduled adoption days. Adoption days are scheduled by the Bureau of Land Management and are typically every other Friday. However, the BLM can and did cancel or skip days due to State furloughs or days when other activities, such as Border Patrol visits to select and collect trained horses, were taking place. Accompanied by a Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and/or a Department of Corrections (DOC) employee, each visit lasted from four to seven hours for a total of just over 40 hours of direct observation. During those visits, the following individuals were observed: 22 public members, two Department of Agriculture employees, three BLM employees, six DOC employees, and 12 inmates. Of those 40 hours, just over 10 were spent in the company of the DOC trainers as they worked with inmates. During the observations, copious handwritten notes noted the following actions and messages: general conversations, directions, explanations, and non-verbal behaviors. Although the Department of Corrections declined requests for interviews with their staff, several BLM and/or DOC staff and inmates volunteered information and spoke freely in my presence. The BLM staff declined to be interviewed while they were working; therefore their interviews took place in short segments during observations and longer segments after the visitors had left the prison grounds. As I became a familiar visitor to the prison, more individuals, staff and

inmates provided additional information. Following each visit, I reread and expanded on my notes and transcribed observations.

Interviews.

Interview participants were a volunteer sample of three: two Bureau of Land Management (BLM) employees and one retired Department of Corrections (DOC) employee. All participants were or had been active in the Wild Horse Inmate Program (WHIP) and all three signed informed consent forms prior to interviews. Each participant lived in a rural or semi-rural area within a few miles of the prison facility. Participants ranged in age from 42 to 57 years (M=51, SD = 8.3). All participants were male (100%): two were White (66.6%) and one was Native American (33.3%). All participants were married (100%). Education levels ranged from no college (33.3%), to some college (33.3%) to a college degree (33.3%).

The three informants took part in seven interviews. BLM informant one participated in one interview. BLM informant two participated in three interviews over three separate and non-sequential visits. Retired DOC informant participated in three interviews. Each BLM interview was held on the prison grounds and/or in the visitor parking lot predominantly after scheduled horse adoption visits were complete and visitors had returned home. Interviews were not audiotaped. Cameras, tape recorders, phones or any other recording devices are banned on prison grounds. The cumulative time (questioning, answering and discussion) for each interview was from fifteen minutes to one hour and 20 minutes. Participants were not compensated. After the visits were concluded, I reread and expanded on my handwritten notes then transcribed the interviews. A total of three interviews, one in person, and two over the phone, were conducted with participant three, the retired DOC employee. At his request, the first interview was held in a restaurant near the prison. Although the participant was not compensated, I purchased lunch for the in-person interview. The second phone interview focused on information and questions that arose during the in-person interview. The last phone interview was conducted for the theoretical sampling process of member checking. At the participants' request, the interviews were not audiotaped. Interviews lasted from 30 minutes to 60 minutes. Before each phone interview, I called the participant and received his permission to conduct a phone interview and we set a time and date. After each interview I reread and expanded on my notes then transcribed the interviews.

Texts.

Six textual analyses were transcribed and used for background information. Texts included: one documentary, *The Wild Horse Redemption* (McKeown & Zaritsky, 2007); one scholarly source, *A history of prison inmate-animal interaction programs* (Strimple, 2003); one newsletter article, *Mustang Miracles* (Brannon, 2009); and two TV news features transcripts, *At Colorado prison, wild horses tame inmates* (2009), and *Wild mustang hearts heal human scars* (Shadler & Launier, 2009).

Analysis

Grounded theory, as developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), focused on the objectivist perspective; the researcher maintains a neutral identity and functions as an observer and recorder only. Charmaz (2006), one of Glaser and Strauss's students' (both served as committee members for Charmaz's 1973 dissertation), emerged as a leading

contemporary practitioner of grounded theory with her own divergent constructivist theory. Charmaz's constructivist theory focuses on the social construction and creation of the co-mingled realities of participants and researcher. The participants' experiences and realities are acknowledged as unique and multi-dimensional and are interpreted through the researchers own experiences and realities. Each set of transcribed data (interviews and observations) was coded using constructivist theory (Charmaz, 2006).

Grounded theory coding consists of at least two main actions: initial coding and focused coding. The goal of initial coding is to uncover the phenomena and processes at work within the transcribed data and code them into recognizable segments. The goal of focused coding is to sort through the segments and develop categories based on the data.

Initial Coding.

Line-by-line.

Guided by Charmaz (2006), I initial-coded each set of transcribed data (interviews and observations) through the line-by-line process. Coding is the process of reading data then interpreting and labeling data segments to illustrate meanings and actions. Line-byline coding means reading each line of transcribed data as a discreet unit. Line-by-line coding allows for close inspection and interpretation of the complex and varied messages included in the data. Meanings and actions may be evident in full sentences, fragments or phrases. The benefit of line-by-line coding is the opportunity to categorize specific behaviors and processes as they emerge from the data.

Following Charmaz's (2006) example of a line-by-line process, a two-column table was created: interview dialogue was copied into the right column while the left column served as the coding space. All interpretations were composed as gerunds and I referred to the entire process (transcribing, creating the two column table, entering data and coding data) as tabling. (See Table 2.1)

Coding	Monte Interview One Dialogue Excerpt
Easing into interview mode.	Horses are a lot easier to get along with than people.
Differentiating between teaching horses and people.	Horses got a one-track mind and you can build on
Positively correlating horses' trainability to the	their experiences, like our level system.
WHIP level system.	
Addressing cognitive obstacles to teaching inmates:	People think too much, think they know better than
power, inability to focus, and consequences.	me, think they can muscle the horse, lots of ways to
Recognizing self as an outsider, subject to being shut	take attention off and when they do, they get hurt.
out.	When I first got on the job, inmates wouldn't even
Appraising reactions to his position, Refraining from	look at me, ignored me cause I was new.
criticizing or condemning others for lack of	They didn't know what I knew so they paid no
knowledge.	attention to me.

Table 2.1: Coded Monte Interview One.

Using gerunds, nouns ending in ing, allowed me to concentrate "coding on actions" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 136) to identify the behaviors, language and phenomena as recognizable actions. Handwritten lists, as seen in Figure 2.1, served as brainstorming options for choosing the most accurate and descriptive gerund.

Figure 2.1: Segment of a handwritten gerund list.

Focused Coding.

Upon completion of initial line-by-line coding (five interviews, and 10 sets of observation field notes), I began focused coding. Focused coding is the multi-layered process of examining the line-by-line coding and comparing the actions and behaviors to each other. For example: I compared the actions and behaviors I observed, transcribed and coded to the actions and behaviors that emerged from each interviewee. My goal was to look for similarities or differences between what I observed and what participants said and did. The similarities that emerge between the different data sets provided the foundation of conceptual categories. The goal of focused coding is to employ higher-level analytic actions—constant comparison, memo-writing and conceptual category development—to create categories that evolve into the concepts (with recognizable properties and actions) of a mid-range grounded theory.

Constant Comparison.

Constant comparison is a key component of grounded theory. The purpose of grounded theory is to stay as close to the data as possible and compare actions, emerging properties and categories between all sets of data, even as data is being transcribed and coded. Constant comparison begins with the initial coding compared with initial codes, and continues as initial codes are compared to focused codes, focused codes are compared to focused codes, focused codes are compared to analytic memo-writing and analytic memo-writing of compared to initial coding, and finally the developing categories are brought into the process as all the coding actions and comparisons result in definable and conceptual categories. The process of constant comparison allows the researcher to maintain a forward and continuous progress throughout the collection and analysis of the data. Figure 2.2 depicts a simplified illustration of the constant comparison process.

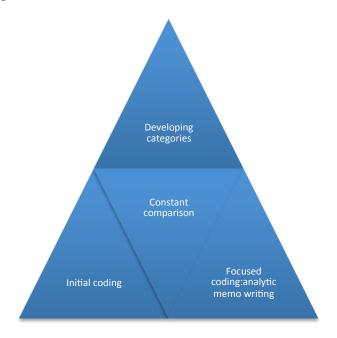


Figure 2.2: Simplified Illustration of the Constant Comparison Process

Developing categories.

When commonalities are discovered between what may seem similar or divergent sets of data, those commonalities become developing categories. A category is a theoretical construct that advances descriptions such as addressing realities of working with inmates to identifiable concepts such as identifying obstacles, defining success, and setting standards (Monte Interview One). Categories and their properties became the framework for the constructs included in the discussion of the emergent theory. A theoretical construct gives meaning to and explains observable actions and behaviors and serves as the framework for theory.

The constant comparison process determined conceptual categories from the evidence; identified properties of the conceptual categories; then re-examined evidence in

relation to the properties to create six developing categories which all related to learning how to teach: meeting the responsibilities of the job, establishing the work of trial and error for self and inmates, contemplating and enacting the process of how to pass experience to inmates, addressing realities of working with inmates, creating experiential learning environment and identifying the forward and positive movement of inmates.

Meeting the responsibilities of the job referred to the ethical desire and commitment to complete the obligations required and expected for the position as a trainer and correctional officer. Establishing the work of trial and error for self and inmates referred to the constant and fluid process of attending to the process of teaching: practice, method, structure, observation, objectives, consequences and evaluations. Contemplating and enacting the process of how to pass experience to inmates referred to the words, messages and behaviors presented to the inmates. Addressing realities of working with inmates referred to the awareness of the danger, resistance, outdoor venue, and challenges of working side by side with inmates—incarcerated men who have been convicted of crimes against people and property. Creating experiential learning environment referred to the process of modifying behaviors, responding to new situations, and adjusting process, outcomes and goals. Identifying the forward and positive movement of inmates refers to recognition of appropriate behaviors, acknowledgement of successful endeavors and support for effort and accomplishments.

Analytic memo-writing.

As categories emerged through focused coding and constant comparison, I wrote analytic memos to focus on the details of the categories. Memos serve as initial drafts of the final paper and I chose to write the practice of free writing that allowed me to explore the category and properties as they emerged from particular sets of code or code comparisons. Analytic memos allow a written discussion about the comparisons, credibility and applicability of the codes as they evolve into categories, properties and concepts. Following is an excerpt from an analytic memo written about Monte Interview One.

The process is experiential learning/experiential teaching: learning to teach. I define this process as an active and continuous awareness and application of how to provide guidance and impart information to the inmates so they can absorb and enact the appropriate behaviors to teach the horses. Constantly refining the process. The horses are similar to a control group in that their behavior is generally predictable. The unpredictability is the inmates and their personal characteristics and behaviors and willingness or resistance to learning.

Analytic memos provided the means to articulate the dominant categories that continually emerged from the interviews and observations related to pedagogy: specifically learning how to teach. Monte articulated this pedagogical stance in his first interview: "Took a while to figure out how to teach em what I already knew how to do." This articulation became the basis for the core category of meeting the responsibilities of the job.

Properties in the category of meeting the responsibilities of the job included and were not limited to: 1) demonstrating personal control; 2) reflecting on personal commitment; 3) disclosing personal doubt; 4) categorizing benefits of job, workplace and co-workers; 5) establishing authority for position; 6) addressing personal safety issues; 7) identifying challenges to teaching; 8) articulating personal ethos and behavior; 9) recognizing self as an outsider: and 10) recognizing responsibility to inmates regardless of personal opinion. The category of meeting the responsibilities of the job became, through constant comparison aided by memo writing, the core category of Duty. All other categories, properties and theoretical constructs relate to Duty—and this construct is central to the communicative theory of learning how to teach.

The memo writing provided a template for expanding on the concepts which supported and advanced learning how to teach (active and continuous awareness, constantly refining the process, willingness or resistance), and provided an opportunity to eliminate properties and actions which were not relevant to the dominant categories (horses as control group). Analytic memo writing serves as a written conversation with oneself and an opportunity to talk/write-out sometimes vague and conflicting notions into identifiable ideas and concepts.

Theoretical sampling.

Theoretical sampling is the next step in the constant comparison process. Theoretical sampling is the process by which the researcher reviews the memos and makes decisions about what additional or enhanced data needs to be examined to strengthen robust categories rather than feeble ones. Decisions include predictions about what properties would saturate a category. As an example, theoretical sampling for the emerging category of meeting the responsibilities of the job resulted in discovery of the following properties: 1) demonstrating personal control; 2) reflecting on personal commitment; 3) disclosing personal doubt; 4) categorizing benefits of job, workplace and co-workers; 5) establishing authority for position; 6) addressing personal safety issues; 7) identifying challenges to teaching; 8) articulating personal ethos and behavior; 9) recognizing self as an outsider: and 10) recognizing responsibility to inmates regardless of personal opinion. I made predictions about the properties that might support the category of meeting the responsibilities of the job. If that category had not been identified, the properties might have remained subsumed or overlooked. If my predictions had not yielded substantial properties, then I would have eliminated that category and moved on to find other robust categories while continuing to eliminate feeble ones.

Member checking is another component of theoretical sampling. The researcher returns to the participants (the members) and requests their input on the researchers' interpretations of the data. The purpose of member checking is to ensure that the data that stood out to the researcher also had significance for and was recognizable to the participants. Member checking also provides an opportunity to gather more data to support existing categories. To enhance my interpretation of the categories, and to possible gather more data, I enlisted the help of my main participant: Monte. Monte agreed to participate in the third phone interview specific to how he learned how to teach. Once the call began Monte responded to my inquiries with rich narratives, examples, challenges, decisions and consequences of the learning process. I tabled this memberchecking interview using the same two-column format used in the previous interviews. See Table 2.2 for a brief example.

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Coding	Monte Interview Three Dialog
Presenting challenge of teaching. Acknowledging personal knowledge and credibility. Reiterating personal experience of learning how to teach. Granting difference and difficulty between doing and teaching.	I never had to teach before, I knew what I was doin, but never had to teach it to someone else. I learned how to teach through trial and error. Teaching is harder than doin it.

Table 2.2: Member checking codes from Monte Interview Three

To ensure my adherence to the dominant categories that emerged from observations and earlier interviews-addressing realities of working with inmates as an example—I asked Monte if each category made sense to him. If the category did make sense, I asked him to describe how he addressed the category. For example: what were the realities of working with inmates and how did he figure out how to manage that activity. If the category did not make sense, I would have re-examined my interpretation of the data and the category properties. However, all the categories made sense to Monte. Monte's responses provided insight into the usefulness of each category. What emerged from the member checking was the process of learning how to teach and support for the emerging communicative theory of learning how to teach. Monte exhibited the reflexivity and interaction needed to make a relational connection and provided responses to emerging questions including: How does one take personal experience and knowledge and teach it to someone who has none? and What are the challenges? Monte articulated his action plan of "trial and error" with multiple examples of what did and did not work throughout the 12 years he was the head DOC trainer. Constantly comparing the theoretical sampling with the initial data through the use of memo writing reinforced the

emerging communicative theory of learning how to teach. The theoretical constructs within this theory include assessment (of self, others and situation), adaptation (to learning style of inmate/students), articulation (reframing the instructions and learning objective so the student understands and can act), reflexivity (establishing the work of trial and error), acknowledgement (providing feedback to student for what did and did and did not work) and the final construct which binds the others, duty (meeting the responsibilities of the job).

Chapter Three: Findings

Study Approach

The purpose of this study was to discover the communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program. The discovery process was guided by the choice of grounded theory, the inductive process in which the theory emerges from data as they are examined, compared, explicated, interpreted and applied, and the way in which data was collected.

As an applied communication practitioner, I approached theorizing the communicative theory of learning how to teach from the perspective that communication is the enactment and application—symbolic and physical—of communication in daily life. I supported my applied communication position by citing the National Communication Association (2014) definition of applied communication as stated on their website: "The study of how communication theory, research, and/or best practices help inform knowledge and theory about communication for practical issues."

The applied context of this study was the Wild Horse Inmate Program (WHIP) where I interpreted the observed social process—the communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program. The conceptual categories and properties of the communicative theory of learning how to teach explained the process by which the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and Department of Corrections (DOC) employees, through their gestures—actions and words—created the meaning of teaching as inmates learn.

I examined how theories are created and applied, how grounded theories fit within the scholarly realm and how the interpretations which form the basis of the communicative theory of learning how to teach "fit[s] or work[s] in a substantial or formal area" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 29). The grounded theory process of constant comparison of the data resulted in: determining conceptual categories from the evidence, identifying properties of the conceptual categories, and re-examining evidence in relation to the properties to create an "relevant theoretical abstraction about what is going on" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 23). The properties are further frameworks for the communicative messages observed and enacted between the BLM and DOC employees and the inmates. Theories provide a framework for examining or explaining the actions and intents of the participants. Based upon interpretations of grounded theory, the communicative theory of learning how to teach consists of a running theoretical discussion that shows actions and change within the communicative messages of the Wild Horse Inmate Program. Grounded theory however, requires a starting point of interest or inquiry rather than wandering in to a random site and collecting data. I used sensitizing concepts as a starting point for data collection.

Sensitizing Concepts

The sensitizing concept (Blumer, 1969) assists the researcher in developing research questions, composing interview questions, and generally setting course toward gathering enough significant data to analyze and arrive at a conclusion. Although the sensitizing concept is the starting point, for grounded theory the sensitizing concept may not be the ending point. Grounded theory must be grounded in the data; therefore the data initially sought may not be the data that emerges.

After selecting the Wild Horse Inmate Program as the site for this study, I confronted a wide range of options for data collection and little background evidence of what went on within the WHIP. To provide a starting point for my inquiry, I chose the sensitizing concept of identity. Interview questions were formatted to focus on issues of identity for the WHIP personnel, and offered a potential secondary insight into inmate identity. Identity as the sensitizing concept was framed by four influences: hypermasculinity, rehabilitation, positive masculinity, and the human-animal bond.

Prison as the site of hypermasculine—survival—behavior is the first influence on identity. Male inmates dominate the US prison system which exists as a male bastion of dominance and violence generally supported by the actions of inmates and correctional officers (Karp, 2010: Lutze & Bell, 2005). This masculine gendered influence is evident within the Correctional Industries Program (CIP) of which WHIP is a part. The institutional model of the CIP does not allow for at-will employment, but rather forces an industrial/workplace framework upon incarcerated individuals who are dependent upon the institution, not just for livelihood, but basic survival needs as well.

Prison as a site of rehabilitation is the second influence on identity. The challenge of rehabilitative—also referred to as behavioral programs—activities is to educate inmates to recognize the socially unacceptable behaviors that put them into prison, provide them with means to adjust to prosocial behaviors and thus earn them parole and, best-case scenario, allow them to integrate into society and not reoffend. Rehabilitation programs offer opportunities for advancing education with degrees and certificates, learning marketable trades and skills, and practicing effective communication and social behaviors (Medlicott, 1999; Pleasants, 2007; Tewksbury & Stengel, 2006).

The WHIP program as a site of positive masculinity is the third influence on identity, an influence that contradicts the first. Although hypermasculinity is an acknowledged component of inmate and correctional officer behaviors within the general prison population, the WHIP site offers little room or benefit for hypermasculine behaviors. The WHIP personnel model the behaviors, mannerisms, speaking styles and clothing which correspond with the mythic American cowboy and his do the right thing through firm, fair and consistent behaviors. WHIP personnel model a successful masculine identity that focuses on non-violence and effective communication. The ability to work with a wild horse takes stamina, self-control, will power, self-confidence, patience and a quiet manner. Thus inmates view role models of successful and powerful socially acceptable masculine behavior in the WHIP personnel. Inmates then have the opportunity to employ these acceptable masculine practices with the horses and still earn supervisor-, peer- and self-respect. Therefore the hierarchy of masculine identity remains in place while offering acceptable options [inside and out of prison] for successful and socially acceptable masculine behaviors. If the behaviors of the WHIP personnel model the cowboy way of firm, fair and consistent behaviors, the inmates in the program have the opportunity to see masculinity enacted as positive and obtainable behaviors reflecting the ideals and ethics of the mythic American cowboy. Therefore, the incarcerated villain, the bad guy, may become through his participation in the WHIP, the good guy.

The human-animal bond is the fourth identity influence. A unique and [anecdotally] effective rehabilitation source is found in prisoners working with and caring for animals, specifically horses and dogs. Dogs and horses have been trained and cared for in a nationwide variety of penal institutions. The programs are often referred to as Prison Animal Programs (PAPS). The benefits to the prison population, prison staff, animals in training and the general public are widespread. The discovery of the therapeutic benefits of animals in prisons is linked to inmates as they learn vocational skills through their animal interactions. Community support, including financial, is crucial to the implementation and success of a prison animal program. In addition to the social benefit of the prison animal programs to the community, correctional facilities report lowered aggressive incidents, lowered rates of inmate depression and better relationships between inmates and guards. A further anecdotal benefit is that of reentry offenders who report success in creating social networks, and finding and keeping jobs.

Identity as the sensitizing concept framed by four influences—hypermasculinity, rehabilitation, positive masculinity and the human-animal bond—provided a direction for my initial inquiry into the communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program. Although identity remained the sensitizing concept, the four influences did not provide enough substance, and rarely emerged through data collection and analysis. Thus the sensitizing concept, the starting point, did not emerge as the ending point.

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What captured and held my attention from my first prison visit was the communicative style of teaching that the WHIP personnel used with inmates and visitors. As a college instructor, I immediately recognized pedagogy and during my observations and interviews with participants, pedagogy and teaching emerged from all the communicative behaviors I transcribed. Initially I set aside the idea that teaching could be the dominant communicative behavior I encountered (based on the sensitizing concept of identity as my starting point); however, in the spirit and practice of grounded theory, I had to remain grounded in the data. I had to let go of the original sensitizing concept of identity influenced by hypermasculinity, rehabilitation, positive masculinity and the human-animal bond because those influences were not emerging from the data. I had to look to the data to frame my discovery and not be distracted or diverted by the quest for sensitizing concepts. Long before I had reached a point in my analysis where teaching emerged from almost every bit of data, I returned time and time again to the communicative style of teaching as the dominant communicative message within the Wild Horse Inmate Program. Thus, when completing the analysis of the data, the behaviors and actions of learning how to teach persistently emerged through consistent and credible behaviors and messages. Based on the analysis of the data, I have created the communicative theory of learning how to teach.

Pedagogy and teaching were actions that I observed during my exploratory visit and which emerged from all subsequent visits and interviews. The initial interview with my main informant Monte provided a defining moment when learning how to teach emerged as the dominant message within all the data. Supplemental questions came up for me as I transcribed and coded the data. How does one take personal experience and knowledge and teach it to someone who has none? What are the challenges? Regardless of the context, the process of learning how to teach is a universal challenge and what are the actions and behaviors that address the challenge?

As described in the Methods chapter, the grounded theory method is notable for it's constant comparison of all the data: this study collected data through ethnography, interviews and textual analyses. The collected and compared data was then coded into the recognizable forms of conceptual categories. Categories contain distinct properties illustrating messages and actions that emerged from the data.

Substantive Theory Creation

The goal of this study was to discover communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program. I conceptualized the concept of identifiable communicative properties by analyzing the actions and choices made by the WHIP personnel. Those behaviors and actions included reflexive and interactive factors as the personnel determined how best to articulate and model communicative practices for themselves and the inmates. The six conceptual categories that emerged from the data comparison were (a) meeting the responsibilities of the job, (b) establishing the work of trial and error for self and inmates, (c) contemplating and enacting the process of how to pass experience to inmates, (d) addressing realities of working with inmates, (e) creating experiential learning environment, and (f) identifying the forward and positive movement of inmates.

Each of the six substantive conceptual categories contained properties—messages and actions—that made the WHIP meaningful to participants and observers. Examples of these properties in action are included as interview excerpts for each category. Although categories and properties are interrelated, significant differences exist. Each of the categories "stands as a conceptual element of the theory. A property, in turn, is a conceptual aspect or element of a category" (Glaser & Strauss, 2012. p. 36).

The six categories, and their messages and actions, do not operate as discreet components. Each of the six categories work together as "theoretical interpretations and explanations" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 189) of the specific problem of how WHIP personnel of how the WHIP personnel navigate and complete the complexities of their job. That job includes communicating with inmates, creating working relationships, passing on experience and knowledge, establishing and maintaining hierarchy, and providing opportunities for inmates to achieve success. As the participants seek to meet their responsibilities, they engage in the active properties of the six categories. This engagement is not linear, nor is it completed in stages. The engagement must be a constant awareness and attention to the changing interpersonal dynamics of working with the inmates while attending to their intrapersonal identity construction in order to meet the responsibilities of the job. How then do the six categories—(a) meeting the responsibilities of the job, (b) establishing the work of trial and error for self and inmates, (c) contemplating and enacting the process of how to pass experience to inmates, (d) addressing realities of working with inmates, (e) creating experiential learning environment, and (f) identifying the forward and positive movement of inmatesfunction as a theory? Figure 3.1 provides an illustration of the categories as interrelated and equitable in their contribution to the theory.

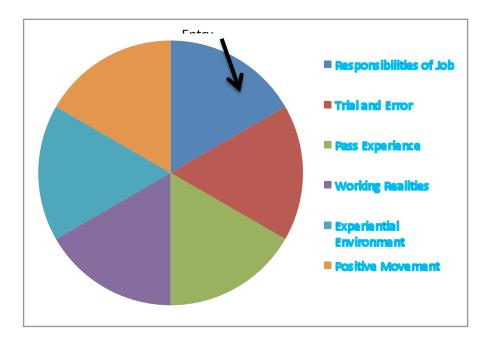


Figure 3.1: Interrelated and equitable categories

Conceptual category one: Meeting the responsibilities of the job.

The first of the six conceptual categories, meeting the responsibilities of the job, referred to the ethical desire and commitment to complete the obligations required and expected for the position as a trainer and correctional officer. Often, people are defined and define themselves by the work they do (Adams, B. G., & Crafford, A., 2012; LaPointe, K., 2013; Saayman, T., & Crafford, A., 2011). When greeting a stranger and engaging in conversation, one of the first questions that may come up is, what do you do [?] meaning how do you earn your living. Contemporary life requires that one hold down a job in order to meet survival needs, and for many people, men in particular, one's identity can revolve around what one does for employment. For many people, a job is more than a way to earn money to provide for survival needs. A job becomes a way to

contribute to society, to create and maintain strong social bonds and to stimulate cognitive and physical growth.

Evoking the definition of a property "as a conceptual aspect or element of a category" (Glaser & Strauss, 2012. p. 36), and with my additional position that properties also indicate some sort of action, the properties of this first category included demonstrating responsibility, meeting obligations and establishing authority. Excerpts from Monte Interview Two articulate examples of two of these properties

Demonstrating responsibility surfaced in the data in the following ways. The excerpt "*I had a job to do*" illustrates awareness of a responsibility to inmates regardless of personal opinion. The excerpt further situates the role that WHIP trainers must take while accepting that their responsibility is to treat each inmate with respect and consideration and provide equal support and assistance to all. Further observed and reported actions of responsibility included showing up to work on time, and attending to the myriad of tasks required performing the job. Meeting obligations surfaced in the data in the following ways. The excerpt "*I taught best I could, rest up to them*" indicates that accepting a job means more than just meeting the requirements of the employer, it also means meeting one's own dedication. Further examples of meeting obligations were: addressing the challenges of working with inmates who may have used force, intimidation and violence as means of achieving their goals; and recognizing the social benefits and the sense of belonging one can gain from a job.

Establishing authority surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers had to: identify challenges to teaching inmates; articulate and model the necessary hierarchical behavior to create and maintain the status of leader; prove that one has skills and abilities that inmates do not; admit that not all students are willing learners; accept that inmates differing communicative styles might inhibit message receipt; and foster awareness that passing learned and earned knowledge from self to others can be challenging.

Conceptual category two: Establishing the work of trial and error for self and inmates.

Establishing the work of trial and error for self and inmates referred to the constant and fluid process of attending to the process of teaching: practice, method, and observation, Teaching is based on acquired knowledge and experience, an ability to create relationships with students, and an ability and willingness to create a learning environment in which students understand expectations and teachers maintain the flexibility to adapt to new strategies to increase student participation, knowledge creation and knowledge retention. Properties in this category included practice standards, method creation and observation and response.

Practice standards surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers had to determine how to: create student knowledge and skill acquisition in a layered process from start to finish; identify the consequences of missing steps, of rushing a horse, of trying to reach a goal based on time rather than accomplishment; acknowledge and accommodate inmates who may lack patience and ability to concentrate to complete a task and; model or provide an example of how the task could have been done for a more positive outcome. The following excerpt from the WHIP director during an observation visit illustrates how standards were applied to both horses and men: "*Once we started using the horse-whisperer methods on the horses, we kinda adopted it for the inmates too.*"

Method creation surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers had to learn to: establish time lines and articulate specific due dates and expectations; involve past steps in all current work by reiterating the essentials of basics each time a horse is touched (worked); focus on the basics to be adhered to in each session; and always review and practice. An excerpt from the WHIP director during an observation visit illustrated the challenges of creating procedures that inmates could relate to: *"We had to figure out how to teach inmates to train horses."*

Observation and response surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers had to be constantly aware of their own actions, their interactions with inmates and subsequent goals. This awareness emerged in the following actions: setting clear boundaries of acceptable behavior and consequences of unacceptable behavior; clarifying the foundation from which all inmates begin and progress; and providing clear expectations of peer training and cooperation.

Conceptual category three: Contemplating and enacting the process of how to pass experience to inmates.

Contemplating and enacting the process of how to pass experience to inmates referred to the words, messages and behaviors presented to the inmates. Relationships with inmates needed to be created and maintained through language and behaviors. An essential component of the relationship creation is showing and telling the inmates how they will benefit by attending to the WHIP personnel. Properties in this category included behavior modification for self and inmates, verbal response and contextual adjustment.

Behavior modification surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers narrated personal stories to provide accounts of behaviors and expectations; used humor as a way to get the point across; and strategically distracted the inmates by asking them to respond to questions not linked to the immediate situation (What is your birthday? Who is the vice president?).

Verbal response surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers articulated specific commands for teaching signifying ultimatums; created phrases that inmates recognized as directives and orders to be obeyed and complied with immediately (step-off, pressure/release); and delegated authority to other inmates by creating peer support teams.

Contextual adjustment surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers had to respond to ever-changing situations by: consistently using firm, fair, and consistent messages to articulate specific behaviors; role-play as the horse so inmates feel how much rein pressure to use; by demonstrating a lifetime of work with horses through touch, approach and manipulation. The following excerpt from Monte interview #3 illustrates the consistency and demonstration of contextual adjustment to establishing himself as the authority.

I picked one guy and worked with him as he was getting a horse ready to ride. He paid attention to what I said and on the day he was supposed to ride the horse, all the other inmates gathered around cause they were expectin a rodeo, expectin the horse to buck. When he got on and the horse didn't buck, they all wanted to know how to do it. They figured it was easier to do it my way and not get hurt so from then on, most of em paid attention.

Conceptual category four: Addressing realities of working with inmates.

Addressing realities of working with inmates referred to the awareness of the danger, resistance, outdoor venue, and challenges of working side by side with inmates incarcerated men who have been convicted of crimes against people and property. The WHIP personnel are horsemen who have received correctional officer training. Their job is to ensure the safety of horses and inmates, balanced with managing the inmate employees. Properties in this category included identifying the challenges of inmate impatience and lack of control; addressing personal and workplace safety issues; and offering link between WHIP success and life success after prison.

Identifying the challenges surfaced in the data in the following ways. Inmates are forced to work as part of their prison sentence and those who work in the WHIP may not be willing to focus on the job at hand or may attempt to pass the work on to other, therefore WHIP trainers must acknowledge the potential for inmates to be disengaged and seek ways to engage the inmate or eliminate him from the program. An except from an observation visit with the WHIP director illustrates the challenges faced and potential consequences: "*We tell em and show em what to do. This is a job for them and if they screw up, they get fired and possibly hurt.*"

Addressing personal and workplace safety issues surfaced in the data in following ways. Agricultural accidents are one of the leading causes of death and injury in the U.S and inexperienced inmates and thousand-pound wild horses creates a cautionary situation

for all. WHIP trainers must divide their attention between three safety concerns: safety of the horses through rigorous and mandated horse-handling procedures; safety for the inmates and the potential for inmates to become injured through horse related activities; and finally personal safety concerns working with inmates. WHIP personnel are trained correctional officers, yet their close proximity to the inmates prevents them from wearing weapons and they are often out in a corral or other location far from back up if needed so they must rely on their own ability to identity and prevent any inmate attack.

Offering link between WHIP success and life success after prison surfaced in the data in the following ways. Inmates may choose to work in the WHIP due to the outdoor venue and the chance to play cowboy, however, skills as an inmate horseman do not always equal interpersonal and relational skills with other inmates and staff. Therefore WHIP trainers must determine how to balance inmates desire to work with horses with behaviors acceptable to staff. An additional challenge is that of teaching those with prior knowledge or a know-it-all attitude: often inmates apply their hypermasculine physical and verbal behaviors to the horses or others in the WHIP workplace, thus remaining resistant to instruction, and endangering the horses and themselves through the horses' reactions. Reflecting on a returning inmate who failed to make it on the outside. The WHIP director commented on the potential for success for men and mustangs after the training program: —success in the WHIP does not guarantee success after parole and those who fail to make it on the outside are less likely to be welcomed back to their previous prison job; 8)—inmates who make the connection between the time and energy it takes to train a wild horse, and the time and energy it takes to create a successful and

socially appropriate life, are likely to integrate successfully into life outside of and after prison; "Our attrition rate on horses is way low, but not so good for the inmates: we got some back here cause they can't make the transition from prison life to outside life. They just don't get it."

Conceptual category five: Creating experiential learning environment.

Creating experiential learning environment referred to the process of modifying behaviors, responding to new situations, and adjusting process, outcomes and goals. Properties in this category included adapting to the audience, creating a supportive climate and applying trial and error for optimum teaching and learning outcomes.

Adapting to the audience surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers adjusted communication styles to reach individuals rather than attempting to use the same message on all. Audience adaptation also included the ability for WHIP trainers to sense the right time to add more task and cognitive pressure to increase exposure to and acceptance of uncomfortable situations.

Creating a supportive climate surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers had to following a lesson plan, maintain clear organization and expectation of completing tasks, and illustrate an interest in the horses and the inmates. Trainers also had to refraining from criticizing or condemning in recognition that an inmate may have been subjected to criticism and negative messages that may have influenced criminal and/or antisocial behavior. An additional component of creating supportive climate included using inquiry as a tool to make connections and engages inmates; WHIP trainers asked clarifying questions to identify areas that need attention. An example of a clarifying question from Ted Interview one is in relation to a training session where the horse, in the process of being saddled, became skittish and bolted around the ring. By asking, "*What do you think he needs*?" Ted offers an opportunity for the inmate to make a decision and take action rather than being told what to do.

Applying trial and error surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers identified expectations for other observing inmates thus contextualizing positive and negative results as learning opportunities The following excerpt from Ted Interview One illustrated key phrases that WHIP trainers created to cue inmates on behavior changes:

These guys got a short fuse and sometimes when they are on a horse and the horse isn't responding because the inmate doesn't know what to do, they get angry. We tell em "Step off" and we mean NOW. They get off the horse and we give em time to cool off or get a cup of coffee, then come back and talk about what went wrong.

WHIP trainers had to figure out constructive ways of deflecting inappropriate inmate behaviors such as talking too fast, arguing, and not listening. WHIP trainers had to learn to recognize behaviors that may indicate stress or fear or may be behaviors that inmates have used with success in previous situations.

Conceptual category six: Identifying the forward and positive movement of inmates.

Identifying the forward and positive movement of inmates refers to recognition of appropriate behaviors, acknowledgement of successful endeavors and support for effort and accomplishments. In order for inmates to succeed, they need to be acknowledged and rewarded for their efforts and accomplishments. Punitive actions may be what inmates are accustomed to and providing supportive actions allows encouragement to continue with efforts, even if the efforts are not always successful. Properties in this category included recognition, acknowledgement and support.

Recognition surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHP trainers had to recognize the importance of the first ride without the horse bucking, a recognition that signaled the inmates' successful preparation and completed groundwork. The following comment from Monte Interview One is applicable of all three of the properties—recognition, acknowledgement and support: "*We let em know they did a good job.*" Recognition also surfaced in the inmate peer-trainer hierarchy as experienced and effective inmate trainers moved up the training ladder to help mentor other inmates.

Acknowledgement surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers needed to: focus on inmate intention and willingness; to validate inmates' interest by acknowledging ideas and willingness to engage in creative endeavors; and to position the inmate as a peer by asking for feedback.

Support surfaced in the data in the following ways. WHIP trainers: exhibited receptivity and support through praise and clarifying inquiry; exhibited attainable goals for inmates behaviors and thoughts; commented on every unsuccessful attempt; and specifically identified actions and behaviors that resulted in positive outcomes for horse and or inmate.

The six interrelated conceptual categories illustrate the interdependency of the theory as each category relies on the other categories to provide a full framework for how WHIP trainers learn to teach inmates. Although the entry point for the communicative theory of learning how to teach is through the category of meeting the responsibilities of

the job, the entry point is part of the whole theory; each participant needs to engage in simultaneous categories and their properties. For example: Monte's work identity was that of the senior trainer. Although he had decades of horse training experience behind him and over 12 years on the job at the WHIP, Monte could not approach each day and each inmate as he had the one before. Working with inmates requires constant attention to: the immediate goal of the interchange (touch a horse, teach an inmate to use pressure-release), the long-term goal of the interchange (provide work experience for an inmate, get a horse saddle ready for adoption, prepare inmates for advanced training positions), environmental factors (heat, cold, wind, rain), personality and character traits of the inmates (willing to take directions or not, good or bad mood), and Monte's evaluation of how much could be accomplished and how he would meet that goal during each workday.

Monte's method of navigating this complex site might begin with showing up on time for work at the refurbished ranch house that functions as WHIP headquarters and reviewing a to-do list for the day (meeting the responsibilities of the job). After conferring with the program director and checking the list of inmates scheduled to work that day, Monte then drives the van the two miles to the main prison and picks up the inmates scheduled to work with WHIP (meeting the responsibilities of the job). After checking the men in for their WHIP workday and driving them back to the barns to change clothes, Monte asks for updates on each man's horses and what they plan to do that day (creating experiential learning environment). He provides advice on what progress he expects, and how to address possible challenges (establishing the work of trial and error for self and inmates). Once the men are in the round a pen working the horses, Monte is often seated on a horse so he can easily ride from pen to pen and look over the top to monitor progress and provide guidance (contemplating and enacting the process of how to pass experience to inmates). When he observes a training session that is not progressing smoothly, he confers with the inmate, often by asking questions about what the inmate thinks needs to be done (creating experiential learning environment). When the inmate provides the correct response, Monte always acknowledges their answer with "that's right" or a similar supportive response (identifying the forward and positive movement of inmates). If inmates are struggling to get a horse to do what they want, or what ought to be done, Monte will tell the inmate to "stop" and/or "stand still" (creating experiential learning environment). If the inmate is on a horse and is struggling with anger or impatience, Monte will tell them to "step off" (addressing realities of working with inmates). Monte and the other trainers assess situations that could become dangerous for horse and/or inmate and react immediately using verbal commands (meeting the responsibilities of the job). If the inmate tries to work with a horse and the effort does not succeed. Monte will ask the inmate to talk about what went wrong and what else could be done to succeed (creating experiential learning environment). If the inmate cannot articulate what happened, or does not understand what he is being asked to respond to, Monte must determine what other questions he can ask to allow the inmate time to think about and speak about the past actions and the future behaviors (establishing the work of trial and error for self and inmates). If an inmate resists Monte's directions or refuses to respond to questions, Monte does not lose his temper or raise his voice

(addressing realities of working with inmates). The consequence of an inmate refusing to cooperate or acting in a disruptive manner with horses, other inmates or WHIP personnel, is immediate suspension from the program and possibly being fired permanently (meeting the responsibilities of the job). Monte ends his day by ensuring that the training sessions for all the horses (and the inmates) end on a good note (identifying the forward and positive movement of inmates). After all the horses are put back in their pens and the inmates change back into prison clothes, Monte drives them back to the main prison and hands them over to the inside staff (meeting the responsibilities of the job). After the bus is returned to the ranch-house, Monte reviews the days' activities with the other trainers, returns phone class and emails as needed, plans the following work day activities then gets in his truck and heads for home (meeting the responsibilities of the job). Monte and the other WHIP personnel engage in the six categories endlessly throughout the day. No one category has priority over another and each category supports and merges with the others to provide an interpretive overview of the messages and actions employed by the WHIP personnel.

Grounded theory can take two forms: substantive and formal. In this study, the site was the Wild Horse Inmate Program. The six conceptual categories of the substantive theory, and their properties, functioned within the WHIP and formed the basis for the communicative theory of learning how to teach. The substantive theory could have remained within the confines of the WHIP. However, as the categories were continuously analyzed and refined, they rose to higher theoretical levels and framed a formal theory, one that could apply to conceptual areas beyond the confines of the WHIP.

Formal Theory Creation

The discovery of teaching as the main communicative message within the WHIP was astonishing. As I re-analyzed the substantive categories and their properties, I recognized how the properties of those categories could apply in other pedagogical settings, not just the WHIP. Thus the substantive categories moved from descriptors of the communicative messages within the WHIP to theoretical constructs that functioned beyond the WHIP location. A theoretical construct gives meaning to and explains observable actions and behaviors and serves as the framework for theory.

Table 3.1 links each substantive conceptual category with a formal theoretical construct.

Conceptual Categories (Substantive)	Theoretical Construct (Formal)
1. Meeting the responsibilities of the job	1. Duty
2. Establishing the work of trial and error for self and inmates	2. Reflexivity
3. Contemplating and enacting the process of how to pass experience to inmates	3. Articulation
4. Addressing realities of working with inmates	4. Assessment
5. Creating experiential learning environment	5. Adaptation
6. Identifying the forward and positive movement of inmates.	6. Acknowledgment

Table 3.1: Conceptual categories and their theoretical constructs.

Duty.

Meeting the Responsibilities of the Job became the theoretical construct of Duty represented by module one in the model. Duty—the core construct— as defined for CTLT is the set of actions and behaviors required to meet the obligations of a job or position. Duty contains the components of responsibility, obligation and commitment. Work and the workplace play a major role in shaping one's identity. However identity may shift with tasks and expectations. The core value of the self is shaped by intrapersonal communication related to self-discipline, self-determination and commitment to the job, the final product or service and to oneself. A core intrapersonal practice within Duty is decision. Duty exemplifies how individuals decide to and carry out the responsibilities of the job, including completing the tasks at hand to their best ability and in the most effective way while interacting with students and co-workers or other stakeholders. Duty relates not just to the job but also to the social and personal expectations of how one earns a living.

Duty is the core construct of the communicative theory of learning how to teach, and as the core construct, Duty also functions are the core module of the theory (see Figure 6). However, just as Meeting the responsibilities of the job was the entry point to the substantive theory, Duty is the core construct that binds the theoretical constructs together. The core construct is not relegated to a higher degree of actions and behaviors; a core construct binds all together as each component supports the others. Duty or any of the other constructs could not stand on their own and present a complete theory. A core construct is validated when it "is consistently related to whole series of variables that, when put together, yield an integrated theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 193). The core category of Duty is central to the communicative theory of learning how to teach—all categories, properties and theoretical constructs relate to Duty. Although the other constructs are situated as individual modules, the directional flow of the model is not linear. The five exterior modules are not hierarchical or chronological and no one module has more value than another. The boundaries of the modules remain semi-permeable therefore the actions and behaviors that are evidenced in one module can influence another module not directly adjacent to it. Just as teaching is a constantly evolving process, learning how to teach also remains fluid with no definitive end point. Duty is attending to the responsibilities of the job in relation to all the stakeholders (personnel, inmates, visitors and self). An example of Duty comes from my first field notes.

On my first visit to WHIP, before I received permission for interviews, I waited on a cold and windy Friday morning in the visitor parking lot at the prison's main entrance. I had passed the mandatory background check and was told that the horse adoption public visits started from the parking lot, not the prison entry building. Several other people were gathered around and we watched as a small shuttle van drove up and the driver, a man who could have come straight from central casting for a cowboy western, got out. Wearing a broad light grey felt cowboy hat, pressed jeans, cowboy boots, and a western-cut puffy jacket with a DOC logo on it, Monte was not just our driver, he was the head trainer for the DOC. He politely shook hands, checked off our names and then repeated the limitations specified in our initial application. "Always stay with the group or one of the personnel, do not go off on your own, no cameras, recording devices or cell phones." One of the male visitors spoke up: "We were told we could bring our phones as long as they were turned off." Almost before the man finished speaking, Monte looked him in the eye and quietly repeated "No cell phones."

The man seemed to hesitate and was about to dispute the instruction when something in Monte's calm and quiet manner stopped any further comment. The man turned and walked to his truck and locked his cell phone inside.

The communicative behaviors of Duty were evident in this short interchange on several levels. Monte employed his expertise and his position to provide a clear message that he was the boss and that rules had to be followed; he had a Duty to perform. Monte provided one directive with no explanation, no conditional language, no indirect language and no ambiguity. During the three interviews with Monte he commented on the challenges of working with the inmates and visitors who wanted to bend the rules a bit. He repeated his position clearly: *"I'm not gonna lose my job over it.*" He was successful as he was appointed as head trainer and maintained that position till is retirement 12 years later.

Reflexivity.

Establishing the work of trial and error for self and inmates became the theoretical construct of Reflexivity as represented by module two in the model. Reflexivity is defined for CTLT is the intentional capacity for an individual to act in an ethical and strategic manner to meet the job requirements while maintaining autonomy and individuation. Reflexivity contains the components of practice, method and observation. The core intrapersonal practice within Reflexivity is choice. Reflexivity is an example of the choice to "do the right thing" as well as doing the "thing right." Often those two actions are competing, thus another choice must be made again. If one does not attend what is not working, then the responsibilities of the job cannot be completed. When teaching, one can follow directions (a syllabus for example), and discover that the

learning objectives may not be met through the planned activities. Reflexivity allows practice of another method followed by observation of the effectiveness of the modified activities. The processes of observation, practice and method may be enacted in varied order or even concurrently as one engages in Reflexivity in order to meet the responsibilities of the job.

Reflexivity is the action of examining current processes and determining how to improve them. An example of Reflexivity comes from field notes of a paraphrased commentary from the director of the WHIP program during my sixth visit.

We started this program as way to get more inmates into work outside and maybe get some of the BLM horses adopted. We really didn't know what we were doing and just tried to break the horses by throwing a saddle on and ridin the bronc out of em. Didn't work. Inmates got hurt, wouldn't work with the horses and the horses just didn't get trained right. I started lookin into the horse whisperer methods and traveled around and attended workshops. I figured we could use the resistant free methods here and it might also help the inmates. I was the head trainer till Monte came on board. We taught the inmates how to use the resistance free methods, we call it the 90-day method and we got willing horses and more inmates who wanted to work here. We also started sending the inmates to equine science college classes at the local community college. I got trained as an instructor along with two others and we brought the classroom to the inmates. They had to study and pass tests and complete assignments before they could progress with working with any horse. The program just kind of fizzled out cause of budget cuts last year so no more college classes, but we still get the horses trained.

The communicative behaviors of Reflexivity were evident in this dialog on several levels. Building upon the construct of Duty, the WHIP Director observed the limitations and dangers of the initial training methods. He reflexively sought ways to improve or reshape the program and educated himself about other options for training horses. During his observations, he recognized methods that were successful and determined how to incorporate those methods into the WHIP. Through successful practice of those methods, the WHIP became a model itself for other wild horse training programs.

Articulation.

Contemplating and enacting the process of how to pass experience to inmates became the theoretical construct and action of articulation as represented by module three in the model. Articulation is defined for CTLT as any form of verbal or vocal expression. Articulation contains the components of the language, messages and behaviors. The core practice within Articulation is declaration. Communication apprehension and ineffective verbal communication are limiting factors for many individuals. Articulation requires the speaker overcome any communication apprehension and pay specific attention to the verbal and non-verbal construction of messages, including projection, inquiry, power, opportunity and warnings. Articulation is an example of an effective communicator who can declare goals through clear and concise instructions—messages that resonate with the listener provide opportunities for them to succeed and provide clear and concise instructions and thus meet the responsibilities of the job. The field note example from

Duty also can function as an example for Articulation and illustrates the conjoined aspects of the theory modules. However, I chose another example from my fourth visit field notes to illustrate Articulation.

I was allowed to watch Monte as he worked with a young inmate who had gotten a horse to the point of being saddled but not yet ridden. Part of the groundwork that inmates do with the horses is to use "long-reins" to teach a horse how to turn. The reins which are about 20 feet long, are attached to the bridle then slipped through the stirrups so the horse can be driven as f they were pulling a cart or wagon. The purpose of the long-reins is to help the horse learn how to yield to the bit and also to de-sensitize the horse to the feeling of objects rubbing up against him. Mustangs are sensitive and instinctually react with a buck or kick or bolt when a foreign object comes into contact with them, even if it is a soft object like a blanket or brush. To get a horse to the point of being saddled takes patience and constant "sackin-out," the process of touching the horse all over the body with different soft objects (ropes, blankets, brushes). Even when a horse has been sacked-out enough to saddle, it may still have sensitive (scary/spooky areas). The inmate had the horse in a ring and when the long reins touched the horses' flank, it jumped and bolted a bit. Monte took the reins and when the horse bolted next time, he held his position and when the horse turned to face him, he let go of the pressure on the reins. Monte then passed the reins to the inmate and asked, "What do you think he needs?" "Sacking out?' the inmate replied with rising intonation and Monte responded, "That's right. Go to the spooky place." The inmate began

to gently slap the flanks of the horse with the reins until the horse became accustomed to the feel and the motion and no longer reacted. Monte said "Good job. Good job for the day. Let's put him up now" [meaning put the horse away for the day].

The communicative behaviors of Articulation were evident in this observation on several levels. Building upon the constructs of Duty, attending to the responsibilities of the job, and Reflexivity, examining current processes and determining how to improve, Monte was able to Articulate his experiential knowledge to the inmate by asking questions, offering advice, and providing supportive messages.

Assessment.

Addressing realities of working with inmates became the theoretical construct of Assessment as represented by module four in the model. Assessment is defined for CTLT as evaluating individual behaviors and outcomes in comparison to the learning objectives as in determining what a student knows or can do. Assessment contains the components of awareness, environment and challenges. The core practice within Assessment is valuation. Teachers must place values on all their practices to determine which ones are most effective in connecting with students and achieving learning objectives. The values result in evaluation of what does and does not work. As Assessment is practiced, environment can influence the ability to complete the responsibilities of the job. Environment encompasses the concept of noise—external forces (setting, heat, cold, light, odors, sounds, peers) that influence behavior, physiological factors (fatigue, pain, lack of sleep, hunger, thirst, illness, injury) that may influence one's ability to focus on the task at hand, and psychological distractions (social construction, privacy

management, communication apprehension, social comparison) that interfere with an accurate transmission, reception or interpretation of a message. Challenges are the sum of managing the intrapersonal with the interpersonal relationships one requires in order to be an effective teacher and meet the responsibilities of the job. An excerpt from Monte's second interview provides an example of Assessment.

When I first got there, the men didn't know what I knew so they ignored me. I seen one guy standing right in front of a horse and I told him that horse could come right over the top of him and he ought to move to the side. I was riding to another pen and when I come back later, that inmate was bleeding on his face. I asked him what happened and he said, "I did what you told me not to do." I was the new guy so they didn't want to pay attention. I finally found one guy who paid attention. I worked with him as he was getting a horse ready to ride. He paid attention to what I said and on the day he was supposed to ride the horse, all the other inmates gathered around cause they were expectin a rodeo, expectin the horse to buck. When he got on and the horse didn't buck, they all wanted to know how to do it. They figured it was easier to do it my way and not get hurt so from then on, most of em paid attention.

The communicative behaviors of Assessment were evident in this interview excerpt on several levels. Building upon the constructs of Duty, attending to the responsibilities of the job, Reflexivity, examining current processes and determining how to improve, and Articulation, offering advice and providing supportive messages, Monte was able to Assess what the inmates needed to know and how best to get their attention and their support.

Adaptation.

Creating experiential learning environment became the theoretical construct of Adaptation as represented by module five in the model. Adaptation is defined for CTLT as behavior changes in response to environmental or social change. Adaptation contains the components of modification, response and adjustment. The core practice within Adaptation is action. Deferring to H.G. Wells declaration "Adapt or perish," learning how to teach requires that one be able and willing to adapt to personal and student behaviors, personalities, learning styles and goals. One must also be willing and able to change: to take necessary action, to continually experiment in order to meet the responsibilities of the job. An excerpt from Monte's first interview provides an example of Adaptation.

I learned how to teach. At the track, I told em what to do and they did it. Most of em knew how to work with horses, and if they didn't, someone else they worked with showed em. In the prison, no one knew what to do. If they did, or thought they did, usually wrong and I had to correct em. I had to show em how to work with horses, what to do, and then help em do it on their own, not me doing it for em. Took a while to figure out how to teach them what I already knew how to do.

The communicative behaviors of Adaptation were evident in this interview excerpt on several levels. Building upon the constructs of Duty, attending to the responsibilities of the job, Reflexivity, examining current processes and determining how to improve, Articulation, offering advice and providing supportive messages and

Assessment, evaluating what the inmates needed to know and how best to get their attention and their support, Monte Adapted his previous instructional experiences working on the racetrack with people who knew horses, to the inmates who had no horse experience.

Acknowledgement.

Identifying the forward and positive movement of inmates became the theoretical construct of Acknowledgment as represented by module six in the model. Acknowledgement is defined for CTLT as recognition of self and students as valued and vital participants in the learning process. Acknowledgment contains the components of recognition, appreciation and support. The core practice within Acknowledgement is approval. Hyde (2005) provided a turning point in my own life when I read *The Life-Giving Gift of Acknowledgment*. Effective teaching requires that students want to learn, and are rewarded with Acknowledgement—grade, recognition, smile, handshake, positive comment—when they do learn or even make an attempt. Recognizing the power of Acknowledgment allows a continuous message of support for self and students. An excerpt from field notes provides an example of Acknowledgment.

I got to watch Monte while he coached an inmate who was getting on a horse for the first time (for the horse). His paraphrased instructions were: *Just do it. Stop bein tense or hesitant. Go to the other side and just step on. Step on. Rub him all over, let him know you're partners. Real soft, one step. Now go. Jus be part of im. If he tenses up, one rein stop. Go ahead and trot, ask him to trot. Just be, just let it go, let it go. Don't kick him hard. Just ask, just tap. Tap, tap tap tap tap tap. And* pet him, pet him all over. Release that head and pet. Step down. Pretty good job. Excellent job. Put him up on a good note.

The communicative behaviors of Acknowledgment were evident in this interview excerpt on several levels. Building upon the constructs of Duty, attending to the responsibilities of the job, Reflexivity, examining current processes and determining how to improve, Articulation, offering advice and providing supportive messages and Assessment, evaluating what the inmates needed to know and how best to get their attention and their support, and Adaptation, taking necessary action to experiment with what works and what does not, Monte Acknowledged the actions and success of the inmate. The success of getting on a horse for the first time without it bucking is the culmination of months of groundwork and Monte's praise spoke to the effort that lead to the first ride.

Substantive and Formal Grounded Theories

A substantive theory is "a theoretical interpretation or explanation of s delimited problem in a particular area" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 189) such as patient care or specifically in this study, the particular area or context was the Wild Horse Inmate Project. Substantive theories can be effective and site-static interpretations of the actions, behaviors, predictions and outcomes in specific contexts. Substantive theories also form the foundation of formal theories: a formal theory can only emerge from a substantive theory. A formal theory is "a theoretical rendering of a generic issue or process that cuts across several substantive areas of study" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 187). A theoretical rendering could apply to conceptual areas such as identity or culture. A formal theory elevates the actions and behaviors observed in a substantive theory to a higher level of interaction that is not limited by the initial context of the study. As the communicative messages within the WHIP emerged within the substantive area of the WHIP site, six substantive processes resulted. These processes for learning how to teach emerged from the substantive context of the WHIP and were elevated to a formal theory rendering of the process of learning how to teach—in the WHIP as well as other contexts. Table 3.2 illustrates the transition of substantive to formal processes and the components of the formal theory.

Substantive theory	Formal Theory	Formal Theory components
Meeting the responsibilities	Duty	Responsibility, obligation
of the job.		and commitment
Establishing the work of trial	Reflexivity	Practice, method and
and error for self and inmates		observation
Creating experiential learning	Adaptation	Modification, response,
environment		adjustment
Contemplating and enacting	Articulation	Language, messages,
the process of how to pass		behaviors
experience to inmates.		
Addressing realities of	Assessment	Awareness, appraisal,
working with inmates.		evaluation
Identifying the forward and	Acknowledgement	Recognition,
positive movement of		acknowledgement, support
inmates.		

Table 3.2: Substantive to Formal Process

Informed by Strauss & Corbin's (1990) definition of grounded theory as "an action oriented model" (p. 123), the theoretical constructs formed the model of the communicative theory of learning how to teach (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2: The Communicative Theory of Learning How to Teach Model

Duty as the core construct is the binding force of the theory as it influences all the other modules. However, neither Duty nor any other module can stand alone. Duty is the basis for learning how to teach and each of the other modules support the structure as a whole. As evidenced through excerpts and observations, each of the six module constructs can be found within almost every bit of data. One construct may be more prevalent than another, but no module can stand alone. The communicative theory of learning how to teach is integration, at times simultaneous, of the six constructs. Each construct serves a distinct purpose and includes specific communicative actions; however, all constructs are necessary and conjoined in their purpose. The purpose is to provide direction, framework and specific communicative actions to anyone who learns how to teach.

Chapter Four: Discussion

Communication is a necessary and expected component of teaching. Learning how to teach, however, functions as a discreet communicative act in which participants engage in constant specific and intentional actions in order to pass academic and experiential knowledge onto students. The communicative theory of learning how to teach (referred to hereafter as CTLT) is a grounded theory loosely constructed along the lines of an interpretive theory. This discussion chapter will: situate the CTLT as an loose version of an interpretive theory; individually examine the six core communicative constructs of the CTLT as presented through the lens of relevant literature from a variety of academic disciplines; and how CTLT contributes to communication studies.

Communicative theory of Learning How to Teach Construct

Messages are the core of the CTLT and reflect the research question that framed this study: What are the communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Project? CTLT deals specifically with the messages that emerged from interactions between WHIP personnel, inmates and visitors to the site. These messages are evident in each word, gesture, utterance and action of all of the observed parties. CTLT examined and interpreted the actions and behaviors of the DOC trainers as they sought to teach inmates how to train wild horses. CTLT further offers an explanation of how one learns how to teach. CTLT serves three purposes. First, CTLT situates learning how to teach as a cohesive communicative act rather than discreet communicative acts cobbled together as the literature seems to suggest. Second, CTLT provides a distinct structure, a theoretical model that illustrates, interprets and predicts the conjoined components of the process of learning how to teach. Third, the CTLT provides specific guidance for those learning how to teach.

CTLT assumes that those who teach do so as a way to earn income and achieve professional and personal satisfaction. Teachers' truths or "metaphysics—as personal theories" (Edwards 2011) may be linked to standards such as status, social rapport, power, community involvement, and autonomy and intellectual stimulation. CTLT assumes that teachers seek to influence others and to provide guidance as part of the knowledge creation process. One of the purposes of CTLT is to provide a guide for interpreting the complex process of learning how to teach. Although beginning teachers may enter the teaching field knowing what to teach based on their academic work, what they are missing is specific guidance on how to get to the point where they can teach the knowledge that they know. The value of CTLT is to provide a view into the structure, process, outcomes and expectations of learning how to teach.

I draw upon Griffins' (2012) six interpretive standards for loosely determining a effective interpretive theory to frame CTLT as an interpretive theory: new understanding of people, clarification of values, aesthetic appeal, community agreement, reform of society and qualitative research. I intentionally use the term "loosely" to distinguish grounded theory, a mid-range theory, from the grand theories. First, CTLT provides a

new understanding of how people learn how to teach. Although teachers may know what to teach, they are often not taught how to teach and CTLT provides an opportunity to teach how to teach or for those who do not have teachers to learn how to teach on their own. Second, CTLT clarifies the values of those who choose to learn how to teach. Intentionality and specific goals and objectives drive most people who teach and CTLT provides opportunities for teachers to engage in the theory as participants and co-creators, just as I did when I provided opportunities for those I observed to clarify and portray the values they brought to their task. Third, CTLT provides aesthetic appeal with: a global and interconnected model; an appreciation of the complex and continuous challenge of any teaching position, and an illustration of how learning how to teach is a process that I observed and I was able to benefit from the findings. The fourth standard, community agreement is difficult to meet because "an interpretive theory can't meet the community of agreement standard unless it becomes the subject of widespread analysis" (Griffin, 2012, p. 33). This fourth standard is one of the "loose" standards, as CTLT, a newly developed grounded theory, has not been subjected to any interdisciplinary analysis. However, I believe that if CTLT progresses from a grounded theory to a grand theory, it has the potential to meet a community of agreement standard. I believe that CTLT can be viewed as a sound argument for the process of learning how to teach in many contexts and CTLT may enjoy interdisciplinary application beyond the borders of communication studies. Fifth, I believe that CTLT may contribute to the reform of society by improving the status and pay scale for those who educate. Compared to other professionals within the USA, teachers end to rank low on social capital scale as well as the pay scale based

on their educational achievements. I suggest that CTLT can be used as a means of reframing teacher's identities as stakeholders and role models for the future social growth, gainful employment, new technologies, governmental development and general improvement of the quality of life for students. Griffin's (2012) sixth standard of interpretive theory is qualitative research and CTLT, as a grounded theory, relies entirely on data collected from ethnography, texts and interviews.

Extending beyond Griffins' (2012) interpretive standards, CTLT further clarifies the complex communicative acts involved in learning how to teach and organizes, interprets and provides examples of how each component supports those engaged in teaching. CTLT suggests that the theory model and all six modules provide a universal pattern of the process of learning how to teach, a pattern that applies beyond the boundaries of the Wild Horse Inmate Project.

CTLT's Extension of Extant Literature

If teachers cannot thrive, neither can students. Thus the focus on learning how to teach is of primary significance. Teaching can occur in two contexts. The first is the formal area of teaching within classrooms, training programs and structured learning environments. The second is the informal area of teaching to within the workplace, as a component of completing the tasks required. The selected literature review below will examine how teaching is learned and applied to formal contexts. The strengths of the literature include the broad range of contexts in which teaching occurs and the focus on teaching as the basis for student success. The agency of the teacher as participant in the learning process takes the teacher-student interaction into an interdependent relationship. Additionally, the complexity of the teaching process illuminates the necessity for interdisciplinary attention to teaching teachers how to teach by addressing expectations, learning/teaching styles, the role of personal experience and the challenge of adapting to changing environments. Extant literature also demonstrates how the patterns that emerged supported or was linked to the six modules of the communicative theory of learning how to teach.

Teaching is an ongoing communicative and cognitive process requiring effective intrapersonal and interpersonal skills. The weaknesses of the current literature reflect the lack of relevant communication research specific to teaching as a communicative act and an examination or interpretation of the processes involved in learning how to teach. Even within the teacher education literature, little focus is specifically directed to learning how to teach within any discipline.

What is missing from the literature is research specific to learning how to teach as a communicative act. Although the components of the communicative theory of learning how to teach can be picked up as separate units of behavior, there is no cohesive acknowledgment that learning how to teach is an educational endeavor which stands apart from general education. Teachers are taught or told what to teach but not how to teach. The next step for communication research is awareness that learning how to teach stands as a discreet unit of communicative interaction: learning how to teach is a communicative act. Building upon that awareness, communication scholars can reflect on how they learned to teach what they know, and determine effective means to pass that knowledge on to others.

The CTLT extends extant research significantly, demonstrating that learning how to teach has yet to be researched as a distinct and cohesive communicative act. The major findings that created the framework for the communicative theory of learning how to teach are consistent with research findings from contexts in which teaching is the task and imparting knowledge to students is the objective.

In the following section, I articulate the CTLT core communication constructs indexing relevant literature from a variety of academic disciplines. The themes within the literature support the six components of the communicative theory of learning how to teach: duty, reflexivity, articulation, assessment, adaptation and acknowledgement. My initial coding and analysis resulted in10 sub-themes for each theme. For example, properties in the category of meeting the responsibilities of the job included and were not limited to: 1) demonstrating personal control; 2) reflecting on personal commitment; 3) disclosing personal doubt; 4) categorizing benefits of job, workplace and co-workers; 5) establishing authority for position; 6) addressing personal safety issues; 7) identifying challenges to teaching; 8) articulating personal ethos and behavior; 9) recognizing self as an outsider: and 10) recognizing responsibility to inmates regardless of personal opinion. As I created the conceptual categories, I also conceptualized the properties as sub-themes and strove to limit each theme to the three most-robust and identifiable sub-themes. I used the focused coding analysis to help me merge some sub-themes into others and to eliminate sub-themes that did not illustrate behaviors and actions applicable to the communicative theory of learning how to teach. Thus meeting the responsibility of the

job became the theme and conceptual category of duty and the 10 properties became the sub-themes of responsibility, obligation and commitment.

Theme A: Duty.

Duty as defined for CTLT is the set of actions and behaviors required to meet the obligations of a job or position. The core construct and properties of duty within the CTLT encompasses the components of responsibility, obligation and commitment to complete the expected requirements of the job. Responsibility is the adherence to and awareness of behaviors inherent to the job/position that impact any stakeholder. Obligation is the legal, moral and or ethical decision to function to the best of one's ability. Commitment is completing the tasks at hand to the teachers' best ability.

Work and the workplace play a major role in shaping one's identity. However identity may shift with tasks and expectations. The core value of the self is shaped by intrapersonal communication related to self-discipline, self-determination and commitment to the job, the final product or service and to oneself. A core intrapersonal practice within Duty is decision. Duty exemplifies how individuals decide to and carry out the responsibilities of the job, including completing the tasks at hand to their best ability and in the most effective way while interacting with students and co-workers or other stakeholders. Duty relates not just to the job but also to the social and personal expectations of how one earns a living. An examination of extant literature will provide discreet views of responsibility, obligation and commitment through varied academic lenses.

Sub-theme—Responsibility.

Hussong & Christian (2012) asked participants (library faculty and graduate students) to rate the effectiveness of a Framework for Teaching Excellence. The FTE instrument sought to address the challenge of university teachers not being adequately prepared by their graduate institutions to take on the primary goal of teaching. Findings indicated that meeting instructional competencies is only the beginning of a teachers' journey and continued reflection and goal setting were necessary to adopt and maintain an attitude of instructional, personal and professional growth and responsibility.

CTLT extends the understanding of responsibility by demonstrating awareness of accountability to all students and provide equal support and assistance to all. Further actions of responsibility include showing up to work on time, and attending to the myriad of tasks required performing the job.

Sub-theme – Obligation.

Park and Oliver (2008) queried: "how does the NBC (National Board Certification) process, in particular the portfolio creation process, influence the development of candidate teachers' PCK (Pedagogical Content Knowledge)?" (p. 813). Utilizing qualitative methods (observations, field notes, interviews, lesson plans), the study focused on three experienced high school science teachers. PCK, as applied to the NBC, resulted in five behaviors specific to outstanding teachers and their ability to meet the obligations of their job: reflection, implementation of new teaching strategies, inquiry, assessment and relationships with students. Focusing on the emotional response to assessments, Steinberg's (2008) literature review framed the obligation associated with teaching as an emotional practice and how emotions may reflect teacher values and engagement with students. Discussion centered on the professional and personal tensions of assessment, accountability, outcomes and professional identity.

CTLT extends the understanding of obligation by accepting that a job means more than just meeting the requirements of the employer. Obligation also means meeting one's own dedication to and awareness of one's own contributions to the overall functioning of the organization.

Sub-theme—Commitment.

Shukla (2013) examined the oral presentation communication skills and expectations of 178 engineering students. Participants were selected using the Simple Random Sampling method of data collection. Qualitative data from questionnaires indicated that more than 50% of participants felt unprepared about how to incorporate soft skills in order to be competitive in the engineering job market. Citing poor communication skills as a deterrent to engineering students obtaining gainful employment, recommendations for improving how teachers commit to and maintain responsibility to their students through communication skills teaching, were suggested.

The positive dispositions of character, intellect and care are redefined and constructed as virtues necessary for successful teachers. Utilizing Canadian education philosopher Hare's work on open-mindedness, Sockett (2009) created a series of questions that teachers and teachers-in-training can ask themselves. Responding to these questions may provide the personal connection necessary to address the fundamentals of the complex responsibilities and commitment teachers create and bring to their profession.

CTLT extends the understanding of commitment by: identifying challenges to teaching students; articulating and modeling the necessary hierarchical behavior to create and maintain the status of leader; proving that one has skills and abilities that students do not; by admitting that not all students are willing learners; by accepting that students' differing communicative styles might inhibit message receipt; and by fostering awareness that passing academic and experiential knowledge from self to others can be challenging.

Theme B—Reflexivity.

The construct and properties of reflexivity are consistent with observed and recorded behaviors of agency (Allen, Ploeg & Kaasalainen, 2012), observation (Runyon, Zahm, Veach, MacFarlane & LeRoy, 2010) and method (Benken & Brown, 2008). Reflexivity is defined for CTLT is the intentional capacity for an individual to act in an ethical and strategic manner to meet the job requirements while maintaining autonomy and individuation. Reflexivity contains the components of agency, observation and method. Agency is an individuals' capacity to act of their own free will and make choices. Observation is the practice of observing, recording and interpreting behaviors. Method is the practice of applied process, steps or procedures in order to achieve a goal.

The core intrapersonal practice within Reflexivity is choice. Reflexivity is an example of the choice to do the right thing as well as doing the thing right. Often those two actions are competing, thus another choice must be made again. If one does not attend to what is not working, then the responsibilities of the job cannot be completed.

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When teaching, one can follow directions (a syllabus for example), and discover that the learning objectives may not be met through the planned activities. Reflexivity allows practice of another method followed by observation of the effectiveness of the modified activities. The processes of observation, practice and method may be enacted in varied order or even concurrently as one engages in Reflexivity in order to meet the responsibilities of the job.

Reflexivity is the action of examining current processes and determining how to improve them.

Sub-theme—Agency.

Allen, Ploeg and Laasalainen (2013) defined emotional intelligence and sought to "describe the relationship between EI and clinical teaching effectiveness of nursing faculty" (p. 233). Participants were 47 full and part-time faculty members teaching second and third year clinical courses at a four-year bachelor of science in nursing program. Quantitative analysis of the Emotional Quotient Inventory and the Nursing Clinical Teaching Effectiveness Instrument found positive and significant relationships between the scores. Emotional intelligence and opportunities to enhance emotional intelligence may provide more empowered and more effective nursing faculty.

Runyon, Zahm, McCarthy Veach, MacFarlane and LeRoy (2010) defined professional development and investigated "genetic counselors' perceptions of their post-degree learning and compare themes of learning to those of psychotherapist professional development models" (p. 371). Participants included 185 genetic counselors that completed an online anonymous survey. Content analysis of the responses to openended questions resulted in three themes: "intrapersonal lessons, interpersonal lessons and professional lessons" (p. 374). Findings indicated that professional development relies on intrapersonal and interpersonal effectiveness. PD processes and outcomes include supervision, patient interaction and self-reflection.

CTLT extends the understanding of agency by seeking ways to improve or reshape the teaching and learning process.

Sub-theme – Observation.

Teacher knowledge examined through a literature review focused on aspects of content, curriculum, communication and global view-based on personal experience (Ben-Peretz, 2011). Nine papers spanning a publication period of 20 years were chosen from *Teacher and Teaching Education*. Papers were analyzed according to: "definition of teacher knowledge; mode of inquiry; emphasis on subject matter, teacher, learner and/or milieu; and emphasis on one or more kinds of teacher knowledge" (p. 3). Findings indicate that societal issues and personal development support how teachers link knowledge and practice in the classroom.

Bransford (2007) examined cross-disciplinary educational strategies through a series of five questions designed to elicit transformative options for education in a rapidly changing world. "How is our world changing? Are we helping people become adaptive? New units of analysis? How can we help people become more adaptive? New metrics for success?" Findings indicate that educational transformations require individuals capable of adaptation and innovation in order to keep up with rapidly changing work environments. Adaptive expertise is the process necessary for students and teachers in order to impart and retain knowledge and skills that translate to success in long-term success in work environments. Adaptive expertise also means creating a collaborative learning community across disciplines.

CTLT extends the understanding of observation by recognizing the strengths and limitations of teaching programs, and by determined how to incorporate those strengths and eliminate those limitations.

Sub-theme—Method.

Benken and Brown (2008) examined "What changes occur in teacher candidates' conceptions toward mathematics, toward teaching, and toward learning during their tenure in this [teacher training] program?" (p. 2). Participants were 510 elementary education students who engaged in series of sample course activities and hypothetical student responses/reactions, designing curriculum standards, assessments and authentic units of study. Pre and post-activity survey responses were analyzed using [qualitative] direct interpretation, [aggregated] coded categories, and data comparison among data sets. Findings were constructed as four guiding principles: "(1) Understanding of the connection between content and practice, (2) Views of mathematics as a discipline, (3) Translation of the learning experience to practice, and (4) Affective perspectives toward mathematics, teaching, and learning" (p. 8). The four principles focus on method as a framework for improved conceptions of the job.

CTLT extends the understanding of method by focusing on the trial and error activities, recognizing the procedural aspects of those activities, elevating those

procedure to definitive and processual methods and promoting successful practice of those methods.

Theme C—Articulation.

The construct and properties of articulation are consistent with observed and recorded behaviors of language (Tasker, Johnson & Davis, 2010), messages (McCrosky, Richmond & McCrosky, 2005) and behaviors (Dozier & Rutten, 2005). Articulation is defined for CTLT as any form of verbal or vocal expression. Articulation contains the components of the language, messages and behaviors. Language is any spoken or written expression of thoughts or ideas. Messages are any verbal or non-verbal expressions of thoughts or ideas. Behaviors are non-verbal expressions indicating intrapersonal or interpersonal communication.

The core practice within Articulation is declaration. Communication apprehension and ineffective verbal communication are limiting factors for many individuals. Articulation requires the speaker overcome any communication apprehension and pay specific attention to the verbal and non-verbal construction of messages, including projection, inquiry, power, opportunity and warnings. Articulation is an example of an effective communicator who can declare goals through clear and concise instructions messages that resonate with the listener, provide opportunities for them to succeed and provide clear and concise instructions and thus meet the responsibilities of the job.

Sub-theme—Language.

Dozier & Rutten (2005) focused on "ways to mediate transfer of responsive teaching" (p. 466). Participants included 12 female teaching students enrolled in a master's degree capstone practicum course teaching elementary students enrolled in a

Literacy Lab. Finding indicate that responsive teaching incorporates the constructs of preparation for future teaching and transfer of knowledge through intentionality, enactment and articulation.

Over a three-year period, 60 teacher trainees completed questionnaires and follow-up interviews to determine how articulating their personal practical knowledge while in the classroom, informed their success and supported their professional satisfaction. Using a mixed-methods analysis, Sen (2010) used collected data to create an audit trail resulting in images, metaphors and personal philosophies of participants. Participant responses were compared to each other and participants also commented on data. Findings indicate that teacher trainees learn to analyze their teaching methods and decisions through articulation of problems and problem solving and these findings can be applied to in-service teachers.

CTLT extends the understanding of language by focusing on the importance of key words and phrases that function to inform and inspire students to action.

Sub-theme – Messages.

Experiential methods of teaching communication skills are adapted to medical students engaged in role-play through structured roles, contexts and scripts written by speech communication instructors. Kopenen, Pyorala & Isotalus (2010) applied the learning method, Theatre in Education (TIE), was applied to 43 medical students who role-played the doctor-patient interaction of the initial medical consultation. Transcripts, questionnaires and group interviews were analyzed using content analysis. Findings indicated that TIE provided valuable and applicable skills for initial interviews however,

this specific TIE activity could not guarantee successful communication in all other doctor-patient interactions.

Applying a Vigotskian sociocultural theory to analyze one ESL teacher-authored narrative, Tasker, Johnson & Davis (2010) evaluate inquire-based professional development as a cooperative (self) development goal. Cooperative development provides opportunities to articulate thoughts, actions, plans and processes to facilitate transforming and improving teaching experiences and student outcomes. A grounded content analysis examined direct quotes from the narrative. Findings indicated that sustained participation in cooperative development is effective in teacher learning.

CTLT extends the understanding of messages by recognizing the consistent patterns of expression that pass between teachers and students.

Sub-theme—Behaviors.

The *Getting Started* chapter of McCrosky, Richmond & McCroskey's (2005) text identifies three levels of teacher initiated or outwardly directed classroom communication: cultural, sociological and psychological. Suggestions for relating to a variety of students are presented as effective ways to manage classroom communication and meet personal and professional objectives.

Articulating knowledge and the experiential learning process is a major component of attaining and exhibiting proficiency and expertise in the nursing field. Carr (2005) examined "the potential value and contribution of hermeneutic phenomenology and constructivist approaches ... as a means of addressing some of the learning practice challenges" (p. 334). Commencing with a review of the literature, the author then defines and explains practice knowledge and the lived-experience approach of nursing learning. Specific practice perspectives combined observation with follow-on dialoguing and practice narrative recordings and transcript discussions. Findings suggest that livedexperience and meaning creation provide value for knowing and articulating nursing.

CTLT extends the understanding of behaviors by the focus on the modeling of actions and movements that extend knowledge from teacher to student.

Theme D—Assessment.

The construct and properties of assessment are consistent with observed and recorded behaviors of awareness (Fisette & Franck, 2012), appraisal (Garrow & Tawse, 2009) and evaluation (Stowers & Barker, 2010). Assessment is defined for CTLT as evaluating individual behaviors and outcomes in comparison to the learning objectives. Assessment contains the components of awareness, appraisal and evaluation. Awareness is the application of physical and cognitive receptors to monitor and respond to social and environmental factors. Appraisal is the ability to categorize the usefulness of the behaviors and outcomes. Evaluation is the comparison of actions and outcomes to expectations.

The core practice within Assessment is valuation. Teachers must place values on all their practices to determine which ones are most effective in connecting with students and achieving learning objectives. The values result in evaluation of what does and does not work. As Assessment is practiced, environment can influence the ability to complete the responsibilities of the job. Environment encompasses the concept of noise—external forces (setting, heat, cold, light, odors, sounds, peers) that influence behavior, physiological factors (fatigue, pain, lack of sleep, hunger, thirst, illness, injury) that may

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influence one's ability to focus on the task at hand, and psychological distractions (social construction, privacy management, communication apprehension, social comparison) that interfere with an accurate transmission, reception or interpretation of a message. Challenges are the sum of managing the intrapersonal with the interpersonal relationships one requires in order to be an effective teacher and meet the responsibilities of the job.

Sub-theme—Awareness.

Examined differences between teacher practices and beliefs, focused on professional development and classroom practice and deconstructed the pedagogical dominance of the teachers' presence and behaviors. Mixed methods of factor analysis of questionnaire responses and interview transcripts of 21 teacher trainees sought to discover how the relationship between teacher values and beliefs enable them to learn how to teach. Additional data from 20 participating schools provided analysis of embedded case studies identified patterns of successful practices and procedures. Brandom, Carmichael & Marshall (2005) found that teacher trainees benefitted from assessing their own values and beliefs in relation to pupil learning and autonomy and self-reflection between formative assessment and pupil learning.

CTLT extends the understanding of awareness by sensitizing teachers to their own reactions and responses and adjusting to meet the needs of the students.

Sub-theme – Appraisal.

Garrow & Tawse (2009) "explore the experience of new academic staff in relation to the assessment process in pre-registration nurse education" (p. 581). Participants were six nursing faculty who had been on the job for two years or less. Data from interviews created from a phenomenological approach were analyzed using the Framework Technique, a variation of grounded theory analysis. Findings suggest how new academics engage in assessment through knowledge conversion and communities of practice. Mentorship and guidance were valued and suggestions for improving knowledge impartment from existing to new faculty were offered.

Coaching and mentoring as implicit leadership activities for college faculty are examined constructs for creating learning objectives and creating supportive relationships to allow students to reach those objectives. Distinguishing coaching and mentoring and behaviors and communicative messages discreet to each, Stowers & Barker (2010) situate coaching and mentoring as integral components of organizational faculty duties. Focusing on organizational communication faculty, benefits of coaching and mentoring are suggested as well as cautions about timing, misinterpretation and student resistance to these activities.

CTLT extends the understanding of appraisal by moving beyond test results and applying cognitive behavior restructuring opportunities for students.

Sub-theme—Evaluation.

Formative assessments (assessment for learning) focus on the mastery of skills before students move on to new learning activities. Pre assessments provide baselines from which to build upon and peer assessment and teacher observation are effective assessment strategies. Fisette & Franck (2012) distinguish formative and summative assessment and describe how formative assessments can inform student learning outcomes and instruction processes and goals. The PE Metrics K-12 Assessment provides options for teachers to match assessment goals with student abilities. Findings indicate that integration of formative assessments into lesson plans provide measureable and accurate means of determining student success.

Mertler (2009) examined the contradictions between student teacher assessment training and the national focus on student assessment and application of assessment techniques and student learning outcomes in the classroom. Participants were seven inservice elementary school teachers who participated in a two-week workshop on assessment decision-making. Mixed methods data collection (pre and post tests and reflective journals) and analysis (quantitative mean scores and content analysis), resulted in 1) significant improvement on the *Assessment Literacy Inventory* instrument, 2) better comprehension of nine performance assessments and 3) improved confidence and competency of self reflection of teaching activities.

CTLT extends the understanding of evaluation by engaging students as active participants in their learning.

Theme E—Adaptation.

The construct and properties of adaptation are consistent with observed and recorded behaviors of modification (Pierce & Martinez, 2012) response (Hyvarinen, Tanskanen, Katajavouri & Isolatus, 2010) and adjustment (Pulakos, Arad, Donovan & Plamondon, 2000). Adaptation is defined for CTLT as behavior changes in response to environmental or social change. Adaptation contains the components of modification, response and adjustment. Modification is the action of changing behaviors used in the past. Response is the verbal or non-verbal reply to inquiry or external or social change. Adjustment is the fine-tuning and continuous application of successful processes and procedures.

The core practice within Adaptation is action. Learning how to teach requires that one be able and willing to adapt to personal and student behaviors, personalities, learning styles and goals. One must also be willing and able to change: to take necessary action, to continually experiment in order to meet the responsibilities of the job.

Sub-theme—Modification.

Hammerness, Darling-Hammond, Bransford, Berliner, Cochran-Smith, McDonald & Zeichner (2005) reviewed teacher learning and development research and examined lifelong learning, adaptive expertise, apprenticeship, and cognitive development function to provide opportunities for faculty professional development. Three prominent problems are described: 1) how do teachers learn to teach in ways which may differ from how they learned or were taught, 2) how do teachers take their knowledge and apply it in timely and effective ways and 3) how do teachers multi-task the complex nature of student personalities, learning styles and classroom events. The model of Learning to Teach in Community provides a framework and illustration of the interrelationships between teacher learning, development and context.

Pierce & Martinez (2012) reviewed 300 essays by members of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication to catalog effective ways to learn how to and to improve teaching at the college level. The problem of doctoral students not being prepared to teach is examined through a survey sent to randomly selected journalism and mass communication faculty. Surveys consisted of open-ended questions and 333 participants responded. Findings indicated that self-identified successful teachers integrated communication theory with learning theory and applied as the scholarship of teaching; the study of teaching and learning.

CTLT extends the understanding of modification by building on the framework of academic and experiential knowledge while remaining open to new information and actions.

Sub-theme – Response.

Pulakos, Arad, Donovan & Plamondon (2000) defined adaptive performance (AP) and sought to create a taxonomy of AP job performance. AP includes three specific behaviors: 1) creative problem solving, 2) dealing with uncertain or changing situations and 3) learning job specific tasks. After reviewing 9.462 critical incidents from 21 different jobs in 11 different organizational cultures, 150 incidents were chosen by independent industrial-organizational psychologists, as reflective of some example of AP on the job. Content analysis of the incidents resulted in a taxonomy of eight dimensions of adaptive performance. The taxonomy may be used for employee selection, assessing past AP during critical incidents, and finally training for future critical incidents.

Citing evidence that a large percentage of Graduate Teaching Assistant's (GTA's) are unprepared or poorly prepared to teach, DeChenne, Lesseig, Anderson, Li Straus & Bartel (2012) developed a needs assessment instrument (GTA Professional Development Instrument) to assess GTA programs, thus improving graduates' abilities to work as effective teachers. Quantitative confirmatory factor analysis compared responses from 239 graduate students in an initial pilot and one follow-up study. Data was collected

through online surveys. Respondents prioritized 12 topics to include in GTA training. Finding indicated that the GTA Professional Development Instrument might be useful for STEM departments as a developmental and evaluative tool.

CTLT extends the understanding of response by prioritizing the need to create and build substantial relationships with students by answering questions and providing timely feedback on assignments.

Sub-theme—Adjustment.

Hyvarinen, Tanskanen, Katajavouri & Isotalus (2010) examined the Communication in Discipline (CID) program and it's effect on learning outcomes for students and mentors across disciplines. A discipline specific teaching method was developed for undergraduate pharmacy students. Participants included 411 students and 64 mentors from schools and training pharmacies. Over a two-year period, participants responded to online questionnaires and completed reflexive essays. A mixed method data analysis illustrated key competencies specific to the task and the discipline. Findings indicated that although students benefited from the mentor presence, mentors increased their awareness and knowledge of effective communication skills to use with students.

Situating teacher knowledge as personal and practical, the importance of teachers' identities and experiences in and out of the classroom are factors in effective learning for students. Connelly, Clandenin & He (1997) identify terms and methods for studying teachers' personal practical knowledge and situate their approach to teacher study. Upon providing a history of teacher research, personal practical knowledge is defined and a series of qualitative data collection methods is listed under the broad heading of field

notes. Concluding thoughts link ideas with the practice of teaching and learning and how teachers know what they know and the context within which the knowing evolves and is applied.

CTLT extends the understanding of adjustment by focusing on the continuous nature of teaching and how successful practices require constant attention and updating.

Theme F—Acknowledgement.

The construct and properties of acknowledgement are consistent with observed and recorded behaviors of recognition (Edwards, 2011), acceptance (Harrison, 2005) and support (Black, DiPietro, Ferdig & Polling, 2009). Acknowledgement is defined for CTLT as recognition of self and students as valued and vital participants in the learning process. Acknowledgment contains the components of recognition, acceptance and support. Recognition is the ability and willingness to make connections with each student. Acceptance is the practice of allowing students to learn in the way that best suits them. Support is the physical and emotional presence one can provide to students.

The core practice within Acknowledgement is approval. Hyde (2005) provided a turning point in my own life when I read *The Life-Giving Gift of Acknowledgment*. Effective teaching requires that students want to learn, and are rewarded with Acknowledgement—grade, recognition, smile, handshake, positive comment—when they do learn or even make an attempt. Recognizing the power of Acknowledgment allows a continuous message of support for self and students.

Sub-theme—Recognition.

Black, DiPietro, Ferdig & Polling (2009) sought to qualitatively analyze successful and best-practice strategies from online instructors. Sixteen virtual school

instructors across various disciplines responded to a series of interviews delivered in an online format. Responses addressed questions relating to general teaching strategies, content and technology use. Grounded theory analysis coded data and constantly compared data sets to result in two major findings regarding successful online teachers: personal characteristics (organization, commitment, flexibility, technical aptitude and content expertise) and pedagogical strategies (support/acknowledgement, assessment and engagement) evident in and practiced by all participants.

Harrison (2005) sought "to encourage teachers to reflect on their current practices and to gauge and try out what they considered workable formative strategies within their school context" (p. 256). Participants were 36 science, math and English teachers already engaged in an 18-month study including in-service, observations, classroom and strategic planning activities focused on supporting and developing action plans to incorporate into future teaching. The goal of the existing study was to allow creative space for teachers to develop new teaching techniques and knowledge grounded in practice. Findings indicated that focusing on student engagement rather than correct answers, teacher candidates improved the quality of instruction, the classroom environment and their own engagement with the content and the students. Teachers employed support/acknowledgement by discussing student strengths/weaknesses and allowing students to begin to take responsibility for their own success, success as attempts/problem solving.

CTLT extends the understanding of recognition by prioritizing the need to make connections with each student.

Sub-theme – Acceptance.

Glasswell & Parr (2009) analyzed 108 writing conferences in which teachers engage students in problem solving the writing process. Interactive formative assessment allows teachers to attend to individual students' development of skills and abilities. Findings indicate that successful IFA instructors participate in close observation, practice dynamic and collaborative social classroom interactions and habitually engage in quality feedback. Quality feedback acknowledges current success and standings and provides guidance on how best to move forward. The term "teachable moment" builds upon the components of IFA and serves as a road map for collaborative and common goals that students and teachers participate in.

Wright & Van Der Mars (2004) examine how to "identify the teacher behaviors known to have influence over students" (p. 30) through the use of assessment tools for physical education training. PE assessment tools similar to social science assignment rubrics were selected as effective means of identifying key components, defining behaviors to be assessed, establishing an observation system, establishing credibility, completing observations and summarizing and interpreting assessment results. The term *authentic assessment* includes a broad range of student engagement and learning. Findings indicate that although assessments may the assignment rubric, the attention to high-quality instruction including support and feedback is a determining factor in a positive learning experience.

CTLT extends the understanding of acceptance by moving beyond the level of tolerance and by connecting with the humanity in each student.

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Sub-theme—Support.

Olah, Lawrence & Riggan (2010) examined "How do the Philadelphia teachers in our sample analyze benchmark assessment results, (b) how do they plan instruction based on these results, and (c) what are their reported instructional responses to such results?" (p. 226). Participants included 25 third and fifth-grade teachers from five schools. Fall, winter and spring interviews used mixed methods analysis to collect data. Interview data was linked to the Benchmark Data Analysis Protocol (BDAP) and whether teachers used the BDAP to report professional development and/or analyze student results. Findings indicate that teacher personal thresholds are drivers of how teachers decide what students to reach out to or ignore. Students who score low or are unable to "get" the content or concept are likely to be referred to tutors or other assistance. Students who score high are likely to be selected for peer teaching and as role models. Teachers devised strategies for one-on-one instruction, small group work and questions/comments that acknowledge gains and sticking points, questions/comments that allow students to feel engaged while not singled out.

Defining metaphysics as personal theories, Edwards (2011) queried: "Is there a predictive linear relationship between instructors' educational metaphysics and their students' ratings of the classroom experience (ratings of nonverbal immediacy and affective learning)?" (p, 62.) Participants included 48 instructors' and 605 university students, the majority of where in/from Arts & Sciences programs. Instructors completed the Witcher-Travers Survey of Educational Beliefs (Witcher & Travers, 1999), and a brief demographic survey. Students completed The Revised Nonverbal Immediacy

Behavior scale (McCroskey, et al., 1995), The Instructional Affect Assessment Instrument (McCroskey & Richmond, 1989), and a brief demographic survey. Findings indicated that progressive instructors who went beyond course material to create relationships with students were noted as most effective for student engagement. Progressive behaviors included support/acknowledgment, sharing lived experiences and contributing to daily life situations.

CTLT extends the understanding of support by focusing on the social commitment to provide an opportunity for each student to improve. The commitment is to provide feedback for all actions and attempts.

CTLT contributes to communication and pedagogical studies by positioning teaching as a communicative act rather than an act that incorporates communication. CTLT provides a framework for those who are learning how to teach or are already engaged in teaching. The literature review provided evidence-based applications of the theoretical constructs in areas outside of communication. The definitive properties of the theoretical constructs illustrate achievable and applicable actions that any teacher can utilize to improve their performance in the classroom or other teaching contexts. The modules may prove useful to those who choose to focus on specific aspects of their pedagogical endeavor or who are struggling to conceptualize the multifaceted aspects of learning how to teach. Practical applications of the CTLT are presented in the conclusion chapter.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

The conclusion chapter will 1) address the strengths of this study and how it contributes to Communication studies, 2) address the limitations of this study, 3) suggest future research, 4) provide specific guidelines for practical application of CTLT and 5) elaborate on my personal experience with CTLT.

Study Strengths and Contributions to Communication Studies

Study strengths.

The first strength of this study was adherence to grounded theory methods and allowing the data to speak to me rather than me trying to manipulate the data to fit my initial concept. Grounded theory is an inductive process in which the theory emerges from data, as they are collected, coded, compared, analyzed, interpreted and applied. To provide a starting point for data collection, I chose the sensitizing concept of identity framed by four influences: hypermasculinity, rehabilitation, positive masculinity, and the human-animal bond. Data was gathered through the three grounded theory methods of observation, interviews and extant texts. Beginning with the first observation visit and continuing throughout data collection, constant comparison and analysis, the messages that emerged did not link to the concept of identity. The messages that emerged from the data centered on pedagogy and specifically about learning how to teach.

The second strength of this study was categorical saturation. Saturation occurs when constant comparison of data and the introduction of new data do not result in new categorical properties (Charmaz, 2006, p. 113). Saturation occurred as a result of extensive data collection. Over the course of 14 months, I made 10 visits to the prison. Each visit lasted from four to seven hours for a total of just over 40 hours of direct observation. I observed: 22 members; two employees of the Department of Agriculture: three BLM employees; six DOC employees and 12 inmates. I conducted five interviews with three participants. Three interviews were in person and two were on the phone. Interviews lasted between 20 minutes and four hours (longer interviews interrupted by participants working with visitors, DOC employees and inmates). Although extant texts were included in the methodology, they were used as background information only, not as data sources. Once data was collected I proceeded from line by line to focused coding. I rigorously adhered to the grounded theory constant comparison as I analyzed and interpreted the data. As part of the focused coding I created analytic memos to focus on specific behaviors and actions that were emerging from the data in specific contexts. I used these analytic memos to determine and support the category properties and then to create the theoretical constructs particular to CTLT. The creation of these final components resulting in the creation of the theoretical constructs was also an indicator of data saturation.

The third and final strength of the current study is that this grounded theory method resulted in creation of a theory that has relevance to the substantive location of the Wild Horse Inmate Program and extends as a formal theory beyond that prison location to many sites of teaching and learning. The CTLT creation is solidly based on four identifiable and researched communicative acts (acknowledgement, articulation, adaptation and reflexivity). The constructs and properties of the remaining two components of duty and assessment are not readily identifiable as communicative acts. However, the study was able to situate duty and assessment as communicative acts by linking their conceptual properties (responsibility/obligation/commitment and awareness/appraisal/evaluation) with the communicative acts necessary to carry out these concepts.

Relatedly, this study illustrates that learning can come from any context and has the opportunity to be applied in any other context. Whether we ride horses for a living or teach college courses, we all have the opportunity to determine how to make connections, create, sustain or dismantle relationships, and most of all, recognize that we, as individuals, are the most important relational partners in our life. Just as we continue to learn from our students, we can learn from individuals in all walks of life. The Buddhist proverb states, "When the student is ready, the teacher will appear." Monte and the other men in the WHIP appeared at a time that I needed help with a stressful teaching situation. I continue to use their influence every time I step into a classroom.

Contributions to communication studies.

CTLT contributes to communication studies in three ways. First, CTLT situates learning how to teach as a cohesive communicative act rather than discreet communicative acts cobbled together as the current literature seems to suggest. Second, CTLT provides a distinct structure, a theoretical model that illustrates, interprets and predicts the conjoined communicative components of the process of learning how to teach. Third, the CTLT provides specific communicative guidance for those learning how to teach.

CTLT assumes that those who teach do so as a way to earn income and achieve professional and personal satisfaction. Teachers' truths or "metaphysics—as personal theories" (Edwards 2011) may be linked to standards such as status, social rapport, power, community involvement, and autonomy and intellectual stimulation. CTLT assumes that teachers seek to influence others and to provide guidance as part of the knowledge creation process. One of the purposes of CTLT is to provide a guide for interpreting the complex process of learning how to teach. Although beginning teachers may enter the teaching field knowing what to teach based on their academic work, what they are missing is specific guidance on how to get to the point where they can teach the knowledge that they know. The value of CTLT is to provide a view into the structure, process, outcomes and expectations of learning how to teach. Just as health communication has become an emergent area of communicative study, teaching communication has the opportunity to become a new area in communication studies.

Future Research

Despite the study strengths, limitations suggest possible areas for future research. The first limitation is that communication scholars and instructors may not consider a western horseman as a credible role model for learning how to teach. A prison horse training facility may not resonate with communication scholars and researchers as a legitimate site of teaching and learning. To redress this limitation, future research might consider the challenges facing all instructors who work in prison environments. Whether conducting General Educational Development (GED) training, facilitating other academic opportunities for inmates or instructing in correctional industry trade programs, people who teach in the prison system could provide a rich source of expertise and knowledge for making powerful connections with students who may be at risk (of failure due to ineffective study skills or in need of remedial assistance or who are struggling with dependency or unsafe living situations) or who may be disengaged . If one can master the ability to teach in a prison setting then teaching students who choose to be in school ought to be a productive and satisfying experience.

The second limitation is that only one WHIP facility was observed of the original five in operation within the western US. WHIP sites accessible to visitors may limit replicating this study. While I was collecting data, one of those five prisons discontinued the WHIP project. As such, one possible suggestion for future research is delegating several years to data collection. A research could begin by asking for a referral from the one WHIP that offers regular prison visits, to a system in another state. A small number of Midwestern and southern state prisons have begun horse-training programs although the horses are not always mustangs.

The third study limitation is that accessibility may remain a challenge to interviewing government employees who work in a WHIP location. I was unable to secure written permission to interview current Department of Corrections employees. Although I did obtain written permission to interview BLM employees, they remained resistant to the interviews and provided limited information. In light of this third study limitation, future researchers might consider other avenues of accessing prison teachers. One avenue that could have worked for me was accessing the prison system through a community college that provided college classes to prisoners. This avenue did not work because the community college/prison program was discontinued due to funding cuts. However, if community or local colleges are providing classes and instructors to prisons, a researcher may be able to shadow the instructor or be brought on as a teaching assistant.

In addition to the directions for future research stemming from the limitations of this study, results provide other possible areas for investigation. Teaching remains the core of pedagogy, however, learning how to teach rarely occurs through coursework and training programs; those contexts teach what to teach, not how. Future research could focus specifically on the components that make up the communicative theory of learning how to teach and address the issues of uncertainty, relationship building, stress and conflict that are inherent challenges to any teaching context. Researchers can focus on theory as a framework for action and change rather than just an explanation of behaviors. Utilizing the communicative theory of learning how to teach model, researchers could select varied sites to examine how those with knowledge, experience and authority create a communicative climate in which their proficiency can be passed on to and learned by others. Suggested sites include locations of mentorship (Big Brothers/Big Sisters; business leaders mentoring military veterans, corporate mentoring programs) coaching (university leadership-coaching programs, professional coach certification programs), guidance (career and school guidance programs), apprenticeship (US Department of Labor, technical training colleges), and support groups (medical, spiritual, life trauma).

Depending on the sites and the participants, researchers could focus on the six formal theory constructs and analyze data based on each constructs' properties.

Researchers might consider focusing on one or more specific constructs in order to fully develop the framework within the site. For example: What are the communicative messages of the group leaders in National Outdoor Leadership School (NOLS) that illustrate the duty they have to the school, students, and other outdoor enthusiasts not associated with NOLS and the outdoors itself? For example, how might NOLS leaders frame their communicative messages to and about oil companies conducting fracking work on BLM land? How might NOLS leaders create relationships with metropolitan schools to provide opportunities for urban students to engage in wilderness experiences?

Researchers could seek to improve specific teaching behaviors and activities in selected sites where critical communication is essential. For example, in the aftermath of two recent and devastating wildfires in the Colorado Springs area, the Public Safety Communications Research program could focus on the acknowledgment required to improve and maintain open and effective relationships between first responders (police, firefighters, emergency medical service professionals and other public safety officials) within El Paso County, Colorado.

Graduate schools could use the theory to prepare students—who are graduate instructors (GI) and/or intend to teach at the college level after graduation—for the relational, identity and conflict challenges they will encounter. Graduate students could use the theory model as a framework for entering into the complex teaching world. By adhering to the theoretical constructs, graduate students could: create their personal teaching and learning objectives, compose strategies for dealing with disruptive or disinterested students, practice lecture or presentation skills, collect a portfolio of activities and assignments, and acknowledge that learning how to teach is a complex, frustrating and rewarding endeavor.

Practical Application of the Communicative Theory of Learning How to Teach

Based on the consistencies between the components of the communicative theory of learning how to teach and current educational and communication literature, I propose simple behaviors that teachers can adopt to effectively improve effectiveness and enjoy their job.

Formal Theory	Applied behaviors for teachers
Duty	Show up to class on time and be prepared. Engage students as active participants in the learning process. Create and maintain boundaries that exhibit professionalism, rank, approachableness and connection and interest in each student. Recognize that a major component of teaching is learning from your students.
Reflexivity	Examine your own motives and objectives, be your own case study, be open to negative or neutral messages and non-verbal behaviors as possible markers of student confusion and offer clarifying statements. Use existing knowledge and life experiences to connect with students.
Adaptation	Adopt a dual perspective, create unique learning opportunities, learn from your students and others and modify behaviors to connect with students.
Articulation	Provide ample notification of assignment due dates and instructions, only give commands once, and maintain respectful attitudes, non-verbal behaviors and tone of voice
Assessment	Create more learning activities than can be achieved during a class period and be prepared to prioritize in order to meet the time, needs or abilities of the students. Be mindful of different learning styles and provide information and instructions from several perspectives.
Acknowledgement	Acknowledge successful activities and responses and respond to unsuccessful with supportive and directive guidance.

Table 5.1: CTLT Theory Constructs as Applied Behaviors for Teachers

Extending the table of substantive and formal theory labels and components to include applied behaviors, I suggest specific actions for communication instructors using

Table 5.1 as a rubric. The applied behaviors suggested in Table 5.1 came directly from my personal experience as a novice instructor and the lessons about teaching that I learned along the way.

My experience as a beginning college instructor was vague. For my first class, I was provided a syllabus from a previous instructor to edit as my own, a textbook, the time and date of the class and essentially let go to figure things out on my own. After

scrutinizing pedagogical literature I found that my experience was not uncommon. Recent examinations of students graduating from US teacher training colleges and universities found that a large percentage of students moved into the teaching profession "with classroom management skills and content knowledge inadequate to thrive in classrooms" (Greeneburg, McKee & Walsh, 2013, p. 1). I too moved into the classroom with no clear awareness or initial consideration of classroom management or how I would provide an effective communication climate in which students would learn the complex components of interpersonal communication or engage in skill-building for public speaking.

Hussong & Christian (2012) sought to address the challenge of university teachers who were not adequately prepared by their graduate institutions to take on the primary goal of teaching. Findings indicated that meeting instructional competencies is only the beginning of a teachers' journey and continued reflection and goal setting were necessary to adopt and maintain an attitude of instructional, personal and professional growth and responsibility. I too felt ill prepared to take on the challenge and stress of teaching. I recall sitting through a presentation on Bloom's Taxonomy by a Teaching Development Leader for Graduate Teaching Instructors and walking away wondering how I could/would neatly overlay the Knowledge Dimension and the Cognitive Process Dimension onto my students learning outcomes and I realized I had no clue. How did I take this classification system and apply it to my students or even myself? What did I need to do in the classroom to be sure my students and I were engaged in remembering, understanding, applying, analyzing, evaluating and creating? I needed to be engaged in these actions before my students could be. Panic set in! Although I knew what to teach and had a syllabus (thanks to other graduate instructors for sharing) and a textbook to guide me, I did not know how to teach. Therefore, I entered the classroom with a false sense of confidence and I decided to pretend I knew what I was doing until I finally figured it out.

Anecdotal narratives from other instructors supported my observations. Prior to teaching I recall a conversation with another graduate student who was afraid to ask a faculty what a CV was. She felt she was supposed to know what the acronym stood for and because she did not (yet), lived in fear of being caught out as ignorant. The same mentality seemed to be prevalent among graduate instructors (GI). One other GI told me he faked it with his students so they would not realize he was new to the job and did not really know how to get them to learn. I had the necessary education level to teach, although my experience as a student did not provide a credible transition to my identity as an instructor.

Identity transition from student to teacher illustrates another challenge to learning how to teach. If the best way to learn a topic is to teach it, where is the demarcation line between student and teacher and how does one reach that point? Ben-Peretz (2011) examined teacher knowledge through a literature review focused on aspects of content, curriculum, communication and global view-based on personal experience. Findings indicate that societal issues and personal development provide more support than content knowledge in how teachers link knowledge and practice in the classroom. Thus societal issues and personal development may result in actions that engage students and empower the teacher at the same time.

Similar to Monte, my main informant, I too learned by trial and error, although I had the benefit of some support—syllabus, other student instructors, supportive professors. I was two years into my adjunct teaching when I began to collect data for this dissertation. The purpose of this study was to discover the communicative messages within the Wild Horse Inmate Program. Prisoners who work with animals have drawn special attention from scholars (Harkrader, Burke, & Owen, 2004) however this study drew attention to an understudied population, the people who interact with and train the inmates: specifically the correctional officer (CO) horsemen of the Wild Horse Inmate Program.

Although I was employing grounded theory and I tried to remain open to whatever I observed, I entered the site with some expectation that I would learn about communication between men and horses, and that I would witness the hypermasculinity associated with prisoners and correctional officers (Karp, 2010; Lutze & Bell, 2005; Seymour, 2003). What I did not expect and what demanded my attention the first visit was the communicative style that the DOC and BLM employees used with inmates and with public visitors. Long before I had reached a point in my observations and analysis where teaching emerged from almost every bit of data, I embraced the communicative behaviors I observed in the DOC employees, one in particular, and applied them to one of my own highly stressful teaching situations.

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One semester I worked for a community college that had paired with various atrisk high schools (high drop-out rates, high rates of violence, gang activity, teen pregnancy, single parent households and low rates of parents with high school education) and provided dual credit (high school and college) for each completed course. As part of the Student Success Program, I, along with several other instructors, entered one of these high schools to teach a college success course to 10th grade students. The school environment was plagued by physical and social chaos. When I approached the building on my first day a police cruiser was parked on the lawn by the front entrance. I thought some tragedy had occurred but found out it was business-as-usual and that later in the day another police cruiser would park at the back entrance when school let out.

Getting to my class during class breaks was a challenge as the halls were crammed full of people going every which way and yelling, punching and bumping into one another. Young men and women alike crammed together and the noise and physical danger of being crushed seemed real to me. I adapted quickly and holding my briefcase in front of me almost as a battering ram, I pushed my way through to my class. When I finally arrived at my assigned classroom, I found I was working in a sort of home room classroom where one teacher had <u>her</u> classes, <u>her</u> desk, <u>her</u> stuff and she loomed over me for the first few days to be sure that I and my students were not using anything in the class other than the desks and chairs. At one point she berated me, in front of my class, for letting them use the small library of dictionaries (15-20) that were in the room. Added to the stress of being in the same room with this madwoman, several of the students came to class late, would not sit still, talked to each other at will, and generally disrupted my ability to get my job done.

I had agreed to work at this school for the semester and I was struggling to figure out how I would last that long. As a communication instructor I sought and found ways to connect with several of the students based on acknowledging them as individuals, assessing their skill levels, opening up conversations for respectful dialog and inquiry and pretending that I was not afraid or intimidated. Several of the students continued to try my patience and I realized I did not have the physical or emotional energy as I was only a few weeks past surgery. I needed to figure out how to protect myself, how to connect with these children and how to provide opportunities for them to learn and I had to figure it out fast. Monte popped into my head and I asked myself "How would Monte handle this situation?" I thought of his respectful and quiet voice, his direct instructions, his willingness to answer questions and provide guidance if needed, but also his statement that he only gave instructions once and if someone was not listening or did not respond as needed, there were consequences. I thought about how his way of teaching would fit into the extraordinary school mission statements of this chaotic high school. Extraordinary because no one followed these mission statements, not even staff and faculty.

The mission statements, set out for all to see on four by eight foot banners hung in conspicuous locations all over the school were: Obey any adult the first time they tell you what to do; keep your arms and legs to yourself; and maintain pride in your education. I will provide examples of how these statements were not and could not be enacted. Obey any adult the first time they tell you what to do. What I observed is that the adults who worked in this school and were supposed to be role models, never did tell anyone just one time. Hall monitors with bullhorns would bellow out in-between classes when the halls were crammed "get to class, get to class, keep moving and get to class." When I was in the classroom, the teacher who was hovering would often have students come in for a session and she would berate them over and over and over again with what they were not doing correctly, although her language was crude and bordering on obscene.

Keep your arms and legs to yourself. What I observed were the pushing, shoving, and slapping in-between classes and outside. One time while the school was on lockdown and I was stuck in the classroom with the resident teacher and some of her students, I observed one boy grab a girl by her long hair and swing her around him. The teacher said and did nothing as I jumped up and said "stop it right now." The male student let go of the girls' hair and he did stop his behavior. The teacher just watched.

Maintain pride in your education. I observed that these students had rare opportunities to earn pride in themselves or their school: education seemed a distant, foreign and at times useless activity to them. I wonder now that students even knew what pride meant. The school district sent out a survey and asked students and teacher to make suggestions for improving conditions. Suggestions from my students included basic requests: soap, toilet paper and paper towels in the restrooms, clean and working drinking fountains (no gum specifically), and quiet study areas in the library or elsewhere.

With these mission statements and the observed behaviors in mind, I scrambled my brain to figure out how to get through this semester. Channeling Monte was the only tangible behavior that made sense to me. I tried his methods on the second day of class. One boy in particular would not sit still and continuously talked over me. At this school, students out in the hall during class time end up in the principals' office and can eventually be suspended if they do not have a note from a teacher for their foray into the cavernous halls. I told this boy to pack up his belongings and leave class. He talked back to me and promised he would behave. I was channeling Monte and I knew that if I responded, if I said *one* word, I would lose. I remained silent, pointed to the door, and as all the other students in the room went silent, after about 45 long agonizing seconds, the boy left. Success! Providing one command in a quiet and respectful tone worked! The entire climate of the class changed from that point and I had the privilege and the honor to work with some extraordinary, gifted, intelligent and delightful young people for the rest of the semester. During one dress code check (hall monitors also take turns going into classes unannounced and checking to see that no one is violating the dress code—a suspension violation) the monitor remarked about how quiet it was in class: the students were writing reflection papers. I remarked that this is what college classes were like and that these were college students. From that stressful teaching experience on, I continue to channel Monte when I am faced with a stressful or challenging situation or student. Although Monte might not have claimed "teacher" as an identity for the work that he did, he stands as my model representative. Monte demonstrated effective intrapersonal skills

to determine how best to fulfill the expectations and objectives of the job, and those who do claim teacher as an identity can learn from Monte's experience as I have.

Had I been closed to the notion of learning from a cowboy, I might not have made it through that high school class, not met those extraordinary young people, not been able to continue teaching with that college, and not learned the valuable lessons and behaviors that I have employed ever since to handle stressful classroom and student situations.

What I have gained from this dissertation process extends beyond the goal of just getting it over with. I was able to observe a complex and active site and draw out an essence of knowledge that many others might have missed. I stayed true to the grounded theory process and as a result I too gained insight and specific actions to support me as I continue in my teaching career.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Questions

A. Initial Question Options

- 1. How did you come to work with WHIP?
- 2. Tell me about your experiences here at WHIP?
- 3. Tell me how you interact with the inmates?
- 4. What do you know about how WHIP got started?
- 5. What is your background with horses?
- 6. How did you learn to interact with inmates?
- 7. Tell me about a typical day at WHIP?

A. Probing Question Options

- 1. What term/title do you use to refer to yourself and other coworkers?
- 2. How do you tell the inmates what to do?
- 3. How do you teach the inmates?
- 4. How do you correct the inmates?
- 5. What terms do you use when talking to the inmates?
- 6. How did you learn how to train inmates to train horses?
- 7. How do you describe the inmates?

B. Intermediate Question Options

- 1. How does your job title describe what you do?
- 2. Tell me about the resistance-free training methods used by WHIP?
- 3. What were your experiences when you started with WHIP?

- 4. What changes have occurred since you started with WHIP?
- 5. What is the best part of your job?
- 6. What is the hardest part of your job?
- 7. How do the inmates behave as cowboys rather than inmates?
- 8. How would you describe your job to someone outside of your work or social circles?
- 9. What are your expectations for working with inmates and horses?
- 10. What are the most important aspects of interacting with prisoners?
- 11. What are the most important aspects of training inmates to train horses?
- 12. What is the most important aspect of the WHIP program?
- 13. What are the most important lessons you have learned since working with WHIP?
- 14. What do your co-workers most value and respect about you?
- 15. What do inmates most value and respect about you?
- 16. What are the most important lessons inmates have learned at WHIP?
- 17. Since you started at WHIP, what has surprised you the most?

C. Concluding Question Options

- 1. What advice would you give to future WHIP correction officers?
- 2. What would you like the general public to know about your experience with WHIP?
- 3. Who else would you like to know about your experience with WHIP?
- 4. What else you would like to say about your experience with WHIP?

Appendix B: Monte Interview One

Monte Interview One	
Easing into interview	Horses are a lot easier to get along with
mode.	than people. Horses got a one track
Differentiating between	mind and you can build on their
teaching horses and	experiences, like our level system.
people.	
Positively correlating	People think too much, think they know
horses' trainability to the	better than me, think they can muscle
WHIP level system.	the horse, lots of ways to take attention off and when they do, they get hurt.
Addressing cognitive	on and when they do, they get nurt.
obstacles to teaching	My goal is to train them [inmates] to
inmates: power, inability	ride and keep them from harm. When
to focus, consequences.	they learn to ride on staff horses, they
	learn how to connect with the horse,
Accepting responsibility	gentle and firm.
for training. Identifying	
risks.	The worst injury we've had is a broken
Setting expectations.	collarbone.
Providing opportunities for	
success.	They call themselves cowboys but we
Acknowledging injury.	don't work cows. We are horsemen.
	Don't know why they call themselves
Deconstructing identity	cowboys, maybe the gear. All inmates
chosen by inmates versus self-identification of staff.	get full riding gear, boots, hats, gloves,
Questioning inmate	chaps, winter clothes.
identity.	We got donated riding gear including
Acknowledging garment	winter clothing. Hats, boots, gloves.
influences.	
	This is year round work, five days a
Pointing out gear and	week. Horses fed every day but training
clothing donations.	just five days a week.
Outlining the boundaries	Inmates are out here all year, just like
and expectations of	the mustangs in heat and snow and
working with horses.	everything in between.
Limiting training days to	Most important thing is to know your
correspond with staff work days.	Most important thing is to know your job. When I heard about this job and
uuyo.	applied, about five others applied too. I

Emphasizing the year	was the best qualified. I knew what I
round aspect.	was doing, had the experience to back it up.
Claiming ownership of	Can't fake it because the inmates will
experience and ability to take on the job.	eat you up. These guys think they are tough but no one tougher than a
	mustang. I show em how to handle themselves to handle the mustang.
Addressing realities of working with inmates.	
Food chain metaphor.	Must know what you are doing I know
Identifying obstacle to training inmates.	Must know what you are doing. I know what I am doing. I could do the job, and
Setting standards for success.	had to figure out how to tell the inmates how to work with the horses.
Defining success as handling themselves.	
Clarifying mandatory	I learned how to teach.
skills and abilities.	
Establishing credibility. Identifying challenges.	At the track, I told em what to do and they did it. Most of em knew how to
Articulating additional	work with horses, and if they didn't, someone else they worked with showed
roles and responsibility in prison job.	em.
Reflecting on past job	
responsibilities. Delegating tasks not	
teaching how to complete task.	In the prison, no one knew what to do. If they did, or thought they did, usually
Relying on experienced worker to show	wrong and I had to correct em. I had to
inexperienced what and	show em how to work with horses, what to do, and then help em do it on their
how to do work.	own, not me doing it for em.
Setting broader boundaries for inmates.	
Addressing challenges of working with know-it-alls.	Took a while to figure out how to teach them what I already knew how to do.
Expanding job from	the first function of the do.

delegating to teaching.	This job is about doing what I'm best at. I can work with horses and the
Declaring challenges of identifying new components of prison job.	inmates.
Supporting personal credibility. Linking inmates and horses as two integral components of the job.	I do not enjoy the paperwork, rules and regulations and when inmates get hurt. We spend lots of time working with inmates and the horses, then almost as much time on paperwork and being sure the rules are followed.
Disclosing negative aspects of job.	You were there the day one of the visitors tried to bring in a cell phone. Rules are rules and everyone is treated the same.
Referring to previous incident as example of how all are treated and how all have to follow rules.	I'm passin along what it took me 20 years to learn. I been hurt, made mistakes, and had to learn by doin. I teach the inmates cause they don't have 20 years to learn.
Establishing legacy as model for inmates.	I enjoy what I'm doin.
Assembling tools to teach to inmates.	Inmates have my 100% attention.
Accepting responsibility for personal job satisfaction.	When I come here it all fell into place. My experience makes a difference and I can teach what I learned.
Focusing on crucial behavioral component of teaching position. Reflecting on job position.	Inmates used to go through classroom trainin at Lamar Junior College and get college credit for class stuff before they
Signifying credibility and willingness.	come out to train horses.
Considering additional	I learned most on the racetrack. Worked there for years. I had a crew of

education opportunities for inmates.	over 100 and if you didn't work, I had 10 more to fill the spot. I laid out the rules and if you followed and took care of the horses, you kept your job. If not,
Exhibiting experience, history, skills and	I got rid of you, no second chances.
managerial abilities.	Here we can fire inmates if they act up.
Revealing consequences. Taking the hard line.	They got no patience and you need patience to work with any horse, especially mustangs. One inmate started a fight and another hit a horse. Both
Setting boundaries and consequences.	fired.
Considering common	
challenge—lack of	You can't teach experience. Inmate can
patience.	learn from my experience.
Revealing consequences.	
D: 1 · 111	When I first got here I saw a guy in a
Displaying credibility.	corral and he was standing right in front
Leading by example.	of the horse. I told him not to stand
Proporting anadata of	right in front of the horse in case that horse came at him. He didn't listen. I
Presenting anecdote of inmate failure to pay	saw him later that day and he was
attention.	bleedin and said "I did what you told
Divulging mistake and	me not too."
learning opportunity.	ine not too.
fourning opportunity.	I had to show em that I knew what I
	was talking about before they'd trust
Establishing authority.	me. Didn't take too long cause I know
Demonstrating	what I am doing and I can show them
competence and	how to do it too.
trustworthiness.	
	Before we used to break horses, throw
	a saddle on and ride the bronc out of
Describing outdated force-	em. Brian Hardin wanted to change
based horse training	how we did that so but we went to lots
methods.	of trainin clinics and got better at it, the
Recounting Hardin's	no resistance stuff. Sometimes called
directive and	the horse whisperer, but mostly just
implementation.	about working with the horse to get them to work with you rather than force
Deflecting identity as horse whisperer.	them.
Prioritizing connection	
with horse.	The resistance free training is about
with 110150.	The resistance free training is about

	going through the different levels and
Expounding on	steps to get a horse to trust you.
process/levels of training.	
	Usually we can get on a horse in 7-10
Confirming process time	days. But, we want to do enough
and goal for horse training.	groundwork that the horse will not
Validating consequences.	buck. If the horse bucks the first ride,
vandating consequences.	we did not take enough time on the
	ground. If the horse bucks on the first
	0
	ride, could set back the training and we
	need to go back to the beginning almost
Regulating training	and start over again.
process.	
Quantifying time.	We tell the guys to "slow down to
Breaking down the process	speed up." We do little steps at a time.
into small steps.	Maybe just one training part each
Evaluating success of	session, Maybe just repeat previous
slowing down to speed up.	training part and don't add more. We do
	it right and enough ground work, the
Gauging completion time	horse will not buck the first ride and we
to green broke.	can really move on from there.
6	can really move on nom mere.
Defining green broke	Not to a fract harmony it to have a have 2, 2
behaviors.	Not too fast because it takes about 2-3
	months to get a horse to being green
	broke. We only train to green broke,
Outlining entry work.	riding over obstacles and around noises,
Focusing on horse care.	leading, tying, trailering, hoof cleaning,
Allowing for advancement	direct rein, backing, stopping.
when earned.	
	The guys work up the ladder from
	cleaning stalls and feeding and watering
Regulating advancement	horses. All start at bottom with
and demotion.	cleaning, feeding and care. As they
Confirming job loss as	show progress and want to work with
	horses, they can move up a little at a
consequence.	
Revealing attrition.	time.
Disclosing key term	When they stop working they go back
U	
signifying "stop what you	down the ladder or they get fired. Some
are doing."	drop out on their own.
Elaborating on behaviors	
after the step off.	
-	We tell the give to "stop off" when
Connecting horse incorrect	We tell the guys to "step off" when

behavior as direct result	they get mad, until they cool down.
of inmate incorrect	
behavior.	Usually they take a break or just stop
Establishing personal	with the horse for the day. They learn
responsibility.	that step off means to stop what they are
Signifying the obstacle of	doin and calm down. If the horse isn't
patience.	doin what they want, they are the
Prioritizing patience as	problem, not the horse. Can't get mad at
hardest for inmates to	the horse cause they don't let the horse
learn.	know what they want.
Establishing the bully	The hardest for them is patience, but a
metaphor: mustangs will	mustang will eat your lunch if you don't
always be bigger and	pay attention.
tougher.	I can't teach patience, but inmates can
Admitting inability to	learn by working with horses. Inmates
teach patience.	their own worst enemy. Want to get
Setting expectation for	things done now, don't want to wait,
inmates to learn by	can't hurry a mustang.
training horses.	
Labeling inmates.	
Identifying ineffective	
behaviors.	
Quantifying total	
Quantifying total personnel in the program.	We got 20-30 inmates working here in
Governing coverage of	the saddle and halter program and about
inmates.	10 trainers. Always a trainer, usually
Leading by presence and	two with all inmates. Inmates never on
example.	their own. We watch and teach all the
example.	way.
Assessing relationship	way.
rewards and risks for	Inmates learn to trust us, trust me, and
inmates.	ask for help. Hard for em to do cause
Rating chances of success.	some of em think they know it all.
Ruting enunces of success.	Those don't last too long here.
Reporting on absence of	
violence or threats.	We never had no problems with the
	inmates. No escapes, no threat to us
Identifying teachin to ride	trainers.
as hardest part. How can	
-	
this hardest be prioritized	Hardest part was teachin em to ride
this hardest be prioritized with other hardest part of	Hardest part was teachin em to ride. Some got natural balance and can really
with other hardest part of	Some got natural balance and can really
1	1

patience? Gauging inmate ability to properly sit on a horse and ride.	
Explaining limits of halter program. Identifying opportunity to choose colorful horses for halter. Outlining specific outcomes of the halter program.	Halter horses aren't broke to ride. We choose more flashy ones for halter. They get groundwork through halter, then learn to stand and tie, lead and load.
Detailing the desired placement of horses and choice of horses.	The saddle horses are usable horses and most of them go to the Border Patrol. We choose for size and shape mostly and focus on solid colors. The colors and flashy ones get adopted cause of their color so we train mostly solid colors. Size and shape most important for saddle program.
Personalizing work history and experience. Identifying learning through mistakes. Indicating opportunities for inmates provided they apply themselves and pay attention. Prioritizing "getting them to pay attention" as hardest part. How does this fit in with hardest parts of learning patience and teaching to ride?	I learned the most from trial and error. I got 20 years of experience and makin mistakes that the inmates can learn from. If they pay attention, they can really do well here. Hardest part is getting em to pay attention.
Framing inmate expectations versus reality of working with mustangs. Confirming that mustangs can and will injure a person.	Inmates love the "easy way." There is no easy way with mustangs. Some of these horses'll kill ya at first. They're strong and wild and will run right over ya.

Contemplating personal history and learned and earned knowledge. Recognizing that gaining knowledge versus earning knowledge is less stressful. Admitting to making mistakes, also admitting that knowledge came from making those mistakes as he attempted to complete tasks.	Wish I'd known half of what I know now 20 years ago. Would have been easier on me. I made all the mistakes you can.
Verifying knowledge through attempts. Displaying provisional opportunity for inmates to learn.	You learn from your mistakes. Inmates can learn from my mistakes if they pay attention.
Divulging information about inmates featured in the documentary. Reinforcing opportunities for inmates. Assessing inmate opportunities compared to self responsibility after release.	Yea, Peterson once he got outside of prison, he was outside of the influence. We teach them job skills—do the work, do it right, finish the job—but they got to develop patience and carry it outside. Peterson got into drugs, it just didn't work and he was back in 30 days or so. He is just too set in his ways.
Evaluating Peterson as one who will not change. Commenting on the presence of the film crew over a six month period. Acknowledging intrusive presence. Admitting to acceptance of cameras and crew.	Yea the movie was tough. Cameras all the time everywhere you went. Don't know how they got permission but they was there all the time. Spent about six months here following us all the time. Got used to it, and horses got used to it too. Peterson came back to prison just after the movie was shot. I knew he might
Recounting Peterson's failure to make it on the outside.	not make it. He's back workin here, but still hardheaded. Didn't learn here or

Revealing personal	outside. He's good to a point, then just	
viewpoint that Peterson	won't listen. Got to do it his way.	
might not make it, even	Almost lookin for a reason to get rid of	
before he was paroled.	him now.	
Assessing Peterson's		
ability to make changes in		
his life.		
Outlining Peterson's		
limitations.		
Admitting that staff prefer		
to get rid of Peterson.	Clay came back too after he was	
5	released. Just couldn't stay off the	
	drugs.	
Commenting on Clay's		
failure to make it on the	Edwards stayed at the training facility	
outside.	for awhile but I heard he left and was	
outside.	getting into the medical marijuana	
Contemplating Anthony	business.	
Edwards apparent success.	ousiness.	
Relaying heresay		
information about where	Tim doing well. He was a welder so a	
Anthony is now.	good trade and I hear he has a girlfriend	
Anthony is now.	and I think he'll make it.	
Approving of Tim's	and I timik ne it make it.	
success on the outside.	Haven't heard about Peeples.	
success on the outside.	Haven't heard about I cepies.	
Conceding no knowledge		
of Peeples.	I was there almost 12 years. Learned a	
or reepies.	lot and miss the guys I worked with.	
	fot and miss the gays I worked with.	
Reflecting on work history		
at WHIP.	Don't miss working though.	
Confirming learning	Don't miss working though.	
environment and		
comradeship.		
connadeship.	Been doing roping competitions and	
Proving that a good	just takin it easy.	
working environment can	Just takin it easy.	
be left behind with no		
	No no mustanza I got quarter horgos	
regrets.	No, no mustangs, I got quarter horses.	
Reporting on what he does		
to stay busy during		
retirement.		
	l	

Admitting that he does not	
own mustangs.	

Appendix C: Monte Interview Two

Monte Interview Two	
Contextualizing college courses for inmates and opportunities for earning certificates Explaining the trickle-down effect of how inmates trained by guards who were trained at LCC.	For a few years, inmates took classes at Lamar Community College: Horse Training and Management Program. Could get certificates in Fundamental Horse Training and Starting Colts. Had to start with Starting Colts. Read books from LCC and took classes on prison grounds.
Identifying guards and their earned training to be teachers.	Guards went to LCC campus for teaching in how to get inmates started on certificate.
Setting time limit on program lifespan. Explaining how required fieldwork and homework were completed and graded.	Two Guards got vocational training at LCC to teach college certificate courses: Starting colts and fundamental horse training. Guards: Doyle and Cort (pseudonyms)
Providing background information on diverse inmate population. Identifying challenge of teaching those with previous knowledge. Associating cause (unwilling to listen) and effect (getting fired)	Program lasted about four years. Inmates did their field work time with prison guards. Field time included equine evaluation and using book learning on mustangs. Assignments sent to LCC for grading
Categorizing dominant challenge: keeping inmates. Connecting attrition to specific causes: parole, Unable/unwilling to complete homework.	Some inmates had background in horses and agriculture, others street kids. Street kids could be better cause no experience with

Attributing positive characteristics to parole. Attributing negative characteristics to drop out or behavior that resulted in firing.

Crediting LCC for grade support for inmates.

Acknowledging creation of achievable goal for inmates.

Offering link between prison success to life success.

Distinguishing success story after prison.

Identifying decision to stop LCC program mmmmm Reflecting on LCC program benefits to inmates and thus to staff.

Situating initial farrier learning opportunities.

Claiming successful learning/teaching strategies for life after prison

Managing the high failure rate and attrition due to fear, laziness or incompetence.

Balancing the mandatory work against the opportunity to work with horses.

Setting clear expectations and
impermeable boundaries to protect
against and provide consequencesWe trim fee
squeeze chu
Some inmat

horses. Some with horse experience harder to train cause they though they knew it all. Didn't want to listen. They got fired.

Challenges: couldn't keep full class. Tried to have 12 and usually ended up with 3-4 that completed program. Some withdrew cause they couldn't finish classwork. Some were paroled and left prison and program.

Good ones got paroled and others dropped out of program or were fired.

LCC worked with all to avoid F on transcript, tried for Withdraw at least. Goal was to provide something for inmate to be successful with. Something they could do outside of prison. One found work at Air Force Academy stables and as far as I know, he's still there.

Funding at prison stopped so program at Lamar stopped about 2009.

Program seemed to work good. Inmates learned terms and body parts, parts for saddle and bridle. Learned about feeding, trimming feet. We trim feet with horses is squeeze chute to begin with. Some inmates get good at

for inappropriate and unacceptable	farrier work and might make it
social behaviors.	a job on the outside.
Narrating personal stories to provide account of teaching behavior and expectations of inmates.	Hard to keep good inmates in program. Lots want to work here because they're outside. Lots can't stand the hard work. Lots too scared of horses, don't have what it takes.
Reflecting on personal commitment to teaching.	They all volunteer to work here, have to work somewhere.
Comparing experience levels of those he taught.	Not all work with horses, but most do eventually, if they stick it out.
Discussing what he perceives is biggest challenge. Linking those who can ride to their success as trainers.	No second chances here. If you screw up, you're fired. If you hit a horse, you're fired. If you don't do your work, you're fired.
Establishing his authority and ability to get inmates to do what he wants. Itemizing consequences of not obeying. Categorizing behaviors with	I worked on the racetrack and always had more people than jobs. I learned that if someone don't follow orders and get the work done, they're fired, no second chances. Too many others waitin to take their place. We don't have to be mean, just let em know the rules.
negative results. Beginning the building blocks, the steps of the program and the reasons	I took time to teach em best I could. Most of em on the racetrack had horse experience. At the prison, lots never seen a horse for real before they come here.
Clarifying the foundation from which all inmates begin and progress	Hardest part for me is teachin em to ride. Some never get the balance. Some do and they end up better trainers.

Setting the standards for training, working with experienced inmates who have earned the right to be a mustang trainer. Defining the fourth level horse. Expressing the level system of horse training.	I tell em what to do, and they do it. They can ask questions, but they got to do what they are told. Could get in trouble, end up hurt or hurt a horse, and we can't have that.
Outlining the four levels, and the outcomes and added and expected behaviors associated with each.	Some hard to get their attention. Either scared or thinking about somethin else. Either way, they end up gettin hurt or fired or both.
	Start with the basics, touch the horse. Once they get their hands on a horse, things go faster and smoother.
Labeling untrained inmates as green, just like green horses. Establishing how inmates learn to ride and how staff horses	All inmates begin on feed crew and clean up crew. If they make it there and still want to work with horses we decide if they're gonna make it.
(mustangs trained for and used by the staff) assist. Referring to previous visit when I witnessed Wavy, a massive gelding, literally muscle another	We start them with a seasoned trainer and work with horses already at level 4. Level 4 horses are saddled and ridden.
wild horse into position for loading into a trailer. Crediting trained mustangs for their help in all aspects of wild mustang training.	We work on levels for horses. First level is to be touch,
Conveying the concept of apprenticeship, working with seasoned trainers to learn the craft and skills of wild horse training. Characterizing inmate and horse in documentary with actual day to	haltered, led, tied and trailered. Second level is led outside with distractions and noise. Stand for grooming, more trailer work.

day training work.	Third level is bridle,
Broaching the disconnect	saddle, lunging and driving—
between learning to ride and being	long reins through stirrups,
able to overcome fear to be a	handling feet for cleaning and
trainer.	shoeing.
Disclosing personal doubt.	sino e ingi
Disclosing personal doubt.	Fourth level is rider, walk,
Articulating the timeline for a	trot, lope, and back-up. Yield
level four horse.	to reins and rider.
	to remis and rider.
Highlighting the importance of	
ground work.	Green inmates learn how
	to saddle and bridle, how to tie
Detailing the initial contact with	up a horse, clean feet and
a mustang.	groom. They also learn to ride.
Specifying the importance of	We use staff horses to learn to
the connection (rope) and the	ride.
pressure and release.	
F	Staff horses are those like
	Wavy, you saw Wavy, big
	horses that can help us when a
	1
	mustang can't be worked from
Cautioning about the initial	the ground. Inmates learn to
approach.	ride on staff horses. Staff
Authenticating the success of	horses also help us move
the initial touch (pressure) and the	horses, cut out when adopted
final release of the session (send em	or cut out for health check,
back to their pen on a positive	hoof trimming or other stuff.
note).	
	Once inmates apprentice
Maintaining crucial aspect of	with seasoned trainers, we
repetition: rope, pressure, touch,	eventually let them work new
release.	horses on their own. You saw
Articulating the positive ending	the documentary and how Clay
	5
of every training session.	got to work with Apache. Clay
	was easy to teach to ride but
	he was scared to work with
	Apache. I didn't think he'd
Equating positive session	make it.
ending for horse with successful	
session for inmates.	We start with ground
Summarizing the success of	work. Takes 80-90 days to get
small steps.	a horse to level four, saddle
ĩ	trained, but most important is
Expanding on next level of	ground work.

training, the sacking out process.	YY (1 11 1)
Stating the dangers.	Horses run the alleys into
Establishing a possible time	the round pen. We cover the
line.	sides so they can't see out.
Illustrating danger with example	Inmates let the horses run till
from the documentary.	they stop. Then rope. Usually
	run again and we let em go till
Adding more pressure to the	they stop. Use the pressure
sacking process.	release pulls to get the horse to
Recording the additions of	face you, then let us approach.
blankets and bridle.	
Involving past steps in all	Approach is dangerous
current steps.	cause they could come right
	over you. Once they touch, we
Stating importance of horse	send em back through the alley
learning to stand still while tied.	to their pen. We want em to
Advancing to next level, placing	end on a good note.
a saddle on the horse.	
Itemizing the exact steps of	Next couple days we do
introduction, touch, placement,	the same thing, run the alley to
removal, and the constant repetition	the round pen, rope em, halter,
until the horse accepts the process	pressure, release and begin to
and relaxes.	walk. Always end on a good
Driving home the importance of	note. Sometimes they are in
ending on a good note.	for 10 minutes sometimes half
Acknowledging potential for	hour or so, always end on a
inmates not to be engaged in the	good note. Don't overdo it.
process.	
Reiterating the essential of	Inmates feel better too
basics each time the horse is	cause they got the horse to do
worked.	what they wanted. Little steps.
Clarifying the separate and	
distinct steps of each session.	Once used to halter and
_	rope, begin sacking with lead
Recognizing the importance of	rope. Could be dangerous
getting on the first time.	cause horse could come right
Acknowledging how fear can be	over you, need to watch out
relayed to the animal and resulting	and stand to the side. Sacking
failure.	takes a while, could be a week
	or two till they get used to it.
	You saw the documentary
	where Sam kicks Peterson.
Isolating the ground work as	
most essential to getting to level	Next, we sack with a

four.

Equating ineffective groundwork with failure, and loss of time.

Considering final user, Border Patrol, and the necessity of thorough level training.

Reiterating the importance of step by step process or failure.

Intensifying horse and rider experience through different venues.

Focusing on gentle connection between horse and rider.

Establishing consequences if rider does not maintain appropriate behaviors with horse.

Identifying immediate consequence of stepping off.

Reiterating challenge of inmate impatience with necessity for patience with horses.

Magnifying behavioral challenges for horse and rider.

Cautioning about vigilance for riders so they use gentle connection with horses.

Stating goal of willing horse.

Debriefing after inmate told to step off.

Setting clear boundaries of acceptable behavior and consequences of unacceptable behavior.

saddle blanket. Bigger so could be scary, we end with blanket on back. We move to a bridle and bit then. Still pressure release and walk like we did with halter.

Horses also learn to stand tied with halter. Need to be relaxed.

Next we bring the saddle. Let em smell it, and set it on. Take it off. Set it on, take it off. Do it just like sacking till they accept it. End on a good note.

Gotta end on good note. No matter what inmate about, horse gotta feel good.

Always start from basic and work up. Now halter and take from pen, walk alley to round pen. Brush, Bridle, saddle blanket and saddle. Cinch and walk around ring a bit. End on a good note. Take off easy, brush and walk back to pen.

Start to tighten cinch a bit, and inmate stands in stirrup, weight on one side. Practice both sides. This can be hard if scared, like Clay was, scared to make contact, scared to take control. Once you're stepping on, you gotta step on. If you get spooked the horse gets spooked and you lose.

Goal is to do enough

Reflecting on time constraints. Balancing desire to work with horses with behaviors acceptable to	ground work so horse don't buck first ride. If horse bucks, we almost gotta start over, waste of time.
staff.	Border patrol wants most
Stall.	-
	of these horses and we need to
Classifying position as job.	deliver on time. Gotta get
Identifying all inmates as	though the levels and get the
beginners and moving through	horses ready to go. Inmates
ranks.	have to follow each step or
Frustrating identification of	start over again, no shortcuts.
attrition due to parole.	
	Once on, riders, ride
Categorizing benefits of job,	around pens and area. Slowly
workplace and co-workers.	work in arena on yielding to
Self identifying and separating	reins and rider. Hard part here
identities from inmates.	cause some riders want to jerk
Establishing credibility for	horse around, ride too fast, or
position.	get mad when horse does not
Noting additional correctional	do what they want. Once rider
office training and differentiating	gets mad, they step off. No
self from archetypal prison guard.	questions. Step off and cool
	down. Want to end on a good
Addressing personal safety	note for horse and rider can
issues and lack of weapons for	mess it up quick. These guys
control or enforcement.	don't have much patience and
Specifying constructive	you gotta have patience with
workplace and relationships with	these mustangs.
inmates.	
inmates.	Riders go over tarps on the
	ground, carry flags, make all
	sorts of noise so horses get
Grouping quitters versus those	used to it. Usually work 3-4
who get fired.	horses at a time in the arena,
Cautioning about workplace	then work each on their own.
danger and the power of a wild	Gotta watch the riders so they
horse.	do it right. Some of em have
	hard hands and want to muscle
	the horse and you can't muscle
	a mustang. Learn to be soft,
Establishing leadership	pressure release, pressure
credentials and desire to teach.	release so horse yields to
Focusing on inmate intention	pressure and release is reward.

1 111	
and willingness.	
Recognizing selection of horses	Once a guy looses his
for training.	temper or gets too hard, they
	step off. I talk em through
	what went wrong so they have
	time to cool off and do better
	next time. Some don't want to
	listen, don't want to learn and
Involving Border Patrol as	they don't last as trainers.
-	they don't last as trainers.
major customer of saddle horses.	
	Hard part is they come
Comparing ease of selecting	here before parole so we got
horses and training them to the	em for a short time, sometimes
challenges of human relationships.	months. Sometimes longer, but
	they got to behave before they
Reflecting on an inmate who	can work here.
failed to make it on the outside.	
Focusing on inmates' repeated	They apply for the job just
and unchanging behavior.	like for any job. Start at the
	bottom and slowly work up.
Associating retired life with	Sometimes by the time they
work life.	5
	get to be a good trainer, they
Recognizing responsibility to	get paroled so we start all over
inmates regardless of personal	again all the time.
opinion.	
	Great guys I work with.
	We are horsemen. Inmates call
	themselves cowboys, but we
Reflecting on program success	don't work with cows, we are
and limitations.	horsemen.
	We all got ranch, rodeo or
	horse background before we
Discussing new director.	got here. We get CO training
Identifying positive	once here, but not like guards
	in the cell areas.
characteristics and ability to do job.	in the cen areas.
	W/
	We don't wear guns, no
	weapons, we got deadmen
	monitors so if we don't move
	for too long, alarms go off.
	No problems with inmates. No
	fights or anything. Guys know
	what they got to do. Inmates

want to be here. If they don't they don't last.
We don't fire too many, they usually quit if work too hard or too scared of horses. No bad injuries. But, all can get kicked, bitten, stomped or run over. These mustangs want to get away, they go right over you.
I teach em what I know, I can't do this stuff all myself so I teach what I know. They do the work. They got to listen, they got to be soft on the reins. Hard cause these mustangs can be hard to work, they grew up hard. We pick ones for size, not color. The colors go on their own, so we focus on size and shape. Even some of the smaller ones got good shape fit together good.
Border Patrol likes the solid colors. Had one Cremello, nice horse but Border Patrol didn't take him, stood out too much. Can pretty much tell what horses will work out. Harder with the inmates.
Peterson back here now. You saw him in the movie and he's already back. He's training but still thinks he knows it all. I don't know if he'll last this time. Still hard- headed.
Don't miss it now. Glad to

be retired. Liked the guys I worked with, great job. Liked some of the inmates too. Whether I liked em or not, I taught em what I know. I taught best I could, rest up to them.
Been a good program. Need to place more horses, but not enough inmates, limited to 20 or so at one time.
Always new inmates to train, new horses too. Doyle (pseudonym) taking over for me, lots of experience. He's been good here, does good with inmates and horses
Texts: Horses: see LCC bookstore Western Horseman series

Appendix D: Monte Interview Three

Monte third interview. After reading and coding the first two interviews and focusing on the significant comment "I had to learn how to teach" I asked Monte to reflect on how he learned to teach. We set an appointment for a phone interview a few days in the future so he could take time to think about how he learned to teach.	Learning how to teach
Contemplating the process of how to teach. Not labeling what he did as training, but teaching.	Learned how to teach through trial and error.
Establishing the work of trail and error, success and failure	Remembered what worked and what didn't
Verifying an official training he went through as a DCO officer. Acknowledging that his training program did not address his unique position: outside of the prison buildings, working with horses.	I went through a training program [when first got the job] for DOC. Mostly about inside work (inside the prison), paperwork and counts (keeping track of and counting inmates).
Recognizing self as an outsider, subject to being shut out. Appraising reactions to his position,	When I first got on the job, inmates wouldn't even look at
Refraining from criticizing or condemning others for lack of knowledge.	me, ignored me cause I was new.
Narrating initial significant event. Demonstrating knowledge Providing advice.	They didn't know what I knew so they paid no attention to me.
Inmate ignoring advice	First day I was on a horse
Inmate combatting authority	riding around the round pens
Guy requesting information	and watching the inmates with
Inmate accounting for injury	the horses. One guy was
Inmate acknowledging result of	holding the lead rope and
ignoring advice, not admitting inmate was wrong.	standing right in front of a mustang. I told him he ought to
was wrong.	mustang. I tota initi ne ought to

Highlighting a turning point. Establishing authority Exhibiting knowledge Setting plan in action. Selecting a willing participant. Preparing inmate for success Identifying expectations of other inmates. Providing expectancy violation. Opening channel of communication. Inmates choosing to learn. Rating willingness of inmates to participate for their benefit. Validating his authority and knowledge. Inmates claiming their abilities to teach horses. Launching the passage of teaching and learning skills from one to another Guy learning himself, through trial and error how to communicate effectively. Providing opportunity for inmates to do the work. Indicating the consequences of not listening to Guy. Granting final authority to the horse.	move over to the side cause that horse could come right over the top of him. He said "I know what I'm doin" and then ignored me. Later that day I saw him bleeding on his face and asked what happened. He said "I did what you told me not to do." At that point the inmates began to pay attention to me cause they could see I knew what I was talking about. I picked one guy and worked with him as he was getting a horse ready to ride. He paid attention to what I said and on the day he was supposed to ride the horse, all the other inmates gathered around cause they were expecting a rodeo, expecting the horse to buck. When he got on and the horse didn't buck, they all wanted to know how to do it. They figured it was easier to do it my way and not get hurt so from then on, most of em paid attention. They figured they could actually teach the horse
Granting final authority to the horse.	actually teach the horse something.
Reflecting on the differences and similarities between racetrack and prison work. Contextualizing work environment on track. Setting expectations/deadlines for track workers. Enacting consequences for not meeting expectations. Quantifying worker pool.	I learned to tell em what to do, give em a chance and if they chose not to, the horse would teach em the hard way.

Establishing protocol for inmate work program. Inmates choosing to work in horse program. Presenting initial contact similar to any work situation. Providing time and behavior boundaries, probationary period. Revealing consequences for those who cannot meet job expectations.	I brought what I knew from the racetrack, 17 years experience there and tried to use it on the inmates. On the track I was in charge of 5-12 guys at a time, most of em wetbacks. They all had a trial period and if they didn't work out, I fired em cause there were plenty others waiting to take their place.
Identifying inmate limitations. Comparing levels of knowledge between track workers and inmates. Assessing inmate knowledge as rank beginners. Establishing experiential learning environment. Gauging limitations for inmate removal.	Inmates sign up to work in the horse program. They got to work someplace so they are choosing to be here. They get an interview and if they move on from there, they get a 30 day trial. If it don't work out for em, no problem and we let em go.
Comparing teaching challenges of horses and inmates. Ranking horses higher than inmates. Evaluating inmate limitations and challenges for teaching. Gauging amount of pressure to apply. Adapting to individual inmates learning styles. Linking pressure release technique for horses to pressure release technique for inmates. Articulating the preferred outcomes of pressure release. Acknowledging inmates individual	Inmates come here with no experience and guys on track almost always have experience, know what to do. Inmates get to work to gain experience. Some of em too afraid of horses or too short a temper and they don't make it.
responses to pressure. Gauging how much pressure each inmate can take. Identifying higher levels of pressure with consistent levels of orders. Demonstrating personal control.	Horses easier to work with than inmates. Most of em got short tempers and such. I had to figure out how much pressure each one could take. With the

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Associating childhood dog teaching techniques with adult communication behaviors. Demonstrating communication behaviors and expectations. Presenting consequences of not responding as expected. Raising the intensity of the consequences if necessary.	horses, we use the pressure release. We put the pressure on and when they do what we want the pressure is released. Some of the inmates needed lots of pressure, I had to get after em and I didn't want to holler.
Equating dog teaching techniques	
with inmates.	
Confirming teaching appropriate	
behaviors first.	
Establishing protocol of giving command.	
Acknowledging horse as final	
teacher.	
Instituting warning for inmates.	I always had dogs and how I
Revealing consequences for inmates	worked with my dogs was to
who ignore commands.	teach em to obey commands. I
D ··· 11·	gave commands in a soft tone
Recognizing personal bias.	of voice, and I only gave the
Adapting to bias in order to complete job.	command once. If they didn't obey. I corrected them and
Delegating authority to other	made em do what I wanted.
inmates.	Once they learned the
Proving self as final authority even	commands and if they didn't
when delegating.	respond, then I would raise my
Validating consequences of not	voice and they knew I meant
obeying commands.	business.
Elaborating on communication	I did the same with the
challenges and situations.	inmates. I taught what to do,
Gauging inmate's intent to challenge	gave em one command and
authority.	generally if they messed up, the
Articulating personal ethos and	horse took care of em. If I had
behavior.	to raise my voice, their eyes got
Establishing and enacting	real big and they knew I meant
consequences of arguing.	business because I could fire em
Relegating personal responsibility to	and file a report on their behavior.
inmates.	
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Setting personal boundaries for ethical behavior and job security.	
Comparing communication behaviors for inmates and visitors. Establishing consistent patterns of communicating. Relegating personal responsibility to visitors. Exhibiting definitive communication behaviors.	A few of the inmates I just did not get along with so I made other inmates give them commands. If they did not respond to the other inmates commands, I told em they weren't gonna work here. If a command comes from me through another inmate, you
Setting personal boundaries for ethical behavior and job security.	better do what he says.
Revealing DOC work history daily challenges. Claiming credibility. Validating inmates interest. Identifying inmates interest as self preservation. Articulating final outcome of inmates interest.	I had inmates try to argue with me. They wanted to be top dog and they were used to arguing on the outside and in the prison too. I wouldn't stop to argue so I told em they weren't gonna work here and I got rid of em.
Presenting challenge of teaching. Acknowledging personal knowledge and credibility. Reiterating personal experience of learning how to teach.	They had a choice to do what I said or don't stay here, I'm not gonna lose my job over it.
Granting difference and difficulty between doing and teaching.	I did the same with the visitors. Lots of em wanted to bring cameras or cell phones or
Identifying biggest challenge to teaching. Recognizing inmates tendency to be heavy handed with horse. Establishing the need to be light handed with horses. Signifying the power of a light touch, asking rather than demanding.	weren't dressed right. If they didn't want to follow the rules, they weren't coming in. I told em to do it or stay here, I wasn't gonna lose my job over that either.
Appraising some inmate behaviors.	
Confirming consequence of inappropriate behavior.	I worked at DOC for 11

Articulating appropriate behavior and successful outcomes. Identifying the forward movement of horse and inmates when appropriate behavior doing and once the inmates realized I knew what I was	nd
behaviors employed. Explaining specific behaviors to teach inmates to use a light touch. doing and that it would make easier for them, they would pa attention.	
Taking the place of a horse and	
using the pressure release before using it on a horse.	
Guiding behavior.	
I never had to teach before I knew what I was doin, but never had to teach it to someo else. I learned how to teach	
Learning by experiencing the through trial and error.	1
behavior. Teaching is harder than doin i Linking the learning techniques, the	ι.
groundwork of men and horses.	
Presuming success, "when the	
horses ready to ride." Hardest thing was to teach Crediting inmates with know-how em to ride. Some of these	1
and ability to accomplish task. and you can't use heavy hand	
Focusing on the soft touch and the on a horse. A horse takes a fir	
pressure release technique. touch, you ask a horse to	
Connecting inmate and horse respond rather than force em t	t0.
through pressure release and the soft connection.	
Identifying challenges to teaching. Explaining inmate behaviors when Some inmates want to yar	ık
things don't go their way.	
Countering angry behaviors with They got to use soft pressure	
supportive actions. and release when horse is Verifying appropriate and final goals moving the way you want em	
for the horse. to.	
Revealing specific behaviors that	
inmates would present when angry or	
frustrated. Presenting symptoms of inmates	
Presenting symptoms of inmates behaviors (talking too fast, arguing, not I taught em how to use a	
listening). fine hand by standing on the	

Confirming learning techniques to counter inmate behavior.

Demonstrating specific questions to divert inmates from inappropriate behaviors.

Taking control once the diversion takes place.

Redirecting the inmates thought and behavior.

Providing opportunity for inmate to be successful, learn from what did not work.

Establishing authority for connecting with inmates.

Exhibiting attainable goals for inmates behavior and thought.

Provide supportive environment for inmates to reconsider and reframe thought and behavior.

Recognizing personal ability to identify and meet challenge of interacting with inmates.

Equating the use of pressure release used on horses to pressure release used on inmates.

Directing inmates toward productive and successful behaviors for selves.

Providing opportunity for inmates to develop own cognitive skills.

Assessing predominant success of distraction questions and pressure release methods.

Addressing the next level of pressure for those who chose not to stop and think.

Issuing a direct order as a signifier that they were about to get written up and/or fired.

Regulating personal behavior to meet challenges of inmates who choose not to obey.

ground and giving the reins to the inmate. I showed me how much pressure to use, and when they gave to the pressure, I released it. We practiced without a horse so they knew what to do, how easy to go and how to guide rather than pull.

They learned how to feel the pressure and when to release. They gained the experience on the ground just like the horses, when the horses ready to ride, the inmates knew how to use gentle pressure and how to release.

Learning pressure release is the easy way to get a horse to do what you want. Feel the pressure and let the horse feel the release, real soft.

Most of the time, problems came up when the inmates got frustrated and angry. When things don't go their way, they get angry. I tell em to step off the horse cause you always want to end a session on a good note for the horse.

Some of these guys, they get angry and frustrated, got short fuses, and they would start talking 90 miles an hour. They wouldn't listen to me and I wasn't gonna argue so I learned how to slow em down. I'd ask questions that had nothing to do with what they were talking about. I'd ask, "How old are

Articulating specific commands to signify ultimatum. Crediting Brain Hardin for teaching signifying ultimatums. Revealing goal for eliminating inmates who refused to obey. Reiterating the constant work of trial	you," "What's the date today?" "What year is it?" Anything to get em to pay attention and stop and think. Then I could tell em to stop and think about what they did, and how they could do it better next time so it works.
and error, success and failure.	I had to distract them so they could slow down and stop and think about what they were doin. After I ask the question, then I could tell em "If it's not working, step off the horse, stop and think about how to do it better. Come back to reality." When they go off, they don't want to listen, so I had to figure out a way to make em listen.
	Kind of the pressure release. I pressured em by asking a question that had nothing to do with horses, then when they stopped, I could let em think about how to do it better, so I released em to figure it out on their own.
	Most of em would stop and think. If they didn't, I told me I was giving em a "direct order." If they didn't follow the order, they got written up, and it went in their file, and they could get fired. I had to get pretty sharp sometimes and I wasn't gonna argue cause I knew I wasn't gonna win. I'd tell em to straighten up and "this ends

right here or you're goin back in." Brian [Hardin] taught me that. I wanted to get rid of the guys who wouldn't pay attention, thought they knew it all.
Mostly learned through trial and error.

Appendix E: First Visit Field Notes

Field notes first visit

Waiting in a windy parking lot for first BLM adoption visit to the WHIP. Several trucks and cars, lots of people coming and going because we are also near the check-in entry to the Canyon City prison complex. People wanting to visit inmates have to check in here, although I am waiting in the parking lot for the DOC and BLM officials.

Prison highly secure. Duh! Visitors do not go to the prisoners, rather prisoners either come to the entry gate, or the visits are done via camera.

Finally a little bus pulls up. Just like the one I saw when watching the documentary, Wild Horse Redemption, last night.

Monte, the head trainer I saw on the documentary gets out with a clipboard and checks off our names. He quietly recites the rules: no cell phones, no cameras or recording devises. One of the male visitors says "We were told we could keep our cell phones as long as they were turned off. "With lightning speed and in a quiet tone of voice, Monte says "No cell phones." The visitor looked like he was about to argue, then turned on his heels and walked to his truck to leave his cell phone.

Wow. What quiet force Monte has. He looks and sounds like the cowboys I grew up around. Clean, like he just stepped out of a shower and into clean jeans and a pressed shirt. Quiet and calm with a force. Horses will feel safe with him and small boys will want to be like him.

We drive through the prison complex passing building after building. Canyon city is not one prison but a complex with seven prisons, two under construction, and through Colorado Correctional Industries, many workplaces: farming of grapes, corn, hay and soybeans. A fish farm, a goat dairy, cattle grazing, furniture shop, license plates (of course) and lots of other workplaces.

The scenery is breathtaking, some of the most beautiful in Colorado. Red rock cliffs, fertile valleys, Arkansas river running through, and snowcapped mountain views. We drive through acres of horse pens. Large pens of several acres each holding hundreds of horses. I have never seen so many horses, all colors. We drive into a large covered area. Like a ramada. Inmates riding horses around, I see a truck with several people hanging about. Doyle is one and I introduce myself. He introduces me to Monte and Fran Ackley.

Fran asks Monte is I can go with Monte and Monte agrees. We walk toward barn and as we come around corner, I see John, the inmate from last night documentary who had been released from prison. Guess it did not work for him. Monte talks to prisoners and they begin to talk to me.

I cannot ask questions because of IBR restrictions but two of the inmates just start to talk, prompted by Monte. "Tell the lady what you do here."

I 1 young Monte, maybe 21-22, fresh faced with a bit of an edge. "Been here 10 months. Kind of a black sheep growing up, did what I wanted, parents let me do whatever. Been working here and like it, Bond with horses, hard work, but a good place to come to work. Horses easy to work with, I do the same stuff all the time, lots of work to do. Get to work on self too. Learning patience and control like from horses. Giving back to community. Went to equine classes in college before I cold come down here and work with horses. Learning how to treat people, be responsible. Horses need to trust.

Working on friendships and past relationships now as I work on self. The payoff is good job when I get out. Here because of drugs. Raised calves when on family farm, trying to learn, benefit from prison."

I did not believe a word he said. Just mouthing expressions and not investing his ethos. What can I say about my participant observer, am I really so biased? If he were in one of my classes, I could imagine him missing class, doing well when he showed up, but not investing himself in the work of learning.

I2. Monte takes me over to talk to another young man holding a massive dapple grey. "Watch out, he like to bite. Yea I found that when I work with the horses, if I miss a step, I have to go back to the beginning all over again. Kind of like on the outside, I missed a lot of steps and I didn't go back. Just kept going and ended up here. Want to get out, not come back."

Back with Doyle now as he takes the visitors around. Six people in all, including me. Three just looking (me included) another couple and their friend want to adopt a horse. Saddle horses not available as most are going to Border Patrol

Doyle walks with assurance, as do all the men who work there. They could come from central casting for Westerns. Do not wear firearms but have motion detectors and if they are still for more than three minutes an alarm goes off in the main building as it could be a man down.

We walk for hours through pens and pens of wild horses. Some are all mares, some geldings, (all stallions gelded when they come in.) Some are mares and foals and one pen with donkeys and foals.

We look at yearlings, and older horses. Some are already designated as sanctuary horses and will not be available for adoption and will not be trained. BLM spend millions of dollars moving horses off the range and onto long-tem holding facilities, usually in the midwest with good pasture, where horses live out their lives as wild horse within their limited range.

Doyle walks me all over the place although I am really following the visitors who are interested in maybe adopting horses. We crawl up into Doyle's massive truck and drive to some outlying sections and walk through pens the size of three football fields with hundreds of horses milling about. Doyle is careful to lock the doors after we get out.

As we head back, Doyle asks the visitors, "have you seen everything you want to see?" All say yes, and he drives back through the main gate and to the parking lot.

About 1:30 pm. Long day and I am tired and parched. I brought water and Gatorade and drink it all before I head for Parker. About an hour and a half drive so next time I will leave early and drive down rather than staying the night in Canyon City.

Appendix F: July 2010 Visit Field Notes

Field Notes July 2, 2010 Friday

About 8:30 AM. I made my appointments for these visits through L in the BLM office and today she is going to accompany the visitors. She is about 50-60 ish with a tough exterior and a clipboard, just like F. Our visitors today are four women, two wearing sleeveless shirts, and a woman whose recently adopted horse suddenly died, and her friend. Sleeveless shirts are a dress code no-no so L finds some old t shirts that the two women can wear and we set off. I ask L if she will consent to being interviewed and she says no.

The woman whose horse died seems serious as she came with her horse trailer. F takes her in hand right away as soon as we get to the barn area, and trailed by L and the rest of us, we all set off. We walk through one after pen and the potential adopter asks, what is over there? Off we go to see another group of horses. F carefully reviews each horse she asks about. While we are out, F notices a pinto mare who looks thin and weak. As the horses in this facility are in overall robust health, the thin one sticks out and he write down her pen and her number for a follow up. Part of the facility is set up for isolation of ill or injured horses.

In that same pen, a bay mare approaches us and looks inquisitive and smells us. She lets us touch her cheek and appears to enjoy our company. After another hour or so, this mare is chosen to be adopted. However, her manner changes when she is separated and funneled into a loading chute. Her wild side comes out as she bucks, snorts and crashes into the sides of the loading chute. Wavy, one of the staff horses comes to the rescue again as an inmate rides him and slowly pushes the mare into the trailer. Once she crashes into the small space, she calms down and after paperwork completion, is off to her new home.

While we are in the office, F tells me that Monte in on vacation and if I want to talk to him (Monte) again, I better hurry as he is about to retire. I want to meet with B, head of the WHIP, but he works four-tens and does not usually come in on Friday. F says that B may be here on the next Friday visit.

Although F rarely shows emotion at all, he appears to be joyous about this adoption. When he drive us back to the parking lot and the other two women leave, he seems to open up a bit and talks about his job. He mentions his recent trip to Chicago for a BLM convention and the cultural sights he saw. We chat a bit more then I mentioned how healthy the horses are and that they have more space then most stabled horses I see.

"Federal law provides that only a certain number of horses can be supported on the range. We gather them and provide a sanctuary and a life for these horses that they might never have. If they were an endangered species, we would be lauded as heroes for bringing them back from the brink of extinction. Instead, we are criticized for doing our job and saving lives. Wild horses and burros used to be shot and slaughtered for horsemeat and had no protection at all. Now we are the ones who are being demonized for providing life and refuge. Most of our opponents have never been here to see what we do, nor do they realize that the west will not support the horse herds it used to because of human development. If we do not take them off the range, they may well die from starvation or drought or illegal poaching. I get sick of hearing from animal rights groups who do not know what we do here, and do not bother to find out. These visitation days are open to anyone and to my knowledge no one from any of these groups has even been here. Makes me sick."

I ask what I can do to help and he says, "tell people what you see, let them know they can come visit us. We have nothing to hide and all horses here are available for viewing."

That was the longest I had ever heard F talk and I left that day feeling elated that he finally opened up and talked to me. This talk would not have been possible if I had only come down once or twice. Good day for me!