The Role of the Caring Imagination in the Narrative Construction of Care in Human-Animal Work

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Abstract

The study of human-animal work is a new and rapidly evolving field. This thesis takes an ‘ethic of care’ approach to human-animal work, specifically by investigating the role of the ‘caring imagination’. Existing care literature does not address how the caring imagination acts to construct animals as responsive cared-for others in the context of human-animal work. This thesis aims to bridge this gap by asking: In human-animal work, how are the roles of caregiver and cared-for narratively constructed? Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were carried out with participants working in equine-related contexts. The transcripts were analysed using the Listening Guide method, an innovative technique derived from care theory for interpreting interviews. The findings reveal how both the roles of caregiver and cared-for are constructed through imaginative practice. The horses are presented as both receiving and acknowledging care, as well as engaging in caring practices themselves. Voice-giving acts as a way of constructing the horses as consenting to, or resisting, the care offered to them. The imaginative construction of the competent human caregiver, and what it means to give ‘good’ care, is also revealed.

This thesis further acts as a response to the framework offered by Lawrence and Maitlis (2012) outlining how care is enacted narratively within work teams. It provides empirical evidence for how caring narratives are constructed on behalf of parties who do not have a voice. There are implications for practice where organisations seek to enhance safety in dangerous occupations, as well understand how workers construct their identities and make use of sustaining imaginative practices as a source of strength in occupations where care for dependent, vulnerable others is a feature.

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It is my father who, in many ways, is the hidden hero behind this document. It is his own journey of education that has enabled and empowered my choices in life. A love of

books is not an insignificant torch to pass on to your daughter and it is his legacy that I seek to continue by pursuing my own education with dedication and an appreciation that I can never truly express.

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"By conversing with the *Houyhnhnms*, and looking upon them with Delight, I fell to imitate their Gait and Gesture, which is now grown into an Habit, and my Friends often tell me in a blunt way, that *I trot like a Horse;* which, however, I take for a great Compliment: Neither shall I disown, that in Speaking I am apt to fall into the Voice and manner of the *Houyhnhnms*, and hear myself ridiculed on that account without the least Mortification."

Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis investigates how the caring imagination manifests in human-animal work. Following Hamington's (2004) contention that "to care is to draw on embodied knowledge in imaginative ways" (p.88), the caring imagination supports the empathetic leap from a known body to an unknown one, an act which has particular resonance in the context of caring for non-human animals (Hamington, 2008). Despite the significant number of people engaged in work with animals for financial return, there is little research in this area (Hannah and Robertson, 2017). Furthermore, the existing care literature does not address empirically how the roles of caregiver and responsive cared-for are constructed in occupational work with animals. This thesis seeks to address this gap by providing contributions to 'ethic of care' theory in the context of equine-related employment. It also acts as a response to the call from Lawrence and Maitlis (2012) for empirical research that explores "the practical ways in which an ethic of care is enacted" (p.658) at work. The research question posed herein asks: In human-animal work, how are the roles of caregiver and cared-for narratively constructed? It explores how the embodied caring interactions of those who work with horses combine with critical reflection to imaginatively construct the horses as cared-for others. It investigates how, in the absence of words, human-animal workers imagine and 'give voice' to the horses for whom they care and how they are moved to action by such interpretations. To answer this question, qualitative, semi-structured interviews were carried out with participants working in a range of equine-related organisational contexts. The transcripts were then analysed using the Listening Guide method, a technique derived from care theory for interpreting interviews (see for example Brown and Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 2015; Gilligan and Eddy, 2017; Sorsoli and Tolman, 2008; Woodcock, 2016). This method involves attending to voices of relationship through a number of 'listenings' which can be adapted to suit the particular research question under review. The findings indicate that both the roles of caregiver and cared-for are constructed through imaginative practice. Voice-giving acts as a way of revealing the caring imagination at work, where horses are presented as both receiving and acknowledging care, as well as engaging in caring practices themselves. The caring imagination thus constructs them as autonomous, responsive others in mutually interdependent relationships, despite the instrumental use to which they are put. This thesis further supports the contention of

Hamington (2008) that embodied caring interactions with animals enhance and develop the caring imagination.

This project grew gradually from an interest in horses and a desire to study their contributions to organisational life. Conversations with colleagues, feedback from scholars, the twists and turns of the literature, and the dawning realities of what research was possible, all informed the development of the thesis. Like every thesis, there were dead ends, contemplations of different theories and revelations from fieldwork that caused me to alter my direction and shift my focus. I sought to ask my research community what was of interest to them, taking on board the advice of Huff (2009) that "successful scholarship requires the discipline to listen to others" (p.5). In that this research arose from a personal relationship with horses, its journey and my own often ran in parallel as I attempted to figure out how best to answer the questions about animals that had begun in my mind prior to the start of this research. While this thesis offers possible answers to one kind of question, there are of course many more that remain unanswered regarding our relationship with, and treatment of, animals in our societies today.

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the scholarly interest in animals in the management and organisational literature, as well as a very brief introduction to my use of care theory. I discuss why I chose horses as the organisational context of study and offer some background regarding the equine industry in Ireland. Finally, I outline the contents of the various chapters and how they combine to answer the particular research question under review.

1.1 Animals in the literature of management and organisational studies

In noting that "humans behave differently with animals than they do with other people" (2017, p.117), Hannah and Robertson indicate the potentially fertile territory that human-animal work provides for the development of management and organisational theories. Defined as "*human work that is substantially focused on live non-human animals*" (Hannah and Robertson, 2017, p.116, italics in original), human-animal work is undertaken by a significant number of people globally. Despite this, they note a dearth of research focussing on this area of occupational life. Labatut, Munro and Desmond, in their editorial of a 2016 special issue of *Organization*, write of "the virtual exclusion

until now of discussion of animals within organization theory" (p.325). They posit "the need for further research and theorizing in relation to the animal and organization" (p.325).

Beyond acknowledging this particular gap in the organisational research, scholars interested in human-animal interaction also appear troubled by the possible implications of such a gap. Issues of domination, manipulation, and control can arise when we are in the presence of animals and scholarship has risked ignoring such concerns. Humans profit from the work of non-human animals every day, resulting in "an ethical imperative for humans to examine the mechanisms and technologies by which working life with other species is managed, the ways in which power is worked out both discursively and practically" (Hamilton and Taylor, 2013, p.29). While animals themselves may not have verbal language, they do have agency which can be expressed behaviourally, for example through struggle and opposition (Sayers, 2016). However, even organisational research focussing on issues of power and resistance has "neglected the significance of animals in these relations" (Labatut et al., 2016, p.325). O'Doherty (2016) writes of his search through "the annals of scholarship in management and organization studies for recognition of the animal" (p.409), finding only their presence as "a particular type of 'raw material' or economic material that introduces localized problems associated with process flow and operations management" (p.409). Anthony (2012) notes the possible damage to our own selves and futures "if we continue to pursue mindlessly disburdenment from ethical life" (p.140).

Researching and writing about animals pose almost as many risks as ignoring them. Sayers, Hamilton and Sang (2019), in their editorial of a special issue of *Gender, Work and Organization* dedicated to this subject, write "that scholarship in this field has focused on humans while neglecting and marginalizing other species as objects, symbols and resources" (p.239). Concerns regarding the prioritization of human verbal ability over animal communication (Hamilton and Taylor, 2013) and the focus on the purely instrumental value of the animals (Lennerfors and Sköld, 2018) arise. These latter authors acknowledge the difficulty of freeing ourselves from such perspectives. As humans, we will always have a tendency to look at things from a human perspective. The challenge is not perhaps in deciding that this perspective can and should be removed, but rather in inspiring it to 'speak for' animals as best we can (Suen, 2015).

Animal-related research has a further contribution in what it can teach us about ourselves. In their editorial of a special issue of *Culture and Organization* focussing on the role of the animal, Lennerfors and Skold (2018) write of how "our desire was to turn to the notion of the animal to explore and to bring out the indeterminacy, undecidability, and excess of life and of being, and contemplate its uncanny workings and its implications for organisation" (p.266), thereby make use of the concept of the animal as a way of "problematizing the human and humanistic thought" (p.266). There is value in this approach and, I suggest, insights to be gained by looking at ourselves through our relationships to animals as a way of making us better partners on this planet that we share with others, both humans and non-humans alike.

The research within this thesis focuses on humans and how they narratively construct their interactions with animal others. While some scholarship might believe "that it is only *we* who work, manage and organize" (Sayers, et al, 2019, p.239), the practitioners with whom I spoke do not appear to believe this. Instead, they presented a form of agency on the part of the horses, constructing their resistances and responses. They created occasions for the expressions of autonomy on the part of the animals, even within instrumental settings. This thesis is ultimately about the opportunities that accrue in those moments when the divide between human bodies and horse bodies is bridged, as the humans look to their own bodily experience to empathetically imagine the bodily experiences of an unknowable other. In these moments, ideas of duality and separation are second to the shared understanding of the flesh. This, too, can be reflected in organisational scholarship, as Sayers et al. (2019) note: "All the articles collected here stress that it is possible to be concerned for the welfare of animals and humans at the same time; they are not at all mutually exclusive. In fact, they are often interlinked" (p.243).

1.2 Why care ethics?

There appears to be a conflict at the heart of human-animal work (HAW). The reasons that people may choose to work with animals, such as an expressed 'love' for them, may clash with what is expected of them within this work. Hannah and Robertson (2017) note that "much HAW involves harming animals to extract value from them" (p.117), before adding that acquiring "insight into the nature of these tensions, how they affect

workers, and how contextual factors make it easier or more difficult for workers to resolve tensions, will be important to the study of HAW" (p.117). The ethic of care provides a possible moral framework within which to examine the relationships extant in human-animal work, despite the concern that some care theorists have with any instrumental motivation behind such caregiving (see for example Liedtka, 1996; Noddings, 2013; Tronto, 1993). Those who work with horses undoubtedly make money from breeding them, riding them, competing them, training them and teaching others how to take part in these activities. However, in order to do this, they must care for them, feed them, shelter them, and tend to them when they are sick. Such caring practices may appear to have a certain purpose, that is so the animal can continue to work for them. However, an investigation into these practices reveals a more complicated picture. The participants in this study spoke of their wish to see their horses happy, adapting their routines in the face of resistance from the horses and making choices to earn less money in order to protect their horses' welfare. Noddings (2013) notes how the "contractual reciprocity" (p.158) that arises in such contexts may lead to a very real, caring relationship, based on the same natural foundations of other forms of care. Such 'contractual care', then, offers an interesting lens through which to consider human-animal work, as well as providing possible contributions to ethic of care theory itself.

In the case of non-verbal animals, it is through their bodies that the human-animal workers and their cared-for relate to each other. It is therefore the embodied aspect of caring that comes to the fore in such relationships. This concept of embodied care is given much treatment by Hamington (2004) and it is his definition that underpins this thesis. Further discussion relating to embodied care, and indeed the wider context of care ethics, follows in chapter two. Specifically, it is one particular aspect of this embodied care, the caring imagination, that is explored by this research. Following Hamington (2004), I offer empirical evidence of how the caring imagination interacts with caring knowledge and habits and plays a role in the narrative construction of both competent caregiver and responsive cared-for in the context of human-animal work. My findings appear to support Hamington's (2008) contention that caring interactions with animals enhance the development of the caring imagination.

In the absence of the horses' own verbal ability, it is the participants in this research who speak on their behalf. Within the interview context, the participants gave voice to both

the animals and their own experiences of embodied care. This voice-giving acted as a way for the participants to 'translate' the horses' bodily movements into words that they believe reflect the thought processes of the horses. It also acted as a means to communicate this practice to me during our conversations. In this way, narratives of care (Lawrence and Maitlis, 2012) were created. As part of these narratives, mysterious pasts, alternative lives and possible futures were constructed for the horses as a way of explaining their behaviour, protecting them against potential harm, and justifying the participants' own caring choices. The development of these narratives, then, acts as a response to Lawrence and Maitlis (2012) and their proposed framework outlining discursive practices within work teams. That care can still be performed through narrative, when one party to the relationship is unable to speak, offers a significant contribution to this framework.

1.3 Why horses?

If the study of human-animal work provides an interesting context for the development of care theory, then horses offer the opportunity for particularly significant insights. Horses straddle the boundary between pets and livestock. Where once they were purely engaged in labour, in western societies today horses are very much viewed as leisure animals (Birke, Hockenhull and Creighton, 2010). However, this transition to something akin to a domestic 'pet' is not without problems, given the huge investment of time and money that goes into their care (Birke, Hockenhull and Creighton, 2010; Keaveney, 2008). Regarding the financial resources required to keep horses, Keaveney notes that "the cost of horse ownership over a 25–30 year lifetime could conceivably buy a new Maserati" (2008, p.445). The fact that horses are ridden adds an extra element to embodied relationship (Brandt, 2009; Maurstad, Davis and Cowles, 2013). Engaging with horses is significantly more dangerous than caring for cats or dogs (Brandt 2009), given their size, speed, and their having "the mental and physical characteristics of a prey animal rather than a predator" (Keaveney, 2008, p.444). While Hannah and Robertson point to the impact of the "near-humanness" (2017, p.117) of animals on those who work with them, it is their dissimilarity to humans and other companion animals that is highlighted by Keaveney (2008):

> Consciousness of imminent danger when around horses, combined with recognition that the horse thinks, perceives, and socializes differently, means that

> consumers of horse experiences are motivated and sustained by needs very different from the drive for a household-animal companion (p.445).

Noting the specialised nature of the relationship of care between human and horse, Finkel and Danby (2019) use the term "equiscapes" (p.389) which are "viewed as leisure 'working' environments, where investments in time, resources and emotions are framed in work discourses in order to legitimize efforts and expenditure" (p.389). Having horses as companions, then, is 'work', even if not for financial return. The extra dimension added by professional equine work that makes it 'human-animal work' (Hannah and Roberston, 2017) appears understudied, yet provides possibilities for a similar richness to that which appears in the context of recreational equine experiences. Echoing the overlapping boundaries of care and contract, and the seeming tension at the core of human-animal work, this research explores the spaces where companion and farm animal, pleasure and labour, instrumental and intrinsic, all overlap.

Another reason for selecting equine-related contexts is my own relationship with horses. Having taken part in horse-riding lessons on and off since I was young, horses have always been an important part of my life. I trained as a riding instructor, though queried the use of some of the methods of training which, while always ethical in the mainstream, often caused me to wonder about my own ability to do what needed to be done in an industry setting. My oft remarked 'softness' and sentimentality no doubt contributed significantly to my decision to adopt a rescue pony, Bramble, arguably of little monetary value to anyone. Trained without many traditional aids, no shoes on his feet, no bit in his mouth, my own brand of 'natural horsemanship' precluded most competitive or even leisure activities that many would wish for their horse.

Such attitudes were important for me to be aware of before commencing field work on sites where the value of the horses is largely instrumental and significant financial returns expected on the investment in their care. Sometimes my own experience with horses would come up during the interviews, sometimes not. There were occasions when I spoke freely of Bramble and his story, and other times when I chose to remain silent, whether through timing, deemed irrelevance, or a fear of losing rapport with the participant. Following the method of the Listening Guide, such instances were noted and reflected upon as I analysed each transcript. My own tacit knowledge as an, albeit

limited, 'insider' allowed me access to the terms and concepts used by the practitioners (some of these terms are explained in Appendix A) without impeding their narrative flow. They knew that I might understand such 'basics' as "on the flat" and "leg on", etc. On the other hand, I am not a practitioner myself and do not have to make decisions surrounding welfare, financial resources, health and safety, and organisational viability. As someone who cares for a horse, I am not a human-animal worker. My pony is of no instrumental value to me, although I have come to query this concept over time. Do I not get pleasure from his company? Do I not make decisions that make it easier for me to care for him, even though it may fall short of the ideal? Some of the issues that affect the participants in this study have also affected me, despite our differing contexts. In this way, perhaps it is harder to disentangle concepts of 'instrumental' and 'intrinsic', 'natural' and 'contractual' than may appear at first glance. This thesis is partly an attempt to investigate such ideas.

1.4 An overview of the equine industry in Ireland

The Irish equine industry is divided into two main parts; the bloodstock sector and the horse sport sector. The bloodstock industry deals with the racing side of the business. This includes the breeding, training and selling of Thoroughbred horses for the industry, as well as the supplementary roles such as the management of racecourses, betting and the production of feed and health products. The bloodstock industry is reported to contribute €914m to the Irish economy (Deloitte, 2017). This same report notes that activities associated with this industry are "the most prominent and important of any country on a per capita basis" (p.5). There are an estimated 50 Thoroughbred horses for every 10,000 people in Ireland, which compares to between three and five in France, Great Britain and the USA (Deloitte, 2017). Such numbers also appear to coincide with a high success rate as the report goes on to note that "more than one in five of the top 100 rated Flat horses in 2016 were Irish bred, and c.13% Irish trained" (p.5).

The racing industry is a significant employer in Ireland, particularly in rural areas which might otherwise experience unemployment and flight to the larger cities. An estimated 28,900 full-time jobs are associated with the industry (Deloitte, 2017). This is broken down in the report to more than 4,000 in the breeding sector, over 2,800 stable staff, and another 5,700 related jobs such as farriers, veterinarians, etc. Another 7,700 'spin-off'

jobs are also estimated, with the closely-related betting industry accounting for an additional 6,000 full-time jobs.

The sport horse sector makes up the other part of the Irish equine industry. Defined as "a riding horse or pony of a single breed or a combination of breeds used for, or intended to be used for, recreational and competitive activities other than racing" (Corbally and Fahy, 2017, p.1), sport horses feature in such events as show-jumping and dressage, as well as the various local riding schools where many children and adults learn to ride. This side of the industry is reported to contribute over €816 million to the Irish economy and provide 14,057 full-time job equivalents (Corbally and Fahy, 2017). There are an estimated 135,715 sport horses in the country, with 14,830 "active breeders" (Corbally and Fahy, 2017, p.xi). Across both competitive and leisure pursuits, engagement with the sport horse sector is high among Irish people, many of whom enjoy attending shows, learning to ride or taking equestrian holidays themselves, with an estimated 46,799 people "involved with sport horses" (Corbally and Fahy, 2017, p.xi). Furthermore, the two sides of the industry are not entirely discrete. For example, the leisure pursuit of hunting is closely aligned with the 'Point-to-Point' events of the racing industry.

The participants in this research represent both sides of the sector, including breeders, trainers, coaches, yard managers and livery owners. Most of the participants are engaged in more than one role. For example, many are coaches and trainers, as well as yard managers. Some train horses for their owners, some train horses in order to sell them on. Some teach people how to ride and others teach people how to train their own horses to be ridden. Some breed to compete themselves, some breed for others to compete. There is much overlap between these various activities and individuals involved need to be competent across a number of them. As a result, the participants' roles are hard to divide up neatly. However, the approach that the participants take to their roles does differ, an issue which reflects the diversity of the industry as a whole. For example, some people follow what are deemed to be the 'traditional' methods of horse training and riding, while some adopt what is referred to as 'natural horsemanship'. Some more have developed their own approach, based on their own personalities, experiences and what methods they deem to work for them. Such categories are quite fluid, in that many horse people will have adjusted their own training and riding techniques over the years, developed from different understandings of horse behaviour or perhaps coming across a difficult horse

that required an unorthodox or non-traditional approach. In such a potentially dangerous occupation, having a 'toolbox' of various methods to keep both self and horse safe is not unusual. My overall experience of the participants is that ongoing interaction with horses inspires creativity and an openness to trying whatever will work, with the welfare of the horse to the fore.

In this thesis, I have categorised the participants by listing their various roles in order of the most prevalent, as I could ascertain. They were each provided with my categorisation, along with the interpretations of their particular interview transcript. To protect anonymity in a close-knit industry and a small country, I have not broken down their various roles further. An appendix of words, used in the thesis and specific to the industry, is provided (Appendix A).

1.5 The layout of this thesis

The rest of this thesis is laid out as follows. In chapter two, I outline my research philosophy and theoretical framework. I discuss my choice of social constructionism and I provide an overview of ethic of care theory, including embodied care (Hamington, 2004) and the caring imagination. I also consider the concept of voice in relation to the participants, the animals, and my own voice as researcher and interviewer. In chapter three, I provide a review of the literature as it pertains to animals in the 'business' and 'management' categories of the Social Sciences Citation Index. I offer an ethic of care framework as a way to investigate the literature, thereby highlighting the role of animals and those who care for them. A discussion of my methodology appears in chapter four, including details concerning data collection, sampling, interviewing technique, as well as a detailed exemplar of the Listening Guide in action.

Chapters five, six and seven address my findings. In chapter five, I discuss how the caring imagination is informed by knowledge and goes on to inform caring practices. I consider how the horses are also constructed as gaining knowledge and engaging in care towards the humans with whom they interact. I discuss care as a choice and a value and what can occur due to failures in the caring imagination. Chapter six shows how the caring imagination is demonstrated narratively. I provide examples of stories of specific horses, told by the participants, which reveal moments of connection, resistance, or desire on the part of the horses. In these stories, the participants are heard 'giving voice' to the

horses by literally speaking their side of the conversation. In this way, the imaginatively constructed thoughts of the horses combine with their bodily movements to create 'speech' that allows the participants to portray the responses of the horses, as well as making themselves understood to me within the interviews. Chapter seven discusses the critical aspect of the caring imagination and outlines how the three caring narrative practices of Lawrence and Maitlis (2012) manifest in human-animal work. A fourth narrative practice is offered: "What if they could talk?"

I conclude with chapter eight, where I provide an overview of my contributions to ethic of care theory and the field of human-animal work. I also outline the limitations of this study, potential avenues for further research, implications for practice, and the potential impact of the caring imagination on the wider world. Appendices are provided which explain the lesser known terms and phrases used by practitioners in the equine industry, the information and consent form sent to participants ahead of our meeting, sample questions used in the semi-structured interviews, and the transcription notation applied to assist the reader in navigating the quotes included herein.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I discuss the philosophy which underpins this thesis and why I have taken a social constructionist approach to the research. I outline the various constructions of voice, of the participants, me as the researcher, and finally the voice of the animals, as they are presented in this thesis. I offer a brief overview of some thoughts relating to human-animal interaction and embodiment. Next, I review the ethic of care as the theoretical framework within which my research is positioned. I end with a discussion of embodied care, the definition of which will inform the approach and findings of this thesis. This serves to place my research question in the context of Hamington's (2004) third element of care, the caring imagination.

2.1 Research philosophy

Defined as the "branch of philosophy concerned with assumptions about the nature of reality or being" (Saunders et al., 2016, p.722), ontology addresses what can be known about the world. I approached this thesis from an ontologically "subjectivist" (Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006, p.12) point of view[1] and a belief that "social reality is produced and reproduced by social actors" (Blaikie, 1993, p.203). As a result of this, my epistemological approach to data collection reflects my belief in qualitative, interview-based research methods as a way to reveal the "different opinions and narratives that can help to account for different social realities of different social actors" (Saunders et al., 2016, p.130). I follow Wolch (2009) in the belief that non-human animals socially construct their own worlds and are subjects in their own realities. The term 'social actor' can therefore be redefined to include the non-human animal as "a fellow meaning-maker who adds to the collective creation of values that are essential for cultures to be both contrived and performed" (Hamilton and Taylor, 2013, p.32). I suggest that objectivity in the social sciences is not possible, as both the researcher and the participants experience the social world from their own perspectives and are unable to step outside these perspectives. I consequently acknowledge the axiological position of the researcher as part of the research process, rather than objective and 'value-free'. Any

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[1] It may be of use to note here that, while in broad agreement with each other, the terminology used differs between scholars. For example, 'nominalist' (della Porta and Keating, 2008; Huff, 2009) "anti-foundationalist" (Marsh and Furlong, 2002, p.18), "constructivist" (Blaikie, 1993, p.203), or "relativist" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p.22).

claims made are "the view from a body, always a complex, contradictory, structuring and structured body, versus the view from above, from nowhere, from simplicity" (Haraway, 1991, p.195).

This research, therefore, takes place within a social constructionist framework.[2] Language is of particular interest to social constructionists as it is through language that meanings are created, as well as through the relationships which arise out of social interactions. It is an appropriate paradigm within which to investigate how narrative practices are used to 'give voice' to the embodied aspects of care in human-animal work. That meaning is created within social relations is what Gergen (2011) celebrates as "the most generative idea" (p.109) of social constructionism, with relationships acting as sites where "the world comes to be what it is for us" (Gergen, 2009, p.3). It is in these relationships between human worker and horse that the roles of 'caregiver' and 'cared-for' are constructed. Verbal language enables critical understanding of these roles as they are communicated to me as the researcher and collaborator in meaning making.

2.2 The voices of the participants

The narrative practices employed by the participants in this research are a function of a language that is social, occurring between persons and enabling constructions of identity to take place (Burr, 1995). One's identity as a 'caring' person, for example, would depend on interactions with others to demonstrate the meaning of this concept (Burr, 1995). Language facilitates this knowledge by enhancing our subjectivity to both ourselves and the person with whom we are speaking (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), thereby offering "the potential to create new ways of being" (Gergen, 2009, p.29). The collected narratives of the participants in this research enable them to 'give voice' to what is happening in their own bodies as they provide care, thereby enabling critical reflection (Hamington, 2004) on the nature of the work they do.

This concept of 'giving voice' is a significant aspect of social constructionism, where competing discourses vie to represent their own truths. In so doing, the participants are dependent on others agreeing with and confirming these representations. They create

[2] Following Burr (1995) and Gergen (2011), I will make use of the term 'social constructionism' rather than 'social constructivism' throughout as, although these terms are often used interchangeably, constructivism has traditionally referred to "cognitive processes within the individual mind" (Gergen, 2011, p.109).

accounts of their selfhood which are dependent on how they position themselves in relation to the discourse with which they are engaging (Burr, 1995). The interviews, therefore, can be seen as sites of negotiation, where the participants seek to "furnish rationales as to why a certain voice (typically their own) is to be granted superiority by offering rationales or justifications" (Gergen, 1989, p.74). As the researcher, I engaged with these people because of their very specific expertise. Therefore, I am willing to accept their 'voice' as an account that is reliable and trustworthy, notwithstanding my own interventions and collaborations. My choice of the Listening Guide as an approach to interview interpretation, discussed at length in chapter four of this thesis, was also informed by the need to give space to the participants' voices and to allow them be considered within the context of their production, rather than abstractly coded and categorised. In order to further enhance the findings as "the outcome of a given community of agreement" (Gergen, 2011, p.109), I offered each of the participants the opportunity to review my interpretations of our interviews before any publication arising out of the thesis, or submission of the thesis itself. This approach is also in keeping with an ethic of care which places relationship at its heart. As a 'care researcher', I needed to remain cognitive of any possible effects that the outcomes of this research could have on the lives of the participants, first and foremost (Jacques, 1992).

2.3 The voice of the researcher

My own voice within this thesis manifests in a number of different ways. As the person who chose this topic, this question, this discipline, I am the student, the carer of animals. As the person engaging with the participants in the field, I am the interviewer, the collaborator in knowledge creation. As the producer of the final thesis, I am the author. I therefore experience 'multiple selves' (Shulamit, 1997) during the course of the research process. I bring my own life experiences and knowledge, my own passion for the subject and an interest in developing further a particular theory that resonates with my own values. Rather than deny the existence of these perspectives, I acknowledge their role in informing the path of my research, the choice and order of interview questions, those with whom I selected to speak, and the inclusion or exclusion of information in the write up phase (Burr, 1995; Hertz, 1997). I acknowledge my presence in the research and the fact that another researcher undertaking this work would approach it in a different way (Jacques, 1992).

To make visible my own various roles in this text, I chose to write in the first person "I", rather than seeking refuge in a more distant third person voice (Ely, 2007). I elected to construct a form of "audible authorship" (Charmaz and Mitchell, 1997, p.194) to communicate relationship not just with the research participants, but also with the readers of this text (Gergen, 2009). In order to reveal who is behind this "I", I kept a reflective diary along the way. While my research journals acted as a place to keep notes, highlight books to read, quotes from passages of interest, questions for my supervisor, etc., this reflective diary was more introspective in nature. It provided a space for me to interrogate my own feelings over the period of my study, how my thinking and beliefs changed, as well as thoughts regarding my interactions with the participants before and after each interview. Following such examples as Gerstl-Pepin (cited in Tierney and Lincoln, 1997) and Lather (2007), excerpts from this reflective diary are provided in the methodology chapter of this thesis to assist the reader in understanding the often-changing context within which "I" the researcher, "I" the person, and "I" the author were becoming.

2.4 'Voicing' animals

As well as the voices of the different participants and those of myself in my various roles as researcher, author, etc., the 'voices' of the different horses also feature in this text. At times, these are presented as interpretations by the participants of the horses' various bodily movements. At other times, the participants literally 'voice' the horses' sides of 'conversations' between them. The nature of these narrative constructions, and how they enable the enactment of care, is at the heart of the research question investigated herein.

While animals do not possess verbal language akin to what humans have, the term 'voice' is used to describe utterances made by animals, or indeed the effect of these utterances. For example, in hunting circles, the hounds are believed to 'talk' when in pursuit of their prey: "Many huntsmen spend years trying to breed voice into their packs…" (Mullins, 2016, p.48), "Following his first principle of hunting, "Keep it simple and let the hounds do the talking"…" (Power, 2017, p.47). Voice here is a special thing, one that sets apart a hound of quality from a "cur", a dog that simply barks (Marvin, 2009, p.37). Furthermore, a hound will only speak "truly" (p.37) when they have good reason to and 'speaking' when there is no scent is considered poor behaviour for such an animal. When the hounds are on top form, their voice is said to thrill, like an orchestra with "a melodious

chorus" (p.37): "What a pleasure it is to hear a pack of hounds that can really make music" (Mullins, 2016, p.48). On the hunting field, a "mute" (Marvin, 2009, p.37) hound is of no value and silence is, more broadly speaking, considered to be the burden of the 'dumb beast' without ability to have or express thoughts. While Suen (2015) offers the possibility of seeing the silence of animals as "an active form of resistance that conjures its own power" (p.12), history has seen humans deliberately silence animals so as not to hear their voices, for example during painful experimentation procedures (Luke, 1992/2007). To be afraid of the animal 'voice', therefore, perhaps is to acknowledge the power of what it might say:

> As for animals being too dumb and stupid to speak for themselves, consider the following sequence of events. When Albert Camus was a young boy in Algeria, his grandmother told him to bring her one of the hens from the cage in their backyard. He obeyed, then watched her cut off its head with a kitchen knife, catching its blood in a bowl so that the floor would not be dirtied.
>
> The death-cry of that hen imprinted itself on the boy's memory so hauntingly that in 1958 he wrote an impassioned attack on the guillotine. As a result, in part, of that polemic, capital punishment was abolished in France. Who is to say, then, that the hen did not speak? – Elizabeth Costello (Coetzee, 1999, p.63).

However, verbal language is privileged in its ability to construct reality, as well as personal identity. By locating us in relation to each other, voice gives humans the ability to create one another (Shotter, 1989). Those without such language, therefore, remain at a disadvantage in social contexts (Gergen, 1989). Having no voice can be "the equivalent to not having any defense to what was done to my body" (Robillard, 1997, p.254). In such a context, non-human animals become "simply bereft of the symbolic resources necessary for full social functioning" (Gergen, 1989, p.76). The natural environment is similarly afflicted, with no 'voice' or standing (Wysocki, 2012) in relation to organisational processes (Starik, 1995). It has been argued that verbal language has been used for "the manufacturing of consent within the human population for the oppression and exploitation of the animal population" (Stibbe, 2001, p.147). It achieves this through terms of objectification and ownership, turning pigs into pork, "an instrumental resource or an inert material from which all value is extracted" (Sayers, 2016, p.373). It enables

humans to 'speak over' the animals' own forms of communication, which leaves them vulnerable to domination by our use of words (Hamilton and Taylor, 2013). Despite these risks, non-humans require humans "to generate dialogues" (Waddock, 2011, p.205) on their behalf. In order to be represented in our social spaces, non-human animals may need someone to 'give voice', thereby constructing another side of the story.

This 'giving voice' to animals can be problematic. Such "speaking for" animals (Sanders, 2003, p.407) can arise as a seemingly commonplace side-effect of sharing a life with them, thereby manifesting "the practical definition of the (animal) other that arises out of routine relational experience" (p.407). However, the unequal nature of this power to create animal identity in this way leaves them vulnerable in the face of those who create them (Hamilton and Taylor, 2013). 'Speaking for' can be used to uphold violence against the animal (Suen, 2015), becoming an action "necessary for both animal liberation *and* animal exploitation, despite their conflicting goals" (Suen, 2015, p.14). Thoughtful interpretation is always needed. The inevitable result is an understanding that has been filtered through the lens of human perspective:

> Unlike the injunction to let animals speak for themselves, the language of *giving* a voice to the voiceless or *speaking for* the other readily acknowledges the active role humans play in representing animals. Like nature, animals do not "speak through us". Every time we represent an animal, we are constructing their needs and desires. (Suen, 2015, p.20-21).

'Giving voice' to animals is an activity achieved in relation, rather than in opposition. Such relationships are developed through time spent in interaction, observation and the "empathetic partaking of the perspective of the other" (Sanders and Arluke, 1993, p.384). Rather than the use of language to create distance, the voices of the participating human-animal workers act to construct autonomy and consent on behalf of the horses with whom they work. As well as articulating what is going on in their own bodies as they respond to the animals, they speak to understand what is going on in the horses' bodies. They 'give voice' to their belief in what these bodily responses mean, both by constructing narratives for themselves and for me as the interviewer, and also by literally 'voicing' the horses' side of the 'conversations' between them as caregiver and cared-for. This interaction of body and voice enables the enactment of caring practices which are

informed by direct experiences, empathetic relationship (Slote, 2007) and critical, imaginative reflection (Hamington, 2004). They 'give voice' to both understand, and to be understood, in the context of their working lives.

2.5 Body and voice

If interaction is defined as "the reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another's actions when in one another's immediate physical presence" (Goffman, 1971, p.26), then social actors without language ability may also be included in this designation. Hamilton and Taylor (2013), in suggesting that animals can be party to such interactions, note that Goffman "argued that non-verbal interchanges could have the system requirements which are necessary to interaction" (Hamilton and Taylor, 2013, p.6). Bodily interactions with animals can take many forms (Sanders, 2003). Those between humans and horses are of particular interest due to the size differential and that humans often ride horses, creating a need for effective and coherent communication between the two parties (Brandt, 2009). As a result, humans and horses must co-create a very intricate, yet systematic, language of their own, based on bodily movements, "enabling each to express a subjective presence to the other and work together in a goal-oriented fashion" (Brandt, 2009, p.317). As a result of these relations, horse and human change, both becoming other to what they were before their encounters (Maurstad et al., 2013):

> Parties intra-act, and as relations grow, horse and human, respectively, are changing, adapting and attuning to each other in order to communicate well and engage in their activities in meaningful ways. Horse-human practices are intra-actions with effects. (p.332).

Such 'intra-actions', then, reveal the potential of human subjectivities and animal subjectivities to combine, merge, and reconstruct each other into new ways of being in the world. Out of such relations, an ethics of embodiment is possible (Pullen and Rhodes, 2015). Notwithstanding the potential for the utilisation of the body as a space to exploit (Sørensen and Villadsen, 2015), an embodied approach can make possible "a more engaged, compassionate, resistant and pluralistic ethics that counters strong organizational tendencies towards control, homogeneity, discrimination and domination" (Pullen and Rhodes, 2015, p.162) and highlight the "indissoluble relation between thinking and feeling" (p.161). I therefore expand out these authors' implicit definition

of embodiment as occurring between 'people' to include non-human animals. I seek to investigate how human-animal workers construct an understanding of how best to care for horses based on their own felt experiences of being in their bodies, and how they are then enabled to think on the imagined felt experiences of the unknown body of another (Hamington, 2004). 'Giving voice' in this context acts as way for the participants to connect what is happening in their bodies to what they imagine to be happening in the body of another. They voice both their own experiences as caregiver and the constructed experience of the horse as cared-for as their bodies respond to each other.

2.6 The ethic of care

Carol Gilligan's research *In a Different Voice* (1982 & 1993) has been influential in the development of the ethic of care, offering a significant and important contribution to the area of moral philosophy, psychology and education. The ethic of care offers a moral framework which is founded in relationships and on the responsibilities arising out of the bonds of these relationships. Care is both a value and a practice (Held, 2006) which offers a contextual basis for decision making, rather than a conceptual set of principles designed to guide behaviour. While care can occur at some distance, what Noddings (2013) and Tronto (1993) refer to as 'caring about', the practice of "caring for" (Noddings, 2013, p.xiv) or "care-giving" (Tronto, 1993, p.107) is particular in nature and "describes an encounter or set of encounters characterized by direct attention and response" (Noddings, 2013, p.xiv). Informed by "engrossment" (Noddings, 2013, p.17) or empathetic concern (Slote, 2007), caregivers "pay attention to, and are absorbed in, the way the other person structures the world and his or her relationship to the world – in the process of helping that person" (Slote, 2007, p.12). In the context of human-animal work, attempts to 'know' how the non-human animal understands their world are complicated by a lack of shared language. Caregiving in such a context appears to include attempts by the caregivers to access a possible understanding of how the animal relates to the world, followed by responses to such constructions.

The implications of the ethic of care for organisational scholarship have been considered, both on the individual and at the organisational level (Simola, 2012), as well as within and between organisational members (Lawerence and Maitlis, 2012). Care ethics have been used to inform new ways of relating to organisational stakeholders (Burton and

Dunn, 1996; Sama et al., 2004; Wicks et al., 1994) and have been cited as a constructive way of 'doing' organisation:

> "The importance of collaboration, interdependence, trust, teamwork, and decentralization make the ideas embedded in Gilligan's care orientation seem even more appropriate – they provide a way to organize and make more coherent the posture of an organization in the face of current challenges" (Wicks, 1996, p.524).

Among these 'current challenges', environmental sustainability is considered by Sama et al. (2004) who call for an ethic of care to institute the "internalized voice" (p.152) of the environment in order to protect it across all organisational processes. Care ethics are also argued to play a vital role in effective management education as they provide a truer account of how managerial decisions are made (Burton and Dunn, 2005). As an approach expressed through the development of relationships, it can be expected that the meaning of care will be constructed within these relationships and "is likely to revolve significantly around the ways in which organizational members communicate with, listen to, and especially tell stories to and with one another" (Lawrence and Maitlis, 2012, p.646). These authors point to three possible discursive practices utilised by team members to enact care for each other. These practices appear to manifest somewhat differently in human-animal work, discussions of which are included in chapter seven of this thesis.

While traditionally applied to humans, care is "not restricted to human interaction with others" (Tronto, 1993, p.103) and care theorists have considered the implications of this ethic for non-humans (Manning,1992; Noddings, 2013; Sama et al., 2004). Because many humans care for animals, "an ethic built on caring must consider the possibility that the ethical domain reaches beyond our relations with human beings to those we may establish with animals" (Noddings, 2013, p.148-149). While reciprocity of care is not formally present in our relationships with non-human animals (Noddings, 2013), responsibility for care arises anytime we make animals dependent on us and the factors of "need, ability to fill needs, existence of other avenues for filling needs, and relationship" are present (Manning, 1992, p.127). This responsibility occurs whether we have pets (Noddings, 2013) or within, for example, an agricultural system (Engster,

2006). Furthermore, a concrete relationship with one such animal establishes a chain of relationships with all members of that animal's species, placing an obligation to care for them also (Noddings, 2013). As the care ethic is one of healing (Tronto, 1993), informed by the belief "that no one should be hurt" (Gilligan, 1993, p.174), abuse and neglect of animals of any kind, whether or not in direct relation, is renounced. Two issues arise as particularly significant when considering care ethics and non-human animals, namely concerns with autonomy and concerns regarding instrumental use.

Tronto (1993), noting that inequality is inherent in the care model, cautions that those who receive care often risk losing their sense of personal autonomy. Noddings (2013) notes that the more dependent the cared-for, the greater responsibility lies with the caregiver. She does not place a requirement on the cared-for to return like-for-like the care received. Responsiveness can take the form of "personal delight or in happy growth before her eyes" (p.74). For Held (2006), what sets care ethics apart from other moral frameworks is that "it appreciates as well the values of care between persons of unequal power in unchosen relations" (p.46). However, for Tronto (1993), this has the potential to set up permanent states of reliance on the part of the cared-for as those who make choices about their needs can "come to accept their own account of what is necessary to meet the caring need as definitive" (p.45). As a counter to this, Slote (2007) places empathy at the central motivation for care. While Noddings (2013) writes that care seeks "to protect or enhance the welfare of the cared-for" (p.24), Slote (2007) maintains that "empathetic caring requires one to respect other people's autonomy and not just or simply to be concerned with their welfare" (p.57). Furthermore, this respect for their autonomy facilitates the development of the autonomy in the cared-for as they learn that their needs and beliefs are important.

Whether animals can be considered as having autonomy is an issue to which Regan (2004) devotes significant time. Rather than the Kantian sense of autonomy which requires the ability to weigh up alternatives in an objective manner, Regan attributes to animals what he terms "*preference autonomy*" (p.85). This form of autonomy exists where the individual has beliefs and preferences and "the ability to initiate action with a view to satisfying them" (p.85). This definition does not require abstract thought about what others might do in a similar situation. That animals, in Regan's case adult mammals, have such preference autonomy, Regan states:

> "These animals are reasonably viewed as possessing the cognitive prerequisites for having desires and goals; they perceive and remember, and have the ability to form and apply general beliefs. From this it is a short step to acknowledging that these animals are reasonably viewed as being capable of making preferential choices" (2004, p.85).

According to Regan, the well-being of animals depends on the extent to which animals are allowed express this autonomy.

There remains a difference between things that animals might be interested in, and things that are also in their interest. This is where the issue of paternalism arises. According to Regan, it can be assumed that animals would choose things that are in their best interests and that provide them with a good quality of life:

> "Because animals have a welfare, and because we sometimes intervene in their life in the name of their welfare-interests and contrary to their known present preference, there is a strong presumption to believe that we can act paternalistically towards them" (Regan, 2004, p.118).

The question then becomes whether such paternalism, in all cases, is bad. A distinction has been drawn between companion and farm animals on one side and wild animals on the other, as the former can benefit from human intervention on their behalf (Zamir, 2007). In the case of care ethics more generally, Slote (2007) describes how paternalism can be either accepted or rejected, although not simply on the basis of individual freedoms. The significant issue for the care relationship is how any intervention is received, i.e. does it sustain the relationship between the caregiver and the cared-for? Or more precisely, is the intervention from the caregiver received as care and acknowledged as such? Furthermore, Slote points beyond the singular relationship between the caregiver and cared-for to the wider implications of non-intervention for those who may be affected by it.

Care ethics, therefore, can be more accurately said to uphold autonomy when and where this is possible (Held, 2006) and highlights the relational aspect of autonomy as

"exercised within social relations, not by abstractly independent, free and equal individuals" (Held, 2006, p.84). Social interaction acts to construct the meaning of care for both caregiver and cared-for. It is not something that is done alone (Held, 2006) as it must be completed in another and recognised by this other (Noddings, 2013). This recognition of the interdependent nature of care and the connected nature of all living things can go some way in further mitigating concerns surrounding paternalism (Phillips, 2016, p.480).

In human relationships of care, Noddings writes that "we look for signs that our caring has been received" (2013, p.xviii). She later includes relationships with animals as establishing "the possibility of appreciative and reciprocal relation" (Noddings, 2013, p.157). The ability of the caregiver to construct the preferences of non-vocal animals, to provide opportunities for the autonomous expression of these preferences and to respond to these expressions, arises out of familiarity with them. This reiterates the "importance of ongoing, interdependent relationships as sites of care" (Lawrence and Maitlis, 2012, p.642). Animal caregivers become attuned to the "perceived responsiveness" (Noddings, 2013, p.159) of the animal which completes the caring interaction:

> "When I enter my kitchen in the morning and my cat greets me from her favourite spot on the counter, I understand her request. This is the spot where she sits and "speaks" in her squeaky attempt to communicate her desire for a dish of milk. I understand what she wants, and it does not seem inaccurate to say that she expects to be given both milk and affectionate stroking" (Noddings, 2013, p.155-156).

While the cat is not able to reciprocate in equal terms the care received, her response sustains the caring relationship between her and her caregiver. Constructing the meaning of such responses and adapting behaviour in the face of such constructions is a feature of human-animal work also, though made more complicated by the issue of instrumental use.

Care theorists have addressed the issue of what constitutes appropriate motivation for caregiving (Held, 2006; Liedtka, 1996; Noddings, 2013; Slote, 2007), including in cases where non-human animals are concerned (Manning, 1992). Liedtka (1996) writes that care must be driven by the needs of the cared-for, rather than those of the caregiver, and

should not be carried out under conditions of profit making or other instrumental gain. Noddings (2013) argues for the need for the caregiver to be similarly motivated, urging them to relate to the cared-for "as a subject – not as an object to be manipulated nor as a data source" (2013, p.72). With regard to animals that meet a human need, Noddings explores the option of "contractual reciprocity" (2013, p.158), based on the need to offer care in return for assistance offered. In this way, "the ought that arises in connection with them, then, is the instrumental ought: I ought to protect them if I value their services" (2013, p.158). She does not preclude the possibility of "genuine reciprocity" (p.158) developing, arising out of fellowship and affection.

Manning (1992) addresses the issue of reciprocity in working dogs who, in return for the care they receive, are expected to carry out particular duties. She deems this arrangement "to be a fair exchange, especially in view of the evident pleasure working dogs get from discharging their obligations" (1992, p.118). In the case of racehorses, Manning believes that the desire of the horse to participate in a race is sometimes even more present than on the part of their human rider, citing common reference to the heart of the racehorse who wants to win. Such "evident pleasure" and desire is similarly constructed by the participants in this research, as well as displays of resistance when the horse is seen as rejecting a particular activity. Manning (1992) suggests that expressions of resistance, such as running away and refusing to return, on the part of the dogs is evidence of their agency. However, she concedes that some animals are unable to express this resistance, perhaps losing this ability through being "broken" (p.118), while noting that "this does not show that all dogs are incapable of refusing" (p.118). She further adds that the use of animals where there is a high risk of injury may not be entirely compatible with an ethic of care.

Following Zamir (2017), it is useful to interrogate any differences between use and exploitation as "the relevant moral distinction" (p.654) in human-animal work. The difference is defined as follows:

> "X uses Y when X perceives Y as a means of furthering X's own financial (or other) well being. This turns into exploitation when X is willing to act in a way that is substantially detrimental to Y's own well being in order to further X's own…To know for certain that X is not exploiting Y, merely using Y, X must

repeatedly make choices that substantively further Y's welfare even when in conflict with X's own prudential motives." (Zamir, 2017, p. 654-655).

In this research, the human-animal workers spoke of making such decisions, of choosing to reduce profit, or even to turn down work, if they believe it to be detrimental to the horses' welfare. A caring ethic in commercial contexts, therefore, can sometimes hinder, rather than help, the attainment of organisational goals (Lawrence and Maitlis, 2012). Concrete interaction and relationship become important in the prevention of exploitation. These relationships can be threatened by the removal of the direct caring link, such as in the development of highly mechanized industrial farming processes which facilitate their concealment (Anthony, 2012). The duty of commercial animal caregivers to provide for the intrinsic welfare of their animals, including a healthy life, one which is free from pain, suffering and which facilitates their specific natures, is underpinned by an ethic of care, despite the instrumental use to which the animals are put. This conflict between instrumental and intrinsic value "is a product of the complicated relationship humans have forged with these animals" (Engster, 2006, p.532).

Tronto (1993) outlines a number of activities she feels do not constitute caregiving, including "the pursuit of pleasure, creative activity, production, destruction" (p.104). It would appear that caring within human-animal work falls foul of such a description. However, Tronto acknowledges nuance within these categories, before describing what she believes to be the four basic elements of care, namely attentiveness, responsibility, competence and responsiveness. This last element is contributed by the cared-for and requires, once more, attentiveness from the caregiver. In this way, a circle of interaction is created, each giving meaning to the next. Human-animal work provides a unique context in which to explore practices of caregiving where the responsiveness of the cared-for must be interpreted non-verbally by the caregiver. There is much room here for error, manipulation and failure. However, the same can be said for human-to human interactions, where attempts to "apprehend the reality of the other" (Noddings, 2013, p.14) also risk claims of miscommunication and condescension. The study of human-animal work can provide an insight into how caregiving requires, and teaches, the development of the caregiver's moral imagination (Hamington, 2008). This has the potential to equip them in their caring interactions with all living beings, human and not.

2.7 Embodied care

Noddings (2013) describes various ways in which the cared-for can be responsive to the caregiver, beyond verbal acknowledgement or reciprocity: "The one cared-for sees the concern, delight, or interest in the eyes of the one-caring and feels her warmth in both verbal and body language" (Noddings, 2013, p.19). Here she describes bodily actions, seeing and feeling, that are displayed by the caregiver and completed in the interpretations of the cared-for. While acknowledging that "we inevitably consider response in relation to human response" (Noddings, 2013, p.151-152), she speaks of the responsiveness of animals, again expressed through bodily actions such as the "purring, rubbing, nibbling" (p.156) of her cat. Such responsiveness sustains the caring relationship, even though she points to its restricted nature. She refers to her own bodily processes, such as hearing and seeing, when describing how she becomes moved to care: "When I hear recordings of "whale songs" or look at the soft, lovely eyes of a baby seal, I am touched" (p.159). Hearing the 'voice' of another, seeing the eyes through which another looks, inspire in her an attentiveness which informs a desire to act in a caring way. The bodily aspect of care, therefore, appears as a natural element in its practice.

As discussed earlier, the communication between humans and non-human animals is embodied in nature. This communication requires time and direct relationship in order to maximise understanding. As verbal resources are not available in such relationships, "the body is a tool through which they can communicate a wide range of emotions and desires" (Brandt, 2009, p.317), a form of "co-constitutive naturalcultural dancing, holding in esteem, and regard open to those who look back reciprocally" (Haraway, 2007, p.27). The importance of the body becomes paramount in such caring relationships, where the caregiver must be attuned to the bodily responses of the cared-for animal. Such attuning informs the caregiver as they construct the cared-for as acknowledging, appreciating, or refusing the care provided.

The embodied nature of care is given significant treatment by Hamington (2004) whose definition of care will underpin the approach and findings of this thesis:

> "*care denotes an approach to personal and social morality that shifts ethical considerations to context, relationships, and affective knowledge in a manner that can be fully understood only if care's embodied dimension is recognized.*

> *Care is committed to the flourishing and growth of individuals yet acknowledges our interconnectedness and interdependence*" (p.3) (italics in original)

Hamington explicates three aspects of embodied care, namely caring knowledge, caring habits and caring imagination. Hamington argues the first of these, caring knowledge, is a requirement for care, but is not sufficient. It therefore provides the "*possibility* of care" (2004, p.42) and is achieved through concrete interaction or study. This informs the epistemological foundations of care in that "we perceive the world before we know it" (p.45) and therefore embodied knowledge is prior to rational ideas about the implications of that knowledge. This caring knowledge also includes emotions, senses and feelings experienced through the body. This facilitates the inclusion of emotional states important in the development of theory (Adams, 1996/2007) and "emphasises the importance of feeling that is also embodied, and the need to reflect on convictions and feelings" (Phillips, 2016, p.481).

That embodied care recognises connectedness in Hamington's (2004) definition again offers a counter to concerns of paternalism and inequality. While also fearing the potential permanent state of reliance that may occur on the part of the cared-for, Tronto (1993) writes of the "intertwined" (p.136) nature of care in that the responsiveness of the cared-for elicits attentiveness in the caregiver, thereby creating a circular process of interaction. She writes that "the pieces of an ethic of care cannot be separated but must be considered as part of an integrated whole" (p.136). However, by emphasising the "underlying picture of the earth as one body, and of ourselves as part of this body" (Manning, 1992, p.84), this attentiveness and response could be recognised as mutual and shared (Simola, 2012). This mutuality is open to all living things, including non-human animals:

> "So a recognition of the embodiment and vulnerability that is shared by the more-than-human moves the focus of care away from a primary engagement with those deemed to be needy or dependent, such as the maternal relation to a child, to the interdependence of all beings on the planet. It casts care as a process which requires work, but without expecting reciprocation, and which takes place in the intersections between more-than-humans. It foregrounds the interconnections between caring as a set of values and caring as a set of material and embodied

practices rather than as a ‘thing’ which is bestowed by one party on another” (Phillips, 2016, p.481).

This also opens up the possible circular nature of care, where non-human animals can act as caregivers to humans, as is the case of service animals (Suen, 2015). In their narratives, the human-animal workers spoke of occasions where the horses appeared to them to be showing care for their human caregivers, as well as for other humans with whom they interact.

Hamington’s (2004) second element of embodied care, caring habits, “comprise all those bodily movements that contain the body’s understanding of how to care in and adapt to new situations” (p.46). They require outward focus and, if not used consistently, can fail. Employed regularly, these habits can model care for others, thereby teaching other bodies how to care. It is a choice when, and if, to make use of these habits. As different scenarios play out, different caring habits may be called upon, or none at all, even though the feeling of care remains.

In her description of care ethics, Noddings (2013) outlines two forms of care, ‘natural’ caring which comes “out of inclination and not a moral effort” (p.xvi) and ‘ethical’ caring. This latter form of caring occurs when natural caring is not present, but exists as an obligation or to meet a need. It is inspired by memories of being cared for and seeks to return to this space of natural caring through effort and desire. She describes ethical caring as “hard work that requires continuous reflection on the part of carers” (p.xvii). Held (2006) similarly points to a form of caring that requires the caregiver to “imagine a relation” (p.36-37) where responsiveness is not forthcoming or possible. These features of critical reflection and imagined response form the substance of Hamington’s (2004) third element of embodied care, the caring imagination:

> “When we come to care about that which we have experienced only indirectly or not at all, the caring imagination draws from its wealth of tacit body knowledge to make the connecting leap” (p.69).

This caring imagination interacts with embodied caring knowledge “to create points of departure for developing responsive interconnections that inform action” (Phillips, 2016,

p.477). This is a process that is intellectual as well as felt in the body, as meaning is created upon further critical reflection (Hamington, 2004). In this way, caring knowledge and caring habits combine with empathy to imagine the needs of another and to initiate appropriate action. The caring imagination also informs the ability to care in the abstract, for those whom the caregiver has never met and whose direct experiences they might not share (Hamington, 2004; Phillips, 2016). The use of the caring imagination enables them to widen their scope for understanding unknown others, as well as deepening their caring knowledge (Simola, 2012). Close, caring interactions with non-verbal animals facilitates the development of empathetic skills (Gruen, 2007) and provides opportunities to enhance the caring imagination (Hamington, 2008).

Hamington (2008) suggests the context of animal care as one which "requires imaginative work" (p.183) more so than a context involving human-to-human interaction. He attributes this to their "different embodied existence, physical capacities and brain structures" (p.183) as well as the fact that they do not possess verbal language to express their needs in terms that we might more clearly understand. He highlights the necessity for close, direct relationships with these animals as a way of gaining the knowledge that will strengthen the caring imagination and enable effective response in situations where an unfamiliar other is in need of care. He argues that this ability to engage the caring imagination in relationships with animals may enrich caring opportunities with unfamiliar humans also. In this way, he believes that "care ethics, and more specifically, embodied care, provides a theoretical framework for understanding the role of animals in fostering moral imagination" (Hamington, 2008, p.186).

This research aims at achieving this by asking how, by making use of their caring imaginations, human-animal workers narratively construct themselves as caregivers and the horses as cared-for others in the context of non-verbal relationship. I seek to demonstrate how their embodied caring interactions combine with critical reflection to imagine the meanings of the horses' responses. By listening and contributing to the participants' narrative constructions of these experiences, I hope to be able to add new insights into the caring imagination in practice.

2.8 Summary

In this chapter, I outlined my research philosophy and discussed social constructionist ideas of voice and knowledge creation. I provided an overview of the multiple voices that arise in this thesis, namely my own as researcher/author/pony caregiver, the voices of the participants, and the 'voices' of the horses. I discussed the relationship of body and voice and how embodied interactions enable humans and horses to 'work' together.

I discussed the contributions of various ethic of care theorists to concepts of autonomy, paternalism, instrumental use, and the extension of care ethics to non-human animals. I reviewed the conversations surrounding embodied care and provided Hamington's (2004) definition as the one which informs this thesis. Finally, I suggested the caring imagination as a concept to be explored further, with human-animal work as the context. I intend to investigate this idea by asking how human-animal workers narratively construct their experiences of embodied care with a non-verbal other, how they imagine and 'give voice' to the responses of the horses, and how they are moved to action by these interpretations. Inspired by their own embodied nature and experiences of care, they construct narratives that appear to assist in their own understanding of what they believe the horses need and desire. I hope that such a theoretical contribution will be useful in understanding care in work settings, embodied care, and how the caring imagination manifests in the context of caring for non-verbal, non-responsive or different others.

In the next chapter, I provide a literature review based on the way in which non-human animals are currently 'viewed' in the business and management literature. This review is provided from within an ethic of care framework, designed to heighten the visibility of the animal in the literature and to reveal where these disciplines' emphasis, with regard to animals, currently lies.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

[This chapter is an updated version of an original paper published as: Connolly, L. & Cullen, J.G. (2018). Animals and organisations: An ethic of care framework. *Organization & Environment*, 31(4), 406-424.]

In this chapter, I provide an initial bibliometric review of the animal-related articles in the 'business' and 'management' categories of the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), covering the years 1995-2015. An ethic of care framework is offered to assist in reviewing 185 articles according to the role of the animal and the nature of the human-animal relationship therein. An additional review, carried out in late November 2019, is also discussed. This review covers the years 2016-2019 and was undertaken to ascertain what, if any, developments had occurred since the publication of the original article and the initial review. As a consequence of this second search, an additional 139 articles were considered according to the original ethic of care framework. An updated framework, which includes additional categories to reflect these developments, is offered in this chapter. It is intended that this framework will assist scholars by enhancing the visibility of animals, and those who care for them, as well as facilitate the review of those literatures featuring other understudied groups within organisational and management theories.

3.1 The definition of 'animal'

The articles returned as part of the bibliometric search of the SSCI do not define specifically what is meant by the term 'animal'. Returns for the term 'non-human' also included non-sentient actors, such as technology, machinery, etc. While acknowledging that humans can also be categorized biologically within the animal family (Morwitz, 2008), the concept of 'animal' in these articles covers all non-human, non-plant life. It is perhaps assumed that a general understanding pertains as to what an animal is and that this is accepted by the readers and authors alike. A large proportion of the papers address agricultural issues and pigs, cows, sheep, and chickens are the main focus. Articles addressing zoos and wildlife tourism and protection open up the possibility of inclusion of more 'exotic' wild animals, such as dolphins, whales, camels, lions and tigers. While mammals are the main focus, birds are also included under this title, as well as reptiles. Articles addressing pet ownership feature dogs, cats, alpacas and horses, while rodents

and primates are the main subjects for scientific research. Articles concerning biodiversity and the natural environment provide for the inclusion of insects also. For the purposes of this chapter, a widely encompassing definition of 'animal' is allowed for, providing for the inclusion of all of the above-mentioned categories, as well as invertebrates.

3.2 An ethic of care framework

As discussed in chapter two, the ethic of care underpins the research in this thesis. By taking an 'ethic of care' approach to the articles returned as part of this literature review, I sought to investigate the place of the animal in each article and how they relate, or not, to the issue and humans therein. A framework, informed by the main themes of care ethics and developed as a way of categorising the articles in the SSCI, was developed (see Figure 1). Four quadrants were devised, 'abstract-instrumental', 'abstract-intrinsic', 'concrete-intrinsic', and 'concrete-instrumental'.

Articles were first considered according to whether they describe a relationship with animals that is concrete, characterized by a direct and personal interaction, or whether the relationship is abstract, characterized by an objective distance between human and animal. Much of the emphasis in care theory is focused on the concrete, subjective, person-to-person relationships between the caregiver and cared-for (Liedtka, 1996; Noddings, 2013). The more abstract "caring about" is acknowledged "when it is logistically impossible to exercise caring for" (Noddings, 2013, p.xvi). However, without any subjective, personal interaction with those receiving care, care in the abstract can fail to appropriately understand the needs of the cared-for (Liedtka, 1996; Noddings, 2013).

The articles were also reviewed to see if the role of the animal is purely instrumental, or whether they are seen as having intrinsic value. Concrete 'caring-for', is focused on "the welfare, protection, or enhancement of the cared-for" (Noddings, 2013, p.23) and places intrinsic value on the life of the cared-for, rather than seeing them as a means to an end. This is represented by the 'concrete-intrinsic' quadrant. When seen as having intrinsic value, the abstract 'caring-about' can act as a force for change in animals' lives, despite the risk of ill-informed outcomes. Consumers may drive a demand for higher standards and improved welfare. While abstraction and invisibility has arguably led to the lowering

of standards, particularly in relation to intensive farming systems, consumers can demonstrate care at a distance by challenging this treatment of animals and effecting positive transformations (Anthony, 2012). Such concepts feature in the 'abstract-intrinsic' quadrant.

Much of the care given to animals is instrumental which, while concrete and direct in nature, is done in order to achieve an end other than the fulfilment of that animal's life. Such 'contractual' caring-for may lead to a more natural form of caring on a personal level (Noddings, 2013), but is primarily instrumental and end-focused in nature. While this type of care might not easily fit within traditional paradigms of the ethic of care as it has been articulated to date, its existence is a very real by-product of the use to which animals are often put. Those involved in offering such contractual care may still be seen as engaged in concrete care-giving, developing relationships with the animals under their supervision, despite the conditions under which the care is being offered. Articles featuring these contractual caregivers are included within the 'concrete-instrumental' quadrant.

The 'abstract-instrumental' quadrant represents those articles where the connection to the animal is both abstract and motivated by instrumental means, such as profit, thereby simply manifesting the "market mechanism at work" (Liedtka, 1996, p.186) rather than any form of caring relationship.

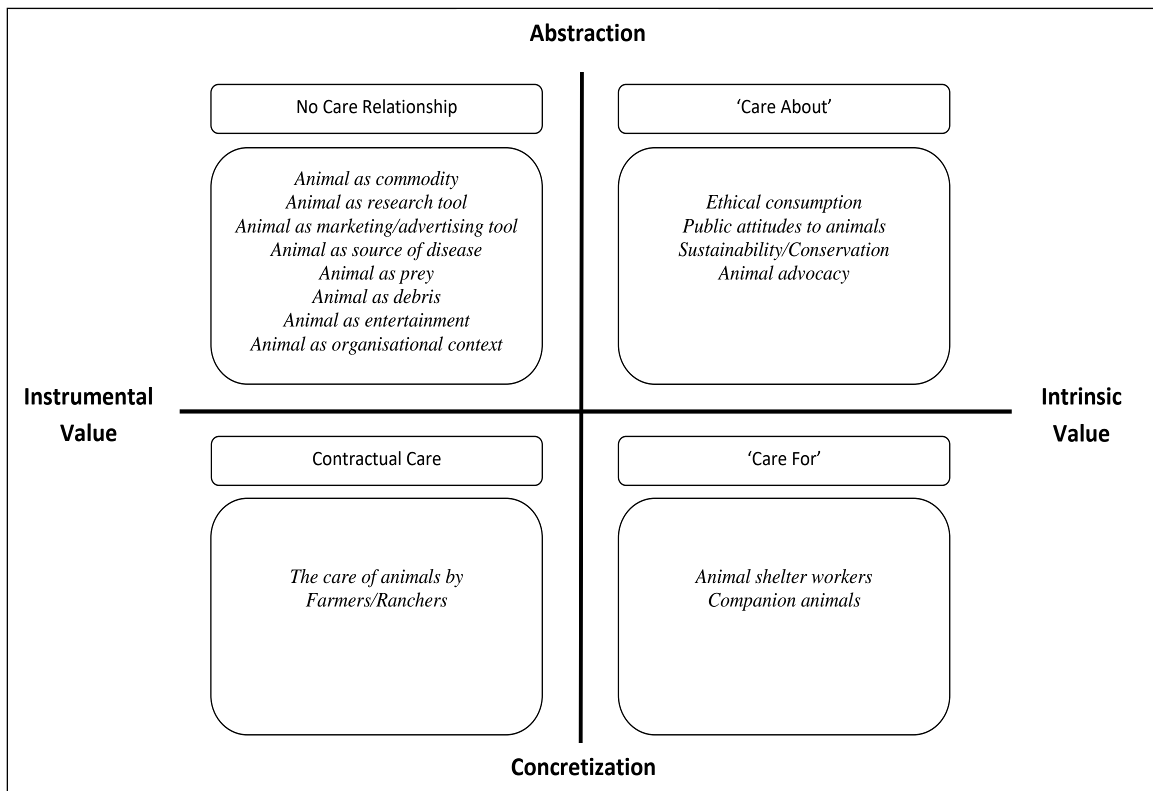


Figure 1: Ethic of care framework

3.3 Method

In order to investigate the development of peer-reviewed research addressing animals in the categories of business and management, a bibliometric analytical method (following Oswick, 2009) was selected. This method has become popular in the management disciplines (Oswick, 2009) and provides a format for the content analysis of work accumulated in a particular field. It is of particular use in the investigation of an emerging topic or subject area (Cullen, 2014) and provides an overview of the types and themes of the articles retrieved. The Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) was chosen as the primary database for exploration as it remains one of the most popular and respected sources of peer-reviewed periodical literature (Wang et al., 2012).

A keyword search was performed using the terms 'animal*' or 'nonhuman*' or 'non-human*' (to allow for discrepancies in spelling) in articles listed in the SSCI 'business' and 'management' categories, since 1995. The 'topic' field was utilised to facilitate the most comprehensive return of articles in either the title or the abstract to minimize the risk of relevant articles being omitted. A twenty-year time frame (1995-2015) was

deemed sufficient to encapsulate noteworthy developments in the field in recent times. Due to my own language restrictions, only returns in English were reviewed.

An overall search for these keywords was also carried out in all SSCI categories in order to place the results of the 'business' and 'management' categories in context. The abstracts of the articles returned under the 'business' and 'management' categories were then reviewed for their relevance to the issue of animals and organisations overall. Book reviews, introductions, letters and interviews were excluded from further review on the basis that they did not provide a significant thematic contribution to the topic under review, as were articles which featured only throwaway remarks referencing animals. Articles not addressing non-humans at all, but returned under some derivative of the word 'human' – such as 'humanization' or 'humanistic' – were also excluded. Articles concerning non-living, 'non-human' actants, such as technology, were also omitted on the basis that they fall outside the scope of this research. Articles which utilised the image of the animal as a metaphor were also excluded.

The remaining articles were then considered according to the framework (Figure 1 above) informed by the ethic of care literature. This involved a careful reading of the nature of the role of the animal within each article and of how the animal stands in relation to the human subjects in the texts. I attempted to discern whether these relationships are abstract, at a distance, or concrete and direct, whether they are based on the intrinsic value of the animal, or more instrumental in their approach. Overall, the process was an iterative one, with the themes and the papers themselves re-checked to ensure the continued relevance of the categories.

I followed this same procedure again in an attempt to remain abreast of developments in the area of human-animal studies in the organisation and management literatures since 2016. This second search took place late November 2019. Again, I entered the terms 'animal*', 'nonhuman*' or 'non-human*' into the topic field, this time covering the period 2016 to 2019. Over this period of time, a number of developments had occurred that indicated to me that interest in this field was growing. Hannah and Robertson (2017) provide a definition of human-animal work and a number of special issues dedicated to the area of animals and organisations had been published over this timeframe, namely

Organization (2016, Vol.23, Issue 3), *Culture and Organization* (2018, Vol.24, Issue 4), *Gender, Work and Organization* (2019, Vol.26, Issue 3).

As before, I removed articles referring to nonhuman 'actants' from further consideration, as well as those articles that made use of the term animal as a metaphor. Articles featuring the term 'animal' as a throwaway reference without further substantive discussion, or those that referred to 'humanistic' or 'humanization', etc., were also removed. Book reviews, an interview, and a correction were also excluded on the same basis as previously. I then considered the remaining articles within the context of the original ethic of care framework to see if these categories still stood or whether new ones were required.

3.4 Results

The initial search returned 36,370 articles in all categories in English. When filtered according to the Web of Science categories, the behavioural sciences topped the returns at 23.03%, with 18.196% from the neurosciences and 12.337% from biological psychology. Following Shapiro and DeMello's (2010) reporting of the interest in animal-related issues in the humanities and social sciences, I noted that anthropology and sociology represented 8.452% and 4.155% of the returns respectively. When the 36,370 articles were filtered for the 'business' and 'management' categories combined, 295 items were returned, representing just 0.885% of all the articles within these parameters over the twenty-year time period. Figure 2 shows the number of articles returned under these two categories as a percentage of the overall articles returned in the SSCI each year. There wasn't a significant increase in the number published over the time period, apart from a spike in 2008 due to the publication of a special issue of the *Journal of Business Research* in May of that year.

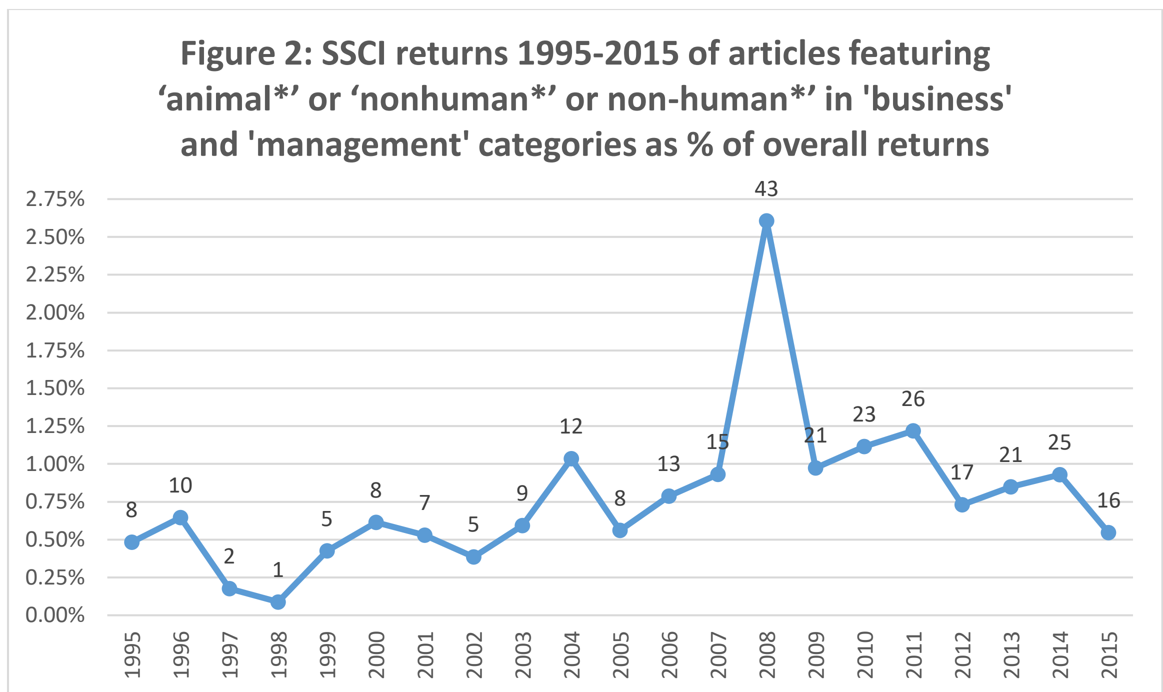


Figure 2

The updated search, covering the period between 2016 and November 2019, revealed an additional 18,663 articles in the SSCI with the words 'animal*', 'nonhuman*' or 'non-human*' in the topic field. When these were filtered according to the Web of Science categories, the results were similar to before. The neurosciences had the most returns with 16.519%, the behavioural sciences came next with 15.624% and then zoology with 9.221% of the total number of articles returned. When filtered for the 'business' and 'management' categories combined, 211 articles were returned. This accounted for 1.131% of all the articles returned.

Reflecting on these results and how they compare to the first search, I noted that the returns as a proportion of the overall figure had not increased hugely (1.131% as opposed to 0.885%). While there was a greater number of articles returned under the 'business' and 'management' categories in each of the four years, this appeared to mirror the greater number of articles overall that became available on the SSCI since the original search. For example, 43 articles were returned under the parameters outlined for the year 2008. This accounted for 2.61% of the overall returns. In 2019, 64 articles were returned, but this time only accounting for 1.29% of the total returns for that year. Figure 3 (below) is offered to clarify this. While there was increase in the number of animal-related articles in the SSCI since the initial search, I noted that this did not necessarily reflect an

increased interest in this area, given that there appeared to be an increase in articles produced overall.

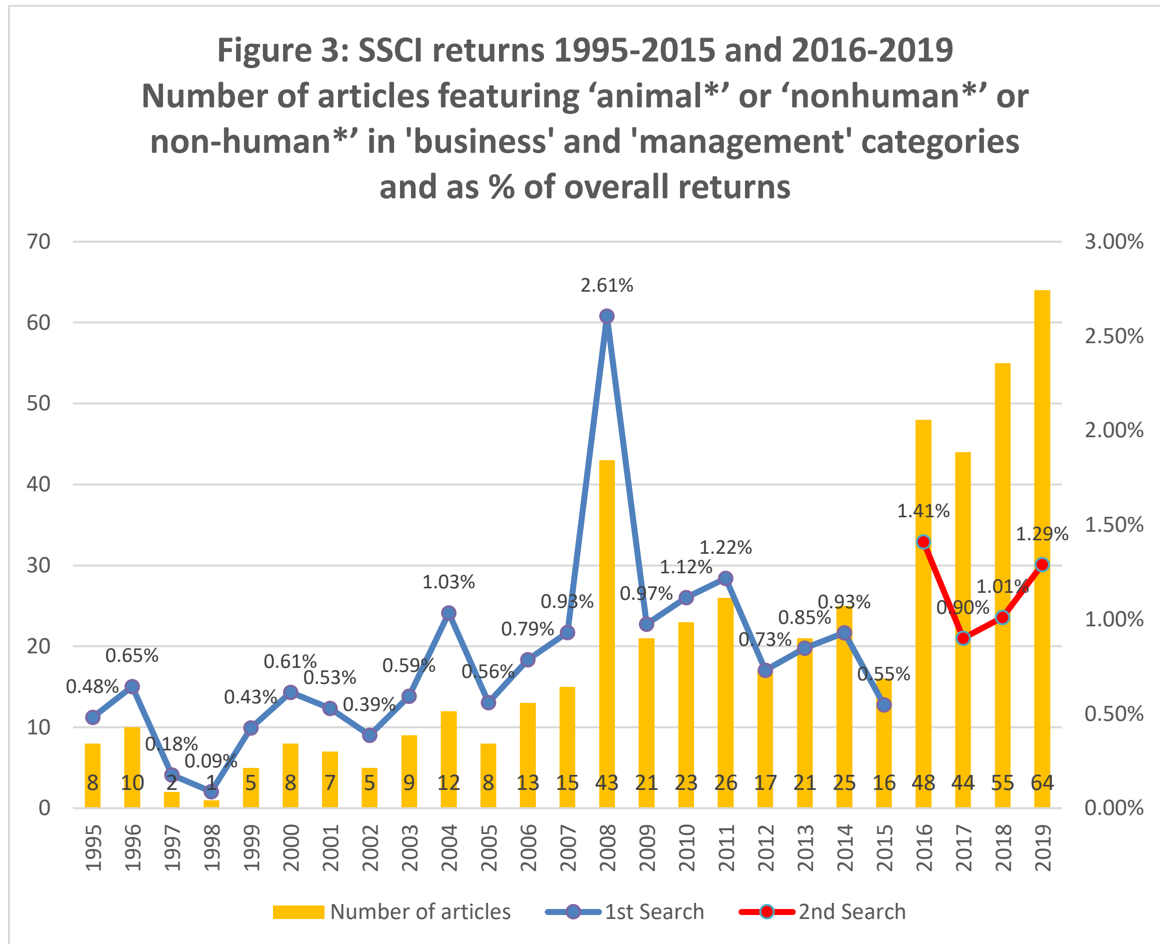


Figure 3

From the 295 items returned from the initial search, sixteen book reviews, one letter, one song, and three interviews were removed from further consideration as they did not contribute substantively to the topic under consideration. A duplicated article was also excluded. A review of the abstracts of the remaining 273 articles revealed 53 containing 'non-living actants' – namely technology, objects, machinery, buildings, and organisations – as their substantive theme. Nine articles featuring simple throwaway references to animals were also excluded as they did not feature the role of animals, or those who care for them, in any significant way.

24 articles making use of the animal as metaphor, for example, to explain international markets (Ambler and Styles, 2000; Parameswaran, 2015), corporate behaviour (Gowri, 2007) and to explain humans and their behavioural tropes within organisations (Bell and Clarke, 2014) were also removed. Two articles were excluded on the basis that they featured "humanized brands" (Kwak et al., 2015) or "non-humanistic studies" (Semradova and Kacetl, 2011) rather than addressing the issue of 'living' non-humans. However, articles that included consideration of the non-human natural environment were retained for further examination, on the basis that animals and all "non-human life" (Starik, 1995, p.208) are included in this description.

A total of 185 articles from the search covering 1995-2015 were considered and categorised according to the ethic of care framework outlined in Figure 1.

Of the 211 articles returned between 2016 and November 2019, I removed three book reviews, one interview and one correction from further consideration. I also removed Connolly & Cullen (2018) on the basis that it was an earlier version of this same review. This left 205 additional articles for further review. Of these 205 articles, I excluded 46 on the grounds that they featured 'non-human actants', such as technology, objects, buildings, etc. 12 articles were removed as they did not address the issues of animals or non-humans in any substantive way, in some cases only featuring the terms as a throwaway reference. Four articles were removed from further consideration as they only made use of the term 'animal' as a metaphor (e.g. Bernacchio, 2018; Yeh, 2016). I removed an additional four articles on the basis that they returned as 'humanistic' or 'humanization' rather than addressing the topic of non-human animals in any distinct way. In this latter group, a discussion of the 'animalistic dehumanization' of employees who perceive themselves to be maltreated by their organisation (Vayrynen and Laari-Salmela, 2018) perhaps provides another insight in our views of animals and ethics, but remains outside the scope of this particular research project.

Arising out of this 2019 search therefore, 139 articles were included for further consideration under the ethic of care framework as outlined in Figure 1. To this extent, the 2019 search reflects the earlier search in that a similar proportion of articles (34% as opposed to 37%) were excluded at this juncture.

3.4.1 Abstract – Instrumental (No care relationship)

In the initial search, a total of 85 articles, representing 46% of the overall total, were attributed to this category. Ten of these articles make use of the concept of animals as an advertising or marketing tool (e.g. Connell, 2013; Okello et al., 2008; Spears and Germain, 2007) to sell consumer products. Following Desmond's assertion that the animal often "enters marketing discourse generally as a sacrifice to consumer demand" (Desmond, 2010, p.242), opportunities exist for scholars to interrogate the effects of such a sacrifice on our perceptions of, and relationships with, real animals.

34 articles address the animal as commodity, mostly as a food product. They cover such areas as agri-food systems (Djekic et al., 2014; Yates and Rehman, 1996), supply-chains (Leat and Revoredo-Giha, 2013; Pullman and Dillard, 2010), meat processing (Mijic et al., 2014) and manure production (Pendell et al., 2007; Ribaudo et al., 2004). Strategies for disease management and prevention among farm animals also feature (Connolly, 2014), although the emphasis is often on lost profits rather than the well-being of the animals themselves (Elbakidze et al., 2009; Randolph et al., 2005). The relationship with the animal is entirely abstract, with the language used often enabling further distance. Animals are described in terms of "selected livestock commodities" (Vukina, 2003, p.66), highlighting this abstraction. Scholars interested in this area might consider further study of this commodification of animals and the use of such language to describe their role in the business and management literature.

27 articles feature the animal as a research tool, covering the contribution of animals to the development of current management and scientific theories, or making use of animal behaviour models from which human behaviour can be predicted or explained (Jordan et al., 2011; Woodside, 2008). Some of this research has led to the development of mistaken hypotheses (Corbett, 2015; Cullen, 1997) and perhaps raises concerns of the usefulness of such experimentation. This ethical dilemma is further highlighted by experiments which have revealed the advanced abilities and sensitivities of non-human animals, as well as such traits as a sense of humour and self-awareness (Morwitz, 2014). The focus of concern surrounding the issue of bioethics tends to be on the humans (Salter and Harvey, 2014), rather than on the animals themselves. Indeed, laboratory animals are often invisible in and of themselves, but rather are seen as constructs, "real *monsters*, teratological creatures, in the sense that they are in medias res, in the middle of things,

in-between positions, in a permanent state of liminality" (Styhre, 2010, p.75). Utilising an ethic of care approach, resting "on the premise of nonviolence" (Gilligan, 1993, p.174), the consideration of the animal's side of these experimental interactions could lead to their increased visibility within such research contexts. Of assistance could be the study of those who work closely with animals as they "need to understand how animals think in order to do their jobs well" (Morwitz, 2014, p.573). Such a closer understanding of animals could potentially impact consumer choices regarding the purchase of animal products and Morwitz calls for further research addressing how concrete relationships with animals impacts human behaviour and consumption choices.

Six articles deal with animal-related organisations as a context for study, such as animal health and food science organisations (Anderson and Minbaeva, 2013; Venkataramani et al., 2013). The animals are not visible within these articles and no physical interaction between the employees of these types of organisations and the animals themselves is addressed. Fitzgerald et al. (2009) discuss the social implications of working in large, industrial slaughterhouses. While those who work in such organisations do interact with animals on a daily basis, there exists no relationship of care. Furthermore, the physical and emotional toll on the humans who are involved in such 'uncaring' work can be significant, with a positive relationship existing between such employment and rates of violent crimes in the surrounding community. The authors identify a gap in the research literature, asserting that "this is another of a growing list of social problems and phenomena that are undertheorized unless explicit attention is paid to the social role of nonhuman animals" (p.175).

Two of the articles returned feature the pursing of animals as prey. While providing an important contribution to household incomes, those who hunt often fail to comply with appropriate conservation regulations (Crookes et al., 2007). However, hunters are capable of experiencing feelings of connection and appreciation for the animals they ultimately kill (Littlefield, 2010), a connectivity that appears missing from the institutional violence of the more impersonal slaughterhouse. Further research into the complex relationship between those who kill animals in this more highly personalised manner and their attitudes to these animals, as well as to the surrounding environment, could offer valuable insights into this sphere of human activity.

Two articles deal with animals as a source of disease. They address the potential effects on tourism of a perceived threat of avian influenza (Lee and Chen, 2011) and the assessment of risk to human health from the use of antibiotics in food animals (Cox et al., 2007). This latter article echoes Anthony's (2012) warning of the potential dangers that may result from the distance that has been created between the animal, the farmer, and members of the community through the industrialisation of farming practices. In such cases, it is not just humans who are in danger of illness and disease and the ethic of care encourages "ownership for choices that we make especially in the face of relationships that involve vulnerable or dependent others" (Anthony, 2012, p.136). An ethic of care approach to scholarship provides the opportunity to highlight the importance of proximity and responsibility in any organisational choices which affect silent or powerless groups.

Three articles address animals as tools for entertainment, with a particular focus on the human's side of these experiences (Galloway and Lopez, 1999; Penaloza, 2001) rather than on the individual animals themselves. However, Bettany and Belk's (2011) ethnography of animal theme parks takes a more critical stance regarding the role of these parks as spaces of "human control and enforced marginalization" (p.174), with the role played by the animals intended more as amusement than education or conservation. One additional article considers when animals, among others, have become debris, carcasses for removal following a disaster (Ekici et al., 2009).

The results arising out of the 2019 search again appear to mirror the earlier findings. Of the 139 articles for further consideration, I elected to categorise 75 (53.96%) within the *Abstract – Instrumental* quadrant.

Of these, 38 feature animals as a commodity or food stuff. This represents a slightly higher proportion than the earlier search (50.67% of the articles assigned to this quadrant versus the earlier 40%). Articles addressing the economics of dairy production (Ors and Oguz, 2019; Morkuniene; Kerziene, and Miceikiene, 2018; Oguz and Yener, 2018; Correa; Lopes, Vilas Boas Ribeiro, et al., 2017), cattle breeding (Unakitan and Kumbar, 2018) and the use of animal tissue (Chee, 2018) as a cure for diseases appear within this category. One additional article addresses animals as source of disease and the impacts on public health and social policy (Shreve, Davis and Fordham, 2016).

Reflecting on these articles, I note a number of changes which appear to have occurred since 2015. While animals continue to feature in these articles as a commodity, there also appears to be a slight shift in focus across some of these articles. For example, Wassenaar, Kempen, and van Eeden, (2019) consider those consumers who choose not to eat the commodified game animal as meat. They seek to make recommendations to help the industry understand why people don't consume such meat with an aim "to grow the South African game meat market" (p.437). They highlight that "the industry needs to understand consumer decision making" (p.437). While 'ethical consumption' arises as a sub-category in another quadrant under my ethic of care framework, responses to such changes in consumer motivations and interests appear to be having an effect on the industry, and the academic literature, in response. Similarly, Boghossian and Marques (2019), in addressing the threat that animal activists pose to the Canadian fur trade, seek to investigate government responses to this threat, rather than the activists themselves. In a time where animal welfare ethics are now a feature of consumer choice, does the appearance of such articles reflect a growing concern with the impact of ethical consumption among those industries and organisations adversely affected? In response to such concerns, the business and management literatures appear to offer various approaches that these organisations can take to protect themselves. In the development of indices as a way of measuring consumer motivations, animal welfare is only one aspect considered among many (Mostafa, 2019; Nilssen, Bick and Abratt, 2019). The agri-food industry is advised to pay more attention to animal welfare, thereby turning a risk into an opportunity for businesses within this sector (Hoag and Lemme, 2018). Further opportunities appear to abound within so-called 'controversial' investments. Here such issues as animal testing and fur production offer an opportunity to increase the value of an investment portfolio (Trinks, and Scholtens, 2017). These authors claim their study does "establish that there seems to be a price to screening, namely the opportunity cost of refraining from investing in controversial firms" (p.203). They note that the "impact of screening on performance shows that there in-deed can be a trade-off between values and beliefs on the one hand and financial returns on the other" (p.203). On the national level, Yang and Veil (2017) consider how the use of pro-nationalist messages can be utilised to distract people from the bad press arising from animal advocacy, in this case the use of bear bile in traditional Chinese medicine.

11 of the 75 articles feature animals as an advertising or marketing tool. Online activity is included where, for examples, animal images are used to drive online content (Tellis, MacInnis, Tirunillai; et al., 2019). Seven articles feature the animal as a research tool. Particularly prevalent are articles referencing animal models used to inform human behaviour (Bastardoz and Van Vugt, 2019; Drezner, and Drezner, 2019; Meunier, 2019). Five articles address animals as entertainment, particularly in zoos, where articles investigate the types of animals that visitors would like to see in zoos (Carr, 2016a; Carr, 2016b). Noting that zoos are still seen primarily as places amusement, Carr hopes that this view of animals as entertainment "will degrade over time and that the position of conservation in determining the attractiveness of animals will become more important" (Carr, 2016b, p.75).

The remaining 13 articles feature animal-related organisations as a context for study, such as animal health (Ponroy; Le and Pradies, 2019; Laurenza, Quintano; Schiavone; et al., 2018), animal sciences (Confraria and Vargas, 2019; Keiser and Payne, 2018). Hendrix and Dollar (2018) address drug use by American slaughterhouse workers. While such work could be categorised as human-animal work and therefore be assigned to the *Concrete – Instrumental* quadrant, I elected the *Abstract-Instrumental* quadrant for this article as the focus is on slaughterhouse work as the context within which the employees' drug use is examined. This echoes the work of Fitzgerald et al. (2009) which is discussed above as part of the original search and review. The implications for society of such work continues to provide interest to scholars some nine years later. Making use of 'the animal' to come to know ourselves, what Haraway refers to as how we humans "polish an animal mirror to look for ourselves" (1991, p.21), also features in this selection. Reinhold (2018) posits that animals "can help us in the creative process of writing" (p.318). She notes that, as management scholars, "the theories we use and our research interests cannot be bluntly separated from our personal obsessions" (p.319) In this way, making use of the abstract animal as inspiration, scholars can be enabled "to escape the all-too-human order given by our various institutions and reach the outside of our limited and sometimes miserable condition" (p.321). This indicates that a possible new way of writing organisations might be arising in the literature.

3.4.2 Abstract – Intrinsic ('Care about')

The focus of the 60 articles in this category, arising from the initial search, is on the campaigning, ethical consumption, and public attitudes to animals which can affect their lives somewhat for the better, despite the fact that they still function as commodities in many of the articles themselves. Caring at a distance can have significant positive impacts on the lives of animals, despite the absence of direct, concrete relationships with the animals in question. In the case of consumers, such abstract 'caring about', led to "normative pressure" (Elzen et al., 2011, p.263) which facilitated improved standards in living conditions for pigs. Similarly, the work of animal advocates can ultimately result in the discontinuation of certain industries (Hughes, 2001). Conservation and sustainable development also feature in this category.

25 articles address the ethical behaviour and motivations of consumers who use their buying power to make decisions regarding organic or non-organic food (Van Doorn and Verhoef, 2015), plant-based eating (Beverland, 2014), and animal welfare (Burke et al., 2014; Nocella et al., 2012; Tully and Winer, 2014). While consumers are often willing to pay more for welfare-enhanced products (Norwood and Lusk, 2011), some consumers are unable to make the leap from the abstract to the concrete reality of the consequences of their actions for animals and the wider non-human environment (Cole et al., 2009). As a result, they may need support to translate their abstract 'caring about' into direct action. This could be achieved through increased awareness around information and labelling (Vecchio and Annunziata, 2012). One study reveals that a concern for animals "even those halfway across the globe, is a more powerful motivation for consumer behaviour than acting on a concern for the environment" (Hustvedt et al., 2008, p.434).

Eight articles feature public perceptions of animals, including changing attitudes to animal welfare (Brummette, 2012) and animal-based research (von Roten, 2009). Despite this, consumers often still choose to prioritise other humans over non-humans (Lafferty and Edmondson, 2014). This appears reminiscent of Engster's "defensible form of speciesism" (2006, p.528) outlined in his form of care ethics. Furthermore, the power of the direct relationship, central to the ethic of care, can have significant consequences in the abstract also. This is seen in Packer et al.'s (2014) study of Chinese and Australian visitors' reactions to animal tourism. They find that direct experience

with animals, such as pet ownership, is likely to increase a person's positive reactions to animals overall.

Eight articles address different forms of animal advocacy (e.g. Merksin, 2011; Metcalfe, 2008; Scudder and Mills, 2009) and the positive changes in the lives of animals that can be brought about. An example of this is the ending of the captive dolphin tourism industry in the UK (Hughes, 2001). This closure led to the possibility of human-dolphin interactions in the wild and it is these tangible interactions, Hughes contends, that has facilitated the development of a "respectful relationship" (p.328). It is argued that this has increased the visibility of the Moray Firth dolphins and kept them safer than if they were hidden away from people, unable to develop such relationships.

Animal welfare, conservation, human entertainment, and profit oftentimes come into conflict with each other and solutions for sustainable ways forward must be found (Reynolds and Braithwaite, 2001). Some of the 19 articles which address the issue of conservation raise such concerns (Higham and Shelton, 2011; Orams, 2002) as well as the conflicts that arise between humans and wildlife (Rondeau, 2001). The sustainable development of agriculture also features in this sub-category (Bartkowiak and Bartkowiak, 2012; Gunderson, 2011). Again, while abstract 'caring about' can impact on policy making in society, it oftentimes falls short: "phenomenal dissociation – defined as the lack of immediate, sensual engagement with the consequences of our everyday actions and with the human and nonhuman others that we affect with our actions – increases destructive tendency and that awareness is not enough to curb destructiveness" (Worthy, 2008, p.148). Phillips and Reichart (2000) argue for a fairness-based approach to the inclusion of the non-human within organisational concerns. Starik (1995) suggests stakeholder management as a potentially effective way of making the abstract non-human more concrete and 'known' within organisations. Building on this, Hart and Sharma (2004) encourage the inclusion of "fringe" stakeholders, to comprise "even non-human (e.g. endangered) species and nature" (p.11), by organisations seeking to develop "disruptive innovations that are at the same time socially and environmentally responsible" (p.17). Such a strategy requires "deep listening" (p.14) with those who have been previously disregarded and marginalised.

From the 2019 search, I elected to categorise 39 out of the 139 articles within this *Abstract – Intrinsic* quadrant. Again, this represents a similar proportion as the original search (28% as opposed to the 32% in the earlier search). Of these 39 articles, ethical consumption (10 articles) advocacy and animal welfare (15 articles) and issues of sustainability (eight articles) still feature as subcategories.

However, a new category appears to have emerged that fits into this quadrant, namely animals as worthy of study in and of themselves. Six articles fall into this new category and appear to reflect the growing interest and value in the study of animals in the management and organisational literatures. A number of special issues dedicated to the study of animals in organisations appear during this time. Sayers, Hamilton and Sang (2019), in their editorial of the special issue of *Gender, Work & Organization*, note "a pressing need for more scholarship to explore the unknown and power-laden worlds of human-animal interaction, particularly if we are to seed and cultivate a better-defined and more scopic field enquiry" (p.244). This editorial does not speak of specific animals, but appears to value their intrinsic worth as well as the connections that bind, rather than separate, humans and animals. Lennerfors and Sköld (2018) note in their editorial for a special issue of *Culture and Organization* that it has been the role of "the dead and the dying animal that has occupied the most prominent place in the field of organisation and management" (p.263). This point has been borne out by my own search of the literature. They further note that, where animals have entered the debate, "such endeavours tend to relate to the animal in ways that are still largely instrumental from a human or humanistic point of view" (p.265). A special issue of *Organization* in 2016, edited by Labatut, Munro and Desmond, is also dedicated to animals. This issue highlights the pressing need for, as well as the growing interest in, this sphere of academic research. Here, both Sayers (2016) and Sage, Justesen, Dainty, et al. (2016) call for us to include animals in our consideration, with the latter scholars asserting that animals should be "acknowledged as sometimes constituting human capacities to organize, even marginally control, space and time" (p.435). Similar to Reinhold's (2018) article, these articles could be considered under the previous quadrant. However, while Reinhold's article appears to make use of the animal as a context to understand and develop the self, the articles featured here seek to highlight the animal themselves and the need to consider their specific roles if the field of management and organisation studies is to comprehensively and accurately reflect social life. Another scholar might possibly

categorise such articles within the framework differently. This need not be cause for concern as the framework is intended as a guide, rather than a prescription. Its aim, to enhance the visibility of animals in the business and management literature, remains intact either way.

Of the 15 advocacy articles, there appears to have been a slight development since the earlier search. While articles that investigate the advocacy of others still occur (see for example Jarvis, Goodrick and Hudson, 2019; Lim; Cho and Bedford, 2019; Whelan and Gond, 2017), there appears a more notable presence of articles that themselves seek to advocate for animals, similar to the sustainability articles that were returned during the earlier search and discussed above. Such articles include a call for academics to become advocates for the inclusion of animal welfare as an index of concern for consumers in the fashion industry (Reimers; Magnuson and Chao, 2016), an argument that animals be included as stakeholders within the tourist industry to prevent their further commodification as a mere attraction (Sheppard and Fennell, 2019), a call to apply the precautionary principle with regard to feeding endangered marine animals (Ziegler; Silberg, Araujo; et al., 2019), and a suggestion that the definition of legal personhood be revisited (Garthoff, 2019).

I assigned 10 articles to the ethical consumption category and the ongoing changes to the public's opinion of animals. Again, echoing the returns of the earlier search, the effect on the tourist industry appears notable (see for example Waller and Iluzada, 2019; Ziegler; Silberg; Araujo; et al., 2018; Muboko, Gandiwa, Muposhi, et al., 2016). The ability of abstract 'caring about' to effect concrete changes in the lives of animals is highlighted by Ballantyne, Hughes; Lee, et al. (2018) where they discuss how interaction with wildlife "can enhance visitor's environmental knowledge and attitudes and positively impact on their intentions to engage in sustainable environmental behaviour" (p.191).

Unsurprisingly, issues of sustainability still occur in this 2019 search, with eight articles assigned to this category. I note that, on reflection, there could an argument for such articles to be assigned to the *Abstract – Instrumental* quadrant, where concerns for sustainable development and care for the non-human environment arise primarily out of a fear for the development and future enrichment of humans. In one of the articles

returned, Phillips (2019) challenges this very point and asks that we end the "relentless pursuit of economic growth and increased consumption" (p.1161) that is antithetical to living in relationship with the non-human animals and environment around us. I suggest that the appearance of her article in this search offers a further glimpse into the possibilities that care theories have for the business and management literatures

3.4.3 Concrete – Intrinsic ('Care for')

From the initial search, 35 articles were categorised within this category. These articles feature those who are in direct relationship with animals, whether as pet owners or animal shelter workers. Five of these articles address those who work in animal shelters. Caring for animals, particularly the unwanted and invaluable such as those cared for in such shelters, is considered dirty (Lopina et al., 2012) and often "disgusting, degrading or objectionable" (Baran et al., 2012, p.597). This reflects a societal view of caring work more generally, which is usually little valued and undertaken by the less powerful in society (Tronto, 1993). This particular area offers rich opportunity to examine further the role of care in organisations and the effect such care has on both the cared-for animals and the caregiving humans themselves. Rather than just centres of 'dirty work', these organisations could potentially model sites of care which could inform future studies, critiquing the social structures that result in the casting-off of the weak and vulnerable, as well as the undermining or dismissing of those who care for them. Some work in the area has been done (see Hamilton and Taylor, 2013; Taylor, 2007) but taking an ethic of care approach to such organisations could potentially offer further fruitful insights for management scholarship.

The remaining 30 articles address the issue of companion animals and pet ownership. Those with animals as part of their family (Downey and Ellis, 2008) are considered in a special issue of the *Journal of Business Research*, published in 2008. This issue addresses the consumption behaviour of those who make significant and expensive purchases for the benefit of their animal (Brockman et al., 2008), even taking part in ceremonial blessings with and for them (Holak, 2008). While generally considered a healthy and emotionally fulfilling relationship (Cavanaugh et al., 2008), there also exists a "dark side" (Beverland et al., 2008, p.490) to the caring animal-human relationship, where issues of status and control manifest. Direct, concrete relationships with animals have the ability to impact on a society's policy making processes, for example in the case

of emergency planning operations (Ha, 2012; Hesterberg et al., 2012; Leonard and Scammon, 2007). Human-dog relationships in one society can affect perceptions of how these animals are, and should, be treated in other societies (Harris, 2008).

Arising out of the 2019 search, I assigned eight articles to this quadrant, all dealing with animals as companions. Unlike that provided by the 2008 special issue of the *Journal of Business Research*, there has been no particular spike in articles addressing such content. However, the special issue of *Gender, Work and Organization* (2019) did provide opportunities to discuss the emotional, rather than instrumental, meaning of animals in the lives of women (Taylor and Fraser, 2019), an autoethnography of caring and grieving for a much-loved dog (Satama and Huopalainen, 2019), and women's leisure experiences and attachments to their horses (Finkel and Danby 2019). Other articles deal with cats and dogs as companion animals (Kirk, 2019), including in the work space (Pina e Cunha, Rego and Munro, 2019; O'Doherty, 2016), and services provided for such companion animals (Roetzmeier-Keuper; Hendricks nee Lerch; Wuenderlich, et al., 2018). Finally, Skoglund and Redmalm (2017) discuss 'doggy-biopolitics' in the context of the Obama family dog, Bo. Here they argue that Bo "is constructed as a person with a voice and feelings of his own, invoked by alternative voices to shape and scrutinise presidential subjectivity" (p.257). Having been given a 'voice', Bo is enabled to resist and be naughty, as much as he is well-behaved, challenging the "dilemma between dominance and freedom" (p.258) that arises in much of the discourse surrounding pet ownership, as well as in society at large.

3.4.4 Concrete – Instrumental ('Contractual care')

In the original 2015 search, this quadrant is the least represented, with only five articles so classified. Articles addressing those who directly care for animals, but on an instrumental basis, feature farmers and their insurance requirements (Tumer et al., 2011; Ogurtsov et al., 2009), ranchers (van Kooten et al., 2006), the willingness of goat producers to adopt certain food safety procedures (Bukenya and Nettles, 2007) and the activities and impacts of camel farmers (Shackley, 1996). Although the commodification of the animal through agriculture and food production features strongly among the articles returned overall, much of the emphasis is on the customers, supply-chains, processes and technology, rather than on the farmers and managers who care directly for the animals on a daily basis. The focus appears to be on those who sell, rather than on

those who care. Issues of health and safety procedures and protections do feature in these articles, acknowledging perhaps the dangers inherent in such work.

The results from the 2019 search indicate some interesting developments in this *Concrete – Instrumental* quadrant. Going from five articles spanning a twenty-year time frame, I assigned 17 articles to this quadrant from a four-year timeframe. These additions enabled me to further refine this quadrant, with a category for those humans who work directly with animals as well as a category for those animals who engage in work for, and with, humans themselves.

Eleven articles investigate human-animal work, that is those humans who work directly with animals for financial return. This is a significant increase in a previously under-researched area. It is notable that 'human-animal work' is defined by Hannah and Robertson (2017). This may reflect this increased interest, or have contributed to its development. Articles in this category include the work of veterinarians (Clarke and Knights, 2019; Clarke and. Knights, 2018; Pyatt, Wright, Walley, et al., 2017), the emotional and boundary work that arises between animals and humans in slaughterhouses (McLoughlin, 2019; Hamilton and McCabe, 2016; Baran; Rogelberg and Clausen, 2016), sheep farming (Mitchell and Hamilton, 2018) and compassion in industrial farming systems (Krawczyk and Barthold, 2018), notwithstanding that, in these latter articles, the animals involved in agricultural spaces are "doing work" with their bodies. The articles addressing those employed in animal shelters (Schabram and Maitlis, 2017) and as animal cruelty investigators (Coulter and Fitzgerald, 2019) are categorised here on the basis that the human is financially rewarded for their work, although the animals are cared for on the basis of their intrinsic value. Certain 'caring professions' therefore contain elements of what might appear in the *'Concrete-Intrinsic'* quadrant, further reflecting the lack of clear division between 'instrumental' and 'intrinsic' that can arise in the paid-for care of animals. In the earlier iteration of the ethic of care framework, the contractual care of animals covered both the work of the humans and the fact that the animals were utilised for financial return. Dividing up this quadrant into sub-categories in the updated framework enables me to see more clearly where the humans care for commercial reasons, even where animals themselves are not instrumentally engage in work. Some of the articles categorised within the '*Concrete-*

Intrinsic' quadrant during the initial review could, arguably, be re-categorised accordingly.

Four articles deal substantively with animals that are engaged in doing work themselves, for and with humans. These include disability assistance animals (Hunter; Verreynne; Pachana, et al., 2019; Charles and Wolkowitz, 2019), mine detection rats (DeAngelo, 2018) and police dogs (Knight and Sang, 2019). This last article reveals the complexity of the relationships extant in such work where animals are both 'pets' and 'colleagues' to the humans with whom they work.

I also created a third additional category to cover the two articles dealing with those who make use of the instrumental value of their animals, while also living with them as 'pets' or engage with them as a hobby. 'Petstock' is the term used by Bettany and Kerrane (2018) in their article addressing how children come to understand their own food choices in the context of their previously loved animals now presenting as meat. I have chosen to make use of this term also as I feel it grasps accurately this grey area between family member and food, companion and servant, as well as the implications for connection and consumption that may simultaneously occur. The second of the two articles that I have assigned to this category addresses beekeeping, an industry that "has suffered the consequences of an unreflexive 'scaling up', where a backyard hobby based on a 'commensurate' relationship for both humans and bees has morphed into an industry based on the derivation of commercial benefit for humans, where bee wellbeing is assessed through capitalist measures of productivity and profit" (Davies and Riach, 2019, p.262). The crossover between beloved hobby and profit, friend and product, is messy and blighted with ethical and emotional consequences.

3.5 An updated ethic of care framework

The second search, undertaken in late November 2019, acted as a way of 'trying out' the ethic of care framework, developed from the initial literature search in late 2015. As a result of this second search, possible new categories for inclusion in this framework arose. I therefore updated the original ethic of care framework (Figure 4 below) to reflect these changes.

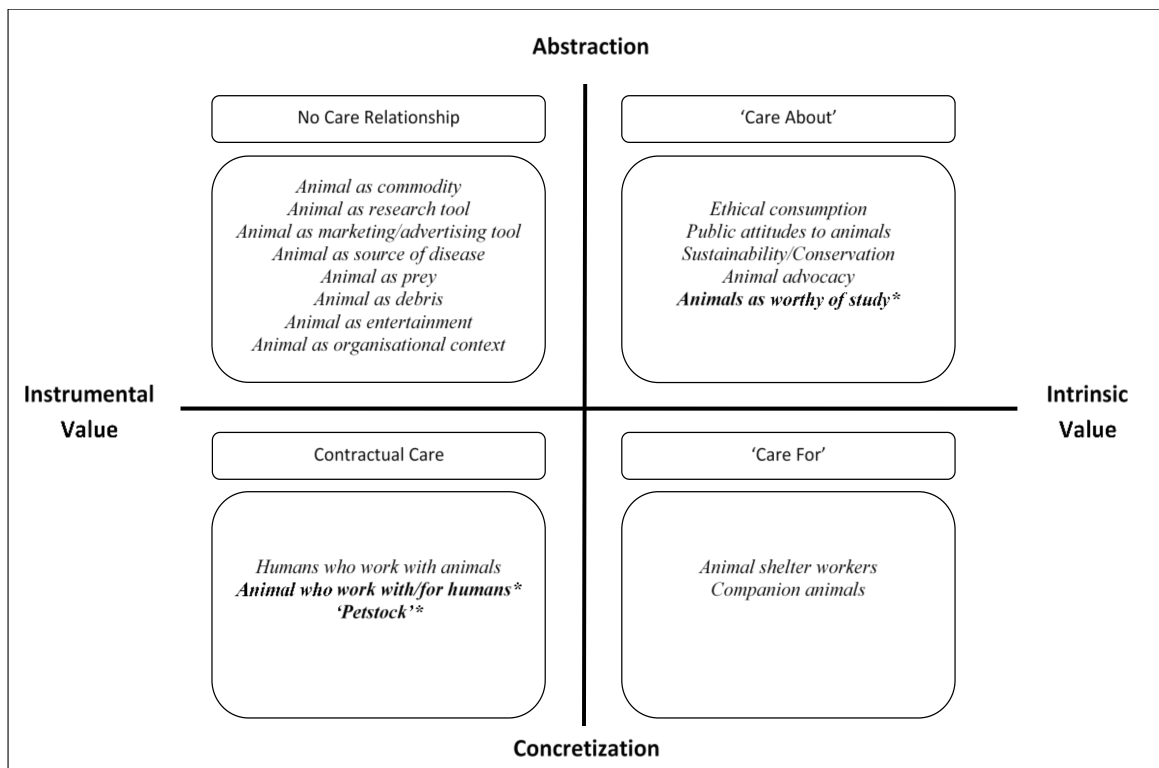


Figure 4: Updated ethic of care framework
(New categories in bold and marked with *)

3.6 Discussion

I suggest that the ethic of care framework provided in this chapter achieves three outcomes. Firstly, it offers a way for business and management scholars to conceptualise the human-animal relationships extant in organisations and to make a case for the increased visibility of both the non-human animals and those who care for them. Secondly, it facilitates a shift of emphasis from the abstract to the concrete, thereby allowing for the experiences of those who are in direct relationship with animals to be heard. Thirdly, it highlights a number of potentially fruitful avenues for further research by scholars interested in looking at animals and their role in both organisations and wider society.

Looking at the articles returned in the SSCI through the ethic of care framework revealed occasions where the motivations of those who abstractly 'care about' animals at a distance, such as consumers, can have a very real positive effect on the lives and conditions of those animals cared about. However, as warned by Noddings (2013), such caring at a distance can also fall short and fail to curb the negative impact on those who are never seen or met first-hand (Worthy, 2008). The framework, in its ability to

motivate a shift of emphasis to the direct and concrete relationships with animals, may act as a reminder of the living, breathing beings hidden beneath, rather than allowing them to remain merely as "selected livestock commodities" (Vukina, 2003, p.66). As long as animals continue to be so commodified at a distance, they "are not easily integrated as fellow subjects that belong in the moral community as beings deserving of our direct moral respect and compassion" (Anthony, 2012, p.131).

I offer the framework to facilitate a different way of thinking about non-human animals, informed by values of interrelationship and mutuality which can ultimately lead to improved ethical behaviour (Rabouin, 1997). It is not designed to be prescriptive, but rather as a model for allowing scholars to re-imagine the existing business and management literature in a new way. The framework could also be used for such a re-imagining of the literature on other silent and marginalised groups. I hope that this framework helps to shine a light on a previously hidden aspect of organisational life, suggesting a new way of examining the literature and thereby creating value "not through the more detailed application of general principles and the creation of decision rules, but through finding ways of embodying various traits, characteristics, or virtues" (Wicks, 1996, p.529).

Doing an updated search to cover the years 2016 to 2019 provided the opportunity to both investigate the development of animal-related articles in the SSCI over this time, as well as revisit the ethic of care framework to see if its offerings are still relevant and useful. Regarding the first, I discovered that, while there has been an increase in the number of such articles published in those years, such an increase needs to be seen in the context of the overall increase in all articles published during these years and available in this particular database. It is in the content of the articles returned that the nuanced shifts and similarities are seen. This is where I found the framework to be of assistance. By causing me to 'find the animal' in each article, I was enabled to see where the focus and perspective was, as well as for whose benefit the article was written. While the commodification of the animal remains strong, as illustrated by the *Abstract – Instrumental* quadrant, the apparent development in the tone of articles seeking to advise industry how to reclaim the narrative surrounding ethics and animal welfare is perhaps indicative of an increase in the visibility of the animal in the eyes of consumers. The addition of a new category to the *Abstract – Intrinsic* quadrant, that of the animal as

worthy of study in and of itself is another interesting find. Perhaps scholars, too, are 'finding the animal' and seeking to represent them in the academic literature. The apparent shift towards the academic-as-advocate is perhaps another response to the emerging discourses of welfare, ethics and sustainability that appear to be gaining ground. Further investigation of such advocacy in other disciplines might also be of interest.

Particularly welcome is the development of the fourth quadrant, *Concrete-Instrumental*. Originally envisaged as a way to explore humans who work with animals, the literature now also provides for the new category of animals that work with humans. The flexibility of the framework embraces such an additional category and I found it useful to be able to place distinct focus on when humans work and when animals work, so that both can be seen and attempts made to understand. Where the framework assisted me in separating out the animal work, it was to ensure that the animals and their contributions were made more visible. Where the boundaries between human work and animal work are fuzzy, in that where animals work, humans often do too, this acknowledges a richness in this sphere of organisational life. The further additional category of 'Petstock' is a study of such fuzziness, where connection and consumption, affection and use co-exist. I suggest that future searches and reviews would add further categories to this framework, confirming for me how a care ethic enables and supports the changes to our relationships with non-human animals in the contexts within which they arise and develop.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated the place of the non-human animal in the business and management disciplines. An ethic of care framework was developed and offered as a means of categorizing the literature. I suggest that this approach provides inspiration for interested scholars to re-orientate the place of the non-human animal, thereby stimulating the increased visibility of their contributions, and lives, within everyday organisational processes.

I acknowledge that the literature is not easily differentiated in places and that other scholars may have categorised the articles in a different way. The second search provided me with the opportunity to 'test' this framework, refining and adding categories where required. I suggest that this has strengthened its contribution to the scholarship as a

device that encourages creativity, enhances focus and increases the visibility of particular agents. Underpinned by the ethic of care, the use of this framework provides an alternative way of looking at the literature that rejects exploitation and abuse, instead seeking the relationships that exist where we target our academic research and writing.

In the next chapter, I outline my methodology and approach to data collection. I explain my choice of the Listening Guide as a way of interpreting qualitative, semi-structured interviews and offer a detailed example of its use in this research.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter, I outline my methodological approach to data collection and interpretation. I explain why it suits both the epistemological position of this thesis as well as its theoretical framework. I discuss the reasons behind my sampling decisions, as well as the ethical issues under consideration during the research process. I provide excerpts from my reflective diary, which formed part of my data collection, to demonstrate my thoughts and feelings as the research progressed. I explain how reflexivity is assisted further in my choice of the Listening Guide approach to interview narrative analysis. Finally, I offer an example of the Listening Guide in action, thereby providing insights into how I tailored this approach to answer my research question: In human-animal work, how are the roles of caregiver and cared-for narratively constructed?

4.1 Reflexivity – Research journals and reflective diary

The terms 'reflexivity' and 'reflection' are used in different ways by scholars, sometimes interchangeably (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). Here it is used as "*methodological self-consciousness"* (Hibbert et al., 2014, p.283) and involves "critical self-reflection of the ways in which researchers' social background, assumptions, positioning and behaviour impact on the research process" (Finlay and Gough, 2003, p.ix). As a co-creator of knowledge with the interview participants, as well as the person determining the questions, interpreting the narratives and developing the theory, I agree with Watson (1994) that it is "a matter of honesty and honour" (p.86) to be transparent about my influences, beliefs and feelings.

To assist in the development of a reflexive methodological approach to data collection, interpretation and theory development, I kept research journals and a reflective diary. In the research journals, I logged ideas about the thesis as they came to me. These were kept close to hand throughout the entire research process. They also contain notes regarding books and journal articles to read, questions or areas for discussion with my supervisor, quotes from interesting passages I came across, and comments from colleagues or peers with whom I spoke. As such, these research journals act as a map through which the development of my thesis, from the very foundational stages to the

final drafting phase, can be traced. They operate as my ‘field notes’ of lessons learned from ‘doing’ research.

The reflective diary acted as a more intimate way of logging how I was thinking at various stages along my research journey, thereby acting as “a basis for connecting a researcher’s observations with their life history” (Hibbert et al., 2014, p.286). Before and after each interview, I would write in the diary how I felt the interview went, what went well and what I would do differently next time. I would also note my own feelings with regard to the participant and reflect on the rapport that developed between us. I would note where I opened up and where I chose to remain silent and the possible reasons for my acting in this way. This diary facilitated my own reflexivity during the research process, up to and including data collection and interpretation, and forms part of the narrative of the research. This reflexivity was further incorporated as part of my approach to analysis using the Listening Guide, a method which calls for the researcher to memo their reaction to the interview and participant as they listen to and read through each individual interview transcript.

Following such examples as Gerstl-Pepin (cited in Tierney and Lincoln, 1997) and Lather (2007), diary entries are interspersed throughout this chapter to reveal points at which methodological decisions were informed by own experiences, my interaction with a participant, or the overall shape of the field work. Memos taken during the Listening Guide approach to the interpretation of Diane’s interview, provided here as an example to reveal the workings of the method, are presented in the same way. In so doing, my ‘voices’ as both researcher and author are laid bare for examination amongst the other voices within this thesis (Mahoney, 2007).

4.2 The focus on narratives of care

At the outset, I had imagined this thesis as one ethnographic in nature, incorporating both semi-structured interviews and observations at a number of industry sites. However, two things emerged during the early stages of field work and development of the research design that caused me to turn my focus away from observation and towards narratives, story-telling and the voiced expressions of embodied care.

The first of these occurred while preparing for my first interview, having already completed a pilot interview where technical issues, etc., were addressed. At this stage, my research question was focused more on stakeholder theory. It became clear that, while an in-depth interview addressing the ideas of interest to this original question was entirely possible, observation at the site, in the form of my physical presence on the yard, might pose some problems, not the least of which were related to insurance, health and safety, etc. This occurred early on within the context of a very flexible research design and so I was only a little concerned. I remained willing at that stage to take a 'see what can be done' approach, taking to heart Robson's (2011) assertion that "real world research is very much the 'art of the possible'" (p.400).

Excerpt from reflective diary, October 2016:
Originally, Site 1 was going to offer me the opportunity for observations on the yard, but this is now proving problematic. I am worried that this will be the case in other yards too, although I can keep hoping that I will be able to get observations somewhere. At this point, I am wondering whether the interviews with managers will be sufficient?? I still have time, so not panicking yet!

Also arising out of this interview was a demonstrable shift towards care as a concept of interest with regard to equine-related work. The participant made repeated references to the nature of care and expressed their belief that working with horses is a "caring profession". The development of relationship in my early fieldwork therefore proved crucial in lighting the way to an alternative, and potentially richer, theoretical and methodological context (Hibbert et al., 2014).

This shift towards care was further emphasized in feedback from reviewers regarding the publication of my literature review. While still leaning towards stakeholder theory at the time of the first draft of that article, the ethic of care did feature in a minor way in the context of applying this approach to stakeholder theory, following Sama et al. (2004). In this way, both my chosen theoretical framework and my methodological approach were informed by the concept of 'scholarly conversation' (Huff, 2009), facilitating a creative dynamic within my research which increased its interest both to me as the researcher and any possible colleagues with whom I might seek to converse and collaborate. This move to a focus on care ethics was appropriate to the constructionist philosophy to which I

subscribe, as well as being in sympathy with my own personal approach as someone who has always cared for animals. Thus, my research question developed to encapsulate this new focus and now an ethnographic approach, including observation, did not seem appropriate to a study that was not targeting the overall culture of an organisation or industry, but rather seeking to investigate how stories told and experiences shared about working with horses construct an ethic of care in practice. Alternative approaches, such as surveys, were rejected on the basis that these are dependent on a more objective sense of the 'correct' answer and such methods can "gloss over alternative linkages that respondents might develop themselves" (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p.58).

The practice of telling stories is ubiquitous, with narratives "one of the natural cognitive and linguistic forms through which individuals attempt to order, organize, and express meaning" (Mishler, 1986, p.106). This extends to organisations (Czarniawska, 1997) and relationships with non-human animals (Birke et al., 2010; Tovares, 2010). The narrative aspect of the practice of care is highlighted by Lawrence and Maitlis (2012): "Care in an organizational context is likely to revolve significantly around the ways in which organizational members communicate with, listen to, and especially tell stories to and with one another" (p.646). With regard to interactions with non-verbal animals, sharing narratives can co-create identities that include family pets (Tovares, 2010) as well as equine life histories (Birke et al., 2010). In the case of horse-human relationships, Birke et al. (2010) show how knowledge surrounding how best to care for horses is situated within social networks, where humans and horses alike are seen to have a degree of agency. The use of anthropomorphism as a way of including animals within the shared group identity (Tovares, 2010) can involve speaking for or "ventriloquizing" (p.6) their part in a given narrative. Anthropomorphism, therefore, can be "an efficient tool of communication" (Karlsson, 2012, p.707), particularly when used in a critically mindful way designed to inform an appropriately ethical response to non-human animals.

I amended my information sheet and consent form (attached as Appendix B) to reflect that I was now seeking stories "freely told" about the participants' experiences of the horses with whom they work. In this way, the narratives of the interviews co-created by the participants and myself as the researcher become the 'stories' through which care in practice is revealed, where 'voice' is given to the embodied caring relationship between human worker and horse. However, during the course of field work, observation did

occur. Two participants demonstrated their work to me as I watched, while three more showed me around their yards and introduced me to their horses. While not included as part of the data collection, as such, I welcomed such opportunities and remain thankful for the consideration, openness and welcome that I experienced while carrying out this research.

4.3 Active interviewing

In order to best illicit stories of care within the interviews, and consistent with a social constructionist philosophy of knowledge production, I utilised a form of 'active' interviewing (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Rather than viewing each participant as a "vessel-of-answers" (p.8), these interviews are contextual collaborations, where both interviewer and participant co-construct meaning. Here, interest primarily lies in "how and what the subject/respondent, in collaboration with an equally active interviewer, produces and conveys about the subject/respondent's experience under the interpretive circumstances at hand" (p.9). As a co-producer of knowledge, I did not seek to distance myself from this context, set apart as if a neutral observer. My form and tone of questioning, as well as my own silences and interruptions influenced the narrative that was produced (Mishler, 1986). In this way, I became "an unavoidable and essential component of the discourse" (p.105). At times, this manifested as my stepping back, keeping a slight distance in an unfamiliar context. At other times, there occurred the spontaneous sharing of personal experiences (Ellis et al., 2007). In understanding meaning, my sharing or not sharing and my rapport with the various participants were carefully logged in my diary to facilitate reflexivity with regard to my own conduct. Did I already know this person? Had I met them before? If not, how much about myself and my own experience with horses did I choose to share? Why, in those situations where I remained silent, did I feel the need to do so? And how did I react when I was the one being asked the questions, the moments when I was the one being 'researched' (Hibbert, et al. 2014)? These diary entries formed part of the analysis when each individual interview transcript was being reviewed and interpreted.

> *Excerpt from reflective diary ((omitted specifics of date, etc.)):*
> I didn't share <u>any</u> of my own background or story with horses as wasn't asked and also didn't feel it was appropriate or would have enhanced our relationship at the time.

They did ask me if I was a vegetarian (to illustrate a point about instrumental use) and I was self-conscious in replying in the affirmative. They were a "carnivore" and appeared to have little sympathy with the "anti's" and I was glad that this came up at the end of the interview as I do not know whether their approach to me would have been different from the outset if they thought I was an "anti". However, they did not respond negatively to me when they did find out the 'truth', but rather continued making their point. We both ended up laughing.

As a piece of research within the social constructionist framework, concerns lie not in ideas of validity, generalisability and replicability, but rather reliability. Does my methodological and analytic approach lead to reliable knowledge and contribution to theory? Due to the situational nature of the active interviews, I seek to show the substance of these narratives as having the "ability to convey situated experiential realities in terms that are locally comprehensible" (Holstein and Gubrium, p.9), together with interpretations that stand up as credible when considered amongst other plausible explanations (Mishler, 1986). Following Mishler (1986), I believe that alternative, dynamic methods of data collection require new forms of assessment. This belief informs some of the reasons why I chose the Listening Guide approach to interview analysis.

The interviews themselves were semi-structured, but largely informal. I provided a number of general areas for discussion on the information sheet that was sent to each participant ahead of the interview (Appendix B). This list was refined over the course of the field work (see Appendix C) and acted as a prompt should a particular participant require more structure. The questions were not always asked, were asked in different orders depending on what had gone before, and allowed for flexibility and additions. The list, therefore, acted more as a 'checklist' (Robson, 2011) than a rigid schedule to be followed. Each interview was usually started with one or two of these prompts and then tended to flow naturally into a conversation. I endeavoured to keep interruptions to a minimum, although I was not always successful, thereby providing a space where participants were "invited to speak in their own voices, allowed to control the introduction and flow of topics, and encouraged to extend their responses" (Mishler, 1986, p.69).

All of the interviews were one-on-one, apart from one of the interviews which had two participants, a situation I had anticipated as possible but was not sure would happen until the second participant joined us. While "multivocality can emphasize the richness of meaning revealed in the active interview" (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p.72), I chose to speak with participants individually, believing this would provide a comfortable and intimate context in which to speak openly and easily. However, this was always at the discretion of the participant and, if others sought to join, this was embraced. Apart from two interviews which took place remotely, at the suggestion of those participants, the interviews were in person. Usually, I travelled to meet them at their yard/workplace or home, although one took place in a mutually convenient other location.

The interviews were recorded, with the consent of the participants, and handwritten notes were taken, if appropriate, during or soon after each interview. Recordings of the interviews were downloaded onto a computer immediately and transcribed as soon as possible afterwards. Participants were given a pseudonym and categorised by the activity into which their job falls, i.e. trainer, coach, etc. If the participant is active in a number of these roles, they are listed in order of what was ascertained to be the most prevalent. These transcriptions were completed as accurately as possible and checked through a number of times. Appendix D shows the notation conventions used, based on those outlined by Emanuel Schegloff on the website of the American Sociological Association. However, unlike this convention, commas and full stops are made use of in the usual grammatical way.

4.4 Sampling

The definition of human-animal work that this thesis utilises is "*human work that is substantially focused on live non-human animals*" (Hannah and Robertson, 2017, p.116, italics in original). Those who volunteer with animals, or have them as pets, are not included within this designation. People engaged in such work in an Irish context make up the group of people whose experiences of care I wish to explore. Purposive sampling from this population of interest was undertaken, acknowledging that this approach is largely based on "the researcher's judgement as to typicality or interest" (Robson, 2011, p.275).

Using directories and contact details available from the internet, those who work as either breeders, trainers or coaches within the equine industry were contacted. However, these categories are not entirely discrete, with overlap occurring among those who train horses as well as coach people with horses, or who breed horses as well as training them. Some may be involved in all three activities in some format. Of the sample, some follow traditional methods, some follow more 'natural horsemanship' techniques, while others have developed their own approaches with horses. I did not seek to get representative samples across these particular differences as I wished to encourage the inclusion of those with myriad different approaches and individual experiences (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Furthermore, there was no distinction as to gender during the sampling process, in order to facilitate "the possibility that both women and men, as people who give care, can position themselves alike in the ways they describe caregiving" (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p.26). Overall, the group is similar in that their work with horses, either full or part-time, can be considered a job, one which is undertaken for, amongst other reasons, a level of financial return. In some cases, the participants are known to me and approaches were made in person.

19 interviews, totalling 20 participants, were carried out and analysed as a way to answer my research question. Both the sampling techniques and number of participants chosen reflect the epistemological position of how meaning is created through interaction and is in keeping with the intention of such research as "conceptually generative" (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006, p.492), rather than definitive, interested in the 'how?' instead of the 'what?' or 'how much?' As such, the focus is on the nature of how the themes appear and are expressed, not the amount of times they occur. This research does not aim to generalize outward to a larger population and, while it seeks to be credible, cannot claim to be directly replicable and therefore verifiable from a more positivist standpoint.

However, this does not mean that the issue of 'how many interviews?', which rightly concerns scholars (see for example, Guest, Bunce and Johnson, 2006; Hagaman and Wutich, 2017; Saunders and Townsend, 2016), is not of value here. The concept of saturation is often stated, but rarely expounded upon and often may not be aligned with the stated research purpose and philosophy (Saunders and Townsend, 2016). According to these authors, knowing when is enough can be a combination of "citing relevant expert opinion, precedence set by authentic and credible similar studies and the meeting of data

saturation" (p.849) where these are appropriate to the research design. They suggest a range between 15 and 60, again depending on the approach taken. Guest et al. (2006) posit that saturation can occur after 12 interviews, with themes emerging after six. Crouch and McKenzie (2006) recommend a "small number of cases" (p.483) for research interviews that "target the respondents' perceptions and feelings rather than the social conditions surrounding those experiences" (p.485), a position they share with a constructionist viewpoint although they espouse a realist approach. While they are not specific on the exact number that make up a 'small' number, they do offer less than 20 as a general guide.

In the case of my research, I found common themes emerging after interviews number five and six. New themes continued to emerge but, after 14 interviews, enough similarities and shared experiences had been documented to begin to develop a substantive answer to my research question. My concern at that stage was not the information I was getting, but rather whether I was getting enough from across the possible sources:

> *Excerpt from reflective diary, September 2018:*
> While individuals always have new and interesting things to say and, on that basis, I could go on collecting data forever, certainly after 14 interviews I am seeing emerging themes repeating which, although often spoken of in different ways, are occurring across a number of transcripts. Particularly with ((names specifics)) who have long-standing relationships with their horses, I am getting a level of depth and richness which is significant enough, I believe, to develop my theoretical framework further. I have less ((names specifics)), partly because they have not engaged with or responded to my initial approaches for interviews, but also because I am less familiar with ((names specifics)) and am therefore perhaps a little hesitant. Perhaps, therefore, I should make a concerted effort to get more of ((names specifics)) involved, to see if any further themes and concepts emerge. This would help me to allay any fears that I may have on 'missing out' on interesting concepts, rather than a particular concern with saturation, per se.

As a result, I amended my sampling approach to target any people I felt might be under-represented in case more new insights were possible. I completed more interviews on

this basis. My decision to stop at 20 participants was therefore informed along the way, rather than pre-decided at the research design phase. At that point I felt that significant themes were reoccurring in such a way as to justify the completion of the data collection phase.

In order to provide context, offer transparency and following the recommendation of Saunders and Townsend (2016), the duration of each interview, as well as a brief overview of each of the participant's characteristics is provided (Table 1 below). An exemplar from each participant is also given, highlighting their background with horses, often given as an answer to "How did you get involved with horses?" This information was sought to place their contributions in the context of their life experience and to reveal how, and at what stage, they understand their caring knowledge and habits (Hamington, 2004) were first learned.

Table 1: Overview of participants

Name	**Role**	**Caring background with horses (exemplar)**	**Duration of interview**
Barry	Breeder	"I've grown up with them"	36.46
Colin	Trainer / Coach	"Horses were natural- horses were not a removed part of my life or they weren't a part of my life… I was riding horses and I didn't know about them"	1.41.28
Diane	Coach / Trainer	"they kind of kept me sane… they were a constant, yeah"	1.03.35
Elaine	Yard & Livery Manager / Breeder / Trainer	"I rode when I was younger… Yeah, the more I was doing, the more I enjoyed it"	56.12
Fred	Coach / Trainer / Breeder	"So, she used to park the buggy in the corner of the arena and I used to watch her ride. So, I suppose I kind of became conditioned to horses"	1.02.15
Geraldine	Coach / Livery Manager/ Trainer	"I actually started riding horses when I was four years old"	50.55
Helen &	Breeder/ Sales prep. / Livery Manager	"I had to stand on the side lines, I was like "Can I do this? Can I do this?" I wasn't allowed to do it ((riding)) until I was seven and just never looked back and that was it."	50.41

Ian	Breeder / Sales prep. / Livery Manager	"My ((family member)) was working with horses… it's something I never wanted to do as a child… because I knew the ups and downs of what is involved…. and somebody offered me to come to ((names place)) … and, eh, never really went back to ((names place))"	
Jane	Trainer / Coach	"We always had- we had horses here when I was very little… When I was about nine or 10, ehm, there was a pony… So anyway, we took her home, paid the guy who owned her, took her home and… I had no saddle for this pony. I had bits and pieces to make a bridle back up… So anyway, I used to ride the horse with no saddle and rode it for a year."	1.59.07
Kate	Yard & Livery Manager	"well it's hereditary. I'm fourth generation… we all rode as children"	54.05
Monica	Coach / Livery Manager / Trainer	"We always had horses here…So, when I opened my eyes, I seen a horse and that was it… It was love ((laughs))"	48.33
Nicola	Trainer / Coach	"I never say I work with horses. I say I've lived with horses… Because I've had horses since day dot."	1.07.03
Olivia	Trainer / Coach	"I always loved horses since I was a little kid and I rode for ten years, starting when I was twelve."	59.47
Paul	Coach / Trainer / Breeder	"I come from, eh, a farming background… And always on the farm there was horses. And, at a certain stage of my life when I was about nine, I- I picked up the idea of having a pony. And that was it."	31.23
Quentin	Breeder / Sales prep	"I was fortunate enough to grow up on a stud farm… so I was lucky to be, sort of, bred into it."	36.08

Rebecca	Trainer / Coach	"Well, I always loved horses, as a child…where we lived, there was no riding stables or anything close to hand. So, you know, fast forward a few years to… and I could go for riding lessons, which I did for a while."	1.00.41
Sheila	Yard Manager / Coach / Trainer	"I was one of those kids that while I was in the back of the car, all I was doing when we were driving by was looking for horses in fields… I grew up around animals. I grew up on a dairy farm. We always had animals. I worked very hard as a child to get a pony, ehm, and I suppose that's where it started."	31.40
Tina	Coach / Trainer	"I've always been crazy about horses. I mean, I started riding when I was about six"	1.20.16
Ursula	Coach / Trainer	"You see, originally I rode at ((names)) as a small child… So, actually there was so much going on in my life that I took time out and I got rid of this pony and said "Okay, keep out of horses." But there was such a gap."	1.07.55
Veronica	Trainer / Producer	"…A really lovely mare. And I went out and I seen her and she was nice. I just lunged her around the arena and this is-this is the first one I ever bought. Ehm, I paid very small money for her. I brought her home. He said she was broken and riding, all the rest of it. I jumped up on her. I think I was about 14."	34.00

Table 1: Overview of participants

4.5 Pilot interview – 'Angela'

An additional person was interviewed at the very early stages of the research design, before any field work began in earnest. However, this 21st participant is not included for the purposes of analysis. 'Angela' worked as a trainer and rider in the equine industry

for many years. The interview was just under an hour long. It was recorded with her consent and transcribed soon after. The aim of this pilot interview was to practice my own interview techniques and to provide me with a trial run at using the audio recorder and consent forms, and becoming familiar with the open-ended questioning format that I intended to use. As a result of this interview, I was able to note mistakes made, such as not turning on the audio recorder in a timely fashion, interrupting too much and impeding the flow of conversation, and getting used to speaking about my research to someone unfamiliar and outside my peer group. Allowing this early phase of field work to offer me ideas on what to amend going forward (Robson, 2011), I adjusted my suggested questions in my interview guide, a precursor to more fundamental changes after the next interview took place.

4.6 Ethical considerations

The ethic of care informs not just the theory that frames this research and the interpretation of the interview narratives produced, but the overall approach to negotiating access and data collection as well. My first step was to seek ethical approval from the relevant university committee to undertake interview-based research with human participants. This approval was granted. With the importance of maintaining relationships to the fore, the initial contacts to potential participants were mindful of their busy schedules and commitments. I did not follow up on e-mails that received no reply, interpreting instead their silence as a refusal to participate. I did not utilise snowballing as a way of accessing further interviews as I felt that this approach may have placed pressure on people to feel that they should participate as a 'favour' to another colleague, as well as having potential consequences for anonymity within a small industry. To those who did respond and agree to participate, I e-mailed the information sheet and consent form (Appendix B) ahead of time so as to give them ample opportunity to review the subject matter and implications of participation, such as use of quotations, etc. should they require it. At the outset of each interview, I reiterated that they could pull out at any time, refuse to answer any question they wished, as well as guaranteeing anonymity. An e-mail of thanks was sent to each participant on my return home after each interview.

I transcribed each interview as soon as possible after it occurred and completed this carefully, accurately and as true to the natural speech as possible, including for example pauses, 'eh's', 'hmm's', etc. This was so as to provide the most accurate and reliable

data set as possible (Mishler, 1986). As well as pseudonyms in place of the participants' real names, the names of organisations and horses were also removed to protect anonymity further. This is particularly important in such a specialised industry, where participants may know of each other (Maurstad, Davis and Cowles, 2013). I did not request details regarding the gender identity of each participant and therefore do not categorise them as male or female. However, in ascribing them pseudonyms, I have kept the name in the same gender category as their given names. Sensitive to the inherent power dynamic between researcher and 'lay' person, I sought to ameliorate this by careful use of terminology (Mishler, 1986). I therefore use the term 'participant', rather than 'respondent' or 'interviewee' to reflect their role as active co-creators of knowledge. While listening to and reading through each transcript as preparation for the analysis stage, I carefully noted potentially sensitive, personal information or information about another person and omitted any such passages from further interpretation. This was an effort to maintain the trust of the participant and to protect the relationship as foremost in the research process (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000).

As part of the ethical approval process, I volunteered to check with the participants before publishing any of their particular interview, as well as providing them with the opportunity to review my interpretations before submitting this thesis. This 'member checking' served as an opportunity to enhance reliability, but also became an ethical imperative during the research process (Mahoney, 2007; Miles and Huberman, 1994). The idea that I would be speaking with these people, at length and in-depth, and then disappearing with the information created, felt wrong on an emotional level. It was also not in keeping with an ethic of care approach, it violated fairness and seemed untrustworthy. This belief was affirmed in that every one of the participants voiced a desire to see my interpretations of our conversation, and indeed most expressed delight, and some relief, that they would get such an opportunity.

4.7 Using the Listening Guide

The 'Listening Guide' is a method of interpreting qualitative data which seeks to avoid "ventriloquizing or speaking through others, voicing over their voices, or using them to express what the researcher wants to say" (Gilligan, 2015, p.71). It focuses on listening rather than "assimilating the experience of another to what one already believes" (p.75). It is primarily utilised in the interpretation of interviews, although it can be useful for

other written data (Woodcock, 2016). An emerging technique, it is offered as "a pathway into relationship rather than a fixed framework for interpretation" (Brown and Gilligan, 1992, p.22) and can facilitate the unearthing of many different voices. The method can be adapted to suit the requirements of the individual project, but generally requires at least four different 'listenings' of the text or transcript; the first to assess the 'plot' of the narrative and the researcher's response to what is heard, as well as to the participant themselves. The second reading is to listen for the voice "I" in the text. This stage "represents an attempt to hear the person, agent or actor voice her or his sense of agency, while also recognizing the social location of this person who is speaking" (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998, p.130). The third and subsequent readings are to listen for voices of relationship. These readings are informed by the research question, which is used "as a touchstone and to listen for and identify voices that inform the inquiry" (Gilligan and Eddy, 2017, p.79). This approach acknowledges the role of theory in influencing the entire research project, from design to interview procedures, and celebrates the interaction between data and theory in how it allows the researcher to "use theory to identify relevant voices and voices to shed light on theory" (Sorsoli and Tolman, 2008, p.499).

I chose this method of interpretation for the interview transcripts because of its sympathy with the ethic of care approach that I have taken throughout this thesis, from the literature review to how I interact with my participants, as well as its sensitivity to context and personal narrative. I came to this decision having reflected upon other open-coding and theory-driven approaches. I found the former approach, derived from grounded theory, was a popular choice. However, as I had not taken a grounded theory approach to any other aspect of my research, I felt it would be intellectually incoherent to separate out the coding procedure from my chosen theoretical framework and research question which exist prior to, and inform, the data collected. Furthermore, such open coding has the effect of distancing the data from the context in which it is produced and can also confuse the researcher's experience of reflexivity (Blair, 2015).

An a priori, theory-driven approach, favoured by Miles and Huberman (1994) initially made more sense to me in that I had already undertaken a literature review and had a chosen theoretical framework informing a particular research question. However, the fear of shoehorning the data to fit the pre-conceived codes and seeing what might not be

there (Saldana, 2009) is a fair one and, while this approach allows for the re-working and re-defining of codes as the data analysis progresses, it potentially failed to provide me with the assurance that my pre-determined categories would not colour my interpretations of the words of others, at worst perhaps even 'voice over' them.

Blair (2015) reports on an attempt to code two different sets of data, one with open coding and one which he describes as "template coding" (p.14) which makes use of a priori codes from theory or research. He concludes that an adaptable combination, thereby offering both a "bottom-up" and "top-down" (p.26) approach, might work best. While appealing, those who utilise this approach to developing codebooks, using both inductive and deductive methods, appear to describe very systematic and positivist approaches (see for example, DeCuir-Gunby et al., 2011, Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

I therefore selected the Listening Guide, a method developed from Carol Gilligan's *In A Different Voice* (1982 & 1993) and used as a way of 'listening' for voices of relationship in qualitative research. This is an approach that is consistent with both my philosophical and theoretical underpinnings, as well as offering a potentially innovative way of answering my research question. It is also consistent with the approach of active interviewing as it facilitates interpretation of the transcript as a whole, rather than decontextualized and categorised. This acts to retain the people involved as "real social or individual entities" (Mishler, 1986, p.26) and the meanings created within the context of a shared narrative between interviewer and participant.

The Listening Guide method was followed for each transcript, although most of the 'listenings' required going through the transcript more than once. The first involved listening for the plot. Notes written in my reflective diary before the interview were reviewed to revisit my own feelings at the time. I then played the audio of the interview in order to tune in to the participant and our interaction again. This allowed me to hear the tone, style and 'feeling' of the interview, as well as highlighting pauses, moments of reflection, hesitations, and a general sense of what was happening. Words, phrases and ideas that particularly stood out were initially marked in pencil on the paper script as I listened. The background of the participant, most usually a response to the "How did you get involved with horses?" question was noted as providing the context within which caring practices (Hamington, 2004) were learned. My own reactions to the interview and the participant were memoed, facilitating my acknowledgement of the position of

power as researcher, as well as providing the opportunity to note honestly any biases that arose. This reflexive aspect of the Guide further informs its reliability as a method (Woodcock, 2016). On completion of the audio recording, I then looked at any notes taken immediately after the interview, as well as in my reflective diary on my return home, to note any additional thoughts and insights.

As part of this first listening, I would read through the transcript again, this time without the audio recording. Here I would be looking for any further words or themes that stood out as potentially offering insights into my research question. I also highlighted sections not to be included where the participant may have spoken about others or about personal issues not related to their work with horses. An awareness of sensitive issues forms part of my "relational responsibility" (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000, p.177) to the research participants and is in keeping with the approach as rooted in the ethic of care, where the sustainability of relationships lies at its core.

The second listening, listening for the "I", revealed how each participant positioned themselves in the narrative. Listening to the audio recording once more (Woodcock, 2016), I underlined on the paper text, excluding the passages to be omitted, whenever the participant said "I", as a way to tune in even further to the person speaking, to note how they speak of themselves before I do (Brown and Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan et al., 2006). In this way "I" poems were created by taking each "I", and any associated verbs and expressions, and listing them out in order of how they appear in the transcript (Gilligan et al., 2006; Gilligan and Eddy, 2017). This had the effect of revealing what expressions of "I" were most prevalent. It also drew attention to when the participant spoke of themselves in relationship to others (Woodcock, 2016), namely the horses.

In a turn particular to the nature of my research question, voice poems were also created for the horses themselves. This was done by highlighting on the text each time the participant 'gave voice' to the horse, by literally speaking for them, thereby attributing subjectivity, preferences and beliefs (Regan, 2004) to them. In passages where the participant gave voice to their own "I", as well as to the horse, these 'poems' reveal how the two voices interact, where they are in conflict and where in harmony (Gilligan et al., 2006; Gilligan, 2015).

The third listening was informed by the research question and theoretical framework and involved listening for relationship. This was achieved by highlighting on the transcript each time the participant spoke of a horse or horses, either directly or in the abstract. I listened for the horse. I noted in these passages what the horse was doing in the interaction, how they were characterised and how they responded in the relationship. Naturally, each participant expressed this relationship differently. Some spoke of particular horses, while others spoke from a place of direct experience, rather than speaking of specific horses. All of these expressed interactions were noted. I would then go back through the transcript to identify any patterns, reflecting this method's iterative nature and the need to "fine-tune" (Gilligan et al., 2006, p.266). I would ask what these interactions, voices, conversations have in common, whether I could develop themes around the interactions between voice and body, human and horse, and how these bodies and voices responded to each other. Whereas the Listening Guide is more usually utilised to find different voices contrapuntally expressed as the mental processes of one person or narrator (Gilligan et al., 2006; Gilligan, 2015; Sorsoli and Tolman, 2008), my research question calls for a consideration of the human-animal worker's voice and the horse's 'voice' as they interact with each other, accepting that the 'voice' of the horse is but another voice of the participant themselves. In this way, the human-animal workers can be heard constructing the responses of the horses. Further iterative moves occurred when analysing across a number of interviews as new voices and themes arose during the process, requiring a fresh look at voices already heard in previously analysed transcripts (Gilligan et al, 2006).

The final listening involved the writing of a memo outlining what I learned from this particular interview and how it answered or developed my research question.

4.8 The Listening Guide in action – 'Diane'

To illustrate the Listening Guide in action, I have selected an exemplar, 'Diane', and outline the steps taken during each of the various listenings. Diane is a coach and trainer, with whom I spoke for over an hour. We had never met before.

First listening

Listening to the audio recording again refreshed the interview in my mind as a number of months had passed since we met and since the transcription was completed. It allowed

me to tune in once more to Diane's voice and our conversation. Two responses came to the fore of my mind during this first listening of the audio, namely how Diane pauses and is thoughtful as she deliberates on her answers, and the rapport that existed between us during the interview.

Excerpt from memo of first listening:

Diane speaks thoughtfully, often pausing as she considers her responses to my questions deeply. I can hear her constructing her ideas while I listen back over the audio, with her stopping sentences and sometimes trailing off, "I don't know", as she tries to put shape on her thoughts which are, in many ways, unknowable, but not less important for that. I appreciate her efforts as it is clear to me while listening that she is really engaging with the subject matter openly and honestly, with her sometimes incomplete sentences emphasising how unknowable some of these interactions are, specially at moments where her gut instinct and feeling appears to be at odds with what she has been told or taught:

> L: Right. Do you think they pick it up? Do you think they take it <u>fr</u>om the person? (.) Or do you think they just enable the person to work through it themselves?
> D: I've asked a few people on this because- (.) I don't know. I think sometimes- (.) I suppose I fear sometimes that they might
> L: Okay=
> D: =hold on to stuff. But I remember asking a guy ((refers to)) and he was saying "No they don't take on for other people, they carry their own."
> L: Hmm
> D: But I don't know.

Diane's pausing as she tries to distinguish between what she thinks, what she has been told, and what she feels, or fears, speaks to me of someone who thinks deeply, and has done so before our conversation, of the impact of our interactions on the horses. And, although she has reached no definite conclusion, she acts upon what she feels:

D: Ehm (.) but I try and get them back to their norm as quick as possible afterwards.

L: Rig[ht

D: So] they're back with the herd, they're back in their normal field and they don't show- (.) they don't show me signs that they are carrying it.

Listening to the audio, rather than just reading through the transcript, really heightened such passages.

Excerpt from memo of first listening:

Also, the relationship between us as interviewer and participant sounds relaxed and comfortable, with a good rapport developed. We appear to understand the sentiments of each other:

L: I think that. Because every time we bring them onto a horse box, they get on trusting. They don't know where we're going to bring them=

D: = Yeah, yeah, yeah.

L: We could just be bringing them up to the fields across the way.

D: Yeah

L: We could be bringing them anywhere.

D: Yeah, yeah, yeah, there is a lot of trust in that, isn't there?

L: Isn't there? [And the-

D: Yeah]

Also, I obviously felt comfortable enough, where elsewhere I might be silent, to share that I have a pony, have done horsemanship courses, etc., which would be seen as a risk but I think enhanced our rapport and facilitated an open and thoughtful discussion. However, I do find myself annoyed when I interrupt or "hmm" when it is not necessary as I worry that, at times, I interrupted the flow of Diane's thoughts. This is something that I must make conscious efforts to improve on in future interviews.

Overall, I respond extremely positively to this participant, but need to be careful therefore not to 'over-identify' with them or impose my own presumptions. While in

sympathy, we are not the same and I must caution myself to really 'hear' what she is saying, rather than assume using my own beliefs and experiences (see Gilligan et al., 2006, p.258).

The next phase of the first listening involved going through the transcript again to highlight any pertinent ideas, feelings and themes, as well as those passages to be omitted from further analysis. I also reviewed the entry in my reflective diary written upon arriving home after the interview, as well as any notes taken during, immediately after, and also at the transcription phase. Again, I noted our rapport, as well as technicalities which I decided must be improved upon for next time:

Excerpt from reflective diary (written upon arriving home after interview with Diane):
The interviewee was very easy to talk to and engaged well with the subject matter. I had sent out the information sheet and consent form a week in advance and so I felt very prepared and organised going in.

…

I am disappointed in myself that I did interrupt the interviewee a few times and I hope that I did not lose valuable information because of this. Partly nerves, no doubt, but also because, if they say something really interesting, I want to follow up before it's lost. However, I must get better at writing notes and coming back to issues that the conversation has maybe wandered away from. I must try not to interrupt!

My notetaking during the interview is also not great, as I find it distracts my attention from the participant and takes me 'out of' the conversations. Also, I wonder if it makes them feel a little on edge? Maybe that is just me projecting! I need to get better. I did scribble a few notes after the interview of words/phrases/ideas that immediately resonated. I will try to continue this.

During this read through, I highlighted passages for omission from further analysis. These included those contributions that I was asked to omit, references to others, potentially sensitive passages, and those not addressing the participants' experience of their work. For transparency, the page numbers and details of these passages, as well as the reasons for omission, were memoed.

Excerpt from memo of first listening:

Not relevant to research question (page numbers): gender in the horse industry generally. Interesting, but doesn't further my question:

> D: I wonder- Like I know there's a lot of men- males that are jockeys at the high end.
>
> L: Hmm
>
> D: But there seems to be a lot of women that run yards.
>
> L: Hmm, yeah

Details of Diane's background with horses, where and how she learned her caring practices (Hamington, 2004) with horses were also noted. She referred to horses as having "kept her sane" and as being "a constant" in her life. This information was then added to a table which, while not directly answering the research question as such, acted as a context for the information that flowed from the interview:

Name	**Role**	**Caring background with horses (exemplar)**	**Duration of interview**
Diane	Coach / Trainer	"they kind of kept me sane… they were a constant, yeah"	1.03.35

I further noted the emerging themes and concepts that arose as I familiarised myself with the transcript during this second read-through. These insights were included in note form, together with the relevant page numbers, to assist in the later stages in the Listening Guide process.

Excerpt from memo of first listening:

- Really great themes emerging, choice and resistance (p.6, 9, 10, 23)
- Importance of body language with people too (e.g. p.7)
- Excellent examples of bodily interaction between horse and Diane. "They'd nearly talk to you" (e.g. p.13, 14)

- Love, emotion comes up. Love that they have a choice. Aware of horses' emotions, sensitive to them. Uses feeling to understand horses she is training. (p.8, 16, 17,18)
- Again, horse and human bodies feeding off and affecting each other. Gut, feeling, hard to verbalise (p.12, 24)
- Body again, really excellent example of communication (p.33)
- Major themes: Choice, resistance, using body to communicate, emotion/sensitivity, human/horse interaction and impact on both

Second listening

I listened to the audio recording of Diane's interview again. This time, I underlined on the transcript every time "I" appeared, taking particular note of those passages pertaining to horse/ human interaction. I did not include those passages that were omitted after the first listening. I then reproduced these "I" poems on a separate sheet. This process revealed the words and expressions that arise most often with the "I", as well as those associated with physical and emotional, as well as mental, processes, for example, "I hurt", "I fear", "I feel", "I love" as well as "I know", "I think", "I wonder". The negations of such expressions were also revealed, such as "I don't think", "I don't know". Diane's experiences of direct relationship appear to cause her to make the imaginative leap from a known body to an unknown one (Hamington, 2004 & 2008). I therefore also noted the "he/she" and "we" that arise when she speaks of and with the horse:

Excerpt from transcript of interview with Diane:

D: One of them has- like the time I hurt my back really badly a few years ago and one of them was off for the whole summer. Like he was- there was just something he wasn't putting his head up as high and he was slightly lame but not full- not anything that I could- like the vet could pick up or anything. It was just a slight little offness. And I remember one day I went to this guy for my back and I came back feeling really, really good and I went down to the field and I was- it sounds stupid, but I was really trying to tell him I was okay. And he was like, like he was fifteen or sixteen, he turned into a five-year-old. And he started running up and down and his head was higher than it had been all summer. He kept whinnying and calling me up the field like when I was

walking away from him, he kept whinnying and kept calling and like so I totally think he was carrying some of that for me.

I hurt	he was-
	he wasn't putting his head up as high
	he was slightly lame
not anything that I could.	
I remember	
I went	
I came back feeling really, really good	
I went	
I was-	
I was really trying to tell him I was okay.	
	he was like, like he was fifteen or sixteen,
	he turned into a five-year-old
	he started running up and down
	his head was higher,
	He kept whinnying and calling me up the field
I was walking away from him	
	he kept whinnying and kept calling
I totally think	
	he was carrying some of that for me.

Separating out when Diane used "I" and "he", enabled me to see the interaction of these two bodies, how Diane expressed the human pain worn by the horse, followed by the relief of pain for both. I interpreted this as an instance of Diane's caring imagination, where an exchange of empathy and the construction of connection and joint knowledge of experiencing the world through flesh (Hamington, 2004) is expressed.

Next, I took particular note of any passages where Diane 'speaks for' the horses and wrote this down, parallel to the "I" poems and in the relevant order. This produced a total of seven human/horse voice poems, and drew my attention to the utterances of the

horses, many of which were missed on the first reading. This listening also revealed points where Diane speaks directly to the horses and a point at which they 'speak' together.

	Excerpt from memo of 2nd Listening:		
	Diane	**Together**	**Horse**
1	I mean		
	I've seen		
	I think I was doing		
			"Neh"
	So, I don't worry		
2			"Here, come on, like check this"
	I had seen		
	but I was still checking		
3	I don't know		
	I mean		
	I just gave her		
		"Right, okay, let's just try it"	
4	I suppose		
	"Okay, well let's try it this way"		
			"Yeah, that's working"
	I don't know		
	I don't know		
5			"No, I'm not getting this"
			"No, it's not working"
			"Yes, I get that"
	you know?		
6			"Yeah, not today"
	what I'm carrying		
	when I go to the field		
	I don't know		
	if I'm in a hurry		

7		
		“Nah, I’m not getting the right vibe off you”
	I use him for But with the other two	
		“Right, this is what we’re meant to do”

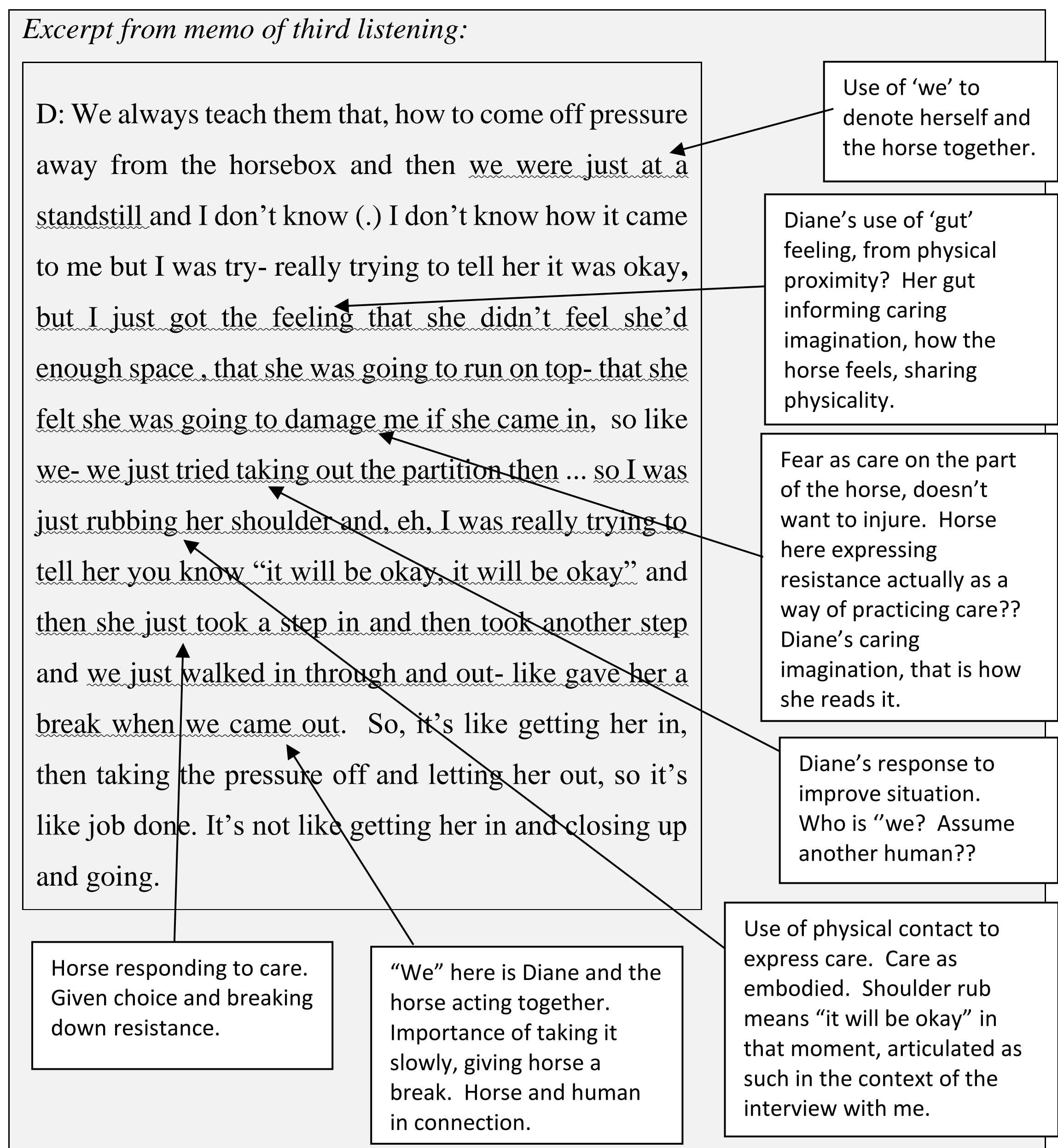
These seven voice poems revealed to me ‘conversations’ between Diane and her horses, stripped back to where both parties to the conversations are positioned in relation to the other. While Diane’s own side is voiced during the interview narrative itself, the horses’ sides are ‘voiced’ by her using direct speech, as if they are present and ‘talking’ themselves. Each passage of ‘speech’ from the horse is either a response to, or initiating a response from, Diane. They provide insight into how Diane expresses her feelings and thoughts and how she imagines what the horses are feeling and thinking in each corresponding moment. These appear to be, in order: resisting, requesting, affirming, resisting, not understanding, understanding, resisting, resisting, accepting. Voicing their side appears to facilitate Diane in her own imaginative construction of their points of view.

Third listening

This listening was informed by the research question of how the roles of caregiver and cared-for are narratively constructed in human-animal work. I therefore sought to investigate voices of relationship. This listening was also inspired by the previous listenings for the “I” and the expressed ‘voice’ of the horses as these highlighted moments in the transcript where Diane speaks of, or with, a horse or horses. I asked myself ‘where is the horse?’ in each of these passages and ‘what are they doing?’ when responding to, or with, Diane.

In this listening, two states of interaction were noted, that of harmony and of conflict. Moments of harmony were expressed through the construction of desire on the part of the horse, as well as occasions when horse and human were constructed as being in connection with each other. Moments of conflict were expressed through the appearance of resistance on the part of the horse. I noted all the passages where the interactions appeared to reveal instances of these states and examined how Diane responded in each of the passages. These responses were then read as moments of caregiving, acted bodily

but reported narratively, using her sense of speech to report on the giving of care through sight, hearing, and sense of touch. In return, the horses' physical actions, such as jumping or running away, stopping, failing to move, waiting, etc., were all 'voiced' as imaginatively constructing a mental process on the part of the horse that was acting upon, or reacting to, Diane as caregiver.



All the passages involving interaction between Diane and a horse were highlighted and memoed in a similar way in order to highlight any reoccurring or common themes.

Another aspect that came out during the third listening were Diane's critical reflections on alternative possibilities for the horses in her care, as well as possible events from their past informing their current behaviour. There were further occasions where she spoke of horses in the abstract, those whom she had never met. In this way, she extended her care and concern to horses other than those she encountered directly:

Excerpt from memo of 3rd listening:

D: There's familiarity with that and like one of the women said "It's great that they don't have to fear being moved from one place to the next". And I had never thought about that before. You know horses that are sold? Like I suppose that they're there to do a job and then they're sold on and- it must take emotional- it must take- (.) it must affect horses' emotions. Or they just close them off like.

Here Diane is extrapolating out from her direct experience with horses, to *imagine* how other horses might feel in a given situation. This direct embodied contact is enabling Diane to critically reflect as she imagines the emotional states of horses that are unknown to her, as well as the possible alternatives that await them. Note: She also believes in the emotional aspect of horses.

Again, any such passages featuring Diane imagining unknown alternatives or futures for horses, either those known to her or those in the abstract, were similarly highlighted and the themes noted.

Fourth listening

This final listening was carried out to gain an overall view of how the interview with Diane contributed to the answering of my research question. While more clarity regarding the substance of the themes and concepts that arose here were developed further over the course of the entire analysis stage, some significant insights were noted at this point:

Excerpt from memo of fourth listening:

- Early relationship with horse taught her about the joy that brings, early caring habits learned.

- Giving the horses choice is very important for Diane – in fact she says that she "loves" that they have choice. This choice is an important theme as it facilitates response by the horses so that Diane can care appropriately.
- Points where horse expresses desire through body (harmony, connection) and resistance (conflict) and how Diane responds.
- Direct care: Diane's use of her senses – sight, hearing, touch. See the Noddings (2013) requirement for 'engrossment'. Need to look out in other transcripts for the use of these senses. How does the sense of speech interact with these?
- Also, effect of human's body on horse and vice versa. Also "gut" feeling. Is this a sixth sense?? How is this developed? Through relationship, experience, caring habits, imagination??
- Abstract 'caring about': Use of caring imagination (Hamington, 2004). Also, critical reflection on alternative possibilities for the horse.

4.9 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed my methodological approach to data collection and interpretation, all within a social constructionist framework and in alignment with my theoretical framework, the ethic of care. I selected 'active' interviewing as a way of hearing the experiences of the participants and as one not resistant to the involvement of the researcher as a co-creator of knowledge. To lay bare this role, and to assist in my own reflexivity, research journals and a reflective diary were kept.

Further informed by the ethic of care, I sought to maintain relationships during the course of the data collection and analysis stage. I therefore rejected snowballing as a sampling technique, prioritising instead anonymity and enthusiastic voluntary participation. This ethic also informed my decision to engage in 'member checking' to allow participants the opportunity to 'hear' themselves in the interview transcript that we co-created.

I utilised the 'Listening Guide' approach to interview interpretation as one which best fitted both my research question and the theory to which I aim to contribute. This is an approach that is careful of the voices of others and allows these voices expression in the context of the narrative, rather than being categorised, coded, decontextualized or 'spoken over'. I offered an example of this method in action using the narrative of Diane.

This provided a glimpse ‘behind the scenes’ of my own thought processes and assisted with matters of transparency, clarity and reliability.

In the next three chapters, I outline and discuss the findings that arose from my interpretation of the interviews with all 20 participants using the Listening Guide technique. I discuss how these findings seek to answer how the caring imagination constructs the horse as a cared-for other, how such constructions are demonstrated narratively, and how the practice of imaginative ‘voice-giving’ reveals the process of embodied care in human-animal work.

Chapter 5: Constructing the Caring Imagination

In this chapter, I discuss how the caring imagination is developed and how it goes on to influence the caring practices that make up the daily working lives of the human-animal workers interviewed as part of this research. I first seek to understand how the participants gain the knowledge required to inform their imaginations and discuss the various bodily aspects of this knowledge, namely sight, hearing and physical touch. I also consider their understanding of intuitiveness, or 'gut' feel, as well as the knowledge of the heart that can motivate the actions of those who undertake this form of work.

Next, I examine how the participants construct the horses as similarly engaging in knowledge acquisition. I outline how they come to know what they believe the horses know and how they further believe this knowledge assists them in caring more effectively. I consider how the creation and sharing of embodied knowledge is constructed in relationship, both between the participants and the horses and between the participants and researcher as they seek to help me understand that which they know in their bodies. I then discuss how the caring imagination informs the caring habits of the participants, as well as their construction of the horses as similarly engaging in caring behaviours towards humans.

Finally, I discuss the participants' views on the value of care, their choice to care and their beliefs regarding the importance of choice for the horses, thereby constructing a form of autonomy and a sense of partnership between horse and human. I end by discussing the implications of 'good' and 'bad' caring practices and how failures in imagination on the part of others are constructed as leading to potentially hazardous outcomes for both horse and human alike.

5.1 Informed by knowledge

The imaginative aspect of care is informed by the knowledge that is held by the caregiver, knowledge which includes that which is held in the body (Hamington, 2004). This forms the epistemological element of care; how you come to know what care is and how you come to know what the cared-for needs or wants. In the case of caring for animals, needs can be at odds with what the cared-for wants or is believed to want. Knowledge is

required to distinguish between what is in their best interests and that in which they are interested (Regan, 2004). This gives rise to concerns regarding paternalism, inequality and power. How such knowledge is attained becomes an important element in whether these concerns are appropriate, or whether they can be mitigated by appeals to the connective and relational aspects of caregiving and receiving. Knowledge of how to care does not complete the caring act, but is a requirement if care is to happen (Hamington, 2004). Competence is moral aspect of care (Tronto, 1993) and the ability to fulfil the caring needs of others with whom you are in relation creates a responsibility to do so (Manning, 1992). Caring for animals requires an imaginative leap to the body of another (Hamington, 2008). This imagination needs to be informed by knowledge to lessen the risk of a practice that does not answer appropriately the questions which the cared-for may pose. In a context where verbal language is not available to one side of the care relation, how then is this knowledge constructed and interpreted?

5.1.1 How human-animal workers gain their knowledge

Hamington (2004) writes of two significant routes to knowledge: experience through interaction, and study. A number of the participants spoke of the study they undertook in order to inform themselves of both the physical and mental requirements of the domestic equines with whom they work. Various training courses and workshops were completed, as well as ongoing private reading. Fred (Coach/Trainer/Breeder) refers to his "study of learning theory" as a resource for him as he seeks to understand his horses in a training context. Study of pedigrees and bloodlines is also undertaken, 'the book' which can inform decisions regarding purchasing and selling, as well as a horse's suitability for a future career. Such knowledge is accessed through records of previous performances and hoped-for inherited traits. Quentin (Breeder) speaks of how study of the pedigrees is one element of the knowledge that is required. Further knowledge is gained from the other breeders who, in direct relationship with their mares, "know them better than we do". Together they co-construct a working knowledge of the horses to inform their belief in the appropriateness of their decisions regarding various breeding options.

But where is this knowledge that is "better" than research, study and reading, this "propositional knowledge" (Hamington, 2004, p.44)? Like Quentin, Hamington's (2004) other route to caring knowledge is concrete interaction. The human-animal

workers place significant importance on practical experience gained over a long period of time. When the individual themselves is without such knowledge, they value mentoring opportunities with more experienced practitioners who "took me under his wing" (Ursula, Coach/Trainer). This experience of others is also utilised when purchasing a horse, where the input of another experienced professional is sought after. Time, as Jane (Trainer/Coach) points out, will teach you "every trick in the book". In this way, human-animal work is similar to most other types of work. It is further similar in the requirement for the development of relationships within the work context, highlighting "the importance of ongoing, interdependent relationships as sites of care" (Lawrence and Maitlis, 2012, p.642). Where this work differs is in its increased reliance on embodied interaction for communication where verbal resources are not available to one side of the caring relation. In this way, the body becomes a significant source of "affective knowledge" (Hamington, 2004, p.44). This form of knowledge acts to bridge the gap between what you don't know and what others might tell you. Physical sensations that remain in the body, once gained, go on to inform bodily habits going forward:

> KATE: Until you've been kicked or bitten or crushed or run at or squashed in the stable or until you have seen all the things that we have seen in terms of say, horses getting loose, you can't teach that to people. Because they don't believe you.
>
> KATE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER

This bodily knowledge is then verbalised by the participants during the course of our interviews. In this way, the construction of their narratives enables them to use their voices to connect their minds with what they know in their bodies (Brown and Gilligan, 1992) as they seek to make themselves understood. The participants speak of their senses of sight, hearing, touch, and a sort of 'horse sense' that informs their caring knowledge, each of which are discussed below:

Sight

In the above quote from Kate's narrative, she references her sense of sight as one of the bodily functions that underpins her knowledge of horses. This sense of sight arises frequently across the participants' narratives, where information gleamed from observing

horses interacting with other horses and humans becomes a bank of knowledge which enlightens their own interactions going forward. Colin (Trainer/Coach) speaks of developing "an eye" for interpreting what is causing distress to a horse. Barry observes the mares and young horses in the paddocks and attributes a sense of purpose to the mares from such observations:

> BARRY: And some of them, you know when you see them in the paddocks they kind of know that they are there for a purpose, because it's funny, if you had kind of a stormy day, just brewing up, and you went and looked in one of those paddocks, you could see the mare walking around the paddock just, you know, just- just mooching around
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> BARRY: and you could see the eight weanlings behind just following her.
>
> LUCY: Ahh, yeah
>
> BARRY: It's actually a remarkable sight.
>
> BARRY, BREEDER

Here Barry's knowledge, gained from watching, appears to inform his imaginative construction of the mare's own beliefs about her role in life. The line "…you know when you see them … they kind of know…" provides an example of how a human-animal worker can use their own embodied knowledge to imaginatively attribute knowledge to the horses themselves.

The participants appear highly skilled at observation and are able to see and interpret the slightest movement by the horse. Here, Rebecca can be heard using her eyes to assess the body of the horse as she seeks a response to her request that the horse move backwards:

> REBECCA: Yeah … I'm going to start looking at the chest and, if you watch your horse move- and if you look at a video in slow motion, it's really easy to see.

> Ehm, before a leg lifts the muscles in the chest contract. So, if I see that my horse has contracted those muscles then, as far as I'm concerned, that initiated the backup movement…
>
> REBECCA, TRAINER / COACH

The visible contractions of the muscles are interpreted as reflecting the invisible thought processes of the horse:

> REBECCA: I'm not waiting for a step back, at all. I'm- I'm starting there, I'm going for a lean, then I might wait for a step, then I might wait for two feet.
>
> LUCY: So, that little bit of a lean or that little bit of movement is it's been registered in the horse's mind is that it?
>
> REBECCA: Yeah…absolutely. And with some horses, if you don't acknowledge them that quickly, they kind of go- take that little lean back and then go "Well I tried backwards, that's not the answer, I'll push in".
>
> LUCY: Okay, okay. So, they've already made the conscious- the conscious effort to step back before we obviously see them step back.
>
> REBECCA, TRAINER / COACH

Rebecca gives voice to the horse's believed confusion when the human is unable to 'see' their intentions in time. A high value is placed by the participants on this ability to watch the bodily movements of the horses and then interpret what these movements might be 'saying' about the horses' own preferences. Both Nicola (Trainer/Coach) and Sheila (Yard Manager/Coach/Trainer) speak of the importance of instilling this knowledge of observation at a young age by teaching children what to watch for when the horses are expressing themselves through their bodies. This ability is considered vital, not just for the welfare of the horse, but for the safety of humans as well.

Hearing

Listening to the horses is also spoken of as a way to gain knowledge of them. This information can then be used to inform the participants' caring imagination as to what they believe the horses believe. In the passage below, Kate appears to be making use of such knowledge to attribute two distinct thought processes to the horses in her yard:

> KATE: You know you just have to listen to them when the horse box, you know if a horse box comes in here on a Sunday and horses are loade- loaded up and driven off. You can hear them all whinnying.
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> KATE: Well one, I think they understand that there's separation.
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> KATE: But two, I think they think that they should be going out on the box.
>
> KATE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER

The link between 'knowing' and 'hearing' is strong here as Kate uses the knowledge gained from hearing to inform her imagination as to what she believes the horses are 'thinking'. Other participants also refer to the importance of listening to the horses in their narratives. The term 'horse listener' is preferred by Nicola over the more commonly used 'horse whisperer', while Diane (Coach/Trainer) celebrates the simplicity of horse communication, once you are "listening". The horses' lack of verbal language turns listening into a form of 'reading' the body. In this way, 'listening' becomes less a case of hearing and interpreting their various vocalisations, although it can be, but also 'listening' to the language of their bodies. Diane talks of how the horses speak through their bodies and "tell" her what they like and don't like, what they want and what they don't want. This need to understand the body appears to create in the participants a heightened awareness of the skill involved in accessing their own bodily resources to 'listen' to the body of a silent other.

Touch

The sense of touch is also important to the participants as a way of gaining caring knowledge. Ursula speaks of being taught “when you fed them in the morning, you go out and the first thing you do is you feel the legs” as a way of ascertaining whether the horses have any pain or tenderness in their feet. Elaine (Yard & Livery Manager/Breeder/Trainer) similarly speaks of grooming as a way to feel for “cuts, lumps and bumps”. These physical examinations as a way to give care appear not unlike those that veterinarians, or indeed doctors, might undertake.

However, the fact that horses are ridden provides an extra dimension to this aspect of touch and ‘feel’ between horse and caregiver. Riders often learn what Ursula calls “stickability” early in life. This ability to bend and weave and move with the horse is a form of knowledge that the body retains and remembers from early, repeated experiences. The participants speak of feeling the horse underneath them and come to learn what different movements by the horse feel like and how to move forward or slow down accordingly. This comes with experience, and Paul (Coach/Trainer/Breeder) explains how “an amateur rider is so locked up in themselves …they probably don’t interpret what’s going on beneath them”. Knowledgeable riders, on the other hand, can feel the horse beneath them and use this sensation to imagine the beliefs and preferences of the horse:

> NICOLA: And he loves jumping. So, I jump him. But I don’t jump him big. He’s told me how far he wants to jump. If it’s over 60 centimetres, he doesn’t enjoy it. He’ll do it but I can feel the tension…You can feel the tension. When you start to work with them, you can feel- Even you know, when- I like to work full contact as much as possible in the saddle, ehm, when I’m jumping and I work- I have a combination of approaches, but if you work close contact in the saddle, whether you ride bareback or with a pad or with a close contact saddle, you can feel that tightness. You can just feel it. You can feel it just by your calf.
>
> LUCY: Hmm

> NICOLA: You know? You can feel it in your hips, you know? When you go to- when you go driving forward, there's just a lot- there's too much space for your hips to open to and you're like "This doesn't feel right."
>
> NICOLA, TRAINER / COACH

Nicola appears to know what resistance in the horse feels like. She interprets the sensations in her body as reflecting a tension in the horse. This tension is then constructed as dislike on the part of the horse. To this dislike, she responds accordingly. The "feel" between her body and his informs her decision to not ask him to do something that she believes he doesn't "love". In this way, the horse is constructed as cared-for and Nicola as caregiver in the context of the jumping session.

There are occasions when the various bodily senses appear to not agree, as when Sheila speaks of the difference between sight and feel in the purchasing of new horses. She is seeking horses that move well and react to different riders in a way that is appropriate to a riding school scenario. She brings along another person with her, an experienced horse rider, whom she can watch ride the horse. She requires this rider to move their body in different ways, thereby 'acting' the role of a less experienced novice:

> SHEILA: Sometimes you get to take one rider and get to try out a few different things with the rider. You know, ride- A confident rider ideally. "Now ride like a beginner. Now ride properly" and just see what way they react.
>
> SHEILA, YARD MANAGER / COACH / TRAINER

In this way, the body of another becomes a tool to assist Sheila in using her eyes to assess how suited the horse is to this particular job. She can then use her own body to see if the horse feels to her the same as they look:

> SHEILA: …I mean on the ground they can look like one thing and then when you get up you go "God, he looked very awkward and uncomfortable on the ground but he's actually very comfortable when you're up on his back". Or he looked like he was sound on the ground but when you're riding him, he feels like he's lame on his off hind or whatever it is.
>
> SHEILA, YARD MANAGER / COACH / TRAINER

This would suggest that different embodied experiences are required to build a picture of the type of horse with whom the participant is working. While eyes can offer one piece of knowledge, feel and direct contact can provide an alternative narrative which informs their beliefs about a particular horse. In Sheila's case, it appears important that she select the right horse for the job. Doing so is an attempt to care for both the humans who will be riding the horse, as well as for the horse themselves who may not thrive in a scenario which does not suit their abilities. Multiple sources of information, therefore, appear to be of use to the human-animal workers as they construct the horses before them.

'Horse sense'

While physical touch acts as one way to gain information from the horses with whom they work, the participants also speak of a sense of 'feel' as an additional attribute which defines the most competent of horse caregivers. This sense of 'feel' is described by Elaine as something that you are born with, "innate …you either have it or you don't". While you can learn it "to a c<u>er</u>tain degree", she believes that it makes things much harder if it is not naturally within. Fred refers to the "primeval set of skills" necessary for working with animals, as opposed to humans, further describing this as "insight", "intuition" and "having a general horse sense about it". This idea of intuitiveness is mentioned by a number of participants (e.g. Nicola, Kate) while the term "gut" is also used by a significant number. Colin speaks of using "my gut feeling as to where we are and what we've got to do". This sense of gut, which may pre-exist traditional study and is developed over years of experienced interaction, is hard to put into words:

> DIANE: Like no they can't tell you so I suppose and- and- (.) I suppose I'm learning to trust my gut more with them=
>
> LUCY: =Hmm=
>
> DIANE: and that it's a feeling rather than a definite thing that I can put my finger on.
>
> DIANE, COACH / TRAINER

In this passage, Diane appears to be attempting to verbalise a sensation, something that is felt in the body instinctively, rather than arising out of a deliberate mental process. The act of discussing this with me in the context of the interview gives Diane cause to try to put this feeling into words, although she has trouble doing so. The fact that this attempt is almost wordless gives me a sense of this "feeling", albeit without specific descriptors. I must access my own body to 'imagine' what this feeling is like, to my own experiences with horses, and indeed my interactions with other humans. Quentin similarly finds the skill of 'gut feeling' hard to verbalise, describing it as "some X factor":

> QUENTIN: … Some people have really got it and some people haven't, you know. Some people work hard to get it, and different things like that. But there's, sort of, something- I suppose it's just an understanding of your animal. Like some people can just sort of get a horse…It's just- maybe it's a rhythm, maybe it's a quietness…It's difficult- It's a hard thing to put a finger on and it's just one of those things that some people have just got, I suppose, at times.
>
> QUENTIN, BREEDER

While Quentin goes on to acknowledge that people can "work hard to get it", like Elaine he implies that there is something innate in this skill, something that is found in the body. The "good horseman" has just "got it" in their bodies, this extra sense. Experience can then develop this skill. It is unclear whether it is possible to be born with this type of knowledge already in your body, or whether it is learned, much like Ursula's "stickability", from interaction at a very young age. The belief that some people have it and some don't and perhaps never can, suggests that some bodies are better able to learn this 'horse sense' and are primed for it. That the participants, such as Quentin, Diane and Elaine, are still trying to figure this out themselves, sometimes with difficulty, reveals their own imaginations in action as they attempt to construct a way of accessing and understanding previously unexpressed ideas about what the body 'knows' and how it does so. Perhaps this is Hamington's "unarticulated, felt dimension" of knowledge that "makes caring possible" (2004, p.45)

Reviewing the 'I' poems, created as part of the second listening step in the Listening Guide technique, reveals the use of "I love" by many of the participants. This points to emotion, in particular perhaps love, as a significant source of knowledge for the human-

animal workers in this research. They cite it as the reason for entering their chosen profession, a love of horses as a child informing their wish to work with them as adults (please see Table 1 in chapter four for examples of this). Quentin builds on this when he links love and knowledge, suggesting that a lack of such love can hinder knowledge and result in poor caring practices and a limited caring imagination:

> QUENTIN: You know, like that. So, you've got to love it and be passionate and you've got to love your animals I suppose, because you're working with them, you know?
>
> LUCY: Yeah=
>
> QUENTIN: =And if you sort of detach from them, then it's hard to- hard to know your animals I suppose and know when they're right and when they're wrong and different things like that. So, that's why the horse care and the relationship with the horses, I suppose, are so important.
>
> QUENTIN, BREEDER

While Manning requires simply "an openness to the possibility that some emotional attachment may form" (1992, p.64), Quentin here points to the importance of relationship in caregiving and locates competence and skill in the heart, if that is where love is located. The body therefore offers more than the physical knowledge required to care for horses. It also appears to underpin and facilitate the emotional aspect of caregiving. That this emotional aspect should be seen as significant in professional work, as it is in the more traditional, family-based care ethics, is perhaps an interesting insight into this type of occupation.

5.1.2 How horses gain their knowledge

The participants attribute a certain amount of knowledge to the horses with whom they work. Constructing what the horses know and don't know, as well as how they know, appears to empower the human-animal workers in their belief that they are caring for the horses effectively. This knowledge informs their imaginations as they assess how best to train the horses to carry out the tasks that are required of them. In their narratives, the participants talk of how horses learn from other horses, from specific and often intensive

schooling, as well as through repetition over time. A significant amount of knowledge appears to be created, and mutually shared, through the relationship between human and horse as their bodies interact and become familiar to each other.

Similar to humans, horses learn how to ‘be’ a horse from their mothers and by interaction with other horses in a herd. From the care received by these herd members, they learn how to respect personal space, move away from danger, make clear their own boundaries, and bond and care for others. Such knowledge was explained to me by many of the participants who themselves learned this through study, as well as observing herd dynamics ‘in the flesh’. The human-animal workers are then enabled to build on this ‘natural’ knowledge to develop a horse’s education such that they can perform in a riding school, on the racetrack, on a stud farm, in a sales ring, at competition, or even just live safely in a human’s world.

In the interviews, the participants speak of how the horses ‘know’ what they know. Some horses are presented as having what Helen and Ian (Breeders/Sales Prep./Livery Managers) describe as “natural ability”, a type of intelligence that enables them to learn quickly and perform their job well. Jane explains the importance of this intelligence and the requirement that the horses be “full faculty learners at birth”. If they cannot get up and run and eat almost straight away “they could be dead in the wild”. Using what the horse already knows just from being a horse and interacting with other horses, the participants speak of making use of this knowledge to communicate with them and ultimately teach them how to be ridden. For example, Tina’s knowledge of herd dynamics enables her to build on what she believes the horse already knows about pressure and release:

> TINA: Ehm, if he didn’t move away, then what this horse would do is he would make a face at him and send more energy at him and say “Okay, I’m doing this and you’re in my way and you need to move”. And- and then he’ll act like he’s going to bite or kick so he’ll kind of keep upping the levels. Then he’ll make a faint like- he’ll make a little charge and act like he’s going to actually bite him or kick him and then, if that still doesn’t work, he will attack that horse. But he’s gone through this entire process…And they always go through that process. Now sometimes it can be real fast. It might only take a second and a half, d’ya know?

> Ehm, so sometimes it's really fast. But they always, always, always go through that process and the moment that the other horse starts to do- starts, doesn't even have to do it, but starts to do as he's told, this horse will take the pressure off…It just- It just stops…That horse moves out of the pressure, that's it. Ehm, so then this horse can train that horse to do stuff.
>
> ………….
>
> TINA: And that's what it's all about, is listening to the horse. Ehm, and then asking them in the smallest way possible and only upgrading if you need to…Ehm, and, since you're asking in the smallest way possible, once the horse starts learning you're going to upgrade until there's an attempt on his part and that you're going to- they're going to get an immediate reward, that release of rein or whatever it is….Ehm, then they start reacting to things smaller and smaller and smaller….And then you end up with the rider that looks like they're sitting there doing nothing and the horse is doing all this cool stuff.
>
> TINA, COACH / TRAINER

These two extracts from Tina's transcript reveal how she makes use of how the horse learns in the herd to teach them how to learn from the rider. She gives voice to one of the horses, imagining what they are thinking as they 'train' the other horse. She is then able to build on this use of imagination to replicate this scenario in the ridden context. This way of working with what the horse already knows is seen as a particularly sympathetic way of training by a number of the participants, who speak of taking care to balance the job that needs to be done with their perception of good welfare and happiness on the part of the horse.

The 'natural smarts' of a horse appears to be of benefit when it comes to problem solving, a knowledge which can be developed further through training. Rebecca speaks of horses learning something "extremely well" once they are given the space and support to have "interpreted it all themselves". She attributes significant cognitive powers and critical thinking to the horses, voicing their triumphant "Oh yeah, it's this!" when they appear to make connections between what is being asked of them and the required answer. These natural abilities can be enhanced further through training, as Jane explains:

> JANE: I would say they're more interested and they get stimulated by what we are doing with them…And they get smarter. They definitely get smarter, ehm, by- by the whole process. And if you think of an uneducated horse in a field, a horse that knows nothing, except eat grass and hanging around with its herd mates, like and a tractor goes by "Aaah!" ((makes scared noise)) … Like they- they don't really know anything and they don't know how to deal with stress, or they don't know how to deal with their environment very well. Whereas when- when you start having a horse that's properly educated, they do know what to do with stress and they do know, like, what their environment is and they do understand.
>
> JANE, TRAINER / COACH

Jane differentiates between the knowledge needed by a horse in their natural context, with other horses in a herd, and the knowledge that is required to operate safely in a human's world. This world is stressful for horses, a prey animal living according to predators' rules. Jane imagines their fear, gives voice to it. Ensuring that horses have this additional knowledge appears to be another way in which the human-animal workers construct themselves as caregivers and their belief that they are creating a safer, easier life for the horses with whom they work.

A number of the participants speak of the importance of routine and repetition in the life of the horse, identifying this as one of the key elements in how and what horses know. Routine is cited as both a training method and a way of enhancing welfare and keeping horses calm. Horses are presented as coming to expect certain outcomes and becoming distressed when these expectations are not met. Kate explains how her horses "know days of the week and times of the day. They know, you know, when something is good. They know when something is bad". In Jane's words, they "live what they learn and learn what they live". This extends to their daily management as well as the regular tasks they do as working animals. Kate provides a detailed example of how well she believes a horse can come to know their job, to the extent that she imagines they feel joy or upset at various events that occur:

> LUCY: And so, they can tell what a good day is? [They know-

KATE: Oh] completely.

LUCY: Yeah

KATE: Completely. They know what a good day is.

LUCY: So, they know if they've completed the cross-country course [versus if they've

KATE: Oh yes]

LUCY: knocked something or-

KATE: Some horses will actually be distressed if they knock a fence.

LUCY: Really?

KATE: Yeah. And some horses will be distressed if their rider falls off. Particularly horses- we've a couple of horses, and we've had horses over the years, that because of their physical build, and also the quality of their work, people rarely fell off them. So, when someone fell off- … ((names horse)) …She would be depressed for about three days afterwards. I would have to tell her "It's okay".

LUCY: And how- how did that depression look?

KATE: Just the spirit just like, you know, "What just happened?"

LUCY: Really?

KATE: Oh yeah, and she'd be like- you'd know by her expression that this just- Now was she crunching it the same way that we would process it? No. But she knew that someone had fallen off her and that wasn't right.

KATE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER

Kate's caring imagination appears to be informed here by what she attributes to be knowledge on the part of the horse. In the herd, horses learn from the bodies of each other, the flattened ears, the splayed teeth, the threatening leg of another horse. In their lives with humans, they are constructed as learning from routine and expected outcomes. They use their natural intelligence to figure out the answers to the questions that humans pose. In their training, they are spoken of as learning from repetition and the release of pressure. But what are the consequences of this knowledge? Why does Kate believe her horse to be "depressed" when she knocks a fence? This appears here to be knowledge of a different sort, a feeling on the part of the horse about what is right and wrong. The participants spoke of this understanding in terms of 'sensing' between the bodies of the human and the horse. This inter-body connection appears to construct a mutually shared knowledge which allows them to communicate without words and co-operate with each other. It is spoken of as body language, energy exchange, and it happens in the context of concrete relationship.

5.1.3 How knowledge is co-created in relationship

As demonstrated in the extracts from Tina's narrative, horses are believed to share knowledge with each other through their bodies. In this way, they are constructed as creating mutually understood meanings in order to teach each other about boundaries, respect and co-operation. The participants similarly speak of a form of shared knowledge that is created and developed in relationship with the horses. Such inter-species knowledge creation enables horse and human to work together (Brandt, 2009) as their bodies communicate with each other in complex ways. Increased competence in caretaking appears related to experience of caring practices as well as the duration of individual relationships between human-animal worker and horse. A number of the participants speak of the importance of these longstanding relationships in achieving desirable outcomes in both daily management of the horses, as well as riding and training them. Hamington (2004) writes of the power of familiarity between caregiver and cared-for:

> "Familiar bodies require less of the explicit communication of language as each body "reads" the other's nonverbal communication with increasing nuance. A facial expression or gesture that is ambiguous to a stranger can communicate a

> specific message between intimates. The perceptual foreground of the other in a caring relationship transfers knowledge to the perceptual background in the silent dance that occurs between the bodies involved." (Hamington, 2004, p.51)

The participants appear to echo this belief many times in their narratives. The complexity of interaction that is undertaken without words is understood by them as they speak of using every interaction as an opportunity to learn. They remain open to developing new understandings in the context of heretofore accepted 'realities'. Tronto's (1993) emphasis on competence as one of the four elements of care ethics also arises, with Elaine explaining such competence comes from "knowing them well". In return, the horses are constructed as 'knowing' how to be cared for and understanding what care is:

> MONICA: I think she knows me and I think she knows I'm- I'm fairly confident, I know what's best…"
>
> MONICA, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

Here, horse and human are both constructed as co-creating knowledge of how to care and be cared for in the context of their ongoing relationship. Despite the fact that they do not share a verbal language, Monica speaks of their understanding in terms of getting "that little vibe off you". This idea of 'vibing' re-occurs across many of the participants narratives as they reveal the source of the shared, mutually created caring knowledge: the body. Both humans and horses are constructed as giving and receiving knowledge of each other from and through their bodies and as retaining this knowledge in their bodies for future interactions. The human-animal workers speak of gaining their knowledge through their senses of sight, hearing, and touch. They also believe that horses gain and hold knowledge in their bodies, namely through repetition, routine, interaction with other horses, and training. When speaking to me of the horses' knowledge in these ways, at times they are 'outside' of it, not part of the creation of it but rather appearing to report on its existence. However, sometimes the participants speak of this knowledge creation as something that is 'sensed' between two bodies, with both parties mutually sharing this knowledge, asking and responding to each other in shared space. As already discussed, Sheila provides a description of the difference between watching another person ride and feeling the horse herself as she rode. In such

contexts, horses are presented as not simply receiving the knowledge, but also as acting as teachers to the humans in return. The language of the body is, as Rebecca remarks, their "area of expertise".

Horses are believed to be constantly reading the body language of the humans and responding accordingly. They are described as being able to "read faces" such that, as Olivia (Trainer/Coach) explains, "if you come with a happy face, they are more willing to trust you then if you come with a sad face". Kate attributes to them a similar ability:

> KATE: … They're very sensitive you see. They sense our senses. You know, if we're very excited, they'll sense it. If we're very depressed, they'll sense [it.
>
> LUCY: Yeah]
>
> KATE: If we're happy with them, they'll sense it. So, they know.
>
> KATE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER

It is in relationship with another that these sensations are expressed and experienced and knowledge is created. Fred directly appeals to the experience of human relationship when he explains how the verbal might belie the physical in our communications:

> FRED: That's why when you get frustrated- it's like if you're- if you're married or you have a partner and you come in and they go "Are you alright?" and you go ((raises voice)) "I'm fine!". They know you're not fine even though the verbal communication is saying one thing, we can read the non-verbal communication really well. So, the horses are the exact same in that, you know, they can feel that you're displeased or angry or whatever…
>
> FRED, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

This comment that "horses are the exact same" is one that arises frequently across the narratives, as the participants seek to explain their interactions verbally by accessing their own bodily experiences as humans. Haraway (1991) notes that humans look to animals to learn about what it is to be human. In a twist on her suggestion that we humans "polish an animal mirror to look for ourselves." (1991, p.21), human-animal workers appear to

make use of the animal mirror to reveal to other humans what knowledge they are sharing with their own horses through their bodies. This knowledge is reflected back to them in kind:

> REBECCA: …Some people say, it always makes me laugh, I always get in clients who say "My horse crowds me". And then I say "Well, you know go and stand beside your horse" and they shove themselves right into the horse's shoulder and I say "[Well
>
> LUCY: ((laughs))]
>
> REBECCA: maybe you've trained this behaviour, unintentionally".

REBECCA, TRAINER / COACH

Knowledge is therefore constructed between horse bodies and human bodies; what the human does and feels, the horse is believed to do and feel, and often vice versa. This non-verbal 'sense' is hard to put into words, although the opportunity to engage in the interviews gives cause to the participants to do so. They achieve this by asking me to access my own feelings of what it is to be human and extrapolating from there:

> PAUL: …And it's- horses react in millions of ways and all the time it's communication to you. Sometimes its directly to you. They can- They'll- direct to you. And sometimes you just feel what they're feeling.
>
> LUCY: And how do you feel what you're feeling? Is that more when you're riding or-? Like how would you feel what they're feeling?
>
> PAUL: Okay, you walk into a room, there's a load of people there and nobody is saying anything. You're going "What the f-?" You know, you get a feeling of "Oh I walked in on a conversation that's- I'm not-"and you get a feeling. It's the same with a horse, you get a feeling off a horse. Through the same- your own senses.

PAUL, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

Paul here is attempting to verbalise a feeling, almost an instinct, that is experienced bodily and in the moment. In seeking to make this feeling understood to me, he asks me to access my own body for a similar experience. He may not be able to fully explain the "feeling" in words, but his appeal to my own bodily knowledge enables me to access his meaning. Tina similarly engages in such knowledge creation with me while explaining energy exchange between horses. However, instead of asking me to access previous memories of bodily habits, she causes me to experience her point in the moment:

> TINA: It's a lot more simple than it sounds. Like, right now I'm just sitting here looking at you like this and you feel relaxed. But if I get like ((moves forward towards me)). Now! Did you see
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> TINA: what you just did there?
>
> LUCY: I just moved back a bit, did I?
>
> TINA: And all I did was tense up and give you a little bit of a harder look.
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> TINA: And you went "Whoah"
>
> LUCY: I did, [yeah
>
> TINA: Okay?] Ehm, it's that simple. It's that simple. All I did was change my energy level and sent it at you and- and that bothered you ((laughs))
>
> TINA, COACH / TRAINER

In order to inform their own caring imaginations, the human-animal workers access the memories of their own bodies and liken these experiences to horse bodies. They construct a 'voice' for the horse's side of the interaction and attribute motivations for their behaviour. Similarly, they create in me as the researcher opportunities to inform

my own caring imagination by asking me to access my own body to understand physically what they are expressing to me in words. Knowledge is created by both interviewer and participant as our narrative practices offer a way to link our bodies and minds (Brown and Gilligan, 1992).

This knowledge co-creation process goes beyond attempts to be understood. It also constructs opportunities for empathy between bodies, horse and human. The ability to access the feeling of illness, for example, enables the human-animal workers to imagine how that illness manifests in another body. They then make use of this knowledge to inform their belief in how best to care for this other body. While horses cannot simply say "here's where I hurt", the experienced caregiver is constructed as able to imagine this hurt, where it is located and its intensity, based substantively on their own experience of such pain. Geraldine offers a clear example of this process:

> GERALDINE: Can you imagine- have you ever had a really poor stomach?
>
> LUCY: Yeah, I know yeah
>
> GERALDINE: Real gut thing where you curl up in a ball and you can barely move?
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> GERALDINE: He had that level of colic where he was- you could see he couldn't move and [you know
>
> LUCY: Yeah]
>
> GERALDINE: you've had that feeling yourself where you feel like you are going to tear everything if you move.
>
> GERALDINE, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

Here Geraldine is demonstrating a significant amount of bodily empathy, and asking me to do likewise. This appears to echo what Hamington (2004) refers to as "the continuity of the flesh":

> "I know about being cut and bleeding. I know about a comforting hug… Because of this knowledge, caring habits are not foreign to me. I can grasp in and for the other what I have grasped in and for myself. There is an internal "logic" to caring habits. They make sense for others because they would make sense for me and my body given similar circumstances. Flesh is thus a significant epistemological component of care... The intercorporeal epistemology offered by the flesh becomes of moral importance if relationality is the basis of ethics, as it is in care-based approaches." (Hamington, 2004, p.55-56)

Such empathy forms an important aspect of the caring imagination (Hamington, 2004) and is considered by Slote (2007) to be the bedrock of any caring ethic. Empathy allows you to bridge the distance between a known body and an unknown, an imaginative experience that is particularly heightened when shared between humans and animals (Hamington, 2008). This attempt in "apprehending the other's reality" (Noddings, 2013, p.16) is an imperative even if the caregiver might never "accomplish it entirely" (2013, p.14). It is the caring imagination that appears to feeds this attempt in human-animal work.

Knowledge is presented as being gained and held by the body of both horse and human. This knowledge is mutually shared as the bodies respond to each other in relationship. This knowledge informs the caring imaginations of the human-animal workers such that they can perform practices of caregiving in their working lives. This imagination enables them to construct and give voice to the inter-body experience of caring for horses. They become adept at accessing their own bodies for information as they appear to believe in the need to know how they feel in order to either avoid, or encourage, that same feeling in the horse. They speak of having to control their own emotions, so as not to pass on stress or negativity to the horse. They believe that such emotions, energy, are held in the body and can be created in the horse's body through simple interaction.

In human-animal workers' narratives, this voice-giving serves to inform me as interviewer and themselves as participant as they come to both understand and make themselves understood verbally that which they know in their bodies. Through the mutual exchange of energy and the effect of one body on another, the horses and humans

are constructed as knowing each other in relationship. In this way, the horses are presented as not simply receivers of paternalistic care, but also as partners in knowledge creation practices (Hamilton and Taylor, 2013).

5.2 Informing the practice of care

The caring imagination, informed by caring knowledge, goes on to inform the habits of caregiving (Hamington, 2004). In human-animal work, these habits are not just carried out 'onto' animal bodies, but also require imaginative work that enables the human-animal worker to tune into the reactions of the animals and create a response on their behalf. The caring imagination informs the practice of care as the participants report being attentive to their own daily practices as well as adapting these practices based on the perceived responses of the horses. Care habits are then amended and responses sought again in a circular and ongoing relationship. In this way, the caring imagination constructs the roles of participant as caregiver and horse as the responsive cared-for. The horses' role can even switch to one of caregiver at those times when the participants imagine how the horses look after them in moments of danger or by just making them feel better in their own lives. Caring is thus a shared, interdependent practice (Phillips, 2016). The parties are constructed within a fluid relationship and move between caregiver and cared-for in a way that is mutual (Simola, 2012), circular and reflects the connection between all living things (Manning, 1992). Due to the extra leap of imagination that is required in the context of human-animal interaction (Hamington, 2008), the need for attentiveness and responsiveness (Noddings, 2013; Tronto, 1993) appears to be heightened in order to support appropriate caring habits.

5.2.1 The caring practices of human-animal workers

In their narratives, the participants speak of the day-to-day management of the horses' welfare, feeding, mucking out, exercising, attending to medical needs, etc. They are also capable of adapting these routine caring practices according to the perceived responses of the horses. In this way a relationship of attentive caring is developed. Informed by knowledge, it is the imagination of the human-animal workers that facilitates this adaptation as they construct the preferences and beliefs (Regan, 2004) of the horses. The participants thus create a form of autonomy on the part of the horses with whom they work. Such empathetic caregiving is based on a respect for this autonomy (Slote, 2007) and constructs the horses as having choice and opportunities to resist or accept what is

happening to them. Furthermore, human-animal work contains an extra element of danger and the participants often speak of the need to practice care for other humans as they come into contact with the horses.

Tronto describes attentiveness as "recognizing the needs of those around us" (1993, p.127) and one of the four basic elements of a caring ethic. Elaine provides a detailed description of her daily routine as she prepares the horses for their day of lessons. Her caring imagination underpins the decisions that she makes regarding how she grooms them, the equipment she provides and how she manages their free time:

> ELAINE: …People when you arrive up for your riding school lesson, like anybody who comes in, ehm, Saturdays are our busiest days. You arrive up on a Saturday at ten o'clock, I've been here since seven. I have had that horse in. I have groomed that horse and checked every inch of its body to make sure that there's no cuts, there's no lumps, there's no bumps, they're not uncomfortable in any way. I've looked at the weather. I've gone "Is it going to be hot today?". If it's hot today, I've plaited up their manes so that they won't overheat. I've looked at their tack from the day before. Did it get dirty? Does it need to be cleaned so that it's not going to rub them or pinch them? Was it wet? Do their numnahs need to be changed so that the horse is comfortable? Every single time I put a bit of tack on one of our horses, I check to make sure it fits. Coz sometimes, somebody else will have used the bridle and won't have re-se- put it back on the right setting. And it's- I've looked at the horse and gone, right how many hours are you doing today? Based on how many hours you're doing today you need X amount of feed. Based on when you are doing your lessons- are you going to be standing in a stable or do I put you out if- if there's half an hour from the end of their lesson and the start of the next one, if there's kind of half an hour or forty five minutes, they stand in a stable. If there's more than that, they go out. If they're standing in a stable and they're going to be standing in a stable twice during the day, I split that feed into two feeds so they're never standing there bored. Again, trying to- (.) trying to make sure they're stimulated so that they're not getting pissed off and I think this is- like these are people- they're like children. You can't say to a child "Sit there in that seat. Don't move. Behave yourself and wait until I tell you what to do". We can't- I can't turn around to

> them and say "You've got twenty minutes until your next lesson would you mind just standing quietly?" So, it's putting the- putting the thought into this is the horse's full day, when do they get their feed, when do they get their hay, in between lessons, it's not just in the morning that you need to check their tack or do they need a new numnah? If it's lashed in the ten o'clock lesson, they need a new numnah in the eleven fifteen. It's about being organised enough to be able to provide that care and it takes time.
>
> ELAINE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER / BREEDER / TRAINER

Elaine's caring imagination appears to inform her caring practices. She imagines how the horses might feel if they get bored or hot and adapts her habits accordingly. She compares them to children, aware of the limitations placed on her by their lack of verbal cognition. She seeks to mitigate their stress as much as possible, but without being able to make them understand the reasoning behind her actions. Instead of explaining herself to them, she must imagine all the various options of how they might feel and respond to these imaginings as best she can.

As already discussed, the participants make use of the knowledge from their own bodies and how they might feel in a given situation to inform their caring imaginations. With this knowledge, they then develop caring practices that reflect these beliefs. Geraldine speaks of the importance of offering her horses variety in their work, based on her own dislike of sameness. The context of the interview appears to give her the opportunity to figure this out as she speaks:

> GERALDINE: I think it kind of reflects the kind of organisation more than anything else coz I'm someone that's happy doing a little bit of everything…I don't like doing one thing all the time…So, I'm not sure actually now, being reflective about it…(….that's something) that's innate in me as well. Ehm, but I- I could just- how could you (.) do one thing or- all day…and not get a bit sour?
>
> GERALDINE, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

She does not like repetition and boredom and so imagines the horses do not either. This imagining then underpins her decisions regarding the management of her horses. While it appears that she was doing this in an almost unthinking or instinctive way, the process

of verbalising this belief reveals her acceptance of the role of her own imagination in her practices. In the end, she cannot imagine how her horses would want things done differently. Thus, embodied, empathetic caring practices are born out of her imagination, constructing the roles of caregiver and cared-for. Veronica similarly applies her imagination to her training practices:

> VERONICA: So, I mean, I wouldn't personally- I wouldn't aim her for show jumping because I know it's not where she feels most confident. I could aim her for that but I wouldn't coz I wouldn't feel it's fair on her, you know? So, I mean, in her new home they can jump her all day long but it wouldn't be what I'd be selling her as. You know, I'd be aiming her more at maybe dressage cobs, something like that, because she's really lovely on the flat and she's really good at it, you know. So, I'd like her to reach her potential too, ehm, in what she's confident in. It's- I kind of just put everything with horses back into kind of human form for myself to make it kind of a bit easier to understand. So, like for myself easier to understand. As in, you know if I'm confident in one area, I'm- I'm, you know, if you're confident in something you're nearly good at it. Or you're going to try and be the best you can be. Whereas, if it's going to be something where I'm not really interested in, I'll do it but it's not going to be the most amazing work. So, it would be the same for her. That's the way I would think for her. So yeah, she could be happy doing it, but I don't think she'd ever be fully confident.
>
> VERONICA, TRAINER

Here, Veronica reveals how she 'translates' everything into how she would feel if she were in the horse's place and then trains the horse accordingly. Her use of the word 'same' suggests that she believes the body of the horse is not entirely unknown to her. The interspecies divide is not sufficient to place a block in the way of her empathetic caring practices. While some participants are cautious regarding seemingly anthropomorphic thinking, a number appear happy to make the leap from the human body to the horse body if they believe it to result in increased welfare for their horses. In this way, their own brand of anthropomorphic imaginings serves as a tool to inform the caring decisions that they make.

As well as empathetically bridging the distance between the known body and the unknown, the human-animal workers also make use of their caring imaginations to respond and adapt to events as they arise and apply "prototypical caring habits to a new situation" (Hamington, 2004, p.74). This forms that contextual basis of care as the participants look for signs in the horses that their care has been acknowledged and then adjust their habits according to whether the horse is thought to either resist or accept this care. The level of attentiveness, or engrossment (Noddings, 2013), required is high as the cared-for cannot verbalise this acknowledgment. These imaginative processes act to construct a form of autonomy on the part of the horses as they influence the behaviour and habits of their human caregivers.

The participants model these responsive caring habits when they speak of adjusting food, stable companions, exercise levels, etc., according to the perceived reactions of the horses. When they come upon a scenario where a horse's behaviour has changed, they imagine various possibilities as to what has occurred, accessing their own bodily experiences to assist them:

> HELEN: …But this mare, who's a young mare, was starting to get vicious biting and stuff=
>
> IAN: = grumpy
>
> HELEN: Yeah
>
> IAN: Looking for attention
>
> HELEN: And-
>
> LUCY: So, you [think they-
>
> HELEN: So, I made] an absolute conscious effort just to talk to her and, I mean not spending five minutes massaging her, just literally rubbing her forehead and saying "Hi, how are you" or whatever and spending- talking to her and she's fine again.

LUCY: And you only needed a few minutes?

HELEN: Yeah=

LUCY: =She just needed that every day?

HELEN: Yeah, yeah

LUCY: That's mad, isn't it?

HELEN: Yeah. But it's like humans. I mean who wants to be ignored?

HELEN & IAN, BREEDERS / SALES PREP. / LIVERY MANAGERS

In the above passage, the mare becomes "fine again" once she receives the required attention. This indicates Helen's belief that the horse understands the care received and acknowledges it as such. Such responsiveness on the part of the cared-for sustains the caregiver (Noddings, 2013). Tronto (1993) considers responsiveness to be the fourth of the four elements of a caring ethic, together with attentiveness and including responsibility and competence. She emphasizes the importance of allowing the cared-for to express this response in their own way, rather than the caregiver putting themselves in that position. The human-animal workers demonstrate that, while also looking for the flattened ears, the threatened kick, and the other movements that are particular to the body of the horse, they also access their own bodily experiences to imagine how they would feel in a similar scenario. Tronto's suspicion of "presuming that the other is exactly like the self" (1993, p.136) perhaps underestimates the importance of the human body as a source of caring imagination that enhances the possibilities for caring and highlights the circular nature of interdependence of all living things (Manning, 1992; Phillips, 2016). By recognising the self in a mysterious other, it may further serve to guard against the abuse of vulnerability that so concerns Tronto.

The participants speak in particular of adapting their habits in the face of resistance or stress from the horse. For example, if a riding horse becomes 'sour', they will check their teeth, call the farrier, check their backs. If this reveals nothing untoward, the

participants might then give the resisting horse a few days off, or an opportunity to run and stretch to become, as Ursula imagines "king of the gallop". They might offer rest or a change in their work schedules, and continue to watch for response. Because a definitive answer may not be forthcoming, the participants might have to go through a lengthy checklist to ensure that every possible scenario that they can imagine is accounted for:

> SHEILA: Yeah, just they'd] I suppose just protest in their own way. So, when you go into the stable with the saddle and the bridle, they might turn their bum to you…Ehm, or leading them out of the stable they might have their four legs plonked to the ground saying "I'm not going". Or they're lined up in the lesson and they don't want to move out on to the track or they keep trying to come back into you. Ehm, that stuff that you'd say "Right, I wonder-" …Are they being given too much to do? Ehm, then it'd be a case of well look at the actual type of work. Are they getting all beginners, are they getting all advanced riders? Are they getting a mixture? …Ehm, and then do they need a break? Do they need to go out for a month or two and just clear the head? And come back in and check then and if it's still going on at that stage, say "Right, maybe they're just fed up." …Maybe they're just being bold ((laughs softly))…Ehm, and obviously before you'd go to the point where you're putting them out you'd be looking for any medical problems…So, you know, if they're consistently turning the head into the corner every time they see the bridle, the first thing you'd be thinking is, well are they sore? …Are their teeth bothering them? Are there sores in their mouth? What's going on? ...Check those kinds of things. Because, at the end of the day, it's like having a new born baby. They can't tell you a damn thing. You have to read the body language and check, just elimination really.
>
> SHEILA, YARD MANAGER / COACH / TRAINER

Sheila can be heard expressing her caring imagination as she does "wonder" what might be at the root of some behaviours and creates all the various solutions that might work to solve the problem. While she acknowledges that they "protest in their own way" using their uniquely equine bodies, she compares them to human babies and, in so doing, is enabled to access the human experience of care. She can then apply this to how carefully

non-verbal animals need to be cared for. Instead of making assumptions of similarity between herself and the horse as Tronto fears, through her linking of the shared vulnerability that exists between the bodies of humans and horses she comes to understand the importance of the role as caregiver and the need to stay attuned to any signs of compromised welfare on the part of the horse.

Danger is inherent in much human-animal work and those occupied in equine-related contexts are particularly attuned to this aspect of their work. Many of the participants speak of having to engage in various training and care practices to keep other humans safe. An example of this would be training the horse to stand still for the farrier so that they do not kick out. These practices can be particularly necessary in the context of a riding school, where children and amateurs unused to the movements of horses need to be kept safe:

> KATE: Coz I mean, that said, I mean even the horses here could bite you. We had a situation where people were feeding horses carrots in the barns and then one day one of the horses heard what they thought was a bag and they leaned out and they bit the arm of the person passing by….Coz they thought that person had treats for them and they didn't…So, I can't have anyone feeding horses in the barn. So, when children come in now with treats, I say "That's fine" but we put them into their feed buckets.
>
> KATE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER

In this passage, Kate utilises her caring imagination as she attributes a particular thought process to the horse, that of believing all people carried treats. She then acts on this imagined belief and changes the routine around feeding to ensure that nobody is hurt.

As well as speaking of the need to respond to the reactions of the horse in the context of care given and received, the participants also speak of needing to adapt their management and training techniques to each individual horse. They speak of different temperaments and abilities and the need to change how you approach a horse, depending on what suits that particular horse at that particular time. Caring is done in relation (Held, 2006; Noddings, 2013), constantly responding to the body in front of them. Paul speaks of the futility of getting a horse to run that doesn't want to run, that doesn't "care". If you do

so, you end up with a “very unhappy horse, a very bad relationship”. Maintaining a good relationship with their horses appears important to the participants. It is this relationship that enables them to practice caring habits that they believe to be appropriate and that strengthens their caring imaginations. For their part in the relationship, the horses are also constructed as displaying caring practices to keep their human caregivers, and others, safe from harm.

5.2.2 The caring practices of horses

Through the use of their caring imaginations, the human-animal workers reveal a belief that the horses also engage in caring practices. Such a belief is expressed in spite of the apparent inequality between the parties (Held, 2006). As well as looking after other members of the herd, the horses appear to show care for their handlers and riders. In this way, care is constructed as not just something that humans bestow, but also as something that they can receive from animals (Suen, 2015). Such constructions of a caregiving role have similarly been discussed by Finkel and Danby (2019), who note that the companion horses in their study were believed to act “in emotionally caring ways towards their companion owners as well” (p.389). In the context of human-animal work, horses are trained to respect boundaries in order for humans to remain safe in their presence. The participants also speak of occasions where the horses appear to make use of their bodies to show care in response. Simply being in the physical presence of a horse is believed, by some participants, to be of benefit to human well-being. Kate speaks of how people “just like being around them…the interaction with them”. Paul cites the popularity of equine therapy, saying that everyone gets benefit from the “escape” and “contact” that horses provide. However, more than this type of ‘passive’ caring, the participants also speak of various occasions where they imagine the horses make active decisions to care for humans in their work. An empathetic relationship of care between horse and human is therefore constructed, acting to mitigate concerns regarding paternalism where this relationship sustains both parties (Slote, 2007).

While Paul talks of the horse that “actually gives the confidence to the rider” by virtue of their own self-confidence and stability, Fred cites a particular horse of his that he believes to have the talent to ‘judge’ the ability of the rider and adjust herself accordingly:

FRED: Coz they can like- It's when you look at ((names horse)). You can put anyone on ((names her)) and she'll suss them out. So, you put ((names famous rider)) onto ((names horse)) and ((names horse again)) will drag him around and act the maggot because she can read he's able, okay? If I put a beginner person, who's never ridden before, ((names her)) will match and walk like a donkey around the arena. Maybe donkey isn't a good example, but quietly around the arena.

FRED, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

Fred imagines how his horse would react if a well-known professional rider were to get up on her. He uses his awareness of her bodily habits to 'know' that she would give this rider a hard time because "he's able". On the other hand, he undoubtedly has seen how she has reacted with beginners on her back and attributes her quiet, gentle demeanour on such occasions to her choosing to care. Monica also believes that her horses look after their riders:

MONICA: Loves kids. I've seen her actually if a kid was falling off front ways onto the neck, I've actually seen her on numerous occasions raise her head up and help them back into the saddle…most of them I have to say are 100 percent. They will- they won't eh- they won't let a kid fall off if they can help it.

LUCY: So, they obviously know that falling off is a bad thing? They understand that?

MONICA: Yeah. I think they do understand that they- their job is to kind of- even though this child or this person could be very unbalanced, that they need to stay balanced and that's their little job…They do. I do believe they do look after them. Coz if not, sure they'd be falling off every day of the week.

MONICA, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

While Kate speaks of horses "that will die in the attempt for you", she also references those horses that don't care, that "give you nothing". She attributes this to their "personality" and temperament, rather than to their training. Ursula refers to these ones as "cheeky", but also acknowledges that fear can cause such uncaring behaviour, rather

than a deliberate choice. Monica builds on this when she speaks of a horse that might take fright and "spook", although there are some that might be pleased at the opportunity to unseat their rider:

> MONICA: Eh, yes. Most of them would now, to be fair to them... But you'll get the odd one who won't really mind too much if that child- …They see it as "Well, it's your fault if you fell off…I had to run away." ((laughs))
>
> MONICA, COACH / LIVERY MANGER / TRAINER

The construction of choice on the part of the horse provides opportunities for them to consent or resist to that which is happening to their bodies. The participants value these opportunities as a way of 'checking in' with the horses as they interact with them in their working lives. This development of their caring imaginations thus enables them to construct a form of preference autonomy (Regan, 2004) on the part of the horses and to respond to what the horses are 'asking' with their bodies. The expression of resistance is constructed by the participants as a way for the horses to give feedback. They are attentive to these expressions and often adapt their caring practices in response. Similarly, the horses are presented as capable of carrying out caring habits themselves. These habits are constructed as a choice for the horses as they choose to either look after the humans with whom they interact, or choose not to.

5.3 The 'ought' of care

Tronto (1993) speaks of taking responsibility as the second of her four elements of a caring ethic. She refers to the various possible actions undertaken by the potential caregiver that may have initiated the need for care, such as becoming a parent. In terms of caring for those animals which are of use, Noddings (2013) speaks of the "instrumental ought" (p.158) that arises once someone chooses to benefit from such animal service. Care, then, is something that 'should' be carried out by the human-animal workers on the basis that they have taken responsibility (Tronto, 1993) for the horses and seek to gain something from their work with them. That they 'ought' to care, and do so appropriately and correctly, is acknowledged by the participants who take pride in the good caring practices in which they engage. They also speak of the value of choosing to care, even in circumstances where this care is the harder option and inconsistent with further financial advancement. The choice to care, as well as the ability to do so,

underpins Held's (2006) belief in care as both a practice and a value. Furthermore, the participants appear to construct choice on the part of the horses. Their caring imaginations are utilised once more as they imagine the preferences of the horses and allow them the freedom to exercise choice.

5.3.1 Caring as a choice

Despite his belief that caring habits reside in the body, Hamington (2004) still posits that care is a choice, one which is continually re-made. Someone can know how to care and still choose not do, depending on the context. This element of choosing to care is a significant one across many of the participants' narratives. They speak of their "want" to see their horses happy and of wanting their horses to enjoy spending time with them. While a happy horse is more likely to be a productive and more successful horse, there are also occasions where the human-animal workers speak of choosing to lose out financially in order to ensure the wellbeing of the horses. Such choices may include giving them substantial breaks and time off or even losing business from those who might not agree with their management styles. There appears to be an intrinsic value placed on the happiness of the horses, beyond simply a motive to make profit. Fred links this choice to care with the existence of empathy, while acknowledging the limitations that financial issues may pose:

> FRED: …I choose to be- I choose to be in tune with my horses. It's very- you can close your eyes to anything nearly, ehm, with practice and lack of empathy but we make a conscious choice here to make sure our horses have the best quality of life within the parameters of the economics of what we do.
>
> FRED, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

It is interesting how he links lack of empathy with something that you can practice, suggesting that while care is a habit, not giving care can also be consciously developed as a habit. Elsewhere in his narrative, Fred speaks of how "on a weekend we lose about an hour and a half every day giving our horses rest". He acknowledges that it would be "much easier to be totally commercial about it" but he chooses, and continually re-chooses, the 'harder' route of prioritising his horses' welfare. This choice is mirrored across many of the participants' narratives as they speak of caring for horses that are not productive and excluding themselves from opportunities that may bring them more

money, but would interfere with their chosen ethic of care. Monica imagines an amusing response from her horses were she to choose to change her approach at this stage:

> MONICA: So, I know I could put on another lesson and I could certainly do with the money.
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> MONICA: I just don't think it would be fair to them.
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> MONICA: They do five hours a week and that's sufficient for them. They don't get bold. They don't do anything nasty.
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> MONICA: They enjoy it. I think if I was to up their workload
>
> LUCY: Right=
>
> MONICA: =at this stage when they're so, you know
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> MONICA: acclimatised to what they're doing, I think they'd just say "Ah, good luck to you!"
>
> MONICA, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

She imagines resistance from her horses and chooses to forgo the extra money to keep her horses happy in their work. Their happiness is important to her, a good in and of itself. Elaine reveals an awareness of the implications of human choices on the lives of the horses in their care. These choices lead to responsibility, one which is taken seriously by Elaine:

> ELAINE: And I think, for me, this is the problem that- ((sighs)) it's seen as a game and, yes, it's- it's a game. But it's a game with living things at stake and (.) there's- again for- it's just the element of responsibility. I chose to bring that foal into the world. The mare didn't choose it, the stallion didn't choose it, the foal didn't choose it, I chose it.
>
> ELAINE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER / BREEDER / TRAINER

It is not only the choice to care that is within the power of the human-animal worker. The very fact of the existence of the horses is due to the choices made by humans who work in the equine industry to breed in the first instance. Unlike human procreation, the creation of much equine life is done primarily for profit. To care for a 'baby' horse is a huge responsibility, one that does not diminish as the horse grows into adulthood. They remain dependent on the human-animal workers for their most basic of needs. Like any of us, they did not 'choose' to be born. Aware of the inherent power inequality between domesticated animal and human, the participants speak of how they seek to create opportunities for the horses in their care to express their preferences. In this way, they construct the horses as being able to make choices of their own, in so far as their circumstances allow.

5.3.2 Giving horses choice

While acknowledging that the horses may not have chosen to work in their various contexts, a key element of the construction of the human-animal worker as caregiver appears to be the creation of opportunities for the horses to be offered choice as much as possible in their working lives. The participants speak of wanting the horses to express themselves and partner with them to achieve the best possible outcomes:

> FRED: And I suppose- I suppose that's the thing that I think is missing now is the idea that (.) your horse should have the opportunity to try each discipline….And again I'm not saying anthropomorphically "Oh let them have the choice" but see what they're good at, do that. There's no point in having a horse that gets bored out of its ass doing dressage when- because it's a jumper coz that's what it likes.
>
> FRED, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

Fred appears cautious of anthropomorphism and resists the word 'choice' with regard to the horse. However, he appears to believe that there is value in preventing boredom in the horse. There is also the implication that the horse is more likely to be good at those things that they prefer. Acknowledging such preferences is an important step in the construction of preference autonomy (Regan, 2004) on the part of the horses. Nicola speaks of the practices she undertakes in order to establish what the preferences of the horses are:

> NICOLA: But every horse is different and it's just about- In a perfect world we'd find out what the horses like to do. Like we do with kids, we find out where their strengths are, where their weaknesses are, what they'd like to do as a job and then we start at the bottom and we train towards that until they're comfortable and they're enjoying it and then we stay at that….You know. And then we sometimes say "Do you want a bit more?" and if they go "Yeah" then we go "Great, we'll go a bit more. You know, would you like to learn something else? We'll try some new skills" …take them to as many different places as possible to work them because, you know, just because you can do something in an arena doesn't mean they're actually- they could just be doing coz they're thinking "Right we can just do this for ten minutes and then we can go in the field."…You know, but if you put your horse in different situations, you'll soon find out if they like it or not.
>
> NICOLA, TRAINER / COACH

Here, her "perfect world" training practices are informed by her imagining how the horse is doing and likening this to how she believes children should be taught and encouraged. The back and forth 'conversation' that she offers as she gradually develops their skills reveals a highly sensitive approach to encouraging autonomy on the part of the horse as she seeks to prepare it for its best possible life. She imaginatively voices a horse that is enduring, rather than enjoying, the activity. From there she creates various scenarios where the horse is constructed as having opportunities to express their opinions and further autonomy. Olivia builds on this when she speaks of how some trainers provide not only opportunities for identifying the preferences of the horses, but also equipping them with tools to make these preferences happen:

> OLIVIA: Some people train in, ehm, if they go to a certain cone or a certain place or the horse performs a certain behaviour and every time they do that behaviour, the horse- the human, immediately jumps off. So that behaviour becomes linked to "Eh, get off now". [So, the horse
>
> LUCY: Okay]
>
> OLIVIA: can get them to get on their back and say "Actually get off" and then they can jump off.
>
> OLIVIA, TRAINER / COACH

Olivia speaks of caring practices that create autonomy on the part of the horse by way of training them to overtly express when they are resistant to being ridden. The caring imagination is thus utilised as a tool to both construct opportunities for choice and to construct answers on behalf of the horses when given such choice. Following Regan (2004), the human-animal workers appear to believe that the well-being of the animal is premised on the extent to which they are allowed to express their preferences and the extent to which these preferences are respected. By imaginatively constructing such opportunities, their role as competent caregiver is created and reinforced. The horse's role as responsive cared-for, with the ability to consent or resist the care offered, is similarly constructed.

5.3.3 'Good' practice versus 'bad'

As discussed, caring is a choice that is continually re-made by the participants. That they often choose to disadvantage themselves, either financially or through physical and emotional hardship, suggests that they view this choice to care as a value, as well as a habit (Held, 2006). The more value they place on this choice, the more of a 'must' it becomes, reflecting Noddings' proposal that once "we establish an affectionate relation, we are going to feel the "I must", and then to be honest we must respond to it" (2013, p.157). The human-animal workers' narrative constructions of care switch between references to their choice to care and references to how they "ought", and "should" do things, as well as declarations of things that are just not "right". Paul speaks of a "contract" between the human and the horse that places the responsibility on the

caregiver to simulate the horses' natural lives as much as possible. This is also a concern of Fred's:

> FRED: … but I'm saying that, if you think of the wild horse, some things they do: they travel long distances, they graze, the face adversity in the form of predators, they face stress and it's when you think of what should we be trying to do?
>
> FRED, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

Fred's use of "should" appears to reflect a belief that there is a correct way to care, that of modelling the lifestyles of wild horses as much as possible. While it is tempting to offer care that protects the dependent animals from every stress and strife, Fred believes that such practices do not sufficiently replicate what is natural to horses and therefore does not constitute 'good' care. Far better to teach them to cope with stress as part of life. This belief is echoed by other participants. Rebecca declares that "you have to treat them as a horse". Jane agrees that "you have to remember it's a horse" and offer care that is appropriate in that it is species-specific. This "have to" arises often across the narratives as the participants speak of management routines and daily practices as things that 'must' be done because the well-being of the horses is paramount. Other things, such as some aversive training techniques, are declared as "not right", unless circumstances demand them. This appears to echo the argument of Birke et al. (2010) that decisions on how best to care for horses are arrived at within particular social contexts. This is a world where the participants are sensitive to 'right' and 'wrong', with practices informed by the former value having the potential to protect the horses going forward:

> IAN: So that's what we're saying when we are trying to make them that maybe they are able to- maybe they are a bit slow to learn or difficult, but if you try to make them, that they have to understand that they have to fit into a system and, eh, makes their life a lot easier in the long run.
>
> IAN, BREEDER / SALES PREP / LIVERY MANAGER

Ian appears to feel responsible for the future welfare of the horses, how they "have to" understand their place in life in order to keep them safe from harm. In this way, knowledge of how to behave becomes a value that can protect the horses in their work

and must be imparted by caregivers who feel this responsibility towards them. This is echoed by Jane, who mentally converses with an abstract horse to demonstrate the importance of good training and caretaking that will 'stand up' to bad habits that the horse might encounter in the future:

> JANE: You know? So, it's, you know, I just often think like "It's your mind I have to change not your- not- whatever we get done in six weeks, that's not important".
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> JANE: "Just be able to kind of try and meet me halfway."
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> JANE: "And life will be so much easier for you if you meet someone who is not of the same ilk as we are", you know?
>
> JANE, TRAINER / COACH

A feature of working with horses is that the human-animal worker may not always be in control of the horses' environments, through selling on or completion of training. Yet they often continue to feel that sense of responsibility towards the animal. As a result, they appear to believe that appropriate care habits in the present may include preparation for less appropriate care in the future. Competence is a "moral notion" (Tronto, 1993, p.133) within care ethics as "intending to provide care, even accepting responsibility for it, but then failing to provide good care, means that in the end the need for care is not met" (p.133). While 'good' care is constructed as prioritising the welfare of the horse, as species-specific and as motivated by connection and a concern for their future well-being, many of the participants speak of the 'bad' caring habits which can result in resistance, injury and distress for both human and horse. On the human side, such bad habits are portrayed as occurring through uninformed interactions with horses, inappropriate emotional reactions and even, at times, being 'too' caring. Bad habits can also be developed in the horses, with nervousness or fear spoken of as issues that can lead to a horse becoming overwhelmed or even aggressive:

> OLIVIA: ..horses learn to kick or barge or push or bite and then you very quickly, like after two repetitions, you have a horse that's learned that "Oh if I don't want someone touching my neck, I can bite them and they'll go away" because it's our natural response to pull back. That's how you see the formation of unwanted behaviours.
>
> OLIVIA, TRAINER / COACH

Olivia voices the horse's side of the interaction, creating an explanation that underpins the horse's behaviour without laying blame at their door. Using her imagination, she constructs an understanding of the horse's actions. Allowing such habits to form in horses represents, for the participants, a breakdown in the caring relationship where the cared-for horse has been betrayed in interactions with their caretaker. If knowledge informs caring imagination, which then goes on to inform the quality of the caring practices, bad habits are constructed as arising out of a failure in this caring imagination.

5.3.4 Failure of imagination

Hamington (2004) attributes failure in care to "underdeveloped habits of care…developed habits of noncare, or a diminished imagination preventing the exercise of caring habits" (p.87). Due to the non-verbal nature of human-animal work, the participants appear to believe that attributing the 'wrong' thought processes to horses, and then acting on these, can result in poor outcomes. While the care must be species-specific to be appropriate, the caring choices of the participants are still informed by their own flesh and bodily knowledge. A leap in empathy to the unknown other is therefore constructed as a requirement to move from the human body to the equine body. Tina provides an example of this when she talks of people who are unable to make this leap:

> LUCY: And how is it do you think that people can kind of go- As you said, if that was to happen to me, I'd react this way so how can they not transpose it to the horse? There seems to be a limitation that people will do things to horses that they wouldn't do- that they wouldn't like done to themselves.
>
> TINA: Because they don't think of the horse as being themselves.
>
> LUCY: Yeah

TINA: As being like themself. Ehm, they think of the horse as being more a piece of equipment, a bicycle.

LUCY: Hmm

TINA: You get on the bicycle and you make the bicycle go, you know? You get on the horse you make the horse go. You get in the car and you push the accelerator and the car's supposed to go. But inanimate objects don't have a thought process

LUCY: Yeah, yeah=

TINA: =of any sort. It either works or it doesn't, but if its mechanically sound it does. So, they think "Okay, well this horse is mechanically sound and he should be able to do this. Why isn't he doing it?"

TINA, COACH /TRAINER

The choice to make this leap, to practice this level of empathy to the extent that it becomes an imperative, results in a highly developed caring imagination among the participants. In turn, they construct 'bad' caring habits and inappropriate responses as a result of a lack or failure in imagination. They speak of occasions when others have attributed the wrong 'thoughts' to the horses. This has resulted in misunderstandings and even dangerous outcomes:

COLIN: I say it to people you know ((tells story of somebody)) and they said "The horse kicked out at them" and I said "Well you know that horse didn't do that on purpose". "Oh, it did, it did!" (.) It didn't…That was coming. They just never saw it.

COLIN, TRAINER / COACH

Here Colin expresses his belief that the handlers didn't read the horse's body accurately and were therefore unable to understand how they were feeling. In the absence of such reading, the handlers attributed harmful intent to the horse to explain their reaction. The implication is that such a failure to imagine the horse's viewpoint will continue to result in potentially dangerous situations. Similarly, Geraldine appears to believe that some

horse owners wrongly interpret the movements of their horses, deciphering the act of standing at the gate by the horses as a sign of enjoyment:

> GERALDINE: And, you know, that kind of…annoys me when you see people with their own horses and the horses are standing at the gates going "Come on, bring me in, ride me, do something with me, groom me, look after me" you know "Let's go and do something". And they're like "Oh the horse loves being out in the field. Oh, it's so nice, they want to be out all the time". And I'm like "Not in the lashings of rain!" And you know standing out there when they could be in and doing something.
>
> GERALDINE, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

In speaking of her frustration at the failure in imagination of others, Geraldine implies that the consequent care is below par, leaving the horses bored, wet and unfulfilled. In response, she imagines the horses' desire to be "doing something" which she interprets from their position at the gate. While no one has the monopoly on the 'truth' of the situation, the human-animal workers appear to believe that their knowledge is closest to this truth. This knowledge, gained through study and physical experience, informs their caring imaginations. The imagination of others is believed to be lessened by their inability to access this knowledge in their bodies, the fact that "they never saw it", whether through lack of experience, ability or desire. It is arguably this particular expertise that separates those who work professionally with a large number of horses, facilitated over many years, from those who own one or two horses as a hobby or pastime. Nicola alludes to this difference when she speaks of how things have changed for her since becoming a professional trainer, comparing it to the difference between "having one child and teaching a class". The participants themselves are not immune to making mistakes. In fact, they openly acknowledge their own mistakes and speak of using them to inform themselves going forward into the future. While they appear to easily spot the imagination failures of others, the development of their own imaginations appears enhanced due to the similar failures they made along the way. What distinguishes this type of work from others is the potential consequence of not learning from such failures. Constructing care as a value, as well as a daily habit, forces the human-animal workers to take seriously their imaginative abilities, to adapt when their imaginations fail, to call

out others for the lack of care in their imaginations and to stay in tune with their bodily processes which are a vital resource for knowledge and empathy.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed how the caring imagination of the human-animal workers is informed by knowledge acquired by the body. I then discussed how this imagination informs caring practices that adapt according to the perceived responses of the cared-for horses. This caring imagination constructs the horses as autonomous beings, with opinions and desires of their own that need to be acknowledged. In return, the horses are constructed as expressing these opinions and, in so doing, can affect the behaviour of their human caregivers. The horses are further constructed as demonstrating caring practices towards the humans and mutually dependent caring relationships are created. The participants imagine how they work together with the horses to share knowledge and give care to others. Both parties are constructed as consenting to these caring practices and as choosing to partake in these caring interactions. Without this ability to 'know' what the horse is thinking, a failure in this caring imagination occurs, leading to potential accidents and poor welfare outcomes.

I suggest that the discussions in this chapter offer a contribution to the ethic of care literature by addressing the ability of the caring imagination to construct a non-verbal other as cared-for in the context of a caring, yet instrumental, relationship. The cared-for horse is constructed as a responsive other, thereby completing the caring relation (Noddings, 2013). Following Regan (2004), I suggest that, by constructing the beliefs of the horses and responding to their preferences, the human-animal workers create a form of preference autonomy on the part of the horse. Respect for this autonomy (Slote, 2007) informs the caring decisions made. The horses are therefore constructed as more than just objects onto which caring happens as the caring imagination seeks to connect to their individual needs, akin to a human connection, but made without words.

The horses are further imagined as showing care for their human caregivers. Both human-animal worker and horse are portrayed as working together to create and share knowledge and to care for others. I suggest that such insights add a significant dimension to the previously discussed narratives of powerful and dependent in care ethics. Intrinsic to human-animal work is vulnerability on both sides and an acknowledgement of how

each must look after the other in order to best survive. Caregiving is thus constructed as mutual, rather than just "bestowed by one party on another" (Phillips, 2016, p.481). These narratives of caregiving and sharing on the part of the horses therefore, appear to support the interconnectedness of care (Manning, 1992; Phillips, 2016; Simola, 2012), where the humility of the caregiver in the face of a non-verbal cared-for is enhanced rather than diminished.

Specific to the concept of the caring imagination, these findings appear to indicate that human-animal work results in the development of a highly attuned caring imagination. While those with less experience with animals, perhaps as a result of not working with them, experience failures in their imaginations, those who work professionally with them every day are forced to learn from every mistake. In this way, they appear to be constantly updating and improving their imaginations due to the serious consequence of such failures. The human-animal workers appear to trust their imaginations to inform them of the 'right' way to care. This concept is further developed in chapter seven as the participants contemplate a world where horses can speak.

In this chapter, I discussed how the caring imagination is constructed, and goes on to construct, the roles of both competent caregiver and responsive cared-for in human-animal work. In the next chapter I provide further examples of how this process is demonstrated narratively. I offer stories where the participants can be heard 'giving voice' to the specific horses with whom they interact. In these stories, the horses are shown as in partnership and connection with the participants, or as resisting or desiring a particular outcome or activity. The horses are constructed as expressing their own feelings, their own side of the conversation. Their bodily movements are interpreted by the participants as reflecting inner cognitive processes which are then 'given voice' to by the human-animal workers in their discussions with me. In this way, the horses are imagined as being able to respond to, or reject, the care offered to them. These stories are offered as demonstrations of the caring imagination at work.

Chapter 6: The Caring Imagination at Work

In this chapter, I demonstrate the caring imagination at work by offering passages from the participants' narratives that include stories where they 'give voice' to specific horses in their care. By literally voicing the horses' sides of these imagined conversations, the participants reveal how they construct the link between the bodily expressions of the horses and what is going on in their 'minds'. This attempt to express in narrative form the imagined cognitive processes of the horses serves to explain their caring practices to me, as a researcher, in the context of our semi-structured interviews. These expressions also appear to bring clarity to the participants themselves as they construct an understanding of the horses' needs and, by translating their imagined thoughts into human speech, it becomes easier for the human-animal workers to understand their own empathetic responses. While the issue of representation of the equine other and the need for "their humans that speak on their behalf" (Maurstad et al., 2013, p.324) is noted as a "problem" (p.324), it is this very representation constructed within our interviews that reveals the relationship between voice-giving and care-giving. This is the caring imagination at work.

I have discussed how non-verbal communication is shared between human and horse and is constructed as expressions of their own particular bodies. This communication can include vocalisations on the part of the horse, as well as learned responses to verbal cues from the humans, such as "walk on", "whoa", etc. The very nature of this communication as embodied can render verbal language inadequate in elucidating it (Brandt, 2009). As part of their attempt to understand animal others, some trainers are noted as "learning to speak the animal idiom" (Sanders and Arluke, 1993, p.383). However, in order to access their shared knowledge of what it is to have flesh and to articulate the empathy that they feel in their bodies, the participants in this research can be heard making use of their human verbal abilities to consider the many caring possibilities that are before them. Verbal language is of use in caring for animals, as well as learning to 'speak' the language of the particular animal themselves. The latter may teach them how to interact. The former appears to connect them with their own experiences, knowledge and bodily habits. This enables the development of their caring imaginations and provides for a very real way for caring to take place.

Verbal language has been considered as something that can cause considerable harm to animals (Hamilton and Taylor, 2013; Sayers, 2016; Stibbe, 2001). While Stibbe (2001) acknowledges that it can be used by animal activists to highlight oppression, our verbal abilities are often used to create distance to commodify non-humans. In this research, I argue that verbal language can also be used positively in an attempt to construct the animal as participating in relationship and as a way for the humans who work with them to try to understand this participation.

Anthropomorphism is something that is generally feared by those who work with animals (Karlsson, 2012) and the participants in this study no less so. A number of them express their desire to avoid it, or clarify that they are not using it or approaching their horses in this way. Despite this, each one of their narratives includes horse 'voice-poems' or occasions where they give verbal speech to the horses' sides of the conversations that they construct. This seems to confirm Karlsson's (2012) contention that avoiding anthropomorphism entirely is not possible when seeking to learn about animals. Karlsson further points to Regan's similar suspicion of anthropomorphism, albeit a strategy that the animal rights philosopher is open to using "in the sense of being a communicative strategy to bridge species borders" (Karlsson, 2012, p.716) and where it is reflective of the simplest explanation of animal behaviour. While anthropomorphism can lead to problematic outcomes and misplaced empathy, it can also serve to protect against what Karlsson describes as 'mechanomorphism' and an incomplete picture of animals. While not perfect, "the aim must never be to forbid a certain kind of symbols when communicating thoughts on animals, but to describe animals well" (Karlsson, 2012, p.719). Hamington (2008) appears to agree, stating how the practice of anthropomorphizing "often represents an imaginative or playful attempt to understand animals" (p.184). Others have spoken of the potentially positive aspects to the use of anthropomorphism with horses, including its important role in maintaining welfare and the human-horse relationship (Thompson and Clarkson, 2019). The projection of various human emotions onto horses by their caretakers would appear to have some support in the scientific literature (Hötzel, Vieira and Leme, 2019). Far from an approach that harms the horses or seeks to minimize their points of view, the participants in this research appear to make use of anthropomorphic 'voicing' as an attempt to understand

their horses and to empathetically imagine what they are 'saying', i.e., 'thinking'. Imagining a way to know this helps them to care better.

The second listenings, done as part of the Listening Guide method, were useful in revealing the constructed voice of the horses, when the participants 'speak' for their horses. As discussed in chapter four, the Listening Guide consists of three or more 'listenings'. The first listens for plot, encouraging researcher reflexivity. The second listens for the "I" in the transcripts as the participants locate themselves in the narrative. The third and subsequent listenings focus on the specific research question under consideration. In this way, the Listening Guide provides a template that is structured, but allows flexibility and encourages new and innovative approaches to this structure (Woodcock, 2016).

The selections in this chapter arise out of the second listenings. The focus of the second listening is primarily on the creation of 'I' poems which highlight how the participants place themselves in relation to others. However, building on the uniqueness of human-animal work and my particular research question, I also used this step to note occasions where the participants 'speak for' the horses and literally give voice to their side of a conversation. Lining these 'voice poems' up in parallel to the "I" poems allowed me to see how the participant locates both parties to these 'conversations' and how they position themselves in relation to the horse to whom they are giving voice. In this way, the horses are made present in the narratives and their 'speech' is constructed as either a response to, or initiating a response from, the human participant. As offered in chapter four, the stripped back conversations can reveal starkly how the humans place the animals in relation to themselves. By offering the full 'stories' in this chapter, I aim to show the link between how the horses' bodies are spoken of and how their 'speech' reflects these bodily movements. I also seek to highlight the points at which the horses 'speak' and then the imagined explanations of this speech.

While working through the second listenings, three themes emerged in the presentation of the horses as cared-for others. Through their interactions and 'conversations', the horses are constructed as in connection with their caregiver, as resistant to a particular interaction, or as desiring to partake in a particular activity. In choosing which stories to include, I focused only on those voice poems which reference a specific horse, as

opposed to an abstract horse or horses in general. Following others making use of this method (see for example, Davis, 2015; Gilligan et al., 2016; Gilligan and Eddy, 2017; Sorsoli and Tolman, 2008), I make use of different fonts in order to offer a window into my interpretation process. **Bold** is used to highlight the 'voice' of the horse and *italics* are used to highlight the imagined thought processes that give rise to the horse 'talking', while double underline is used to highlight the bodily movements of the horses that are 'translated' into thoughts and, eventually, speech.

6.1 Stories of connection

As discussed in the previous chapter, the participants make use of their caring imaginations to construct a relationship between horse and human that facilitates appropriate caregiving on their part, and response and acknowledgment on the part of the cared-for horse. In these stories of connection, participant and horse are constructed as creating and sharing knowledge together, showing care for each other, and communicating with each other to express their needs. In this way, caregiver and cared-for are constructed as having freedom and autonomy in mutually dependent relationship.

For Nicola, it appears important that her horses are perceived as having choice in their interactions with her. In the following passage, she demonstrates how she interprets when her horses wish to be with her in quite a simple way.

> NICOLA: …but some of the work that I've done with the horses, they- they have a choice whether they want to be with me and a lot of the time *they choose to be with me*
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> NICOLA: you know. More often than not, you know if they even hear my voice. Like if I go- If I went outside, you'd hear a little nicker.
>
> LUCY: Right, yeah, yeah
>
> NICOLA: They'd be like **"Wow she's coming"** you know?

LUCY: Hmm

NICOLA: *Whereas if they didn't want me, they wouldn't make the noise.*

NICOLA, TRAINER / COACH

Here the vocalisation of the horse, the nicker, is translated directly into human language as "Wow, she's coming". The thought process attributed to this nicker is excitement that their human is coming. If this nicker was not forthcoming, their silence would be read as a lack of desire to be in connection with her.

As discussed, connection between human-animal worker and horse is developed over time as their bodies interact in relationship. Just as the horses are trained to understand human requests, there is also a need for communication to flow from horse to human, such that the human becomes someone who believes that they understand what the horse requires. Tina describes a moment, expressed through the horse's body but vocalised by Tina, when her horse is constructed as coming to understand that the human understands:

TINA: … And I would start walking towards her middle where you'd put the saddle, start walking. And every time I'd see the breathing start to change, I'd stop and step back away from her and go away from her. Every time. And after about six or seven times it was the most hysterical thing. I- I went to- to walk towards her and she didn't breathe harder and I walked up and I put a hand on her. And then she started to tense just a little bit and I took the hand off and I walked away again. And she went ((gestures turning her head right around and making a quizzical face)). *She realised that I was paying attention to her opinion and what she thought about things and was reacting to what she thought about things*. And she was- I mean, she nearly fell over. *She couldn't- She couldn't believe it*. She- **"Oh my God! You know what I-?"**

LUCY: ((laughs))

TINA: **"You understood that? Oh my God! She speaks horse!"**

TINA, COACH / TRAINER

The mare's bodily movements appear to be constructed as reflecting a thought process, that is that Tina cares about her opinion. This thought process is then given voice. An almost dancelike movement can be heard between Tina and the horse. As Tina steps forward, the horse reacts, causing Tina to step back. This movement of Tina's is then interpreted by the horse as Tina respecting her preferences, thereby building trust and connection. 'Speaking horse' is a way for Tina to demonstrate how she believes the horse felt understood in that moment. In this way, being understood is articulated through 'speaking' the language of another.

Acknowledging care received is an important aspect of the caring relationship (Noddings, 2013) and human caregivers need to be responsive to reactions from the cared-for animal to ensure that the care is species-specific and appropriate. In the following story, Monica imagines that her horse understands not only that Monica is doing her best to care, but also that the context is urgent and difficult:

> LUCY: And so, she- do you think she kind of understood it was an emergency [situation?
>
> MONICA: Oh definitely.] And she was just- *she just knew*, **"You know what, you're keeping me alive. This is what we've to do."**
>
> LUCY: Yeah, yeah
>
> MONICA: **"I'm with ya".**
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> MONICA: Yeah
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> MONICA: Just as good as gold.

Lucy: Yeah

Monica: Couldn't believe it like. Coz usually- like the ones beside one another.

Lucy: Hmm

Monica: You know I'm feeding one here and say the one across, he's kicking the door [because

Lucy: Hmm]

Monica: I haven't got to him yet and he's just been fed a few hours beforehand.

Lucy: Yeah, yeah

Monica: And here's this poor divil.

Lucy: Yeah

Monica: Never kicked a door, never once put her ears back just-

Lucy: Yeah

Monica: You know?

Lucy: Yeah

Monica: *It's like as if she knew*, you know **"I can't get that stuff. It makes me choke".**

Lucy: Hmm

Monica: **"So, I'll- I'll trust you here".**

LUCY: Okay

MONICA: You know?

LUCY: Yeah

MONICA: So that's nice too.

LUCY: You think that's because you built that relationship? That she [knows that you're going to-?

MONICA: Yeah. *I think*] *she knows me and I think she knows I'm- I'm fairly confident, I know what's best, just-*

LUCY: Yeah, yeah

MONICA: "Just let me prove it now, I've got this."

MONICA, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

Caregiver and cared-for are constructed as working together in this passage. Not putting her ears back and not kicking the door like the horse next to her are interpreted as understanding on the part of the horse. Not only is she constructed as aware that she is receiving the appropriate care, she is also presented as acknowledging this care and responding by not behaving badly. Monica imagines a strong trust between herself and this horse and attributes knowledge to the horse that she knows that Monica knows what is the right thing to do. The horse is constructed as understanding the potential consequence of Monica getting it wrong, her choking, but she remains patient throughout, a behaviour that is believed to arise out of their close relationship.

Diane also imagines that close relationship and knowledge of the other assists in the delivery of care. In her story, her horses 'ask' for care, specifically that she checks their water:

> DIANE: Ehm (.) With my own, I'd know- I'd know their personalities and I'd know- like they'd nearly talk to you. There was one day the- the water had stopped or got blocked or something.
>
> LUCY: Hmmm
>
> DIANE: And so, like three or four of them right in front of me, one came and drank from a puddle, another came and drank from the trough or went to the trough, wet his mouth and came out again. And it's like they're just kind of saying **"Here come on, check this"**. Even though I had seen it, but I was still checking them all to see if they were okay, *they're just like giving me the heads up*
>
> LUCY: Hmm=
>
> DIANE: =you know?
>
> DIANE, COACH / TRAINER

The different horses are shown offering different behaviours around water, all with the perceived aim of altering her to their situation. Even though she was already aware of it, Diane does not miss their giving her "the heads up" as she sees it. She voices their direct request to her that she sort out their water. The horses are constructed as knowing who their caregiver is, based on the length of time that Diane has known them as "her own". They are further constructed as knowing how to communicate with her to make their preferences known. They are presented as independent, autonomous beings who are able to identify a problem and move their bodies in the direction of the solution.

As well as being able to request care, horses are constructed as being capable of providing care to their human caregivers, thus creating interdependent caring relationships. Ursula cites an example of a horse that would move her own body to catch Ursula and protect her from falling off:

> URSULA: …*But she also took care of me*. I mean, if she shied and you know, like this ((demonstrates by jumping slightly to the side))…and you- She would say **"Oh quick Mummy, here you are"** and put you back ((gestures with her body

stepping back over and under)). …You know, you have different characters of horses. Some horses will do their best to keep you with them.

URSULA, COACH / TRAINER

In this story, Ursula clearly draws a link between what the horse would do with her body, and what thought processes she imagines this to reflect in the mind of the horse. Her voicing also reveals the nature of the close relationship that she felt between them, that of mother and child, which is arguably the foundation caring relationship between humans (Noddings, 2013). As well as showing care for their primary caregiver, Ursula also shares with me a story of another horse that she believed would work with her so that, together, they could keep the children who were learning to ride safe. In so doing, Ursula constructs the act of caregiving to be something created and shared by both human-animal worker and horse jointly:

URSULA: And literally we had a little- the little pony like the one you saw out there, ((names pony)) when he came and before ((refers to family)). But, literally ((names pony)) would- you'd start a child on ((names pony)) and, you know, you'd teach them how to rise up and down in the saddle and then get ready for the next stage. So, I'd say "Trot on ((names pony))!" **"No, this one's not ready yet."** You know? Then the next week "Trot on ((names pony))!" He'd trot on. Next week, I think he may be canteri- you know, ready for cantering. "Trot on ((names pony))!" Trot on, trot, on. "Canter on ((names pony))!" **"This one's not ready".** He was extraordinary. So, *he always told me when the child was ready for the next stage.* [It was-

LUCY: Wow]

URSULA: coz he'd go willingly.

URSULA, COACH / TRAINER

Ursula reveals how she would accept the behaviour of the pony as appropriate to the requirements of the child. If the pony moved forward, she interpreted this to mean that he felt that the child was ready and it was safe to move faster. When the pony did not move forward on request from Ursula, rather than rebuking him, she accepted this as

‘proof’ of what the child was capable of and did not push the pony. The pony’s ‘thoughts’ are constructed as caring for the child, “this one’s not ready”, rather than an expression of self-care that could alternatively have been voiced. She shows significant trust in the pony as she imagines their working in partnership to show care for another.

Geraldine tells a similar story of a working partnership between her and one of the horses in her riding school. In this passage, coach and horse are constructed as creating knowledge together and working to teach a rider how to hold their body in the most correct and effective way:

> GERALDINE: …there’s quite a few horses I use in lessons and like they genuinely look at me up top and going like “Pwwoh” ((laughs)) coz the rider on top is doing different things and… they have this kind of expression sometimes, ehm- there’s one there called ((names horse)) <u>who will do literally what the rider says but in a way where she’s going</u> **“Get a clue! I’m doing this sideways coz you’re sittin’ sideways.” … “Come on, figure it out!”** And you know, when you’re teaching with her and then <u>she’d be looking at you</u> kind of going **“Go on tell her what to do properly”** …And then when she does it right, *she’s really happy again.* She’s like **“Yeah!”.** *She gets really kind of content that the person’s figured it out.*
>
> LUCY: [Right
>
> GERALDINE: And] I have another mare called ((names her)) who literally- *she’s very intolerant of people sitting crooked or squeezing their legs…* Well <u>she’ll kind of fight- not fight but she’ll give out and she’ll give out to the side that someone is doing something wrong</u>… and then you kind of help the person correct themselves and *she’ll be <u>re</u>ally happy again*…and then they’ll do something the other side and she’ll go back, <u>she’ll almost like bite their toe</u> and kinda say **“Come on, you’re doing it wrong!”**
>
> LUCY: Okay [yeah

> GERALDINE: And she will-] she could actually in the arena teach the person without me having to say anything.
>
> GERALDINE, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

In this passage, Geraldine becomes someone who is able to read her horses' expressions and know what they are thinking. She voices the pleading of the first horse who, despite moving as the rider asks, does so in a way that Geraldine understands as almost impatient. The horse is presented as imploring the person on her back to read her movements as a sign that they are asking the wrong questions. Rather than acting out of self-preservation, Geraldine imagines the horse as wanting the rider to get it right and attributes joy to her when the rider finally figures it out. In this way, the horse is constructed as participating as a teacher rather than just as a prop in the context of the lesson. The second horse is also constructed as a very effective coach. She is imagined as using her own body to literally point out the mistakes of the rider and is voiced very clearly as doing so. Perhaps this horse does act out of self-preservation, but such possible 'self-care' towards her own body remains sufficient to impart knowledge to the rider without the human coach having to use her own voice at all.

As well as working together to share knowledge and engage in caring practices for each other and third parties, connection in relationship is also constructed as allowing the free expression of choice on the part of the horse. Jane reflects on an incident that happened during our time together, when some horses got out and we had to pause the interview so that she could go outside to collect them. She speaks of working "at liberty" with her horse, which refers to the fact that she did not require any lead rope or other tools in order to get her horse to go with her. Instead, the horse is constructed as choosing to follow her back, after weighing up the alternatives:

> JANE: Yes, they- they probably would like- I don't know, I don't know. I definitely do think my mare now has got- she's very smart like. The grey one that, you know, she went down there ((referring to a few minutes ago when horses got loose)) and she was like **"Damn it, this game it going to go on, isn't it?"** She's like **"You're not gonna-"**. She got away from me here and she just walked down the end of the drive. And I was like "I don't mind how many times

LUCY: Yeah

JANE: I have to play this game, but you're going to go back in the arena". And, from like the furthest corner you know she's looking at me like this ((gestures)) the whole way down the drive like. *She wasn't worried or scared.* And then I just walked down and was like "Come on" and I led her up at liberty.

LUCY: Yeah, okay

JANE: I didn't even have a hold of her rug or anything. Ehm, just my hand just here ((gesturing to her face)) really soft and she just went the whole way up and into the arena. Coz she's kinda like **"This- yeah, okay this game's gonna go on for a while isn't it? And it's going to end with me being a bit sweaty and a bit warm and you just walking up and down the driveway"**. I was like "Yeah, kinda". So, she goes **"I'll tell you what, I'll just go back into the arena so."**

LUCY: So that's her choice. You didn't hold her so she could have-

JANE: Yeah, oh she could have left at any time.

JANE, TRAINER / COACH

In this story, Jane appears confident that her horse felt no fear. She interprets this from the horse's facial expression which she demonstrates in person herself to me. She voices the horse as understanding all the various options open to her and as choosing to go with Jane. This is portrayed as a free choice as Jane does not hold on to the horse's body in any way that would have prevented the horse from leaving, thereby rejecting the interaction with her. Jane, as caregiver, and the mare as cared-for, are thus constructed as in connection with each other.

6.2 Stories of resistance

As discussed in the previous chapter, providing the horses opportunity for choice is considered important by many of the participants. They speak of wanting the horse to be happy in their work, of choosing the activities in which they do and do not wish to

partake. Respecting these preferences is believed by the human-animal workers to be conducive to good welfare. Being able to interpret the response of the horse therefore becomes a skill that is highly valued by the participants, particularly when the horse is believed to be expressing resistance in a particular context.

In the passage below, Nicola speaks of how her horse's happiness is paramount to her, more important than getting him to do the things that she wants him to do:

> NICOLA: Coz It's just like I just want my horse to feel- I want my horse to enjoy spending time with me.
>
> LUCY: [Hmm
>
> NICOLA: If] they don't enjoy- There's no partnership if it's one sided.
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> NICOLA: So, the horse has got to enjoy it. And sometimes my horse tells me **"Do you know what, I've had enough".**
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> NICOLA: And he'll tell you. He'll turn around and, not nip you, but he'll turn around and put his ears back
>
> LUCY: Hmm]
>
> NICOLA: and sort of say **"Will you just leave me alone?"**
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> NICOLA: It's like, fair enough. I won't punish him for that.
>
> NICOLA, TRAINER / COACH

By not punishing the horse, Nicola is creating the freedom for the horse to express himself. If he does not anticipate negative consequences for this expression, Nicola imagines that his behaviour accurately reflects his feelings about the task. She draws a simple correlation between him turning towards her and putting his ears back and "I've had enough". There is no suggestion of fear or distress in this passage, just a horse who is portrayed as choosing to be alone, rather than engaging in work with his human. Distinguishing the difference between resistance behaviours that occur out of just not wanting something and those that occur out of fear, is presented as another important skill, as Fred outlines:

> FRED: …And I suppose, coming back to the choice, I think you can tell when a horse is enjoying something. You can equally tell when a horse isn't enjoying something.
>
> LUCY: And how can you tell?
>
> FRED: …It's that- that feeling, that intuition of, is this something that the horse has a genuine fear of? …And I suppose if you find they're scared your approach has to be different. So, ehm, if you take two horses I took out today. *((Names first horse)) is scared*
>
> LUCY: Right
>
> FRED: *of going into the horse box. She doesn't like the darkness* so when you open the front ramp, open the front, make sure you give her something nice when she goes in, she'll go in fine. Whereas if you take ((names second horse)), *((names horse)) is not scared.* ((names horse)) gets to the- faces the ramp and goes **"No I'm not going. I don't want to"**. Ehm I suppose the diff- one of the big ways that I notice the difference is at this end, *((names first horse)) doesn't want to leave home*, *whereas at the other end ((names same horse)) is delighted to go back in.*
>
> LUCY: Okay=

FRED: =Whereas ((names second horse)) at both ends goes **"No I don't want to".**

FRED, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

In comparing the behaviour of two horses, Fred attributes different thought processes to these behaviours. In the case of the scared horse, he imagines her fear to be sourced in not liking the darkness and not wanting to leave home. He attributes these thoughts to the fact that, when he makes the horsebox bright, she appears to him to be no longer afraid. Similarly, that she appears to load into the box easily on the way back is read as a desire to be at home again. It is to the second horse, the one that just doesn't "want to" that he gives voice. He is categorical in his belief that she is not scared. He does not imagine another thought process other than this. He reads the behaviour of her body at both ends of the journey as similar, that of 'planting' at the bottom of the ramp up to the horsebox. Without any other signs of fear or response to concessions made to ease any fear, such as in the case of the first horse, this horse is constructed as simply resistant. I do not know why, although in hindsight, I wonder why I did not ask this question.

Resistance due to fear is believed by the participants to be expressed by the horses' bodies in different ways. This appears to make interpreting the motivations behind their behaviour more complex. Monica talks of a horse that she believes to be fearful of jumping. The horse does not express this is a way that I would have thought, that is by stopping at a fence and refusing to jump. This is certainly what I imagined and so asked that question of Monica directly:

MONICA: …I have a lovely guy here that would do flat work all day but *not crazy about jumping.*

LUCY: Right, okay

MONICA: Ehm, so lucky for him he's a fantastic mover.

LUCY: Yeah

MONICA: So, he can do a bit of dressage. Now he does do a little bit of jumping but *he's not keen.*

LUCY: Yeah

MONICA: And I wouldn't mind, like we tried him and he can jump one twenty, one thirty.

LUCY: Okay, he just doesn't-

MONICA: You know? And has good technique. But *just has a little worry of it*. Just-

LUCY: So how does he- what does it do? Like how does that-?

MONICA: He just gets- he's not a horse that will take off, he'll keep the same pace. He just needs a fairly quiet soft rider, but you must say "((names clicking sound)) I've got this, you're alright." *He needs somebody- he- he lacks confidence*, even though he goes around looking like he's [you know

LUCY: ((laughs))]

MONICA: Bravo. *He actually lacks confidence.* So, *if the rider is any way in doubt, he will worry.*

LUCY: And will he stop?

MONICA: He won't stop.

LUCY: Okay

MONICA: No. He won't stop. But he'll do this big awkward jump

LUCY: Okay

MONICA: and he'll kind of- you'll know by him, the head comes up a little and he's like **"God, God I don't know if you're**

LUCY: Yeah

MONICA: **safe. I don't know is this a thing we should be doing."**

MONICA, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

This passage serves to perhaps demonstrate my own lack of imagination in that I assumed stopping at a jump to be the only reaction of a horse that fears it. But Monica interprets a lack of confidence in the "awkward" jump that he still makes, despite his perceived fear. This is a horse that Monica believes looks full of self-confidence. However, she believes he is not and, furthermore, she imagines that he feeds off the fear of a rider who is equally lacking in confidence. This reveals again the idea of connection and shared energy that is believed to exist between horse and rider, such that they can share each other's emotions. The throwing up of his head, the big, cumbersome jump, is interpreted by Monica as the horse thinking he is not safe. She translates this thought into speech and gives voice to this moment of doubt.

When a horse is believed to be resistant simply because they don't want to do something, as opposed to being fearful, there is a myriad of ways that their embodied behaviour can be interpreted. Geraldine provides a really unusual example of a particular pony of hers that she believes does not wish to be brought in from the field. Geraldine's description of how the pony acts to not make this happen is amusing and also reveals a significant amount of thoughtful planning attributed to the pony:

GERALDINE: And we've one little pony *that always gets other ponies to fight her battles* for her.

LUCY: And you can see that happening [can you?

GERALDINE: Yes]

LUCY: In the field or something?

GERALDINE: Yes

LUCY: Wow that's interesting. So, you think they're kind of calculating, they can plan [and be strategic?

GERALDINE: They can yeah, for sure]. Definitely

LUCY: Yeah

GERALDINE: Absolutely definitely

LUCY: Coz some people think they're just purely instinct. They just purely react.

GERALDINE: Oh no. They can plan. ((laughs))

LUCY: ((laughs)) I see. And what does that look like? Is she kind of- do you kind of see her egging the others on or how does that- what does that look like when she's doing that?

GERALDINE: Ehm, it's kind of funny. She kind of like- (.) There was one mare where *she kind of sucked up to her* and the mare would almost act like she's a very protective foal of hers.

LUCY: Right okay

GERALDINE: And she'd be sitting there going **"I'm really pretty and of course you can come and catch me!"** and the other mare would be circling her and chasing you away.

LUCY: Oh! ((laughs))

GERALDINE: And she's there going **"I'm so cute and innocent, of course you can catch me, but like she won't let you!"**

LUCY: Aah! ((laughs))

GERALDINE: And you can just see that kind of face on her that's, you know-

LUCY: Yeah that's really good yeah

GERALDINE: *Like she's just actually manipulating the situation.*

GERALDINE, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

The pony is believed to make use of another horse to carry out her plan. Geraldine imagines the pony to have "sucked up" to the mare in order to earn her protection. It is then the mare that chases anyone away who tries to catch 'her' pony. The circling and chasing are read as the mare keeping others away from the pony. The pony, meanwhile, remains relaxed and with a "face" that Geraldine interprets as playing sweet and innocent. It is this face that says "of course you can catch me", blaming the mare for the whole situation. Behind this face, Geraldine imagines a pony that is highly clever, manipulative and strategic. My role in this passage is "Aah", thinking "how cute!" as I enjoyed this construction of a clever, cheeky little pony who goes out of her way to resist being brought in from the field.

Tina offers a story of a mare that is constructed as attaching high importance to her own autonomy. Over time, she appears to accept her feet being handled, but is still read as expressing minor little resistances in order to demonstrate that it is her body and she chooses what to do with it:

TINA: But she likes- *she likes people*. Ehm, *but she is also very confident and comfortable in herself and she knows what she wants. She knows what she likes, she knows what she doesn't like. And she will always test people to see how strong of a leader they are*. Coz she's a strong leader herself and she's good at making decisions. *She's comfortable with her decisions*. Ehm, and so if someone is going to have her do things, *she wants them be comfortable with their decisions. She wants to be confident that they're decisions are good ones. If she doesn't think they're good ones, she doesn't want to do them because she's confident in*

herself. Ehm, but she will do stuff- like you ask her to do something, she'll do it. Ehm, but then she'll do some little thing just *to prove that she did it because you asked her to, but it's still her idea to do it.*

LUCY: Right=

TINA: =Like something simple like when you go to pick up her feet. Ehm, one thing that we do to teach the horse's we're in control of their feet, we'll pick their feet up and when we go to put their feet down- usually when you get close to the ground, the horse will stomp down. So, we keep their feet up until the horse will allow us to place it. And that's us taking control of the feet. Well, with her the first few times I tried that with her, oh my God. She would just rip the leg away and go **"It's my leg, I am putting it down now. Sorry!"**

LUCY: ((laughs softly))

TINA: And it took way longer with her than it did with any other horse I ever worked with. And now you can take it, and now she might try that a little, but she'll kind of go ((whispering voice)) **"Oh fine, if you want it".**

LUCY: ((laughs softly again))

TINA: And she'll let you put it down where you want it. But she'll put it down and then she'll look at you and she'll go ((gestures with her hand as if the horse's foot moving slightly))

LUCY: ((laughs))

TINA: And that's just her saying **"Okay, you want it there, I'll put it there. However, it's still my foot".**

LUCY: ((laughs))

TINA: **“And I’m in control of it, just so you know.”**

TINA, COACH / TRAINER

Tina provides a lot of background with regard to the perceived thoughts and preferences of the mare. It is these particular character traits that are imagined as informing the mare’s attachment to her own autonomy and independence. This is another horse who is presented as sensing the confidence of her human handlers, though this time she is confident herself. A really clear link is presented between what the mare does with her leg and what Tina imagines her to be thinking in that instant. She voices these moments in a very humorous way, even altering the tone of her own voice to construct the eventual acceptance by the mare of having her feet handled. However, even when the mare has accepted the handling, she is still perceived as asserting her own independence. Tina describes how the mare looks directly at her and then moves her foot. This slight movement is voiced as “I’m in control”, a belief on the part of the mare that Tina does not seem to be at all concerned about. I hear this passage as a construction of Tina as the caregiver who facilitates, and indeed appreciates, the mare’s confidence and autonomy, with the mare herself constructed as an accommodating, if reluctant, cared-for other.

In response to the imagined root of any perceived resistance on the part of the horses with whom they work, the human-animal worker is caused to change their behaviour to address such resistance. As discussed in the previous chapter, the horses are constructed as able to act upon their caregivers, getting them to change their caring practices according to the perceived preferences of the horses. ‘Good’ care is constructed as being competent in identifying such resistances and responding accordingly, rather than just ignoring or imagining them away. Kate provides an example of this when she speaks of one of her long-time riding school ponies who is presented as having very particular likes and dislikes. She amends her caring habits to work around these dislikes as she respects what a hard-working pony he is. Together, she imagines they come to a form of compromise that keeps both of them happy.

KATE: Yeah, it’s funny. Like ((names pony)) is one of those. *He has to be the last one in. He goes out with certain mares. He doesn’t like being clipped. He doesn’t like having his mane pulled. He doesn’t like being wormed.* So, you have to be very careful how you approach all of those things. He- *he doesn’t like- he’s*

> *not a tactile pony…* He's one of those horses- do you remember I said to you about one of the other hor- *He likes his own space*, **"Don't crowd me",** when you're riding him, *he gives you everything*…So now with the older ones, I pick my rows. You know, I mean you could have confrontation with them all the time if you wanted to…But, because of their age and out of a sense of respect for what they do and how much they have done- Like instead of pulling his mane, I'll now use, ehm, a Solo rake or comb so it shortens the hair, but you're not pulling it from the follicle….So, he has a nice tidy mane…So, *he's okay with that* and I'm okay with it, coz his mane is nice and tidy. …So then with his clipping, we sedate- give him sedation but we only do a certain type. We don't ever clip his legs or don't clip his ears or don't clip the really sensitive bits *that he hates*…So- but he gets clipped and he- and of course afterwards then you can see he's kind of going **"Oh yeah, this feels great. I'm much lighter, I feel great"** …*He just hates the means to the end.*
>
> KATE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER

Kate attributes a number of thoughts to the pony regarding the things she believes that he doesn't like. She then describes how she works around these. She simply avoids the bits that he really hates, or has an approach that she can take to mitigate his discomfort. There is a slight twist in the end in that, while he is portrayed as hating getting his coat clipped, he appears to Kate to enjoy the feeling of having been clipped. She does not describe the bodily movements that lead her to believe this, but she appears to sense that he feels "lighter" in himself, perhaps through some movement or expression or just 'feeling' that Kate constructs, perhaps arising out of her close proximity and longstanding relationship with this particular pony. She chooses to voice his happier thoughts at the end, imagining that the care that she gives him is understood and acknowledged as such. Him feeling "great" is constructed as a direct response to her caring practices.

6.3 Stories of desire

While good caring practices can cause resistance to become acceptance, sometimes horses are portrayed by the participants as loving what they do. This is beyond mere acceptance and more akin to something like desire on the part of the horse. Such desire is constructed as rooted in good caring habits, a good relationship, or the horse finding

intrinsic enjoyment from a particular activity. In each of these stories, the desire expressed on behalf of the horse is welcomed by the participant as encouraging a continuation of the current management practices and a confirmation of the connection that exists between human and horse. Such perceived desire on the part of the horse, therefore, constructs the caregivers as competent in their roles and the cared-for horses as enthusiastic partners in the caring relationships.

As seen in the previous chapter, a good routine is believed by Geraldine to be central to effective and appropriate care habits. Here she speaks of what she believes to happen when the horses in her yard are on their Christmas break:

> GERALDINE: They're- they actually thrive on doing a bit of regular work throughout the day.
>
> LUCY: Right
>
> GERALDINE: And during Christmas breaks, they'd be standing at the gate going **"Hello! You forgot to bring us in!"**
>
> …
>
> LUCY: And even though, when they come in, they know that probably means a few hours work, they're happy with that?
>
> GERALDINE: Yeah
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> GERALDINE: That's what I'm saying like at Christmas holidays, you change that routine, and they'd be standing at that gate going **"Oi, like you forgot about us. What are you doing?"**
>
> LUCY: Yeah, [yeah

GERALDINE: **"You're] late".**

LUCY: Yeah, yeah [yeah

GERALDINE: *And] they wouldn't do that if they didn't enjoy their- their lifestyle and how-how- what they worked and their routine and everything else.*

GERALDINE, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

She interprets their action of standing at the gate as 'reminding' the humans that they are still there. She then gives voice to this reminding. Her belief that they wouldn't do this if they didn't desire to work constructs a thought process on the part of the horses that determines their decision to move their bodies to the gate. Geraldine's use of her caring imagination thus acts as the impetus to take the horses in, keep them to their routine and otherwise continue with the caring practices that she believes they want. In this way, she is constructed as simply doing what they 'ask' of her.

According to Ursula, sometimes it is actually break from work that can be what the horse needs to regain their desire for work:

LUCY: And you do you think horses are better off working? Do you think they enjoy to work or would they rather just be left alone in a field?

URSULA: Oh, no. Some love it. Some that can be- Oh yeah. I mean I had- I remember having bred a couple of the mares, ehm, you know, God, you could see they were fed up with the foal at them, you know? And when I brought my- my ((describes horse)) mare back into work after she had a year off, she was offering stuff that, you know- I had begun to teach her a little bit of passage and stuff before- before I let her off. And, you know, she came out as fresh as anything, you know, and was offering stuff that, you know, she might have been- *she'd lost interest in*, you know, saying **"Oh, I can do this now!"**

URSULA, COACH / TRAINER

Ursula's choice of the word "offering" gets across how willingly she believes the mare to perform this particular movement. She appears to attribute this willingness to the rest,

before which the mare had "lost interest" in such work. Although she does not say it, perhaps this is partly why Ursula gave her the break. Perhaps she interpreted from the mare's attitude and movements that she was resistant and bored. Ursula does give voice to the mare's response when she is back fresh from her time off. The mare is constructed as delighted that she can do her job now and do it more easily than before. In this way, she becomes an enthusiastic cared-for responding to the care that she has received.

Olivia appears to believe that horses can get intrinsic enjoyment out of the work itself and, at times, can express a desire to continue working, rather than resting or eating. Again, the competent caregiver will allow the horse the space to express themselves freely:

> OLIVIA: So], the other day, this was the photo ((shows picture on phone)) of him not leaving the round pen when I was trying to leave because he was like **"No but I actually just want to stay and do more stuff here"**
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> OLIVIA: rather than following me out. Even though I still had food on me, *he would rather stay and work.*
>
> OLIVIA, TRAINER / COACH

Olivia interprets the horse remaining in the enclosure as his desire to stay and work more. He had the freedom to follow her away from the work space, an option that also came with the possibility of more food. However, he does not follow her, a movement she reads as a preference to work and perhaps a belief that remaining will result in this outcome. She then voices this desire directly.

In the following story, Paul talks of the bodily responses of a "good" horse as he rides her around a course of jumps at a competition. His observations arise out of watching a video of their ride together and so are after the fact, as opposed to in the moment with her. He clarifies after this passage that he was not watching when riding her, but would "have the feel of her", as well as watching the direction in which they were both travelling:

> PAUL: …And I was jumping this horse at a show and it had been very tense at the show and very nervous. It was a big, big show and the horse had been under a lot of stress. And I got to this last round and I jumped a really brilliant round and I was watching the video over a few times. And I noticed that- I noticed her ears and as she was cantering around, I was riding her, and the ears were kind of like doing this ((gestures forward and back)) as I was cantering around and then, as I just got near the jump, *it would lock on the jump* and one stride, two strides, jump the fence, land. And then it would kind of start- *the ears would start kind of listening to me* and kind of **"What is he saying, what is he saying? Oh, there's a jump"** and *she locked on beautifully* like and a good horse- this is really a good sign of a good horse.
>
> PAUL, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

His description of her as a "good" horse, perhaps refers to her natural ability, but this perceived desire on her part also appears to arise out of their good working relationship. He describes the movement of her ears as a sign that she is listening to him and looking to him for direction. She then 'locks' on to the jump with her ears when the time is right, proof to him that she is extremely willing and able to do the job that her rider is asking of her. He constructs her words based on the movement of her ears. "What is he saying?" arises when an ear is cocked in the direction of Paul. "Oh, there's a jump" reflects her imagined thoughts when her ears become focused on the jump ahead of her. The construction of a "good" horse is one that desires to both take instruction from her rider and go on and clear each jump.

6.4 Summary

In chapter five, I discussed the various ways the horses and humans are constructed as gaining and sharing knowledge and how this embodied knowledge informs the caring imagination of the human-animal workers. This imagination then goes on to inform how both parties are constructed as engaging in caring practices for each other. The choice to care is a decision that is made and re-made every day and giving choice to the horses is similarly viewed, by the participants, as a value that enhances the wellbeing of the horses. The caring imagination constructs the horses as autonomous beings who can accept or resist elements of the caring relationship with the participants. Such

discussions were offered as a way to show how the caring imagination is constructed and how it goes on to construct the horse as a non-verbal, yet responsive, cared-for other.

In this chapter, I built upon these discussions. In the stories provided, the participants speak of how they believe their horses choose to be with them, how horse and human come to understand each other's bodies and how the horses both acknowledge and request care. The horses are constructed as having the power to 'say no'. Acknowledging and responding to such a 'no' constructs the participants as competent caregivers. Following on from chapter five, these stories demonstrate how the constructions of the caring imagination are narratively configured.

My use of the Listening Guide offers a unique insight as it explores how the human-animal workers make use of the practice of 'voice-giving' to make present the horse in their stories. By highlighting the three different constructions of the horses, when they move (double underline), when they think (*italics*), and when they speak (**bold**), I aim to contribute to the use of the Listening Guide method as one that can uncover how the body and mind can become united through voice (Brown and Gilligan, 1992). I suggest that my particular use of the Guide demonstrates the ability of this method to reveal constructions of voice on behalf of another. The participants in this research construct their role in the conversations, as well as also constructing the 'answers' on behalf of the horse. While seeking to represent the point of view of this other, they are similarly offering an additional construction of themselves.

I further suggest that my use of this method makes a contribution to human-animal work in its demonstration of the role of verbal language in animal caregiving. By revealing the link between embodied interaction and voice-giving, I suggest that language is used by the human-animal workers as a way of both expressing, and developing, their empathetic imaginations. By choosing to give the horses verbal language in these stories, the participants appear to be attempting to make the connection between the behaviour of the horses and what they are 'thinking'. Translating these thoughts into words gives them a way to imagine the needs of the horses and to respond as best they can.

My approach to the Listening Guide offers a contribution to the literature on care ethics by highlighting those occasions where the participants make use of their verbal abilities

to access their shared knowledge of what it is to embody flesh and to express the empathy that arises from this knowledge, thereby constructing themselves as effective caregivers. I propose that the narrative practice of voice-giving serves to both make themselves understood to me as the researcher, as well as facilitate understanding in themselves by connecting them with their own felt experiences and bodily habits. By taking on the role of the horse in these stories, the participants show their version of what it is to 'walk in the shoes of another'. In constructing the horses' sides of the conversations, they appear to be imagining what it is like to be that other, to want what they want and to feel what they feel. The apparent ease with which they engage in such voice-giving suggests to me that they are comfortable with such imaginative constructions. This would appear to support Hamington's (2008) contention that caring for animals enhances and strengthens the caring imagination.

In the next chapter, I outline the critical aspect of the caring imagination and how the human-animal workers imagine what is and what might be. I respond to Lawrence and Maitlis (2012) and their proposed narrative constructions of "histories of sparkling moments", the contextualisation of struggles, and "polyphonic future-orientated stories" (p.652) within work teams when I discuss the mysterious pasts, alternative lives and possible futures constructed for horses that cannot tell their own stories. Finally, I reflect upon the answer given by the participants to a single question: "What if they could talk?"

Chapter 7: Imagining the Unknown

In this chapter, I examine the critical and reflective aspects of the caring imagination. I investigate how the human-animal workers are attracted to solving the puzzles which are presented by the non-verbal other with whom they work. I discuss how they reflect on the various possible consequences of the decisions that they make in their working lives. Following Lawrence and Maitlis (2012), I discuss the caring narrative practices of constructing pasts, struggles and futures. I consider how these caring practices manifest in human-animal work and are embedded in the wider context of how the horse is viewed in society. Finally, I share some of the participants' answers to one simple question: "What if they could talk?" and their imaginings of a world where horses have words.

7.1 Care as critical

According to Hamington (2004), as well as facilitating empathy, the caring imagination provides the crucial functions of "*critical thinking and critical application*" (Hamington, 2004, p.68, italics in original). He likens it to the ethical caring of Noddings which "involves reflection and decision" (Hamington, 2004, p.68). As a consequence, ethical caring requires more effort than natural caring as it requires the remembrance of being cared-for and the construction of your best ethical self (Noddings, 2013). With reference to animals, Noddings notes that natural caring can arise with animals with whom you are in a direct and loving relation. She also raises the possibility of ethical caring in relation to other members of the same species of that primary animal. She expounds on the notion of choice with regard to caring for animals, one that is a decision made by an individual and therefore not incumbent on those who have not chosen to care for an animal. There is also the concept of "contractual reciprocity" (Noddings, 2013, p.157) which, though instrumental in motivation, can lead to genuine bonds of fellowship and caring. I suggest that it is this form of caring that is constructed by those involved in human-animal work. However, this form of caring is not lesser than, but rather is dependent on and interacts with these other caring types. The caring involved in human-animal work is ethical in that it involves "reflection and decision", natural in that it is often based on a genuine love of the animal that has arisen out of relation, and contractual in that the animal is asked to do something in return for that care. As discussed in chapter four, many of the participants in this research were motivated to go into this line of work because they 'fell

in love' with horses at a young age or developed a particular relationship with horses when young. Memories of caring for this early horse act as a foundation for the ethical and contractual caring that occurs later. Following Noddings (2013), natural caring is still the foundation for care, even that which happens in the context of organisational work life.

7.1.1 Critical decisions

In their narratives, evidence of both "reflection and decision" (Hamington, 2004, p.68) on the part of the human-animal workers can be heard. Every day, they make and re-make the decision to care and place a value on 'good' care as opposed to 'bad'. Decisions around care are not as simple as 'more is better', as too much care can be as bad as too little, a point made by a number of the participants. Care can place a considerable burden on the caregiver, especially in the sphere of the 'dirty work' (Lopina, Rogelberg and Howell, 2012) that is an occupation with animals. There are the physical burdens of working outdoors in all weathers, heavy lifting and the danger inherent in managing such large and, at times, unpredictable animals. There are the financial burdens that arise out of choices made to increase welfare, to make the care 'better', which may or may not be returned in profit. Vet bills, good quality feed, well-fitting saddlery and farriers all cost money and the horses could still end up hurting themselves in the field. As Monica put it so succulently: "They cost when things go wrong, they cost when things go right". While 'good' care can increase performance and therefore profit, it can also have an impact on organisational goals by causing burnout (Lawrence and Maitlis, 2012). The participants speak of choosing to take in less money in order to give the horses more breaks and time off. Some speak of choosing to turn down work and payment rather than compromise their ethical principles. In this way, each decision regarding how best to care impacts the wider organisation and the viability of their own livelihoods. These decisions are carried out in the context of imagining various possible outcomes and deciding on the most favourable, or the least objectionable, for the horses as well as themselves.

7.1.2 Critical reflections

In chapter five, I discussed the empathetic aspect of the caring imagination, citing Geraldine's expressed reasons for mixing up her horses' routines:

GERALDINE: I think it kind of reflects the kind of organisation more than anything else coz I'm someone that's happy doing a little bit of everything…I don't like doing one thing all the time…So, I'm not sure actually now, being reflective about it…(….that's something) that's innate in me as well. Ehm, but I- I could just- how could you (.) do one thing or- all day…and not get a bit sour?

GERALDINE, COACH / LIVERY MANAGER / TRAINER

It is this critical reflection, arising in the context of our interview, that causes her to realise her own motivations underpinning her choices. She asks rhetorically why anyone wouldn't get bored and cannot imagine such a scenario. She appears comfortable with this reflection and its outcomes for the horses and remains satisfied that her caring habits stand up to critical examination. Following Hamington (2004), her embodied empathy informs her caring habits, but the meaning of these habits "is not always immediate or complete, thus warranting further reflection" (p.75).

Such reflections are a commonplace activity across the participants as they seek to 'work out' what it is the horse wants. By imagining alternative and possible motivations behind the behaviour of the horses, the participants are exercising the critical aspect of their caring imaginations, what they refer to as the 'mystery' or 'puzzle' aspect of working with horses. They may have to figure out if something happened to the horse since they last saw them, or even before the horse was in their care, that might explain a change in behaviour or perceived mood. As the horses are unable to verbally express themselves, it becomes the responsibility of the human-animal worker to solve what Fred refers to as the "horse Rubix cubes". This is an aspect of their work that some of the participants appear to specially enjoy:

FRED: And I suppose that's what I enjoy and the reaping of the puzzle or the actualisation of the puzzle is that we get to a successful outcome.

LUCY: And so, you think animals provide, or horses particularly, provide a unique form of puzzle?

FRED: Yes

LUCY: Unlike you get in another type of job?

FRED: Yeah oh definitely. So, if you think about it like, ehm, I'm training the person to deal with the puzzle they're sitting on.

LUCY: Hmm

FRED: Do you know like? What other job gives you that?... Because if you take- if you take a computer say. When you're training someone to programme the computer- computers- the logic always works.

LUCY: Hmm

FRED: You know? You input- you click the one and the one comes up, you click the zero, the zero comes up. Whereas horses aren't always like that.

LUCY: Hmm

FRED: Ehm, you know, one like- ((names his mare)) yesterday was a perfect example. She's always quiet in the arena, there's never a problem. Yesterday for some reason there was something she didn't like down that side of the arena ((pointing?)). I don't know what it was. And it was a case of- the puzzle was getting her to think,

LUCY: Hmm

FRED: getting- I suppose get her head off what was out there and back to what I was trying to communicate to her.

FRED, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

Here Fred openly expresses how much he prefers a job that offers this, rather than a computer which consistently and simply gives you out what you put in. From the example he offers of his mare, he appears to make use of the critical aspect of his caring imagination as he tries to work out the most appropriate response to something he doesn't

fully understand. He does not know why she has taken a dislike to the arena, but he must somehow work out a way of getting beyond it. All without using words.

In their attempts to solve such puzzles, the participants often hypothesize in a number of different ways. While Olivia speaks of utilising study and research, applying this knowledge to everyday scenarios to inform an educated "guess" as to what might be causing a particular behaviour, Nicola uses such knowledge almost as a challenge to her always questioning imagination:

> NICOLA: The methods say "Your horse must do this". Well what if your horse is tired? Or what if your horse has either got a headache or what if-? You know, what do you do then? Do you just chase the horse until it does it?
>
> NICOLA, TRAINER / COACH

Nicola's critical consideration of the available expertise appears to empower her to imagine various possible scenarios which would require different caring habits. She moves from the abstract instruction of "must" to the imagined possibilities of "what if? This suggests the nature of care as both contextual, two bodies responding to each other in a given moment, and also outside of the moment, in a world of many possibilities. Nicola is looking at the horse is front of her, but she must also consider various alternatives which may or may not co-exist. Beyond this, her caring imagination is also tuned into the possible consequences of what she is doing:

> NICOLA: So, we have to one: know the situations we're going to put them in
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> NICOLA: and two: know the consequences or the possible consequences of those reactions- of those actions and what we're asking them to do.
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> NICOLA: And question why are we doing it?

LUCY: Hmm

NICOLA: That's the thing we don't ever ask ourselves. Why am I getting my horse to do this again?

LUCY: Hmm

NICOLA: You know, is there another way that I could be doing it, you know?

NICOLA, TRAINER / COACH

These examples appear to echo Hamington's contention that "the caring imagination allows the mind to carry out possibilities in the moral context of a given situation, thus transcending the moment. Rules and consequences may be considered, but care is always present" (2004, p.68). Such abstract reflections may not be an anathema to contextually-based caring, but rather complementary and enhancing. The critical aspect of the caring imagination appears to not only underpin the decisions made in the context of the well-being of horse, worker and organisation, but is also constructed as a key requirement in the nature of the job itself. Care for a non-verbal other is presented as an act requiring the ability to interact in the moment to facilitate communication and interpretation, as well as the ability to imagine a myriad of alternatives that may or may not be more appropriate responses.

A further aspect of "transcending the moment" (Hamington, 2004, p.68) features in the participants' narratives, that is the imaginings of past, future and alternative lives for the horses. Much of these expressions are mirrored in the work of Lawrence and Maitlis (2012) regarding the enactment of care within organisational work teams. From their review of the ethic of care literature, these authors outline how three themes of discursive habits – the construction of experiences, struggles and futures – are performed through specific narrative practices. These specific narratives are theorised as holding the potential to give care and build resilience within work teams. Similar narrative practices are utilised by the human-animal workers as they are confronted not just by a puzzle in the current moment, but also by the larger puzzles that manifest throughout the lifetime of the horses. Often faced by horses whose pasts are unknown to them, the participants make use of their imaginations to create narratives which seek to explain the current

behaviour of these horses. To account for their own choice of caring habits, they imagine alternative lives where the horses may be suffering or neglected. Finally, they construct futures which must be prepared for and protected against and which are full of potential danger for the horses unless suitable care is taken in the present. Such stories appear to sustain the participants as caregivers as they imagine a time when the horses may no longer be with them, but rather at the mercy of a world which places a different value on their lives and care. These constructions of mysterious pasts, alternative lives and possible futures are embedded in the wider context of the participants' perceptions of the horse's vulnerable place in society. Their caring practices seek to protect these horses going forward, keep them close so that they can prevent harm coming to them and, by explaining their current behaviour with reference to a sometimes unknown and unknowable past, they create a space where the horse is not responsible but, like the work teams of Lawrence and Maitlis, experience struggles which are part of a wider story, "distinct from and outside of individuals" (2012, p.649).

7.2 Mysterious pasts

The first narrative practice outlined by Lawrence and Maitlis is how work teams construct their past as "a history of sparkling moments" (2012, p.651). These are most notably stories told of success and positive experiences which bind the team together and increase their self-belief as a successful unit. "Sparkling moments need not be triumphs per se but might also include taken-for-granted accomplishments, as well as small moments of redemption in which the team dealt positively with adversity" (2012, p.648). While this does occur on occasion in the narratives of the human-animal workers in this research, it is the construction of histories that are unknown and unknowable that are abundant. Because the horses are non-verbal and can't say what happened to them before their current living situation, the participants construct these mysterious pasts as a way of explaining the horses' current behaviour. Unlike Lawrence and Maitlis, in such narratives the emphasis is placed not on the positive, but rather on the negative experiences of the horses. This allows them to place the blame not on the individual horse, but rather on their experiences at the hands of an unknown other. This resonates with the second narrative practice theorised by Lawrence and Maitlis, where the work teams contextualise their struggles as way of not attaching blame to a particular team member. This assists them in understanding their difficulties as separate and outside of themselves and to reflect on the wider social and cultural contexts within which the

problem arose: "Naming struggles in ways that separate them from a team's identity allows team members to work together in opposition to those struggles, which may involve addressing their own capacity or skills but does not focus on "fixing" the "broken" team" (2012, p.650). When the participants reference an unknowable incident from a possible past as a way of explaining current behaviour, they appear to be reacting to the wider context of how horses, and indeed other non-human animals, are seen and treated in society. The 'blame' is therefore left at the door of other humans, and the world at large, rather than the horse themselves. In this way, the human-animal workers enact care by adjusting their training and behaviour to best help the horse overcome their imagined history. Birke, Hockenhull and Creighton (2010) discovered a similar impulse in their study of horse owners who construct narratives of redemption following the successful rescue of a horse from a perceived neglectful or uncaring situation.

In the case of equine-related work, sometimes the horses' pasts are known to the participants. In their narratives, they make use of their knowledge of the breeding of the horse, who is the sire and dam, to account for the behaviour of the horse before them. If they have known the horse from birth, they are able to 'stand over' their care and explain a particular horse's behaviour as due to never having something bad happen, the fact that they have become used to a certain level of treatment or management, or simply to their temperament from birth. In cases where the past and specific incidents are known to the participant, they are enabled to respond appropriately, speaking directly to that experience. In the following example, Veronica uses her knowledge of the horse's past to critically work out the problem, that is a lack of training 'on the flat':

> VERONICA: The- The piebald cob I got the other day, like the first week that she was ridden, ehm, she did nothing but buck and bronc. Ehm, you could walk, when you asked her to trot, she'd buck. Ehm, if you asked her to trot faster, she'd buck and then she'd bronc, you know. So, I was kind of like "Right, okay". So, I needed to figure out why this was happening. So, obviously- the information that I was given about this mare by her owner wasn't completely 100 percent true. So now I needed to go back and find out for myself. Now, she was lunged and everything. I knew she was okay to get up on, but just to the level after that she just- I suppose he didn't tell me everything about it. So, she had done very, very little work so I knew that this was- it wasn't a thing of badness. She wasn't trying

> to hurt me. What it really was, was, ehm, she wasn't comfortable with my leg being on her side. Because she had been driven before under a cart, this was new. Everything else was kind of the same. You know, they have reins and stuff on a cart and she had a thing on her back. But the leg was new. So, this was where her uncomfortableness was coming from was my leg. So, then I had to go back a step with her and I had to do different things to get her used to, ehm, a leg on her side. And so, I trained her from the ground. So, she had her tack and she had her reins and she was asked to move on and I had a, you know the top of say a whip, a stick? … So, I would be giving leg aids using that. Now, very, very gently. So, she got used to, like, the little tap and the little prodding on her side, things like that... So, we did two days of this and then I rode her and there was absolutely no problems then after that.
>
> VERONICA, TRAINER

While Veronica notes that the previous owner might not have been fully upfront with what the mare had done before, Veronica was able to make use of what she did know, that the reins and saddle were not the problem because the mare would have been used to similar tack while driving under a cart. The only thing that was different was that, being ridden, she did not understand the leg aids. Veronica interpreted a response of confusion from the horse when Veronica put her legs on her. It became "quite obvious" to Veronica as she could feel the perceived uncertainty and unhappiness of the horse beneath her, what she describes as "her back was coming up underneath me". Using what she did know about the horse's past, Veronica could adjust her training techniques. Her caring imagination was informed by knowledge from the past, but was then able to construct various possibilities that might account for the mare's bodily response to being ridden.

The past of a horse can be unknown to a human-animal worker for a number of reasons. Just as knowing the breeding of the horse can inform their behaviour, not knowing the breeding can lead to a lack of knowledge regarding the type of horse that might result, temperament and aptitude-wise. Sometimes the behaviour itself offers cues. In the following extract from Tina's narrative, she discusses what "probably" happened to give a particular horse a fear of going backwards:

> TINA: So, what had happened is, somewhere along the line with him, because they were pushing him to go backwards faster, he had never gotten a release of pressure. Maybe he didn't like backing in the first place or maybe he was injured at the time, who knows. Nobody knows. But, ehm, they'd probably been asking him to back and then when he wouldn't do it, they would ask him faster or maybe he wasn't fast enough and they'd asked for more.
>
> TINA, COACH / TRAINER

Tina appears to accept the fact that she will never know exactly what occurred and neither will anyone else. However, by feeling his resistance to taking the step backwards, her imagination is given reason to suggest possibilities. While the specifics of what happened don't matter, to a certain extent, the key problem appears to Tina that the rein wasn't released on time to reward him. She imagines this as well as she can, based on the behaviour that he presented to her. She then works to re-train this, to overwrite his assumed history, and assist him in making the movements required.

In some cases, the history will be a mystery not because there is no information available, but because information has either been deliberately withheld by a previous owner or trainer, or is completely false:

> VERONICA: … Like I had- to be honest with you, I had, ehm, I had a Thoroughbred mare I had bought. She was very, very cheap. A really, really lovely looking mare. And I went down and I seen her and she was nice. They just lunged her around the arena and this is- this is the first one I ever bought. Ehm, I paid very small money for her. I brought her home. He said she was broken and riding, all the rest of it. I jumped up on her. I think I was about 14. So, I jumped up on her in my naivety thinking that she was broken and riding, which she wasn't. She just reared and reared and then she went over. So, I kept her for about two years. And at this stage now she was a five-year-old. Ehm, kept doing different things to kind of try and train her to ride. Every sort of thing you could think of, I tried. I did it with her for two years. In the end, I brought her out one day and she was riding lovely for a week. Brought her out one day and she did the same thing again. Just reared twice and then she'd flip over. This was her thing. She'd give you twice and then she'd go over on you. Ehm, and

> not being pulled over. She'd literally try and hurt you, you know what I mean? Ehm, so we had back checked, teeth checked, we had everything checked and there was nothing visibly wrong, X-rays done, nothing wrong that we could see…They told me she was broken but nobody rode her, you know. They lunged her when I was there. They didn't ride her. So, the chances are she had been sat on and probably never trained in the proper way in the proper steps to get her to the point where she was accepting of somebody on her back.
>
> VERONICA, TRAINER

Veronica finds herself presented with a puzzle and she goes through a full checklist to figure out what might be wrong with the horse. Physical issues are looked at first, in case pain explains it. In the absence of such issues, Veronica surmises that she was not told the truth about the mare's past, that she was never ridden after all. This is clearly a dangerous omission from the horse's history and appears to confirm a point made by both Fred and Jane, that humans can, and do, lie. The presence of the verbal in such circumstances hinders, rather than helps, the participants do their work. At such times, it is from the body of the horse that the human-animal worker is enabled to construct a truth to account for the horse's past. Poor handling and care are presented as practices that cause horses to become fearful and difficult to work with and, because the narratives of humans can be unreliable, Veronica explains that it can be better if a horse has no past, rather than having a bad past:

> VERONICA: They have a bad experience or they're treated badly. They don't really forget. So, if you have a horse that comes in with some sort of, say, baggage I suppose as the way it was previously treated, it's- it's much harder to deal with that horse than it is going in with a three- year-old from a field that has never been touched. Coz that horse is just wild but, you know, you'll come around it. It will- it will come around to your ways or whatever and the way you treat it and stuff. But if you have a horse that has either been started by somebody, had a bad experience, it could have an injury that you're not told about. I mean the problem, I find, is not the horse or its problems. The problem is that you're not told the truth by people that you're buying from.
>
> VERONICA, TRAINER

Following Lawrence and Maitlis (2012), Veronica appears eager not to blame the horse for their behaviour, but rather presents any possible conflict as outside the horse's own responsibility. Veronica seems knowledgeable about the level of poor treatment that horses can receive at the hands of humans. I get the impression from this passage that she has seen a lot of it. The pervasiveness of such treatment suggests the role of the horse in society is one of servitude, vulnerability and marginalisation, despite the efforts of many who strive to improve their lot. 'Bad' care is constructed as making a horse harder to care for. In such circumstances, Veronica appears to believe that it is better that a horse presents as a clean slate, having no history with humans at all.

Where their treatment has been below par, this does not mean that the horses cannot be helped. Rebecca shares how she believes it can be easier not to share a history with a horse she is training. She works around their past by not being part of it:

> REBECCA: It depends on their history to be honest… How old are they or what experience they've had. Some of them are very slow to come out of that. Especially if their owner is there, or standing beside me or their owner is doing it because they have a long association of punishment with that owner.
>
> LUCY: Okay, so that's interesting. So, I was asking about you and about how you develop the relationship but actually sometimes it is beneficial that you don't have that history with the horse, is it?
>
> REBECCA: Yes, hugely beneficial.
>
> LUCY: Okay
>
> REBECCA: A neat trick that I do, for example. If you look at the horse world, 90 percent of people do everything on the left side from the ground. So, if I have a horse that's really bothered or really has problems, I start from the right side. Because a lot of them have no history of a person standing there and doing things to them there.
>
> REBECCA, TRAINER / COACH

Rebecca seeks to overcome a horse's past by physically moving around their body in a different way. This suggests a belief that horses retain memories in different parts of their bodies and make associations based on where humans locate themselves. Rebecca appears to echo Veronica's assertion that a blank slate is better to work with. In her example, Rebecca suggests that the right side of a horse can act as such a blank slate, without a human-related history. It is this right side that can be worked with and trained as if from scratch and without negative associations. In this way, the embodied fear that Rebecca imagines to be held by the horse on the left side is acknowledged and cared for.

In their study of the narratives of horse owners, Birke et al. (2010) noted a similar impulse to explain poor behaviour with reference to negative past experiences: "What these accounts indicate is owners' willingness to associate good behaviour with present conditions, while bad behaviour is attributed to specific conditions of husbandry or past history" (p.341-342). They discuss how this contrasts with studies of dog owners who are seen to attribute good behaviour to good temperament and bad to the external environment. The narratives of the participants in this research, however, offer an extra dimension in that they are oftentimes not the owners of the horses themselves and the "specific conditions" of a horse's past may be entirely unknown to them. Despite this, their work requires that they solve a problem even when they might not know its origins. In order to do their work, they appear to utilise their imaginations to make the leap into the unknown, to surmise what may have occurred using the body of the horse as sometimes their only clue. They further differ in that, more akin to the dog owners, they may locate the origins of a horse's behaviour internally, that is in their temperament, either good or bad. However, they still withhold blame from the horse, in that good care can help a horse overcome its own nature:

> SHEILA: Ehm I've seen different animals where they have displayed very hostile or aggressive behaviour, eh, but maybe to one person they mightn't.
>
> LUCY: Okay
>
> SHEILA: There might be one person that has maybe spent a little bit of time with them or that they trust and they appear to be a different animal [to

LUCY: Okay]

SHEILA: that person. And, without knowing the animal's full history, you'd say well maybe his natural temperament is to lash out but when kindness is shown to him there is another side to him.

SHEILA, YARD MANAGER / COACH / TRAINER

While the horse may have a difficult temperament to start with, Sheila appears unwilling to write off the horse. She continues to give the horse the benefit of the doubt despite, or maybe because of, not knowing the history of the horse. In the absence of such history, she chooses to imagine "another side" which is brought out through gentle treatment and good care. This suggests her belief that the responsibility lies with the human to bring out the best in the horse, despite any natural inclinations to the contrary. It appears that unknown pasts are therefore used by the human-animal workers to both explain the current behaviour of the horse and to contextualise this same behaviour with reference to the poor treatment they receive at the hands of humans in society more widely. This resonates with the second caring narrative practice of Lawrence and Maitlis, where struggles are "rooted in broader cultural and social patterns" (2012, p.650). The horse and human are then constructed as working work together to overcome such struggles, rather than attaching blame to one party in the relationship. The history narratives of the participants differ to those of Lawrence and Maitlis in that, rather than constructing histories of sparkling moments, they appear to construct negative histories of imagined mistreatment and poor care. They piece together the unknown pasts using the bodily behaviour of the horse, as well as an awareness of their role and place in society. They then use their own bodies to 'undo' these pasts and to engage in caring practices that they believe will enhance the life and welfare of the horse going forward. Their caring imaginations therefore construct them as caregivers who are able to locate the current struggles of the horse in their past and, even when they cannot figure out exactly what happened, they extrapolate and land on a likely scenario. Following Hamington (2004), as well as the caring imagination informing an empathy that bridges the distance between them and an unknown other, critical use of the caring imagination constructs the human-animal workers as able to transcend time in order to give care.

7.3 Alternative lives

The second narrative practice undertaken by the human-animal workers is the construction of alternative lives for the horses in their care. They appear to use their caring imaginations to reflect on what the horses might be experiencing if they weren't under the care of the participants. These imaginings are a further way of explaining decisions regarding caring habits undertaken by the participants. They again reflect a context in which horses are vulnerable to abuse and mishandling, thereby separating out their experiences from the personal responsibility of the horse. Such imaginings construct the participants as 'fighting' these alternatives by retaining oversight of the horses and caring for them well.

A number of the participants speak of how their horses would be suffering or "misunderstood" (Diane) if they were living somewhere else or being cared for by another. In order to prevent such outcomes, they act to keep the horses with them and within their sphere of care as far as possible, even to the extent that it is detrimental to their profit margins:

> ELAINE: …like we at the moment we have five or six horses who are sitting in a field doing nothing who all have their own problems and, if it was anybody else, they'd sell them on because they're costing us a <u>for</u>tune to keep that we can't afford but I know if I sold them on they'd end up in the wrong hands and they'd suffer.
>
> ELAINE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER / BREEDER / TRAINER

Here Elaine speaks not only of the alternative suffering that the horses would endure, but also the alternative habits in which others would engage, i.e. selling the horses on. Unlike them, she is not willing to risk this alternative for her 'useless' horses. Similarly, Fred refers to his mare who would "be totally unmanageable if she was in a traditional stable system" because of her temperament. He imagines that others might attempt "to beat it out of her". In this way, he appears to be affirming his own choice of caring practices with regard to this particular horse. Imagining how others might treat her enables him to remember why he does what he does when caring for this horse.

During our interview together, Diane and I begin to exercise our own imaginations as we consider how the horses might feel about the various possibilities that await them:

> DIANE: and like one of the women said "It's great that they don't have to fear being moved from one place to the next". And I had never thought about that before. You know horses that are sold? Like I suppose that they're there to do a job and then they're sold on and- it must take emotional- it must take- (.) it must affect horses' emotions. Or they just close them off like.
>
> LUCY: I think that. Coz every time we bring them on a horse box, they get on trusting. They don't know <u>wher</u>e we're going to bring them=
>
> DIANE: =Yeah, yeah, yeah
>
> LUCY: We could just be bringing them up to the fields across the way.
>
> DIANE: Yeah
>
> LUCY: Or we could be bringing them anywhere.
>
> DIANE: Yeah, yeah, yeah there's a lot of trust in that, isn't there?
>
> LUCY: Isn't there? And the- or even taking them to the sales, you know you don't-
>
> DIANE: Yeah
>
> LUCY: They don't know who's going to- they go from one person and the home they've always known… and then someone else takes them home.
>
> DIANE: And they could be really lucky, or they could be really unlucky.
>
> DIANE, COACH / TRAINER

That the horses have no control over their own options appears to concern me greatly. It is the imaginings of another woman that cause Diane to reflect upon something that she

had never considered before. In turn, she effects my imagination to the point where I begin to imagine all the possible alternatives. Diane appears to be particularly concerned about the horses' emotions, the abuse of their trust that could result in their ending up in a terrible place. And that luck is sometimes part of it. This sense of uncertainty pervades many of the participants' narratives as they speak of what could happen to the horses. They make efforts to counter this uncertainty by acting to maintain some sort of influence over the horses' lives. In a context where there is a myriad of negative alternatives for horses, the participants speak of adjusting their caring practices so as to avoid such a loss of control. In the following passage, Elaine reflects on the balancing act she must do to protect the horse as far as possible, without losing oversight:

> ELAINE: But we're in the- the difficult position of the horse is under our care because they're a livery, if we speak out too much and say too many hard truths, they up the mare and leave. While she's here I can at least ensure that she's getting some level of care.
>
> LUCY: That's- So that's interesting. So, if- here we are talking about by not speaking up, you're speaking for [I suppose.
>
> ELAINE: Yeah] and it's- it's such a- it's such a hard balance because you're looking at everything going wrong going you need to say a certain amount but it's where's that line?
>
> ELAINE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER / BREEDER / TRAINER

Elaine appears to feel significant responsibility towards this horse. It is a responsibility that she wishes to maintain as she feels that the alternative, where the horse might leave her care, would have a negative outcome for the horse. In this case, advocating for the horse means staying silent, not using words which may enflame the situation. She uses her discretion to prevent an imagined scenario that she is not willing to risk. While Kate similarly desires to maintain influence of the horses in her care, she raises the spectre of euthanasia as a better alternative than living without care:

> KATE: Yeah, you have to find something else. Now, we do not favour passing it from Billy to Jack. I would never, ehm, say "Okay, this horse is not happy here.

Maybe I can find somebody for it" and then give it out on loan. We would generally, ehm, if we can't maybe put them in foal, we'd euthanise them.

LUCY: Oh really?

KATE: Yes

LUCY: Okay

KATE: I don't believe in this passing the horse around, ehm, because you don't have control over it and ultimately it may end up not being looked after and that's- that- you know, that to us is of paramount importance for the horse.

KATE, YARD & LIVERY MANAGER

This theme of euthanasia if the alternative is suffering arises across the participants' narratives, with many believing it to be the more humane option, that there are "worse things than being put down" (Monica). There appears to be agreement amongst them that euthanasia can sometimes be necessary for the horses in their care. Unlike the practice of care between humans therefore, caring for animals involves decisions regarding suffering and death, when euthanasia becomes the least worst option open to the human-animal workers. This option is considered, not only when an animal is suffering from illness or injury, but also when the alternative is a perceived impoverished, compromised life. It is an issue with which the participants appear familiar and experienced, yet they continue to be troubled by such a decision, highlighting as it does the unnecessary suffering and neglect that occurs wherever there are animals.

OLIVIA: …is it not better to see the ones that have less quality of life, euthanise them in order to get more in that have a better chance- ehm, a better chance of having a longer life, I guess. And a happier life. And rehabilitating those instead. Instead of letting them be the ones that are unable to be saved and immediately euthanised by whoever catches them at the end of the line because there's no space in a rescue…I don't know. It's a really hard question.

OLIVIA, TRAINER / COACH

Olivia appears to be wrestling with the ethics of caring in this way, troubled by a less than perfect world against which the animal caregiver cannot always fight. Caring can place an emotional toll on the human-animal workers, adding stress to a life already burdened with the not insignificant physical requirements of working with horses. Again, this places in context the struggles and the role of the horse in society. This is a theme that continues to run through the different imaginative caring narrative practices. In order to avoid such suffering where euthanasia becomes a viable option, the participants speak of their attempts to guarantee, as far as possible, the safe future of the horses in their care.

7.4 Possible futures

In their 2012 article, Lawrence and Maitlis discuss future-focused narratives which "involve constructing hopeful, supportive, empowering, future-orientated stories that are also filled with uncertainty and excitement about the potential paths people may follow" (2012, p.650):

> "For a work team, constructing a future-orientated story that enacts an ethic of care would involve constructing polyphonic future-orientated stories of the members' collective growth. These narratives would incorporate abstract goals motivating the team but leaving room for exploration and unintended pathways. Key to this narrative practice is the recognition that future-orientated stories are always works in progress, revisited as the future unfolds. Constructing polyphonic narratives facilitates that revision process because the narratives begin with the expectation of uncertainty and emergence" (2012, p.650-651).

This narrative practice is echoed across the participants' transcripts. Once more reflecting on the place in society held by horses, and animals more widely, the participants speak of initiating caring practices in the present that they believe will have the effect of protecting the horses going forward into an uncertain future. While work teams can adjust and revise as they move forward together, horses and human may be separated in the future, through selling on or returning to whence they came, so the participants might lose control over what happens. They therefore speak of the need to engage in caring habits that will best enhance the possibility of the horses' stories having

happy and successful endings, rather than ones of suffering and stress. Their imaginings of what the horse might achieve in the future also appears to act as a way to sustain the participants as caregivers in their current contexts. While, as Elaine reminds me, "you can't assure anything with horses", this responsibility nevertheless appears to weigh on the participants as they seek to mitigate against the life that is worse than death:

> IAN: Because, as we all know, horses are luxury goods. So, eh, there is no point of breeding them and- or trying to sell them on to make you feel better about yourself and not dealing with the problem, but them ending up on the side of the road or being found with barely anything to eat or anything like that or just their basics not being met.
>
> IAN, BREEDER / SALES PREP. / LIVERY MANAGER

In such situations, Ian suggests, it is better not to bring these horses into the world if you cannot at least attempt to ensure that they are protected against the vagaries of life with humans. He goes on to speak of the importance of training the horses so that they "fit in a system of being safe" so as protect them going forward in life. Showing care and preventing the need for the horse to be euthanised appears to be also constructed as showing care for the humans with whom the horses interact. The safer the humans that surround the horse, the safer the horse is. The participants must therefore prepare the horses for many different possible living situations, as well as the many different types of people that they may meet.

That is not to say that some of the participants do not express a form of "transcendent hope" (Lawrence and Maitlis, 2012, p.652) in their narratives. Both Barry and Sheila imagine nice futures for the horses in their care. Barry highlights the importance of the horse being considered of high value to protect them going forward. However, he also expresses his belief that "even the slowest should have a good life", appearing to place intrinsic value on the horses themselves, rather than just their ability to perform. He expresses his desire to see them living fruitful lives where he believes they will be treated well and cherished:

> BARRY: Because I mean if you have a filly that goes on, you know, to be (.) above average racing, you know that if she's sold on or whatever that she's going to live

out a good life as a brood mare if she starts producing good foals and she'll have a great life and the same if there's a colt that slips through that may have been sold by the boss, eh, and he achieves ( ), then he can live out a great life as a stallion for somebody else. They could be on the other side of the world but you'd know that they'll have a great life.

LUCY: And you think they deserve that?

BARRY: And they deserve it, [yeah, yeah.

LUCY: Right], for everything they've done?

BARRY: Yeah. I mean I feel that even with the slowest they should have a good life. And there's, there's a big push in ((names a country)) and to a certain extent here and in ((names another country)) but not as much, that they're now- they're having secondary careers for racehorses and there's a huge- in ((names country)), of show- showing classes for horses and show jumping obviously and it's a huge, huge market and a lot of ex-racehorses are ending up doing that.

LUCY: Hmm

BARRY: And they're probably having wonderful lives because they're being treated the best and travelling the best, and travelling in style and all the rest of it.

BARRY, BREEDER

Sheila expresses a similar wish in that she imagines the best possible future scenario for a horse that has worked in a riding school:

SHEILA: They don't like change in routines. Ehm, I do feel that it has to be a bit of a burden on them at some stage. I wouldn't like to see an animal in a riding school all its life.

LUCY: Okay

> SHEILA: That said, if he was in a riding school for fifteen years and you took him out of it, that could be detrimental to him at that stage as well because you're taking away everything he's ever known.
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> SHEILA: Ehm, so ideally, I'd like to see them in a riding school for a few years and hopefully there's a rider within that riding school then that has fallen in love with that [animal
>
> LUCY: Hmm]
>
> SHEILA: and would like to give them a forever home.
>
> SHEILA, YARD MANAGER / COACH / TRAINER

She appears to attach significant importance to the one-on-one relationship between horse and a potential owner, rather than the horse just being one of many in an organisational environment. Before they become institutionalised, the option that she would choose for the horses is one where someone comes to love a particular horse and takes them away from the burden of their working lives. This is the future she hopes for, although there appears to be a touch of sadness in the idea of an institutionalised horse who has gone too far and could never adjust to life outside. The "transcendent hope" in these narratives appears to be tempered with a more fearful, cautious preparation and awareness.

In their narratives, the human-animal workers are constructed as engaging in caring practices out of fear for the future of the horses and to prevent negative outcomes. There appears to be a general agreement that if the horse is able to do a job well, is able to perform a purpose, then they are more likely to be looked after. Adequately preparing them for this job, then, is constructed as a very important part of the role of equine caregiver. As Elaine noted: "The foal has to have a job before they're born". The participants speak of trying to find what the horse is good at, what they enjoy, finding a place for them in the world so that they will be safe and looked after. According to

Elaine, a horse that is worth a lot of money, or at least one that others will pay a significant amount of money for, is more likely to be looked after than a horse that someone has paid little money for. While acknowledging that she has no control once they have gone out of her care, she speaks of the importance of developing a horse to become of high monetary value to a potential future owner. A consequence of this is that she is more likely to keep the "useless" horses in the field that we met earlier in this chapter as she would fear more for them going forward. Other participants appear to have similar concerns regarding increasing the value of the horse as much as possible. Jane seeks to do this by making them an excellent riding partner so that they give many years of joy to their owner. In return, she hopes that the bond formed between horse and owner during this time will keep the horse safe when they become of less instrumental value:

> JANE: I think if you have a horse that is like trying, they'll find- you know, someone will be like "Ah that's a great horse like" and like ah then Mary will buy it and she'll be like "Oh this is a great pony. I'll do a bit of riding club, we do this with it and I do that with it and I'll never sell it." And you're like "Job done". You know like you just have to try because most horse people don't want problems, d'ya know? They don't want problems. Ehm and their solution to problems is often like- it's strong-arm or else shoot it, d'ya know? Or leave it in a field. Ehm, you know, that's- that's their solution and leave it in the field is the best option- well, yeah, you'd wonder sometimes. Ehm, but when people get what they call "Oh that's a really good horse" and you know "Ahh"- they- they're going to want to keep that and they're gonna want to mind that horse [you know.
>
> LUCY: Hmm]
>
> JANE: And then it's like it's easier you know? But then they make a bit of allowances for it and "Oh he doesn't jump anymore, so we just do dressage".
>
> LUCY: Hmm

> JANE: Like life gets easier. But like when you have a horse that's going out and flipping over every day. It's like a) do it and if they can't beat it out of you, they'll shoot you.
>
> JANE, TRAINER / COACH

Jane appears to be echoing Noddings' assertion that "contractual reciprocity may give way to genuine reciprocity" (2013, p.158) once a relationship is established. Veronica similarly attempts to prepare her horses as best she can for a good life by making sure they are completely ready before leaving her yard. She also specifies to any new owner what the horse can and cannot do, in order to protect both and maintain caring relations. Like Elaine, if she feels she can't guarantee a safe future, Veronica won't let a horse out of her care at all:

> VERONICA: Ehm, but then you see, once they leave my yard I suppose, I really kind of don't have control over what she's going to do with her next owner. But, ehm, I would make sure that she is happy and confident leaving this yard. Like I know when she leaves this yard, they won't have any problems with her. Ehm, that she's happy in herself, because I find, if you have a horse that's quite insecure, they can be quite dangerous… And normally, see, I'll have maybe five horses in that need work, need preparing in different areas. If one of those horses is not moving on the way it should, if it's not performing one way, or it's doing something that's dangerous, that horse won't leave my yard. It won't leave my yard. Now, if it's a mare and it has good breeding or something like that, ehm, or if the owner maybe, you know you could look at maybe, ehm, selling her as maybe a broodmare. Ehm, but it would always- anyone that comes to look at that horse would be told that this horse, under no circumstances, to be used for riding. If you decide to ride her, it's your own preference. I'm letting you know now she's dangerous, not to be ridden, you know what I mean? Something maybe like that or you kind of have to- you have to shift and you have to kind of move but, in my yard, I would never go against the horse. So, if the horse is deemed insecure in any sort of way, that horse won't leave my yard as a riding horse. Now, if- if it was a case that she was dangerous when she was being led or, you know, something like that, then she just won't leave my yard at all.
>
> VERONICA, TRAINER

As well as imagining possible futures, the participants are constructed as working hard to try to make the good ones a reality. While they might have higher expectations of those horses with better breeding, Barry explains how they can never really predict their future success so they must treat them all like champions, just in case:

> BARRY: No matter what level breeding they are. Whether they're, whether they are a little crooked legged or if they are small, they are still treated the same. That's the way our boss likes it.
>
> LUCY: Right, okay. And that's, how do you, do you feel, do you agree that that's-
>
> BARRY: Oh, I agree entirely because even the one that doesn't look the flashy one and maybe not as well-bred as his two neighbours, he could still turn out to be a champion.
>
> LUCY: Right=
>
> BARRY: =We have no way of knowing.
>
> BARRY, BREEDER

Furthermore, Barry imagines that the horses have their own sense of potential and achievement:

> BARRY: You know, ehm, obviously we want to achieve to be seen to be doing it well and doing it right but we want the horses, personally I want the horses to achieve.
>
> LUCY: Right, and you feel- I mean obviously the horse- do you think the horse knows, has some sort of sense of achievement? Or do you think it's a way of-?
>
> BARRY: I do, I do
>
> LUCY: Oh, do you?

BARRY: Yeah, I do because there's things about the good horses (.) You know a lot of the good horses have a kind of a strutting way, that you know-

LUCY: Oh right

BARRY: you know and if you see them, if you see them in the paddock, getting back to our bunches of eight, when you see that eight, you'll see one or two in there that want to be the boss and want to get to the front. Now I'm not saying they're the fastest or they're going to be - or sometimes the good horse might be the one that's following along, not killing himself.

LUCY: Hmmm=

BARRY: =I've noticed that as well. He'd be going around with his ears pricked and he's watching everything and there might be three of them in front of him but, or she, and she just doddling along behind and you can see them looking around and enjoying it.

LUCY: Right

BARRY: Or you'll see the one in front that's so determined that that could be the next champion.

BARRY, BREEDER

Fred disagrees that horses have a sense of their future potential, but rather that "we put that on them":

LUCY: And so, the value of- talking about the comm- the value of the horse- if it's not in the right place, where it should be. It's losing value or it isn't reaching its potential that it should be?

FRED: I don't think ((coughs)) excuse me, I don't think horses know what their job is. I don't think horses care if they're bred for a Grand Prix and they're happy

hacking around the roads, I don't think it matters when they reach their potential or don't reach their potential.

FRED, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

This would suggest that bringing out the horse's potential is not important to the horse, per se, as they don't hold such a concept. However, as other participants have pointed out, the better the horse can perform, the better care they believe the horse is likely to receive. In this way, good caregivers are constructed as those who are aware of the social place of horses in the outside world, the 'reality' that horses have to "fit into a system" (Ian) in order to secure their future. In response, the cared-for horses are constructed as needing to adapt to this reality. They cannot rely on just good will in a world where many believe they have no value outside their usefulness and ability to perform.

While a sense of potential may be a human construct, Tina does believe, despite what she has always been taught, that horses can look into the future themselves to a certain extent. Here she speaks of possible reasons why racehorse won't either go into, or come out of, the starting gate and the possible thought processes behind such behaviour:

TINA: Because they know once they come out the gate, they're going to be running as fast as they can and they're still going to get a lashing so they go "Fine. I just won't go at all". So, you get some of those. That's usually your smarter ones.

LUCY: Okay

TINA: Ehm, or the ones that refuse to load in the gate entirely. They go "No, if I don't go in there, I don't have to run and it's just better if I don't go in there" ((laughs)).

LUCY: Yeah

TINA: And they just won't go in. They might go in the horsebox; they might do everything for you but they're not going to go in the gate. Again, those are usually your smarter ones that have got it figured out and figured "If I don't do

this, this isn't going to happen". And they're actually looking into the future, which horses don't do like us. We look into the future a lot. Horses don't look into the future very much.

LUCY: Right=

TINA: =But I was always taught that they don't look into the future at all but they actually do to some extent.

LUCY: Yeah

TINA: Particularly your smarter ones. Do you- Like that horse goes "Okay, if I go in this gate, I'm going to have to run. When I run, your man's going to start lashing me. Ah, therefore I will not go in the gate, because I don't want this to happen." So, they're a step ahead of the game.

TINA, COACH / TRAINER

In this passage, Tina gives voice to the thoughts of the horse as they predict what is going to happen if they perform a particular act. She imagines their ability to make calculations and behave according to what they perceive to be the best possible outcome. By voicing a horse looking into the future, Tina constructs the behaviour of resistance as one that is not simply reflecting the current moment, but rather anticipating a potential moment that needs to be protected against. In this way, the "polyphonic" (2012, p.650) future-focussed stories of Lawrence and Maitlis, becomes one where the many voices heard include the constructed voice of the horse. Rather than offering "an orientation that energizes a team about its future in a way that allows for diverse ways of working together" (Lawrence and Maitlis, 2012, p.651), such stories as told by the participants provide them with explanations as to what might happen so as to avoid negative outcomes. While the horse is unable to contribute to such stories, their perspective is constructed by the participants as they seek to figure out what they believe to be the best way to enhance the horse's wellbeing in the future. This suggests that they enact care by imagining various possible outcomes so as to prepare and protect against the least favourable. This is done on behalf of the horses who have no control over their own futures. In these stories, the human-animal workers must play the role of caregiver in

the present and cared-for in the future as their imaginations attempt to inform them of the best way forward. The stories also appear to sustain them as caregivers and to support and justify the decisions that they are making in the present.

7.5 "What if they could talk?"

During the data collection phase of this research, I had a version of this particular question on my sample question list (see Appendix C) and it proved to be a nice talking point, particularly at the end of the interview. The question was not always asked or sometimes it was answered spontaneously by the participant without prompting. When such a conversation did arise, it provided an opportunity for the participants, and indeed myself, to let loose our imaginations and create alternative worlds where horses could speak and understand speech in our terms. Naturally, such a dynamic would fundamentally change the nature of human-animal work. It is probably not surprising therefore that not everyone responds that they would like such a possibility to come true. Where they answer that they would like if the horses could speak, this was generally on the basis of improving welfare outcomes and the opportunity for dialogue with the different characters that had been constructed in their narratives. Where they elect to stick to the status quo, a world where horses cannot talk, they imagine hearing negative things or are rejecting what they believe to be the dishonestly verbal world of humans. Overall, the ability to speak on the part of the horse does not appear to be a requirement for the participants. A competent caregiver is constructed by the participants as skilled at embodied interaction, at reading the horses and 'listening' with their eyes and ears. As a result, the response "but they do speak" is not uncommon across their narratives.

Both Nicola and Rebecca respond that they would like if the horses could speak and that it would make their jobs a lot easier. Both are concerned with the possibility of pain on the part of the horse:

> LUCY: If they could speak, would it be easier? Coz you spend a lot of time going "Why are they doing this?" and do you think if they could just speak?
>
> NICOLA: Oh yeah, I think if they could just physically speak in our language or we could physically speak in their language.

LUCY: Hmm

NICOLA: I'd rather speak their language to be honest ((laughs)). It's far more delicate.

LUCY: Hmm

NICOLA: I think life would be easier for everybody coz they could tell you what-

LUCY: Hmm

NICOLA: They could actually say "Ow!"

LUCY: Yeah

NICOLA: You know? I'd like them to be able to say where it hurts.

LUCY: [Yeah

NICOLA: That] would be a lot easier than having to go through- My biggest fear whenever I'm working with a horse is if it's in pain…It's like I don't get angry with the horse. If someone's like "Oh my horse threw me off", it's like "You probably deserved it". You know? I always side with the horse [because

LUCY: Hmm]

NICOLA: the horse can't speak.

NICOLA, TRAINER / COACH

Here Nicola expresses fear at the prospect of working a horse that is unable to tell her that they are in pain. As a consequence of this fear, her empathy appears heightened and she constructs herself as advocate for the horse in conversations with others. Her protective urge appears to arise from their lack of ability to speak and defend themselves

against those who may not be sensitive to their body language. Rebecca has similar concerns and gives voice to a horse sharing where they hurt:

> LUCY: Right. And do you think if the horse- If horses could talk, just say they could talk, would you like that? Would it make your job easier?
>
> REBECCA: Of course it would.
>
> LUCY: Yeah, yeah
>
> REBECCA: Hugely easier.
>
> LUCY: Yeah
>
> REBECCA: Hugely. Coz you could ask them what the issue is or the problem is. Coz sometimes, you know, if we're trying- asking them to do something and not getting the ant- response we would like or anticipate, then it's a whole detective work to figure out "Am I just asking in a way they're not understanding? Do I need to change the way of asking?" …Ehm (.) you know and if they could talk and say "Well actually today I have a pain in my left hip."
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> REBECCA: ((laughing)) Whatever it is "And I really don't want to do circles on that side" or, you know, whatever it is.
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> REBECCA: Eh, that would be great.
>
> REBECCA, TRAINER / COACH

Rebecca appears very enthusiastic about the possibility of the horse having speech. She emphasizes how "hugely" easier it would make their training and interactions. Again, pain arises as a possible explanation as to why a horse is moving or behaving in a

particular way. An ability to speak would take away the "detective work" on the part of Rebecca and, while many participants celebrated the challenge inherent in working with horses, the implications for a horse in pain that cannot make themselves understood are clear in the context of working and training with them.

Monica spontaneously raised this issue during our conversation, declaring that "I think if horses could talk, I don't know if they'd all like what they do." Later in the interview, when asked the question directly, she admits that she thinks it would be "lovely" if they could talk and share what they wanted. She comically imagines that she might have a "few cheeky ones too" that might be fond of "using a bit of bad language". Kate and Tina express a similar concern that they might not like what they would hear if horses could talk, while Quentin agrees that it might be "more painful" rather than easier. He goes on to voice his imaginings of the difference it might make to the daily handling of the horses, an imaginative trip on which I join him:

> LUCY: Yeah. Do you think it would be easier if they could talk and [say-?
>
> QUENTIN: Probably] more painful I'd say. I'd say so ((laughing))
>
> LUCY: ((laughs))
>
> QUENTIN: You know, ehm, I suppose you'd love to tell them that they don't need to spook at the bag or they don't need to spook at this and different things like that [but
>
> LUCY: Yeah]
>
> QUENTIN: I suppose that's part of the challenge, it's part of the fun thing you know? But it would- I mean it would be a lot easier for injuries and different things like that
>
> LUCY: Yeah

QUENTIN: you know. Ehm, that's why having high class horsemen is probably the most important thing. You know that- ((intake of breath)) that know the horses inside out, that know that even if they're just five percent off that would be something to be looking at and different things like that. And, like, you've so many things to look at, whether it's feet, legs, eyes, hearts and everything like that… If they could talk it would probably help you a lot, you know.

LUCY: Yeah, it would. But then would we like what they have to say [sometimes?

QUENTIN: No, exactly]. And some horses are softer than others so you- they're like people. You'd have them- Some you'd have to be wrapping up in cotton wool and

LUCY: Yeah

QUENTIN: the hardy ones don't say anything and-

LUCY: ((laughs))

QUENTIN: So, it's like everything, so.

LUCY: Yeah, I suppose we talk and we don't always tell the truth [so

QUENTIN: Yeah] exactly. You [know

LUCY: Yeah]

QUENTIN: If you could get them to tell the truth the whole time, it might be easier. But-

LUCY: Or like lifting the feet "It's for your own good, you have to get the farrier". Like [you could explain

QUENTIN: Yeah exactly, ah.

LUCY: "Don't be] scared of the vet, it's only your flu shot" like. [Yeah

QUENTIN: That's it]. But then that's the same with people. How many people hate flu shots and

LUCY: Yeah [((laughs))

QUENTIN: things like that]. So, it doesn't always really work, [I suppose.

LUCY: Yeah]

QUENTIN: No, but it would be easier, but ehm- I suppose that's part of the challenge. And that's why I suppose we love it…

QUENTIN, BREEDER

This question provided an opportunity for interviewer and participant to construct together the various things we would like to be able to do if the horse could understand our words. Indeed, that seems to be my primary concern, not so much that the horse could talk, but that they could understand what I am saying and doing. I appear to be hoping that my words could provide a link between my own mind and body, a way of making my cognitive processes understood to the horse. This appears to differ with what the participants do in these interviews, that is using their words to 'voice' the horse, thereby creating a link between the horses' bodies and their constructed thoughts. Quentin concludes that it might not make a huge difference anyway as people lie, a point similarly raised by both Jane and Fred. Although it would be easier, it appears that this may not translate into necessarily better, as the challenge is part of what drives him. This idea is taken up by Helen who declares that "Ninety percent of the people that work with horses, wouldn't be working with them if they could talk". Ian agrees with her.

Sheila's expressed reason for not wishing they could talk is the sense of calm and peace that the horses can share with their bodies. She appears to appreciate this quiet and describes its almost therapeutic effect:

SHEILA: Check those kinds of things. Because, at the end of the day, it's like having a new-born baby. They can't tell you a damn thing. You have to read the body language and check, just elimination really.

LUCY: Yeah, do you think it's be ea- Obviously it would be easier, but would you like if they could talk?

SHEILA: (.) God, I haven't really thought about that.

LUCY: ((laughs))

SHEILA: Ehm, I don't think so. Ehm, one thing about horses is, ehm, they have a real calming effect…Ehm, so they're non-judgemental, I suppose. Maybe if they could talk they wouldn't be ((laughs gently))

LUCY: ((laughs))

SHEILA: But ehm, you know, they don't- if you're having a bad day, you can go into a horse generally you won't come out feeling any worse. You'll probably come out feeling a bit better.

LUCY: So, you think in the absence of verbal communication, you think that's where the calming is?

SHEILA: Yeah, I suppose, yeah…If you're even just standing in the stable with them. They're quite social animals.

LUCY: Hmm

SHEILA: So, they generally won't just stand over in the corner and ignore you. They come over to you. And then, depending on their body language, you know if they're calm and they're relaxed, they will lower their head, they could lean into you. If you stand there silent, they'll stand there- Well obviously they'll

> stand there silent. But they could stand there with you for as long as- Or they could ignore you and go over and eat as well, I suppose.
>
> SHEILA, YARD MANAGER / COACH / TRAINER

This passage acts as an example of embodied connection between human and horse and the value that Sheila appears to place on such connection. It is the lack of words, the quietness, that is constructed as facilitating this connection. Sheila wonders whether such a "calming effect" would be possible if words were involved.

This suggested superiority of non-verbal over verbal arises across a number of the participants' narratives. While Fred agrees that it would be better for the horses if they could talk, he would not prefer it as it would lead to "another set of people doing a lot of talk and not doing a lot of stuff". Jane responds similarly, highlighting the downsides of verbal communication:

> LUCY: Do you think it would be easier if they could just talk to us and just say "Itch me there" or "My left hoof is sore" or "I don't like going right"?
>
> JANE: Yeah. Yes and no. Because we can talk to each other and we lie to each other all day long. You know it's amazing, eh-
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> JANE: It's what keeps them as pure as pure can be and the same with dogs. They don't have this ego attached.
>
> JANE, TRAINER / COACH

Like Sheila, Jane appears to believe that the lack of talk offers the horses a superior status, a purity that we can't attain due to the verbal language which allows us to lie to each other. She attaches ego to language use, making it a human-only construct. Furthermore, she believes that our words prevent humans from developing their body language. Humans' other abilities become "dull" such that we can't hear when the horses do speak, but with their bodies. She tells me: "horses do talk to us. They talk to us all day long. But we don't hear them."

Diane expresses a similar belief in the purity of horse communication, in contrast with human communication. Without the conflict between what the mouth is saying and what the body is saying, communication becomes "very simple":

> DIANE: I suppose maybe the fact that it's non-verbal there's more- …it cuts out all the negotiating like, even my head is frowning at this, but you know with people there's a lot of negotiations, and there's a lot of interpreting, you know what they're saying with the body but then interpreting what they're saying and meaning and- it's just very simple with horses. If you're listening, it's very simple. They tell you what's working, they tell you what's not. They tell you what- where they're stuck or wher- what they are having a hard time with and then you're like "Okay well let's try it this way".
>
> DIANE, TRAINER / COACH

Horses are constructed as having no such conflict and are therefore perceived to be more honest and trustworthy. This would suggest that, if the actions of the body are seen by the human-animal workers as reflecting a cognitive process in the mind of the horse, then the disconnect that is perceived to exist in human communication is a function of the words that are placed on these thoughts, and not located in the body as such. The body is seen as pure, without the same ability to deceive. Without words at all, the horse is portrayed as completely unable to deceive.

All of this led me to ask myself "how can they be so sure?" The risk of 'getting it wrong' is heightened when caring for a non-verbal dependent. The risk of speaking over when speaking for is always present. However, the participants don't appear particularly concerned that they are getting it wrong. They appear confident that experience and connection has informed them sufficiently to make appropriate caring decisions. They speak of "listening" to the horses' bodies and, by listening well enough, you will 'see' what the horse is saying. While Veronica admits it would be "brilliant" if they could talk, she says that their communication, while subtle, can be interpreted accurately if you are "paying enough attention to detail". Kate similarly believes that "you really have to use your observational powers or just your intuition" to know what a horse is communicating. Both Fred and Geraldine emphasize the importance of facilitating this

communication, of allowing the horses the freedom and autonomy to express themselves without fear of reprisal. An important element of good care is thus constructed as residing in the ability of the caregiver to listen to and understand the horses. The responsibility rests with the human-animal worker to gain this competence.

Paul offers a story of an old mare of his who "spoke" to him one Christmas Day. As a "good horseman" he believes that he knows what she is saying. For the purposes of the narrative, he gives voice to her kicking of the door in the form of a request to him to feed her.

> LUCY: Okay. So, you say a lot that it's like humans so there isn't- and because they don't speak, do you think it would be easier if they did speak and they could tell us [why
>
> PAUL: ((laughs))]
>
> LUCY: they didn't like something or why [they-?
>
> PAUL: If you're a good trainer, a good horseman you can- you know what they're saying…Okay. I'm in, it's Christmas day and there's no staff. I'm on my own. I'm haying and feeding and it's kind of like, eh, I dunno, it's early enough in the day. So, I get the feeds done, I get the haying done, and then, as I'm walking out the barn, I hear a kick off a door. And I turn around and I go "I missed one". And I go down and there she is, ((names mare)) standing there, an old mare, and she was in for some reason. She wouldn't normally be in and I missed her coz she wasn't on the list and she was standing in the stable. And she waited, but when she saw me leaving, she kicked the door.
>
> LUCY: Okay
>
> PAUL: And that was a very- a very simple way of identifying that she spoke to me.
>
> LUCY: Hmm

PAUL: She said "((names himself))

LUCY: Yeah ((laughs softly))

PAUL: don't go".

LUCY: Yeah, yeah

PAUL: "You didn't feed me". And I fed her. Okay? But they kick the door every day of the week, if you know what I mean? [Like

LUCY: Yeah, yeah]

PAUL: they do it. They- they-they talk to you every day of the week and, if you understand what they're saying, then it's- it's-then- and you are receptive to it

LUCY: Hmm

PAUL: then it's not a problem.

PAUL, COACH / TRAINER / BREEDER

Kicking the door is interpreted as this mare's way of speaking to Paul and is seen as reflecting her desire to be fed. The ease with which Paul seems to interpret such communication appears to arise from his experience and sensitivity, such that her body talk is "not a problem" to decipher. A 'good' horseman, a good caregiver, further needs to be "receptive" to such knowledge and act upon it. He appears to see no need for the horse to have verbal ability as her body talk is all he needs to respond to her needs appropriately. This apparent confidence is reflected across many of the participants' narratives, even those who express a desire for horses to speak, as they respond: "but they do talk!" Their caring imaginations enable them to construct verbal responses from the bodily movements of the horses, thereby 'giving voice' to their perceived requests and desires. This suggests that they trust their imaginations to provide them with accurate knowledge and, further informed by empathy and experience, they do not need

to rely on verbal instruction. Indeed, that verbal ability is spoken of as detracting from the knowledge of the non-verbal. The solution to this is not to give the non-verbal the ability to speak, although it might be nice on occasion, but to simply become better at communicating with their own bodies. There appears to be a sense of honesty associated with bodily responses and dishonesty connected with words. The caring imagination, fed by bodily knowledge, is therefore constructed as more accurate in that it is closer to the 'truth' of what they horse is 'saying'. The silence of the non-verbal animal also provides an opportunity for the participants to get away from the verbal, to enter the world of their own bodies, which in turn facilitates the further development of their own empathetic engagement with embodied others. In their references to humans using their words to deceive, they appear to suggest that, at times, the leap between two human speaking bodies is further than the leap between a verbal human body and a non-verbal animal.

7.6 Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the critical aspects of the caring imagination that inform the decision-making of the human-animal workers, as well their reflections on the possible consequences of these decisions. I built on Noddings' (2013) concept of "contractual reciprocity" (p.157) to suggest a form of caring that interacts with, and is dependent upon, both natural and ethical caring. I suggested this form of care exists in human-animal work where natural caring often underpins a human-animal worker's choice to enter such a profession. This care is further ethical, in that it is founded on such natural caring and requires both "reflection and decision" (Hamington, 2004, p.68). The 'contractual caring' demonstrated by the participants often leads to bonds of genuine caring and affection (Noddings, 2013), thereby returning to the natural caring which underpins it. This cycle of natural, ethical and contractual care is re-made and reinforced by the daily caring practices of the participants.

Making use of their caring imaginations to critically reflect on the possible outcomes of their caring choices, the participants appear to step outside the immediate context of the direct caring interaction, thereby "transcending the moment" (Hamington, 2004, p.68) in which the interaction is taking place. I suggested that the caring imaginative processes, inherent in the care of a non-verbal other, enables the caregiver to co-exist in the moment with the cared-for, as well as across many potential moments. While both Noddings

(2013) and Tronto (1993) have referred to caring at a distance as 'caring about' rather than the more concrete "caring for" (Noddings, 2013, p.xiv) or "care-giving" (Tronto, 1993, p.107), the 'distance' permitted by the caring imagination allows the caregiver to bridge the gap between one body and another, but also between one 'reality' and a myriad of possibilities. Informed by concrete, embodied relationship, the caring imagination constructs the participants as embedding the act of direct caregiving into a wider context of caring alternatives. I therefore follow Hamington's (2004) contention that the imaginative consideration of rules, ethics and consequences does not contradict the caring impulse, but can act to deepen it. Furthermore, by taking on the perspective of the horse at different times, the participants are constructed as competent in imagining multiple outcomes while playing multiple roles, both caregiver and cared-for, simultaneously.

I also discussed how the narrative practice of constructing pasts, struggles and futures, posited by Lawrence and Maitlis (2012) as a way of enacting care, manifest among the human-animal workers in this research. I considered how their creation of histories for the horses tend to be negative, rather than "sparkling" (Lawrence and Maitlis, 2012, p.651). The participants build the unknown pasts out of clues from the horses' current behaviour, causing them to adapt their caring in response. The second narrative practice of the participants is the construction of alternatives lives, which acts to justify and explain their current caring habits. The third narrative practice is the discussion of possible futures which are often fearful and protective in tone, rather than imbued with hope as theorised by Lawrence and Maitlis. Such a practice constructs the human-animal workers as caregivers who act in order to guard against these negative futures, as well as supporting their caring choices in the present. The second narrative practice of Lawrence and Maitlis (2012), the contextualisation of current struggles, arises not as a separate practice in the participants narratives, but as one that is embedded across them all as they locate the reasons for the horses' perceived difficulties in the wider social context of vulnerability and abuse. This discussion aims to be a response to Lawrence and Maitlis' own call for research in this space, making use of their theoretical framework as "a foundation for empirical research that could investigate the practical ways in which an ethic of care is enacted in organizations" (2012, p.658). It offers a unique contribution due to the lack of verbal ability on the part of some members of the work 'teams' spoken of herein. This results in the construction of imaginative tales, rather than reflecting the

actual known details of a team member's past experiences. Without words, the horses cannot contribute to, and understand, the stories of their own future and these all remain in the world of the possible. The imaginative aspect facilitated by the existence of a silent member, therefore, appears to enable the participants in their constructions of many possibilities, none or all of which may be 'true'. I suggest that it is this very act of imagining that sustains them as caregivers.

A fourth narrative practice, that of imagining a different reality where horses could talk, was also addressed in this chapter. The question, "What if they could talk?" served as a way to engage further the imaginations of the participants in the context of our interviews. The answers appear to reveal a belief in the superiority of the body over the verbal, that those without words cannot lie. Due to the particular nature of their work, human-animal workers construct 'good' caregiving as being able to utilise the caring imagination in the absence of words shared between them and the animals with whom they work. This appears to support the suggestion of Hamington (2008) that caring engagement with animals can serve to develop the moral imagination. This thesis, however, offers a further contribution in that it caused the participants to 'give voice' to the horses, in order to construct their role as empathetic and thoughtful caregivers. As Veronica explained "Basically that's- I just put it in human form, you know, so I understand it better this way myself like." While words may deceive, they also appear to make caring possible as the participants critically reflect on their own embodied interactions with the horses and construct what it means to be competent in their jobs.

In the next chapter, I summarise my conclusions and contributions to knowledge. I also discuss the future research possibilities that arise, the limitations of this study, as well as similarities with other studies. I consider the implications of these findings for practice and the potential impact that the caring imagination could have on the wider world.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In this chapter, I outline the theoretical contributions offered in this thesis. The primary theoretical contribution has been to ethic of care theory, specifically in the area of the caring imagination as initially outlined by Hamington (2004). I have investigated the embodied experience of care and put forward the idea of imaginative 'voice-giving' as one which enables the enactment of care in the context of relationship with a non-verbal other. Existing care literature does not demonstrate how the caring imagination constructs animals as responsive cared-for others in the context of human-animal work. The thesis reveals how this process works narratively, how the horses are constructed as both acknowledging and responding to the care provided to them, thus completing the circular and "intertwined" (Tronto, 1993, p.136) caring relationship. The imaginative construction of the role of competent human caregiver in human-animal work is also shown. In this way, Hamington's (2008) proposal that caring interactions with animals enhance the development of the caring imagination appears to be upheld in the context of work with horses. Noddings (2013) concept of "contractual reciprocity" (2013, p.158) in caring was investigated. Such 'contractual care' appears validated by the empirical research collected for this study and is found to be relevant to the ethic of care in human-animal work. However, rather than assuming that all human-animal work interactions are the same, the nature of equine work in particular has been discussed in this thesis. Opportunities for further research in other areas of human-animal work are suggested towards the end this chapter.

The thesis has also contributed a response to the framework offered by Lawrence and Maitlis (2012) outlining how care is enacted narratively within work teams. It provides empirical evidence for how caring narrative practices are constructed for parties who do not have a voice. It further adds a fourth additional narrative practice to the authors' suggested framework.

The ethic of care framework developed for this thesis offers a contribution to how the literature addressing non-human animals in the categories of 'business' and 'management' in the SSCI can be viewed. The novel utilisation of the Listening Guide

method provides a methodological contribution for other researchers who may wish to make use of this approach.

In this chapter, I discuss the nature of these contributions in more depth. I further suggest a potential contribution to the area of human-animal studies. Finally, I compare this research to similar studies, consider some possible limitations of this research, suggest avenues for future research, discuss the possible implications for practice and the potential impact of well-developed caring imaginations on the wider world.

8.1 Ethic of care contributions

At the outset of this research project, my hope was to make a theoretical contribution to the ethic of care as outlined by such theorists as Gilligan (1982 &1993), Held (2006), Noddings (2013), Tronto (1993) and Slote (2007). My particular interest in horses, combined with the potentially fertile research opportunities provided by the definition of human-animal work (Hannah and Robertson, 2017), led me to base my research in the context of equine-related organisations. I came to believe that such a context provided possible responses to questions posed by the work of both Hamington (2004 & 2008) as well as Lawrence and Maitlis (2012). In this way, the caring imagination and the narrative practices of those who care for non-verbal animals became my focus. I have sought to answer how the caring imagination is constructed and how it constructs others through the use of 'voice-giving' and stories of care, represented by moments of connection, resistance, and desire. Narrative practices of imagining various unknowns further act to protect the horses, explain their behaviour and give reassurances to the caregivers that their care is appropriate and meaningful. Apart from the demonstrations of the caring imagination in practice provided for in this thesis' chapters, I also suggest a further number of contributions to ethic of care theory that have arisen out of this research.

8.1.1 Ethic of care framework

The ethic of care framework was developed as a way for scholars to investigate the relationships between humans and animals in the business and management literature, as well as to call for heightened visibility for both the animals themselves and those humans who care for them. It achieves this by offering four quadrants as lenses through which these relationships can be viewed. By providing both 'abstract' and 'concrete'

categories, animals can be seen by way of the distance with which humans relate to them and the impact of such distance. The categories of 'intrinsic' and 'instrumental' draw attention to the use of animals in organisational contexts and the effects of such value systems on the roles and lives of the animals involved. By highlighting these less seen elements within the literature, this framework acts as a contribution that brings new and alternative ways of 'doing' research that might mitigate any negative, exploitative or uncaring outcomes for those with least power.

The peer-reviewed article proposing the ethic of care framework was first available online in 2017 and then published in *Organization & Environment* in 2018. As of 15th January, 2020, this article has been cited in five peer-reviewed journal articles and one Masters' thesis. It has been utilised in discussions addressing sustainability (Heikkurinen, Clegg, Pinnington, et al., 2019) and food networks (Beacham, 2018) in the era of the Anthropocene, children's relationships with a classroom dog (Carlyle, 2019), sustainable water management (Baudoin and Arenas, 2018) and environmental accounting (Russell, Milne and Dey, 2017). The articles which cite the work variously express a desire for "research that moves beyond anthropocentrism" (Heikkurinen, Clegg, Pinnington, et al., 2019, p.5), recognising the call for scholars to take a "broader more plural focus when it comes to accounts of human relations with the non-human world" (Russell, Milne and Dey, 2017, p.1437). With regard to animals in human social spaces, the work is cited in Carlyle's (2019) suggestion that "it is important that settings ensure an ethic of care framework which encompasses and acknowledges both children's and dog's agency" (p.207). She calls attention to the voice of both child and canine and declares their "need to become more 'visible' in the spaces and places they inhabit to ensure their ongoing growth of competence, autonomy and relatedness" (p.207). If the contribution of the framework contained in the article continues to provide support to scholars as they seek to draw attention to the role of non-humans in our organisations, then it will be achieving an important aim.

As part of the updated search of the literature that I undertook in late November 2019, it was possible to 'test' the original framework and make adjustments as necessary. I found the flexibility of the framework allowed for such adjustments and I suggest that this example of 'playing' with the framework has further strengthened its contribution to the scholarship as a device that encourages creativity and new ways of looking at particular

agents as they appear both in the literature and in our organisational lives. My belief is that the framework's capacity to support further searches and additional categories, added to by other scholars, mirrors the flexibility and context-driven approach of a caring ethic and reflects our ever-changing relationships with the non-human animals and environment that surround us. Furthermore, in its focus on relationships, the framework is not confined to the subject of non-humans, but can support the investigation of issues surrounding other marginalised or silent groups as required. While recognising that the quadrants do not always provide a cut-and-dried location for each and every article published, I hope the flexibility again acts as an invitation for other scholars to tailor it to suit their own particular research needs.

8.1.2 The roles of caregiver and cared-for in human-animal work

In this thesis, I have contributed to the ethic of care literature by showing how the caring imagination narratively constructs both the humans as caregivers and the animals as responsive cared-for others in the context of human-animal work. The humans are constructed as competent and empathetic in their caregiving practices, 'engrossed' in the perceived needs and preferences of the horses. The horses themselves are constructed as both acknowledging and responding to the care provided to them, thereby completing the caring relation (Noddings, 2013). This "perceived responsiveness" (Noddings, 2013, p.159) on the part of the cared-for animal is vital, both in believing that the care is appropriate and in sustaining the caregiver in their daily work. In their narratives, the participants imagine the horses as consenting to or resisting particular interactions. Such responses from the horses act upon the human-animal workers and cause them to amend their caring practices as required.

Tronto (1993), noting that inequality is inherent in the care model, cautions that those who receive care often risk losing their sense of personal autonomy. For Held (2006), care ethics is set apart from other moral frameworks in that "it appreciates as well the values of care between persons of unequal power in unchosen relations" (p.46). However, for Tronto this has the potential to set up permanent states of reliance on the part of the cared-for as those who make choices about their needs can "come to accept their own account of what is necessary to meet the caring need as definitive" (1993, p.45). As a counter to this, Slote (2007) places empathy at the central motivation for care. While Noddings (2013) writes that care seeks "to protect or enhance the welfare

of the cared-for" (p.24), Slote (2007) maintains that "empathetic caring requires one to respect other people's autonomy and not just or simply to be concerned with their welfare" (p.57). By constructing respect for, and empathetic response to, the perceived beliefs and preferences of the horses as an integral part of 'good' caregiving, I suggest that the participants create a form of preference autonomy (Regan, 2004) on the part of the horses in their care.

Tronto (1993) writes of the "intertwined" (p.136) nature of care in that the responsiveness of the cared-for elicits attentiveness in the caregiver. This creates a circular process of interaction. She writes that "the pieces of an ethic of care cannot be separated but must be considered as part of an integrated whole" (p.136). By emphasising the "underlying picture of the earth as one body, and of ourselves as part of this body" (Manning, 1992, p.84), this attentiveness and response could be recognised as mutual and shared (Simola, 2012). Such mutuality in caregiving is revealed in the findings of this thesis as the participants speak of occasions where they believe the horses to have taken actions with their bodies to give care to humans in return. Such reported instances construct the interdependent nature of care even in the context of instrumental, organisational use. This is possible in spite of the apparent inequality between the parties (Held, 2006) as care becomes not just something that humans bestow, but also something that they believe they can receive from animals (Suen, 2015). I suggest that such insights add a significant dimension to the previously discussed narratives of powerful and dependent in care ethics. Human-animal work is, by its very nature, dangerous and unpredictable. Those who do this work are constructed as becoming attuned to the vulnerability of both parties to the caring relationship. 'Good' care is presented as each party being open to mutually receiving and providing care in order for them to work safely and effectively together.

8.1.3 Critical reflections in care

While there has been some discussion about the nature of how ideas of justice interact with care ethics (Gilligan, 1993; Held, 2006), these have tended to emphasise the direct, contextual nature of the caring relationship, without resort to the conceptual principles that consequentialist or deontological approaches might endorse. General notions of abstract outcomes and possibilities are usually rejected in favour of the care that happens 'in the moment' and takes into account the specific requirements of both the context and

the individuals who are directly affected by any particular action. However, through the use of their caring imaginations, the human-animal workers in this research are constructed as being enabled to step outside the immediate context of the direct caring interaction and to ask, as Nicola does, "what if?" They appear able to not only make the leap from a known body to an unknown one, but also from one 'reality' to a myriad of different possibilities. Following Hamington (2004), I suggest that such imaginative reflections on abstract consequences may not be in opposition to contextually-based caring, but rather supportive and enriching of it. Further strengthening the bonds of care, the imagination of the participants constructs them as 'walking in the shoes' of the horse, imaginatively creating the outcomes for both caregiver and cared-for. As a result, it appears that their empathy is deepened and attempts to improve the welfare of the dependent other arises not out of distance, but out of imaginative embodied experience.

8.1.4 Enacting care through narratives: A response to Lawrence and Maitlis (2012)

Some of the findings in this thesis act as a response to the 2012 article by Lawrence and Maitlis; 'Care and possibility: Enacting an ethic of care through narrative practice'. As discussed in chapter seven, these authors address how three themes of discursive habits, the construction of experiences, struggles and futures, are performed through specific narrative practices as a way of enacting care within and between members of organisational work teams. My findings indicate that, in human-animal work, similar narrative practices are demonstrated as part of the caring relationship. Such a context, where one party to the caring relationship is non-verbal and dependent on the other for much of their basic care needs, provides a unique insight into how those practices theorised by Lawrence and Maitlis might manifest. As team members, the horses are unable to share their experiences verbally, creating a space whereby the participants make use of their caring imaginations to construct narratives on the horses' behalf. Such constructions of mysterious pasts, alternative lives and possible futures act as a way to both explain the current behaviour of the horses and to sustain the human-animal workers themselves in their caregiving role. The tendency towards fear and the apparent need to protect the horses from the vagaries of life outside the participants' care appears to indicate their belief in the uncertain and sometimes harsh place that society offers to horses, and animals more widely. In this way, these three narrative practices are embedded in, and informed by, the second one as proposed by Lawrence and Maitlis, that is the contextualisation of current struggles. This practice arises across each of the

three narrative practices of the participants, rather than being a distinct one in and of itself.

I also suggested a fourth narrative practice, that of imagining a different reality where horses could talk. This particular "what if?" provided an opportunity to further explicate the caring imaginations of those with whom I spoke. The outcome of these discussions appears to be that words provide an ability to be dishonest that the body alone does not. This suggests a role for the body that humans ought to realise if they wish to deepen their caring abilities. This outcome goes to the heart of the apparent contradiction within this thesis: If words enable us to lie, what role does narrative have in honestly representing and enabling care? While the majority of this thesis deals with the construction of words as connecting body and mind, both in the horses and the participants themselves, the "what if they could talk?" question appears to reveal the participants' belief in the honesty of the body that informs such words, thereby connecting mind back to body again. If chosen to accurately interpret the embodied experience, words are constructed as enhancing and enabling care. If chosen to disregard, ignore, or deceive the embodied experience, words are presented as preventing care and, even worse, as vehicles for manipulation and control. Care then becomes and remains a choice that is made and re-made every day by the participants in this research. The question of why this choice is made will arguably provide many opportunities for further consideration and study as long as there are members of organisations, both human and non-human, who interact and relate towards a common goal.

8.1.5 'Contractual' care

Care motivated by instrumental gain has been rejected by some theorists (see for example Liedtka, 1996; Tronto, 1993) as not constituting care at all, particularly where there may be a high risk of injury to the animal (Manning, 1992). However, Noddings (2013) acknowledges a form of "contractual reciprocity" (2013, p.158) on which I base my findings. This thesis posits that the concept of 'contractual care' is a very real ethic within human-animal work. This form of caring is founded on both natural caring (Noddings, 2013), in that it often arises out of childhood love and relationship with animals, and ethical caring (Noddings, 2013), in that it requires "reflection and decision" (Hamington, 2004, p.68). Animal caregivers are constructed as providing for the safety and health of their animals and as being concerned with their suffering. Furthermore,

genuine affection and even love appear to arise, despite the gain that they get from the instrumental use of the animals. These are not simple concepts, where intrinsic and instrumental are discrete and opposed. To deny that care exists in such contexts would, I suggest, be to deny a very real felt experience on the part of the human-animal workers in this study. A perspective which concerns itself with why care can never involve use might potentially miss out on the messy entanglements that make human-animal work such a rich and varied pursuit.

8.2 Voice-giving in human-animal work

Scholars in the area of human-animal interactions have discussed the potential dangers that accompany the privileging of verbal speech in our interactions with non-verbal animals (Hamilton and Taylor, 2013; Sayers, 2016; Stibbe, 2001). While I acknowledge such concerns and the possibilities for domination and exploitation inherent in our relationships with animals, following on from the findings discussed above, I suggest that verbal language can be used to support humans in their attempts to try and understand the perspectives of the animals with whom they work. In this thesis, I have sought to provide examples of how the caring imagination is demonstrated narratively. Where they literally 'give voice' to the horses in their narratives, the participants appear to bring forth the connection between what the horse is doing with their body and what the participants believe the horses are 'thinking' in their heads. By imaginatively making this connection through speech, I suggest that such voice-giving acts a device which assists the participants in their caring work. While they can never 'know' what or if the horse really wants or believes, their regular and genuine attempts to figure this out would appear to be preferable to any disavowal that might arise through remaining silent (Karlsson, 2012; Suen, 2015). The narratives of interviews discussed herein reveal the relationship between voice-giving and care-giving and offer an insight into how 'speaking for' provides opportunities to develop empathy, just as much as it does opportunities to control and manipulate. I further suggest that the narrative practice of voice-giving assists the human-animal workers in their attempts to both make themselves understood in the context of the interviews, as well as facilitate their own understanding by connecting them with their personal embodied habits. By constructing the horses' sides of the conversations, they appear to be voicing their own felt experiences as a way to empathetically care for another. Rather than creating a separation between human and animal, such voice-giving appears to act as a way of bringing both together.

8.3 Similarities with other studies

The focus of this thesis and some of its findings appear to resonate with certain earlier work completed by scholars interested in the human-equine relationship. For example, Birke, Hockenhull and Creighton explore narratives of caring for horses in their 2010 article. Their methodology differs from my own in that their findings are based on written comments completed as part of an online survey. Furthermore, their unit of analysis is people who have horses as a hobby or interest, rather than those who work with them professionally for financial return. Their findings therefore do not speak to human-animal work as defined by Hannah and Robertson (2017) and built upon within my thesis. However, there are some points of interesting overlap between their study and my own, most particularly in the case of the construction of "the horses' story" (Birke et al., 2010, p.340) where owners look to their horses' pasts to explain away current behaviour. The authors note the occurrence of such constructions "in relation to behaviour that might be considered "bad" behaviour – biting or kicking, for example" (p.340-341). While this behaviour was sometimes attributed to various 'personality' traits of the horses themselves, those they reported as most frequently occurring "were causal explanations to do with that horse's experience in the past – or, more specifically, with the owner's claims about that past" (p.341). Moral worth is associated with 'good' caregiving, where good behaviour is seen to reflect the competence of the horse's current care and bad behaviour to reflect poor caring practices in their past. Further narratives of rescue and redemption also occur, with the owners as the 'heroes' of the piece. In a context where what constitutes appropriate care is created within "particular sociocultural processes" (p.345), the authors argue that attention must be paid to how such human processes "play out on yards through the body of the horse" (p.344). My own findings would appear to support some of the narrative constructions addressed in the work of Birke et al., with the presence of alternative lives and possible futures as additional narrative practices. I would further argue that the act of 'voice-giving', as a way of highlighting the embodied empathy of the caregivers, was drawn out in the context of in-person, semi-structured interviews that otherwise might not have arisen in written remarks as part of a questionnaire. It is nonetheless interesting to note the similarities of the constructions of both unknown and known pasts that occur within our two studies, despite the differing methodologies.

The paper by Maurstad, Davis and Cowles (2013) describes itself as a "multi-species ethnography" (p.322). This is, again, methodologically different to my research, although the findings similarly appear to arise out of the examination of narratives from interviews. They address the changes to both human and horse that occur as a result of their "intra-action" (p.323). Their results point to the mutual embodied experiences that are shared by human and horse, with horses as subjective partners, as each party adjusts and adapts in response to the other. My own findings would appear to echo these, where I address knowledge as co-created and shared between human bodies and horse bodies, a form of 'feel' that develops. Once more, the focus of analysis for Maurstad et al. is on those who ride horses, a group that appears to include those who partake in such an activity as a hobby, rather than professionally, although this is not overtly stated. The contexts of human-animal work or caring practices are not the ones of concern for the authors, but more precisely where the embodied process of riding occurs. These authors are similar to me in that they express their own insider roles as horse owners themselves. While themes specific to care do not arise as such, ideas surrounding relationship are significant in this paper. The stronger and deeper the relationship, the stronger and deeper the "effects" (p.332) on the body. The authors reveal a profound understanding of such embodied experiences on the human: "In addition to the obvious physical aspects, like growing new muscles in legs and butts and other parts of the body, riders learn to understand first that they have talking bodies and later how to talk to horses through them" (p.332). The embodied aspect of horse-human relationships is well conceived in this paper, to which my own research adds contributions addressing how care manifests as part of such embodiment. While my findings encompass interactions that go beyond the specific act of riding, our research appears to share the similar foundations of relationship, addressing such concepts as mutuality, response, and autonomy shared between two unknowable bodies.

The theme of relationship between humans and their equine companions arises again in the study of Finkel and Danby (2019), this time with a particular emphasis on women and their horses. Once more, this study differs from my own in that the focus is not only on those who work with horses, although some participants are noted as having "had equestrian careers" (p.383). It is also methodologically different and includes observations and participant diary entries, as well as interviews, exclusively with women. Despite these differences, their finding that horses engage in similar caring practices

towards their owners is of significant interest to my research. In their paper, Finkel and Danby look at such practices from a gendered perspective, noting that "horses are seen to undertake a 'feminized' caring role, and demonstrable emotional labour on the part of horses completes the reciprocal give-and-take nature of these kinds of relationships" (2019, p.378). Such a finding appears to resonate with my own demonstrations of the construction of horses as both responsive to care and capable of reciprocating such care. This concept of "mutual trust and interdependency" (p.388) allows for the construction of autonomy within relationship, demonstrating the needs of the self, while acknowledging and respecting the needs of the other. Finkel and Danby further offer an interesting insight into the cost of keeping horses, both emotionally and financially. While the women in their study have horses as a recreational hobby, they appear to present such activities as work in order to gain legitimacy. My choice to exclude those who do not work with horses was partly an effort to examine the dynamics between care and instrumental use. By noting how the participants locate their identity within their equine experiences and outside the concept of a simple pastime, Finkel and Danby are perhaps offering a new dimension to the definition of human-animal work, where emotional labour can be viewed alongside labour for financial return.

8.4 Using the Listening Guide

I suggest that my particular approach to the Listening Guide in this thesis offers a further unique insight into an already unique context. As well as being in tune with both my research philosophy and theoretical framework of care ethics, the flexibility inherent in this method allowed me to tailor it to my particular research question. As noted in chapter four, the Listening Guide method has more traditionally been used to draw out the different vocal representations of the cognitive process of one person (Gilligan et al., 2006; Gilligan, 2015; Sorsoli and Tolman, 2008). These expressions, or 'voices', may be in conflict or in harmony with each other. I would argue that my approach succeeded in showing the ability of this method to reveal constructions of voice on behalf of another, rather than simply various constructions of the direct self. In this way, the voice of the participant and the horse's 'voice' are demonstrated as interacting with each other. While different 'voices', they are of course both belonging to the participant themselves, as they seek to represent another by speaking for them. The Listening Guide allowed me to hear these conversations as a way for the participants to access the horses' experiences and also as a way for me to access the experiences of the participants themselves. I believe

this method has much to offer the scholarship of management and organisational studies and I hope that it becomes more widely, and innovatively, used within these disciplines. By placing the duties of relationship at its core, this method further emphasises the importance of ethical behaviour as part of the research process by documenting the removal of potentially sensitive information, as well as my own emotional responses to the narrative. I believe this to be a significant contribution of the method itself and hope that such concerns continue to remain important and influential across the research of the social sciences as a whole.

8.5 Limitations of this research

As discussed in chapter four, at the outset of this research project, I had imagined undertaking some observation at various sites. As I became more interested in the narrative aspect of care, the need for such observations became less of an issue. This choice was also informed by the potential difficulties that arose surrounding access, insurance, and health and safety. The result of such a choice is that this thesis prioritises the verbal ability of humans, rather than the particular communication methods of the horses themselves (Hamilton and Taylor, 2013). It is arguable that such a prioritisation excludes the perspective of the horses. Lack of observation meant that the horses were not 'interviewed' or studied directly (Maurstad et al., 2013). This of course increases the risk of misinterpretations and inaccuracies regarding the lived experiences of the horse themselves. However, I make no claim that this research truly reflects the lived realities of the animals which are spoken about, but rather that the representations of the caregivers are but constructions of the animals' lives. As such, they merely reflect the participants' reality as opposed to the horses' own. This is a study of the narrative aspect of human caregiving in an animal organisational context. The silent animals are, arguably, ignored. I have attempted to argue that the voice of humans can assist in the caring for animals and shorten the gap between 'them' and 'us'. While they do not have words, we can only try to use ours as best we can.

Due to the restriction in my own language abilities, interviews were only carried out and reported in English. I acknowledge that other languages may provide different manifestations of the thoughts and narratives expressions of those who work with horses. Furthermore, as a qualitative piece of research, I do not make any claims as to the generalisability of the findings herein. Interviews carried out within a social

constructionist framework resulted in transcripts which are co-created narratives between the participant and me as the interviewer. A different researcher may have asked different questions, heard different voices as part of the Listening Guide method and categorised both the literature and the data in other ways. I acknowledge the decisions made as mine alone and wonder about the choices and routes that another may have taken.

With regard to the ethic of care framework outlined in chapter three, again my own language restrictions led to a review of articles written in English only. To examine literature of the non-English speaking world on this issue, similar reviews of articles written in other languages would be extremely valuable. Likewise, to capture articles not available in the Social Sciences Citation Index, searches of other databases might also provide a meaningful contribution.

8.6 Avenues for further research

Additional to my already expressed hope for future innovative uses of both my ethic of care framework and the Listening Guide method, I believe that there remain a number of interesting routes for further research. As discussed above, formal observations at the various sites were not undertaken as part of this research. I therefore suggest that further potentially fruitful findings might emerge from an ethnography at one or more equine-related organisational contexts. I propose that an auto-ethnography might be of particular interest in its ability to allow the researcher themselves to 'feel' the various sensations in their own bodies. This might offer them the opportunity to experience any developments in their personal caring imaginations and report this back to the research community. I do note, however, that any possible difficulties surrounding insurance and access would need to be surmounted. Following Finkel and Danby (2019), a gendered approach could be taken to examine if the embodied caring imagination is experienced and expressed differently between the sexes.

The study of contractual care in other animal-based contexts, particularly dairy, beef, sheep and pig farms, or any such industry where the body of the animal becomes the product, might offer interesting insights. A care-based theoretical approach could be taken to understand the experience of farmers who move from a caregiving role to having to send their animals to slaughter. How is such loss experienced? Is it experienced?

This could act as a response to Anthony (2012), who suggests that an ethic of care approach might offer a counter to the negative outcomes of the invisibility of animals in a mechanised, industrial, 'hands-off', farming system. Significant work on the experience of slaughterhouse workers has been completed (see for example, Baran; Rogelberg and Clausen, 2016; Fitzgerald, 2009; Hamilton and McCabe, 2016; McLoughlin, 2019), including the experience of compassion in such contexts (Krawczyk and Barthold, 2018).

In this thesis, I touched on some findings which noted those occasions where the horses are constructed as acting as caregivers towards their humans. I believe further investigation into this idea might have merit. While work has been done on the role of assistance animals (e.g. Hunter; Verreynne; Pachana, et al., 2019; Charles and Wolkowitz, 2019), exploring voice-giving from the other side, i.e. animals 'giving voice' to humans, in such contexts as special needs supports (Suen, 2015), might reveal further interesting results.

With regard to the call from Lawrence and Maitlis (2012) for more empirical work based on their narrative of care framework, I hope that this thesis provides one possible answer. I would now add my own voice to theirs, that further work on the use of discursive practices enabling care across a myriad of different types of organisations be pursued. Of particular interest might be those further contexts where words are not available, such as where other humans are without speech. My own offerings to the framework of Lawrence and Maitlis – mysterious pasts, alternative lives, and possible futures – might be of assistance here, thereby answering Brandt's (2009) call that our research ought to "grapple with questions of how we understand communication with other species or with humans who do not have the capacity for verbal language. Exploration of these questions could generate new possibilities for understanding the subjective and intersubjective lives of those who cannot speak – humans and non-humans alike" (p.319). The embodied aspect of the caring imagination and the ability to empathically imagine the body of another occurs within and between bodies in relationship. An examination of how the caring imagination might be hindered, or developed, in contexts where there are no bodies in relationship, such as technologically-enabled workspaces, online meetings and virtual interactions, might yield interesting and important insights.

8.7 Implications for practice

As discussed in chapter five, the participants spoke of making decisions resulting in less money in order to avoid compromising the welfare of their horses, as they see it. In this way, 'good' care is constructed as a value which may hinder the achievement of organisational goals (Lawernce and Maitlis, 2012), if such goals are profit-orientated. The participants describe how they reject work which does not fit their personal ethics and how they give the horses more time off than might be financially prudent. The implication would appear to be that care constructed as a value costs more than if it is constructed in purely instrumental terms. The participants further spoke of the physical burden of care, of the sacrifices that need to be made despite their own personal comfort. This suggests that competence in caregiving is constructed as something which may have significant detrimental effects on those whose job it is to provide it. However, by constructing narratives that appear to justify and support their caring practices, the participants appear to be sustained in such practices. This echoes the suggestion of Lawerence and Maitlis (2012) that enacting care through narratives can build resilience and "increase the ability of teams to flex with and respond positively to adversity" (p.656). Understanding how such practices manifest in different occupational settings may therefore contribute to the ability of practitioners to 'keep going' when things get tough. In offering various ways that workers can identify as 'good' caregivers through the imagining of various histories and possible outcomes within their own organisational contexts, the narrative constructions of the caring imagination have the potential to offer individuals the sustaining belief that they 'become' good at giving care.

In their discursive practices, Lawrence and Maitlis identify an "ontology of possibility" (p.653) arising out of ideas of "collective agency" (p.652) and "transcendent hope" (p.653). Such an ontology of possibility is linked with the ethic of care in that "it suggests that enacting an ethic of care inside organizations may have significant impacts that go beyond the immediate well-being of those cared for by opening up what can be" (p.653). They argue that caring narratives inspire hope, bravery, forgiveness and an acceptance of the mistakes of others. However, the narratives of the human-animal workers identified in this thesis are less positive, more fearful than hopeful. While they work towards an uncertain future for the horses in their care, they appear motivated to care out of awareness of what adversities may befall the horses. I therefore suggest that an 'ontology of protection' is at work in a context where care for a vulnerable, dependent

other features. The strength to care appears to arise out of discourses of protection, rather than optimism. By facilitating and supporting such protective narratives, a culture of resilience can be built within organisational contexts where caring for silent or other marginalised groups are an integral part of the job. Furthermore, in making use of their caring imaginations to construct the nature of what it is to be a ‘good’ caregiver, the human-animal workers appear to be engaging in a form of ‘job crafting’ (Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001). In their study, Wrzesniewski and Dutton cite the case of nurses who appeared to create a “pocket of care around patients” (2001, p.192), thereby re-constructing their roles as advocates rather than purely healthcare providers. Acknowledging the role that the caring imagination might play in such crafting might assist employees and those in managerial roles who seek to facilitate and encourage the development of organisational roles and social interactions at work.

Working with horses is a dangerous occupation. The human-animal workers in this research spoke of the possible negative consequences that can occur from those with less knowledge, poorly developed caring habits and, ultimately, through failures in the caring imagination. This would suggest that developing an understanding of how the caring imagination can assist competence in such dangerous contexts may be of use to practitioners who seek to lower injury rates to both workers and others who interact with animals on a regular basis.

8.8 The caring imagination in the wider world

Beyond the scope of academic study and theoretical contributions, I was given cause to wonder what value to the wider world the findings herein might offer. As noted above, this research appears to indicate that caring work with animals can lead to the development of a highly perceptive caring imagination. I suggest that this finding confirms Hamington’s suggestion that “caring for animals requires imaginative work – more so than when humans care for other humans” (2008, p.183). Hamington further contends that “moral imagination improves with use” (2008, p.183). This appears to find support in the narratives of the participants who spoke of the mistakes made by those with less equine experience. In contrast, as a consequence of their daily professional interactions, the human-animal workers must continually be improving and developing their caring imaginations, particularly in a context where the results of any failures in imagination can be dangerous.

A number of the participants spoke of their belief that working with horses increased their knowledge of how to be caring in the world beyond horsemanship. Olivia spoke directly of how she feels caring for horses in a positive, force-free way has changed her own mental outlook:

> OLIVIA: And your way with handling life experiences and other people and other animals all changes coz you start just looking at the positive rather than the negative. And it definitely changed the way, like my mental outlook over two years, a year, two years.
>
> OLIVIA, TRAINER / COACH

She appears to appreciate this skill of being able to take what she has learned about horses and letting it inform and enhance her sympathetic interactions with others. Similarly, Nicola spoke of her belief that animals are the best way to learn empathy:

> NICOLA: …It is empathy. It's learning about empathy. How can- You know we're going to teach children empathy in school and it's like how? You can't teach that from a textbook, you have to teach that from- Animals are the best,
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> NICOLA: perhaps even the only way to truly
>
> LUCY: Hmm
>
> NICOLA: learn empathy.
>
> NICOLA, TRAINER / COACH

If it cannot be taught from a book, the skill of empathy requires bodily interaction with others to develop. This appears to echo Hamington's assertion that "through relations with nonhuman bodies we can find our way to care for animals, and perhaps by imaginative extension, understand unfamiliar humans" (2008, p.182).

However, Nicola appears to be not only speaking of her own empathy, but also how best to teach empathy to others. This is a concept that arose across a number of the participants' narratives, as they spoke of how they seek to engage the caring imagination of other humans. I therefore suggest that the power of this imagination lies not only in the ability to care for a non-verbal other, but also in teaching others how to develop their own empathy. Jane provided an example of this when she spoke of coaching others on how to access their own bodies to imagine how a horse might feel when a bit in their mouth is used harshly:

> JANE: Well that's just the same… It's like I get them to put their fingers there over the shins ((points to leg)) and I press. And I go "That's what that feels like."
>
> LUCY: Okay
>
> JANE: "It's that bone. When you activate the rein and your hands are along the wither, you're pushing metal on to that shin bone." And I've done that and I've gone and I've squeezed on their shin bone and they've gone "Shit". And I was like "Get your hands above the wither". Coz when you're above the wither, you're working on the fleshy part of the mouth.
>
> JANE, TRAINER / COACH

Here Jane speaks of teaching others how to imagine the feelings of another, how their actions effect another. By showing them the impact on their own bodies, they become empowered to imagine the pain of another. Monica further supported this idea when she spoke of how important it is to teach the kids to respect "the individual they're on". Living in a time "where we want something and just go out and get it", she appears to believe in the value of teaching the kids patience and empathy and, above all, respect for the animals with whom they interact. These skills, borne out of the caring imagination, are surely invaluable ones to pass on and develop in others, whether they go on to work with horses or not.

In supporting Hamington's theory that "care becomes a serviceable moral orientation when we are able to extrapolate our proximal relations to others outside our direct experiential field" (2008, p.182), I suggest that this practical form of ethics has a lot to

offer the wider world where humans, verbal and non-verbal, and non-humans, sentient and soon-to-be, interact every day. The caring imagination, with its foundation in knowledge and its impact on practice, has a role in understanding how best to 'do' these interactions in a more meaningful way.

8.9 Final reflections

As I look back over the early notes of this research process, I see how the project changed since its inception, how it evolved and grew into something that I had not foreseen at the outset. My review of the literature, conversations with colleagues, feedback from reviewers, and interaction with the interview participants all influenced the direction and development of this thesis. I like to believe that I have learned to accept such a process, to embrace uncertainty and ambiguity and to celebrate the creative possibilities inherent in the silence, in the not knowing what might happen next.

This study became a form of practical ethics for me. Exposure to the literature made me think in new ways about my own consumption habits and relationship with animals, to the extent that I wonder now how I did not see such things before. In the earlier part of this thesis, I spoke about training to be a riding instructor. Now I have more nuanced, although still incomplete, knowledge of what that might have been like had I pursued that route. My interactions with my pony have changed and I can see more clearly how my own caring imagination has been at work all along, challenging what I thought I knew about horses and teaching me new possibilities in my relationship with them. My own ideas of how best to care for Bramble will doubtless not remain constant into the future as I continue in my attempts to imagine how to do things better, always.

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Appendix A: Commonly-used Terms in Equine-related Contexts

The definitions of the following terms are mine, although informed by interactions with others in the industry and my own training with the British Horse Society[3]. These definitions generally refer to how the terms have been utilised within this thesis. I have noted any meanings which are contested with the equine community.

Categories of equines

Cob: A type of sturdy equine, not more than 160cm high (measured to the withers). As such, they are larger than a pony, but smaller in height than most horses. They are good at carrying weight and usually have solid, reliable temperaments.

Colt: An uncastrated male horse, under the age of four.

Filly: A female horse under the age of four who has not had offspring.

Foal: A young horse, under the age of one and not yet weaned from their mother.

Gelding: A male horse who has been castrated.

Mare: A female horse over the age of four, or who has produced a foal. A *broodmare* is a mare kept for breeding purposes.

Piebald: This refers to the colour of an equine, in this case characterised by irregular patches of black and white on their coat.

Pony: A type of small equine, usually less than 148cm in height. Pony breeds differ to horses in their build and temperaments, as well as height.

Stallion: An uncastrated male horse.

Thoroughbred: A breed of horse, most prominent in horse-racing.

Weanling: A young horse, recently weaned from their mother but not yet a yearling. In the racing industry, Thoroughbred horses are aged from 1st January each year. A *yearling* is a horse that has passed this date, no matter what month the previous year they were born. As all yearlings are assessed as the same age, therefore, ones that are born earliest in the calendar year, and are therefore stronger and bigger, have an advantage.

[3] The British Horse Society is a charitable organisation formed to promote welfare and education in horsemanship, see www.bhs.org.uk for further information.

Industry roles

Breeder: For the purposes of this thesis, a breeder is someone who breeds horses for sale, in either the bloodstock or sport horse sector of the industry.

Coach: For the purposes of this thesis, a coach is someone who teaches others how to ride a horse, or teaches others how to train a horse.

Livery: A person who manages or runs a livery yard is one who cares for the horses of other people for a fee. The horses essentially 'board' at these yards and, depending on the nature of the livery yard, duties could involve mucking out, feeding, exercising, worming, clipping, etc. the horses under their care.

Producer: For the purposes of this thesis, a producer of horses is one who purchases horses to train and then sell on.

Sales prep: For the purposes of this thesis, this role involves preparing horses to be ready for the sales ring. As well as feeding, farriery and veterinary care to best support growth and development, this might involve training the horses to be led and otherwise handled with ease. It may also involve some strengthening work and exercise so that the horse is fit for the next stages of their training.

Trainer: For the purposes of this thesis, a trainer is someone who trains horses to be ridden or to take part in various equestrian disciplines. This may involve the initial training of a horse to be led, lift up their feet, and accept a saddle and rider, right through to training them for specific events, such as dressage, show-jumping, or racing. This term covers those involved in such work taking both the traditional and the 'natural horsemanship' approach and so may involve different methods, depending on the approach utilised.

Yard manager: For the purposes of this thesis, a yard manager is someone who oversees the workings of an equestrian business yard. This may include everything from preparing for and scheduling exercise or lessons, overseeing the daily care and feeding of horses, including any veterinary or farriery requirements, to managing staff, records and accounts.

Care

Clipping: Horses grow their coats twice a year, to reflect changing light and seasonal conditions. Heavy coats can therefore cause a horse to sweat if they are worked hard at certain times of the year. A set of clippers is used to trim the coat, according to different patterns and how much of the coat is required to remove. Some horses can find this process stressful and need to be trained to accept it, or sedated. After clipping, horses generally will require a rug and/or to be kept in a stable to prevent them from getting cold.

Colic: Essentially a gastrointestinal upset. However, due to the extremely long and complicated nature of the equine digestive system, colic is both extremely uncomfortable for the horse and potentially very dangerous. This condition sometimes requires surgery and can lead to death in the horse.

Farrier: A professional trained to trim the hooves of horses and put on horse shoes. Horses' hooves are constantly growing and need trimming to prevent injury and discomfort. Metal horse shoes are utilised in most disciplines, including by leisure riders, to protect horses' feet and to enable them to work on roads, etc. However, their use is becoming contested, as many equine practitioners desire to keep their horses 'barefoot' if possible.

Mane pulling: In order to keep a horse's mane neat and tidy, the hair is 'pulled' out directly from the follicle. This has the effect of both shortening and thinning the mane, which makes maintenance such as grooming easier, as well as putting on bridles, etc. Some horses may find this process unpleasant and therefore a 'Solo' comb can be used which trims the mane, but does not pull out the hair.

Worming: As horses are grazing animals, they can pick up parasites while at pasture. Worming is carried out, as required, according to seasonal requirements and to reduce the worm burden in the horse's intestine. This is usually done using a 'wormer' paste which is injected using a syringe directly into the mouth of the horse. Some horses find this unpleasant and generally need to be held, but can be trained to accept it.

Body and movements:

Buck: A 'buck' is when a horse lowers their head and lifts their back and back legs. It is viewed as a defensive reaction to something on their back and, when under saddle, it can be seen as a way to dislodge their rider. Horses can also be seen 'bucking' when out in the field with their herd mates. In such instances, it is often interpreted as a playful sign of enjoyment. A horse that 'broncs' could refer to continuous, violent bucking.

Canter: This is a gait that is faster than the trot, but slower than the gallop. It is a three-time beat, with a moment where all four of the horse's feet are off the ground.

Gallop: This is the fastest gait. It is a four-time beat, with a moment where all four feet are off the ground. A 'gallop' or 'gallops' can also refer to a site, such as a track, where horses can be trained at such a pace, where space is required due to the speed of this gait.

'Lock on': In this thesis, this term is used to describe how the ears of a jumping horse focus intently on the jump as they approach it. This is believed to indicate concentration and intent.

Near side: This is the left side of the horse. Near fore refers to the left front leg of the horse. Near hind refers to the left back leg of the horse.

Nicker: This is a low noise made by the horse. As it does not travel far distances, it is believed to be intended as communication by the horse with those nearby to them. Aimed towards a human, a nicker from a horse is generally believed to indicate positive feelings, such as 'happiness' at seeing the human, or anticipation of food.

Off side: This refers to the right side of the horse. Off fore refers to the right front leg. Off hind refers to the right back leg.

Passage: This is a movement usually associated with dressage. It is a very collected trot, where the movement is more elevated than forward moving. The feet are suspended in the air for longer than with a regular trot.

Rear: This refers to when a horse puts their two front legs up in the air, balancing on their two back legs. This can be caused by fright or some other aversive stimulus. Rearing can be extremely dangerous, for both a rider and a handler on the ground.

Shy: A horse is said to 'shy' when they jump or move suddenly away from an unknown or threatening stimulus.

Spook: Similar to a shy, a horse is said to 'spook' when frightened of something in their environment. As prey animals, horses are constantly on the alert for danger and will react quickly to anything they believe to be a threat.

Stride: Used in this thesis, a stride is the 'step' a horse takes. In the discipline of jumping, the jumps are set so that horses take a number of, usually canter, strides between, or in the approach to, each jump. Getting the 'wrong' number of strides can make the jump harder for the horse to make, increasing their chance of knocking the fence. Depending on their size and build, horses will have different lengths of stride. When learning to ride, novices are trained to be able to count or 'see' the horse's strides, so that they can either lengthen or shorten them as required, in preparation for more advanced work such as jumping.

Trot: This is a horse's gait which is faster than a walk, but slower than a canter. It is a two-time beat and novice riders must learn how to balance to this gait, including how to sit and how to 'rise' out of the saddle at the appropriate time.

Whinny: A loud, high-pitched sound from the horse. As it can travel a far distance, it is believed that this noise is an attempt to communicate with others far away, or out of sight.

Wither(s): The point of the horse just above and behind their shoulders. The height of a horse is measured from the ground to the highest point of the withers.

Equipment

Bit: A piece of metal attached to the reins and placed in the horse's mouth. This then acts as an 'aid' to communication when riding, such as to ask the horse to slow down or lower their head. Bits come in different shapes and sizes, depending on the requirement of the horse or the discipline in which they are riding. The use of the bit is becoming contested within the equine community, with some practitioners choosing to ride their horses without bits, or 'bitless'.

Bridle: Usually made of leather, this piece of equipment is worn on the horse's head while being ridden. It is attached to the reins, and includes various

parts which go over the horse's ears and around their nose to secure it. Bridles come in different designs, according to the requirement of the rider, the horse and sometimes the particular equestrian discipline.

Numnah: Worn under the saddle, this is a pad which protects the horse's back from pressure and rubbing. It also acts to absorb sweat and protect the saddle from grease and dirt. It is saddle-shaped, unlike a saddle cloth which is generally rectangular and larger than the saddle itself.

Rein: Usually made of leather, these are held in the rider's hands and are attached to the bit in the horse's mouth. They are used by the rider to communicate requests to the horse when riding.

Saddle: Usually made of leather, these are worn on the horse's back when ridden. They assist in distributing the weight of the rider on the horse's back, as well as supporting the comfort and safety of the rider. Riding 'close contact' refers to the use of a very light saddle, or pad, which increases the feel between horse and rider. Riding without a saddle is referred to as riding 'bareback'.

Tack: This is the collective term for the equipment worn by the horse when engaging in both ridden and non-ridden activities. 'Tacking up' refers to the process of placing the appropriate equipment on the horse ahead of any such activity.

Activities

Arena: A fenced-in area, usually with a sand, shaving, rubber, or other such surface, in which horses are worked. They feature in riding schools and in competitions and can be either indoor or outdoor. Sometimes also referred to as the 'school'.

At liberty: This refers to the practice of working your horse freely, without any ropes or other equipment to hold the horse to you. The horse is enabled to walk away from their handler or choose to engage, or not, in a particular activity. Liberty work can occur in an arena, round-pen or in a field, beach or other location.

Breaking: This refers to the initial training of the horse to accept the saddle and rider. Once they have done this, they are said to be 'broken' for riding. They

usually require ongoing training to prepare for specific activities and events, such as jumping, etc.

Cross-country: Going 'cross-country' involves horse and rider jumping over a set of fixed obstacles. This usually occurs across a distance, including fields and often water-based obstacles. It is one of the phases of the discipline of eventing, which also includes dressage and show-jumping, over one to three days. It is part of the sport horse industry.

Dressage: A form of gymnastics for horses, dressage involves a series of movements carried out by the horse and rider in an arena. It does not include jumping. There are various levels of dressage, from preliminary right up to Grand Prix. It features in the sport horse sector of the industry.

Flatwork: This refers to ridden work, usually in an arena, that does not involve jumping. When schooling 'on the flat', the horse is trained to improve their various gaits, forward movement, responsiveness to the aids and ability to bend, corner, etc. Such schooling is seen as the basis of all ridden disciplines.

Grand Prix: An elite competition in both dressage and show-jumping.

Hacking: 'Riding out' of the arena, this is seen as a way of offering variety in the horse's life, as well as excitement and relaxation for the rider. Hacking can involve riding on roads, in forests, beaches, etc. and usually entails opportunities for faster work, such as galloping. Hacking can be done alone or with friends.

Hunting: In Ireland, hunting live foxes on horseback is a, predominately rural, pursuit.

'Leg on': A term referring to the rider placing some pressure with their legs onto the horse's side. This can be done to maintain forward movement, to increase the pace of movement, or to prevent the horse from stopping.

Lunging: Working the horse on the lunge involves the handler standing in the centre while the horse is encouraged to move around them at various gaits. The horse is connected to the handler with a long rope. A lunge whip is usually utilised to maintain the horse's forward movement and to increase their pace. Without a rider, lunging can be done as a way to exercise the horse, prepare them to be ridden and to build muscle and fitness. Lunging

with a rider is generally done to improve the rider's position, balance and develop their fitness.

Natural horsemanship:

This term is broadly used to cover various approaches to horse training and care that are not considered to be 'traditional'. Practitioners of 'natural horsemanship' methods and principles may make use of different forms of equipment and different methods which are believed to more in tune with the 'natural' instincts of the horse and the ways that they learn and behave. Making use of such 'natural' techniques is believed by many to be an effective and less stressful way of horse-training. Descriptions of 'natural horsemanship', as well as the practices themselves, are contested within the equine community. Some strictly follow the methods of established trainers, while others have developed their own approaches to such training.

Point-to-Point: A form of jumps racing where Thoroughbreds often start their racing careers. Point-to-points generally take place across farmland, as opposed to designated racecourses. They are usually run by local hunt clubs.

Round pen: This is a round, enclosed area used for horse training, both 'at liberty' and with equipment such as ropes. Some practitioners believe that the shape of the pen, without corners, assists in such training.

Show-jumping: An equestrian pursuit which involves the horse being ridden over fences. Penalties accrue for every fence knocked. Some such competitions are against the clock, where speed as well as accuracy is rewarded.

Track: In a riding school, this refers to the circumference of the arena, following the wall and/or railings. This differs to the use of the term in racing, i.e. the racetrack.

Appendix B: Information Sheet and Consent Form

INFORMATION SHEET

You are invited to participate in a research project which forms part of a student doctoral thesis investigating how those who interact directly with horses in commercial organisational contexts, 'give voice' to these animals through narratives of care. The research will focus on stories of relationship with the horses and will seek to encourage stories, freely told, about these interactions, experiences etc.

The interviews will be loosely structured and any questions will be open-ended to facilitate the participants' contributions regarding stories of relationship and care during their time as managers and workers in commercial equine-based organisations which they may wish to share. Potential questions may address broad themes such as:

1. How do you feel about the horses that you work with?
2. How do you relate to them as organisational members?
3. How do your day-to-day interactions with the horses influence your relationship with them?
4. How is this relationship impacted by individual characteristics, such as potential, talent, commercial value, etc.?
5. Please share any stories about working with horses which have impacted you in some way.

Participants will be encouraged to share their own experiences of working with horses. Any opportunity to observe the horses, if possible and convenient, will also be gratefully received. However, the researcher will endeavour not to interfere unduly in the participants' day-to-day work schedule.

Please note that participation is totally voluntary and will operate entirely on an opt-in basis. Participants can be assured that no questions of a particularly personal nature will be asked or recorded. Participants may withdraw their consent to take part at any time during the course of the research.

All interviews will be audio recorded (when possible), transcribed and coded by the researcher. Field notes will also be taken. It is intended that the findings of the research will inform the researcher's doctoral thesis. The identity of all participants will be anonymised and details of their identities linking them to their statements will be kept entirely confidential and secure. Data will be retained for 10 years on a CD or hard drive in a locked cabinet, before being destroyed.

It must be recognized that, in some circumstances, confidentiality of research data and records may be overridden by courts in the event of litigation or in the course of investigation by lawful authority. In such circumstances the University will take all reasonable steps within law to ensure that confidentiality is maintained to the greatest possible extent.

Please see attached Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

I confirm that I have read and understood the content in the accompanying information sheet and have had a chance to ask questions.

I understand that participation is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw my consent at any time up until the work is published, as well the right to access my data.

I consent to the audio recording and/or written transcription of any interviews and observations as outlined in the information sheet.

I consent to the anonymised use of these recordings and observations, including anonymised quotes, in the publication of this research.

Name (BLOCK CAPITALS): ____

Signed: ____

Date: ____

If during your participation in this study you feel the information and guidelines that you were given have been neglected or disregarded in any way, or if you are unhappy about the process, please contact the Secretary of Maynooth University Research Ethics Committee at research.ethics@nuim.ie or +353 (0)1 708 6019. Please be assured that your concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner.

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Appendix C: Sample Questions for Semi-structured Interviews

While the interviews carried out were informal in nature, a set of questions was prepared ahead of, and adjusted during, the early stages of fieldwork. They were not deployed rigidly, in order to facilitate the flow of natural conversation and the inclusion of topics that were viewed as important to the participants, as opposed to me as the researcher. While all of these questions were not asked in a specific order in each and every interview, they did act as prompts when required, most often at the beginning and end of the interviews. In cases where the questions were not specifically asked, it was found that the content addressed by the prepared questions had been covered naturally. The configuration of the interview, therefore, would largely fit within Robson's (2011) description of "semi-structured" (p.280).

Sample questions (exact wording not always utilised):

- What made you choose to work with horses?
- How would you describe what it is you do / services you provide?
- How do you think working with horses is different from other types of work?
- How do you feel about this work?
- How do you think the horses feel about it?
- How does your work with them develop your relationship with them?
- How do you decide what is the right way to relate to them when working with them?
- How do you decipher their needs?
- How do you decipher how they feel about the work?
- Do you think it would be easier if the horses could speak to you?

Appendix D: Transcription Notation

Notation	Meaning
( )	Empty brackets indicate where words or phrases were difficult to hear and transcribe. Any words or phrases inside the brackets are my best attempt at discerning what is being said.
[	Where an overlap in the talk occurs, between participants
]	Where the overlapped section of conversation ends
((laughs))	Words inside double brackets represent my comments reflecting a noise, movement, etc., not transcribed speech.
(.)	A dot inside brackets indicates a pause in speech
Hav-	A hyphen indicates where the speaker has broken off speech, or broken off a sentence to begin another without finishing
Ab<u>solu</u>tely	An underlined word or part of a word represents where the speaker has shown emphasis
=	The equals sign indicates where the speech of different participants follows directly after one another, without a break

Adapted from Emanuel Schegloff's 'Transcription Conventions' from *Social Psychology Quarterly* available at the website of the American Sociological Association, based on the conventions of Gail Jefferson available at: http://www.asanet.org/research-and-publications/journals/social-psychology-quarterly/social-psychology-quarterly-transcription-conventions last accessed 10/11/17