

A View to a Kill: A Multi-Species Ethnographic Enquiry of Dogs Used for Hunting in Cyprus

Submitted by Teresa Tyler to the University of Exeter
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A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several overlapping loops and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Abstract

A critical enquiry into the lives of hunting dogs and their relationships with humans in Cyprus provides insights into many aspects of canine experiences; lives which are governed by hunting practices on the island. A combination of critical animal studies and feminist care ethic theoretical frameworks were used to engage in an ethical reflection on the relationships between humans and non-human animals and deepen the emic understanding of dogs impacted by the human practice of hunting. This work examines canine agency, experience, needs and acts of resistance, using a dog-centric perspective, and as such contributes to a growing body of scholarship that is concerned with bringing in other animals to social science research.

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Introduction – Why Examine Dogs Used for Hunting in Cyprus?

There is sorrow enough in the natural way

From Men and women to fill our day;

And when we are certain of sorrow in store,

Why do we always arrange for more?

Brothers and sisters, I bid you beware

Of giving your heart to a dog to tear

(Kipling, 1922, p. 787)

The thesis explores accusations of the neglect and abuse of hunting dogs emanating from immigrant communities and animal welfare organisations in Cyprus and contends that some of the hunting practices used, the dominant culture of hunting, and the normative ideologies associated with the keeping of hunting dogs, severely impact canine well-being and quality of life. A combination of methods were used to conduct a multi-species ethnography that considered the relationships between hunters and their dogs. Taking an affective, empathetic approach, I have attempted to phenomenologically engage with and experience the dogs' predicaments as much as possible, through observation and interaction, presenting a narrative ethology (McHugh, 2011a) that explores their subjectivity and uniqueness. By attending to the dogs' experiences and how we empathically co-constitute our experiences and relationships, I argue my human understanding gives a meaningful frame of reference.

The thesis does not deny that some of the humans involved in hunting with dogs formed close, intersubjective bonds with their dogs, where intersubjectivity is

defined as 'a world-experienced-in-common' (Goode, 2007, p. 90) shared by dogs and humans, in everyday reality where no language is required. Still, it also uncovers an exploitative relationship whereby the dogs are also objectified and conceptualised as tools, status symbols, and potentially lucrative breeding machines. It unearths an unwillingness to engage with or recognise canine needs and an anthropocentric cultural landscape where dogs are afforded little to no agency. Throughout the thesis, I encounter and bear witness to the dogs' presences, experiencing a deep intersubjectivity and honouring them, both in life and death. In the thesis I explore my role as an advocate for the canine subjects and invites others to do the same. The thesis contributes to improving awareness of the impacts of their enrolment in hunting on the physical and mental health of hunting dogs, highlighting the needs of the dogs in this context, and portrays them as valuable beings rather than expendable commodities.

In this introduction, I set the scene for the thesis and introduce some background on theoretical approaches that steered the research. Furthermore, I explain the thesis structure and outline the multiple themes to which this thesis contributes. I will start by introducing the broader research context of the project. In so doing, I will discuss the state of hunting dogs' lives in Cyprus. I will then explain the rationale and importance of this research and list the research questions.

I. Should I Let Sleeping Dogs Lie?

I saw her whilst driving around the immediate, local area, shortly after arriving in Cyprus. It was a December morning in 2010, and the leggy, black, 'hunting dog'-

type¹ puppy wandered out into the road in front of me as I drove towards the small village of Drousia, nestled in the hills between Paphos and Polis. She was thin, and I could see her ribs, her protruding hip bones and her eyes looked slightly bulbous set in her bony, domed skull. I stopped and got out, looked at her and wondered what to do. In the UK, I hardly ever saw stray dogs, and if I did find one, I would pick him or her up and take them to the nearest shelter to be reclaimed. She lowered her head and her long, oversized ears moved backwards submissively as she wagged her tail excitedly, yet apprehensively in greeting, her lips pulled back in a grin. I felt that I wanted to 'save' her, lift her into the back of my car and take her home to feed her up, but I was temporarily staying with family and knew I could not take her back to the house; they had dogs of their own, plus my two that had travelled over to Cyprus with me. New to the area, I did not know any rescue organisations that would help, and I could hear other dogs barking nearby, so I presumed she had escaped and would return home. I climbed back in the car and drove away quickly, hoping she would run home. Glancing back in the mirror, I saw her frantically running down the middle of the road, desperately trying to keep up with my car and I felt my heart break. That was the first of many experiences with hunting dogs. Over the coming years, I came to believe, like others in my social circle, that hunting dogs, perhaps more so than other types or breeds of dogs in Cyprus, were deliberately oppressed, abused, and neglected.

In August 2010 I decided to move to Cyprus as my mother and stepfather had moved there a few years earlier and my regular visits to see them introduced me to a place where I was able to relax and escape the hectic and stressful work-life

¹ 'Hunting dog' in this context is a term used for both dogs that are 'employed' in the role of hunting dog and/or for those who have the preferred genotype and phenotype for use in the human act of hunting, such as Pointers, Beagles, Setters and Hounds or a mixture of breeds that have a hound-like appearance.

of the UK. The outdoor lifestyle and the good weather for most of the year appealed to me, and I thought my daughter would have a better childhood experience in a country with low crime rates and limited availability of recreational drugs. I knew to move from the role of psychotherapist in the UK was not necessarily transferable as I did not speak Greek. Instead, I chose to fall back on my previous profession of veterinary nursing, looking for work as a veterinary nurse in practices that catered for the English-speaking residents as well as Greek speakers. This job search proved easy and within a few months of relocating I was working in a clinic where I stayed for a year before moving to a more progressive practice in 2011. I have worked there part-time since. During my time at the clinic, I encountered hunting dogs both as hunters presented them but more often by rescuers. It is at this juncture that I will explain that both dogs and humans were typified as 'hunters'. This is similar to how a horse used for foxhunting in the UK is called a hunter and the rider of the horse is also referred to as a hunter. Dogs used for hunting purposes or those that have the phenotype of dogs used, are called hunters, or hunting dogs. The men who practice hunting and those who poach, or hunt illegally are also referred to as hunters.

Based on my observations in this professional context I quickly sided with the rescuers who claimed human hunters abused, neglected, and abandoned their dogs. This was based on seeing the conditions of the dogs they brought to the clinic and by seeing them drifting through the countryside as strays, like ghosts of their former selves. As my Anthrozoological studies progressed and through my experiences at work and day-to-day life, I became curious and more critically analytical about the hunting dog phenomenon in Cyprus. In 2016 I decided that I would like my doctoral research to be an opportunity to explore it in depth. Coincidentally or perhaps unconsciously, my career with dogs developed and I

qualified as a canine behaviourist in 2014. Much of my work since has involved helping people who adopted rescued hunting dogs to understand them, enabling their mutual experiences to be at least tolerable and hopefully enjoyable.

II. Immersion into the Hunting Scene as a Scholarly Activist

I think it was during the first six months of living on the island of Cyprus that I became conscious of how my ethnic identity defined me and it was the first time in my life I had felt like a foreigner. It was comparable to Margaret Kenna's experiences of conducting fieldwork in the early 1970s on the Greek island of Nisos when she wrote:

My relatively unformed and, by student standards of the 1960s, uncontroversial political views, were taken by islanders as daring and dangerous; my taken-for-granted ideas about standing up to cruelty and corruption and insisting on the right to express a point of view were reflected back to me as naïve and inconsiderate. I became self-conscious about my own historical and political situation at the same time as I began to realise something about the times which islanders had lived through, including the use of the island as a place of political exile during the 1930s (1992, pp. 153–154).

To be English in Cyprus is, of course, to be foreign, but in Cyprus there were other more negative associations as Cyprus was under British rule from 1878 until 1960. Britain had assumed control of the island following three centuries of rule by the Ottoman Empire and during the British colonial period there was a rise in Greek and Turkish nationalism. The Greek Cypriots desired strong ties between Cyprus and Greece, whilst Turkish Cypriots preferred to remain under

British rule, before demanding the division of the island that remains still (Papdakis, 2006 Kindle book loc 33-37). The British or 'English', therefore, are still viewed by some as in some way linked to the Turkish, and memories of the Turkish invasion in 1974 linger.

As time passed, I did progress from being an assumed tourist, and with the help of suntanned skin and a smattering of Greek words, progressed to an accepted status of resident. Being a resident was not the same as being Cypriot, rather a different type of foreigner from a tourist, but one that was more accepted than a tourist on a fortnight's all-inclusive holiday.

The authorities in Cyprus, as elsewhere, described non-Cypriots as aliens, and despite living there for seven years, I could not get a mobile phone contract as I was not considered Cypriot. It was harder for me to obtain financial services, such as loans or credit cards, or to find somewhere to live with cheap rent as I was not a distant cousin of a landlord. My light skin generated comments like 'milky' or 'the English' from schoolboys. Multi-racial identity issues had never affected me before moving here and having now experienced it, I was very aware of how my identity may be perceived amongst non-British communities on the island. I did not feel as though I 'belonged' there and despite having a regular part-time job and being welcomed by most Cypriots, I felt at times like I was an alien. It was only once I had managed to gain the trust of hunters from a club in Nicosia (see Fig. 8) that I was semi-accepted, but even then, it was conditional; the research had to show the story that they wanted to project. Once I agreed to do that, I was welcomed. Indeed, they seemed pleased that they would be representatives of the hunting fraternity that would be studied.

My semi-acceptance into the hunting community caused confusion and consternation from the other side of the fence where animal rescue friends and colleagues, many of whom were keen to be research participants, could not understand my sudden affiliation with the opposition. My posts on social media became more objective as I censored them to please both sides and tried to keep everyone happy and 'on board'. I would challenge presumptions made against hunters by the rescue people and tried to justify hunters' care-taking methods of their dogs so as not to alienate hunters while at the same time keeping some of my true self visible. In a way, this seemed to work in my favour as it maintained the relationship with hunting participants and made some rescuers reflect on hunting practices, becoming aware that not all hunters behaved in the same way. This construction, and reconstruction of self where necessary, appeared to be the only way to navigate the fine line between the two personae adopted for the research, an ascribed identity that did not disrupt either side of the hunting dichotomy too much.

I chose two main areas of the countryside as field sites. Firstly, one rural area in the more mountainous region of Paphos district where the altitude reaches approximately 640 metres above sea level and secondly, a flatter area near the capital of Nicosia where the topography is plains and rolling countryside (both shown in the circled areas in Fig. 8).

Activist scholarship was an influential theoretical strand of the methodology that grew from the desire to improve the dogs' lives (research aim). I wanted to bridge the gap between academia and hands-on praxis. Rather than being the academic observer, I wanted to roll up my sleeves and get stuck into making changes. This approach became increasingly relevant as the work progressed and I became

further immersed with like-minded activist academics through university colleagues. Lennox and Yildiz define activist scholarship as follows:

The term “activist scholarship” is used to denote practices by both activists within social movements who do research and scholars within academia who conduct activism-oriented research. In both cases, the emphasis is on the acts of research conducted in different institutional settings towards similar shared goals (2019, p. 6).

However, it was not without its drawbacks as the divide that exists between academia and activism can be difficult to bridge. It challenged me as a researcher to be seen as ‘academic’ by peers and institutions while aligning with those that suffer and challenging the oppressors at the same time. For me, it was a balance of intellectual enquiry and a commitment to justice for the dogs, which occasionally meant that both sides were left wanting. This required an effective use of reflexivity, or the ability to continually assess reflections on the research experience and process by being self-aware. Joan Dodgson argues: ‘If a researcher clearly describes the contextual intersecting relationships between the participants and themselves (reflexivity), it not only increases the creditability of the findings but also deepens our understanding of the work’ (2019, p. 202). Being reflexive enabled me to manage this duality within the work and it became a predominant tool or skill used throughout the process. It was especially applicable within the autoethnographic sections. It also aided the conversation and interpretation of information gained through online ethnography

IV. Aims and Objectives

Aims

This research had two aims. Firstly, I set out to examine whether hunters and hunting practices in Cyprus were causing the neglect and abuse of hunting dogs, or whether this neglect was a fabrication of prejudiced opinion, formed by a well-meaning but misinformed British immigrant community. Hunters were accused by non-hunting communities of neglectful and abusive practises. I wanted to catalogue examples, interrogate the role of dogs within the act of hunting, and determine the truth behind the accusations.

Secondly, after meeting that very first hunting dog, I wanted to make a significant contribution to improving the ways in which hunting dogs lived their lives. Through this research I wanted to critically challenge current methods of hunting dog ownership and husbandry, influencing and collaborating with those who were responsible for hunting dog welfare to facilitate positive change.

Objectives

- To meet the aims, I began by preparing and integrating myself within the hunting community in the first year. I became active within field site areas and engaged hunters in conversation and discussion, both in person and online. After searching for hunting and hunting dog communities on Facebook, I joined two or three groups and engaged in discussions on posts and conversed with individuals to create connections.
- During the second year, my attention turned to the dogs. I followed a small group of dogs through certain 'windows' of their lives to capture their experiences with humans. Throughout the project, I contemplated the interactions between a

hunting dog and the hunter, mostly within a multi-species (Hurn & Lewis, 2018b; Kirksey & Helmreich, 2010) autoethnographic (Adams et al., 2015; Chang, 2007; Ellis et al., 2010; Méndez, 2013; Sparkes, 2002) methodology, under the umbrella of scholarly activist theory. These terms and methods are explained in detail in chapter 1.

- Finally, towards the end of the project, I used the findings to inform my professional work with dogs and their owners, to teach others and to develop a collection of dog centric online educational courses that contributed to achieving the second aim. Themes of pedagogy are detailed in chapter 9 along with advocacy and activism, which also appear in chapters 5, 7, and 8.

As you will read, the study evolved into an exploration of a maze of animal welfare issues, cultural differences, identities, beliefs, and revelations that intersected with my personal and professional experiences in Cyprus.

V. Research Questions

- What is hunting with dogs in Cyprus? A clear picture of the practice was needed to achieve both aims of the research.
- Are hunting related practices in Cyprus contributing to the neglect and abuse of dogs used for hunting? I wanted to ascertain if the arguments concerning neglect were true or false.
- How can the use of hunting dogs be changed to improve hunting dog welfare? If indeed the dogs were suffering, I wanted to apply my findings to improve their lives.

VI. It's Just a Dog

Attitudes towards animal welfare in Cyprus as in other European countries (Bock & Huik, 2007; Napolitano et al., 2013; Phillips et al., 2012) are complicated. During the project, and as will be demonstrated in fieldwork vignettes and quotes throughout the thesis, some human participants viewed non-human animals as 'mindless' objectified creatures, rather than sentient beings. It was said by animal advocates that these views were illustrated by the ways some hunting dogs were kept and used. Certain hunters, particularly in rural areas, openly discussed how they kept dogs in a manner that did not appear to value the dog's welfare. This style of husbandry seemed to have become normalised and socially sanctioned (Arluke, 2006; Groling, 2014; Vaca-Guzman & Arluke, 2005). Traditional practices such as 24/7 caging, aversive training techniques, dogs existing in poor physical condition, and excessive breeding were very visible, as dogs were kept in plain sight throughout the countryside. Dogs in cages could be seen from roadsides and you did not have to travel more than a few minutes out of a town to see them. This visibility suggested a desensitisation to or naturalisation of animal suffering (Capaldo, 2004; Frank, 2008; Grandin, 1994; Groling, 2014).

Dogs used for hunting in Cyprus (not classed as 'hounds', for example, as fox hounds used in a pack to track prey, or as 'gun dogs' used to retrieve from a post, as in the UK) occupied a liminal space, where they fell between the European Union animal welfare legislative nets that protected other species and even other dogs. They were undefined in terms of legislation and protective processes (European Convention for the Protection of Pet Animals, 1987; Schrijver et al., 2015; The EU Dog and Cat Alliance, 2014). They were neither classified as pets, working animals nor commercial animals and were therefore not explicitly

protected by EU law. They were, however, supposed to be protected by the local guidelines of welfare based on Brambell's Five Freedoms (Farm Animal Welfare Council, 1993).

This study provided a voice for hunters who had previously been and continued to be demonised by what they described as animal welfare propaganda. But most importantly, it exposed the lives of dogs used for hunting who experienced abuse and suffering because of some practices associated with keeping hunting dogs. This was often exacerbated by a lack of enforcement of welfare guidelines by the relevant authorities charged with protecting them. The thesis considered how conflicts between traditional approaches to keeping and viewing hunting dogs and the beliefs and practices of animal rights and welfare groups on the island have evolved and how they might be reconfigured for the benefit of both humans and canines involved in the Cypriot hunting community.

A) Cultural Difference

I refer to 'Western culture' throughout as a society where similar ethical beliefs, political systems, and technologies are shared (Hurn, 2012, p. 37). It includes European countries and those closely connected to Europe, such as the Americas and Australasia, who share languages and demographics evolved from Europe. This includes Cyprus. I use the term as it 'retains some currency as a referent to institutionalised modes of thought prevalent within industrial Europe and the United States', but I recognise that it can be problematic as an essentialist assumption with no purposeful meaning and a result of colonial classification of what is actually a heterogenous and disparate category (Hurn, 2012, p. 37). Migration, tourism, and governments produce conflicting views of local and

national identities and tap into insecurities about religion, history, and politics (Sirman, 1998, p. 51) and so to try to homogenise or categorise can be seen as meaningless. However, it is a known quantity and is helpful in recognising that mainstream attitudes towards animals in much of Europe and North America stand in opposition to other geographical areas. Therefore, it is a useful application of the term within the context of this thesis where the attitudes of 'Western' ex-patriot communities are a prevalent theme.

When considering dogs in Cyprus I have acknowledged that diversity exists in any 'cultural context'. There nonetheless remain some dominant ways of viewing and interacting with animals in so-called 'Western cultures'. In Western, predominantly Christian cultures, animals have been historically considered anthropocentrically (DeMello, 2012; Hurn, 2012; Ingold, 1988; Kemmerer, 2012; Steiner, 2006; Waldau & Patton, 2006). Humans have assumed a (misplaced) superiority to non-human animals in their day-to-day survival, what Haraway and others have termed 'human exceptionalism' (Haraway, 2007; Srinivasan & Kasturirangan, 2016). Yet it was not until recently that representations of non-human animals changed with certain species being recognised to have some subjectivity and individuality within specific contexts (Linzey, 2015; McDaniel Jay, 2006; Salisbury, 1997). Marc Bekoff (2006a), in response to an annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, discussed the roles of science and belief concerning non-human animals. He said: 'Science is a belief system like other belief systems, with its own assumptions, limitations, and promises' (Bekoff, 2006a, p. 74). He went on to argue that it is nonsense to say we do not know if animals feel pain, have preferences, or a sense of self. Panksepp describes the robust evidence for affective states in non-human animals based on studies of drug abuse in humans and non-human animals (2005, p. 43). He explains how

the euphoria inducing dopamine activity in the brain following use of certain drugs had similar effects in non-human animals as humans. Non-human animals exhibited a strong desire for similar substances, mediated by similar brain systems, leaving little doubt that affective states exist in non-human animals. Research into cognitive ethology and affective consciousness provides insight into non-human animal preferences, emotions, and their subjective experiences. Due to this, there is now a greater understanding and acceptance of the sentience of some animals in academia (Bekoff, 2006a, 2007; Dawkins, 1980; Griffin, 1976; Hurn, 2012, 2015; Hurn & Lewis, 2018b; Panksepp, 2005). Yet my fieldwork suggested that in Cyprus anthropocentrism figures strongly in human and non-human animal interactions. This anthropocentric dominant culture resulted in some hunting dogs becoming a homogenised and objectified group of canines. Despite a heterogeneity within the hunting fraternity where not all hunters treated their dogs the same way, the research demonstrated that for many, this culture had a negative impact on the well-being of most of the dogs.

VII. Chapter Summaries

Following on from the introduction, the **first chapter** explains how I was able to immerse myself into the hunting scene over a set period of time. This immersion, or rather how it would be conducted, was critical if I was to achieve the theoretical objective of 'bringing in the animal' and examine the human oppression within human-non-human animal intersectionality that forms the second research question. Critical Animal Studies (CAS) theory encouraged me to reflect on questions of exploitation and oppression, drawing comparisons with feminist influences, and to use methods that would meet this aim.

The chapter specifies which methods were most effective for me to collect data, examine and analyse it, and relay the narratives of all involved. It sets out why particular methods were chosen and how they were implemented. There is an introduction to the field sites and context of each, with information about why these sites were chosen. It is a critical reflection on the process of the research, rather than a list of methods, and through this research process I achieved all three research objectives.

The **second chapter** explores what hunting is in Cyprus. It provides insights into the historical context relevant to Cyprus, the social organisation of hunting, the practices that use dogs, and the related rituals. This provides an initial look into some of the ways in which hunting dogs suffered, the hierarchical tiers of hunters, and starts to provide answers to the first research question, what is hunting in Cyprus, and also the second question, are hunting related practices in Cyprus contributing to the neglect and abuse of dogs used for hunting? It introduces the hunters and their dogs through an ethnography of a field trial where the dogs' experience is presented. It begins to untangle the hierarchy of hunter society in Cyprus and identifies themes of identity, machismo, and how some dogs are revered. Yet it argues that cognitive dissonance and perceptions of maleness and power negatively affect even the most admired dogs. This achieved the second objective and influenced the third objective and by doing so met both aims of the project. Once again, I attempt to bring the dog into the research within the theoretical framework of CAS.

Chapter three is a personal and reflexive portrayal of bearing witness to some hunting dogs as they experience trauma and death. It examines themes of gendered dominance, the lack of canine agency, and the experience of dogs as

witnesses too. This chapter acknowledges that in telling these dogs' stories 'the process of representation also carries violence' (Marciniak, 2010, p. 872) and indeed, how we tell these stories has personal ethical consequences that 'should be subject to critical reflection and care' (Gillespie, 2016, p. 586). The sorrow caused by giving my hearts to these dogs to tear is evident within this chapter.

Once more I use animal biography to present my understanding of the dogs through my own emotional and physical experience of them. I use empathic anthropomorphism in a positive way to attempt to understand the dogs' feelings, consciousness, personalities, and subjectivity. Aims one and two were met in this chapter by achieving the second objective.

The **fourth chapter** is an enquiry into the hunter/canine bond. It presents the differing views of hunters towards their dogs, challenges the current perception of training methods, and begins to unravel the dog's role and the notion of intersubjectivity and how this presents itself in the human/dog engagement of hunting. As ever, the dog's experience is discussed and the perceptions and interactions between humans and dogs are critiqued from a CAS perspective. However, in this chapter I begin to engage with a human care ethic in conjunction with a canine one. The human hunters express a need to feel 'in nature' with their dogs, grounded by the experience and interactions with members of their social group. I describe how the relationships between human and dog seen in an ethnographic example of a field trial challenge perceptions and criticisms of 'outsiders' and contribute further to all three research objectives and the first aim.

In **chapter five** I present the more extreme side of hunting dog abuse and criminality. It examines social justice themes, canine victimology, ethical issues, and the lack of protection in the hunting dog's experience. It shows the criminal

elements of both the hunters and certain rescue organisations, the failure of the police and government departments, and ultimately the exploitation of the dogs. This chapter theoretically engages with both care ethics and CAS by once again exploring human oppression of dogs and comparing what their lives could be like instead. I argue that human oppression and domination, in conjunction with the legal position of dogs as 'property', leads to their suffering. The chapter brings into focus the more extreme examples of suffering that the dogs used in hunting practices experienced. It was this data that provoked the activist within this scholar and motivated me to meet the third objective and by doing so, achieve the second aim of the study.

The sixth chapter is dedicated almost entirely to four specific canine actors' stories. These narratives deliver messages of their suffering and rescue, Cypriot authorities and government bodies, and how these different entanglements influence the dogs' lives. Unlike Margo DeMello's collection of essays in *Speaking for Animals* where she translates the thoughts and way of experiencing them into speech (2013, p. 1), this chapter tells their stories. It views them externally, using information from humans whose lives they touched in the hope of honouring their agency, lived experiences, and bodies (Krebber & Roscher, 2018). I adopt DeMello's approach in chapter seven where the dogs are portrayed more autobiographically. These dogs' tales are different examples of the types of experiences that dogs used in hunting practices lived through; the trauma, rehabilitation, and learning to live differently again. This chapter met objective two and informed both aims providing evidence for the answers raised by the research questions.

The seventh chapter puts the rescuers of hunting dogs (both those who were used in the practice of hunting or presented with the morphology of those used) under review and defines the types of rescue and processes that occurred. It presents evidence of how in some cases, rescue may not be the better option for some hunting dogs and compares captivity in both settings; hunter cages and shelter cages (Gruen, 2014; Pierce, 2016, 2020). It argues that welfare is not an easy term to define and is both controversial and divisive. Disagreements about the balance between poor animal welfare against human interests (Palmer & Sandoe, 2018, p. 425) are presented in both hunting and rescue quarters. It presents some critique of rescue practices that seem contradictory in that the dogs become commodified for different purposes to suit their organisational agendas and argues that the dogs' presence is secondary to human needs. Care ethics are interwoven throughout this chapter, and it identifies the gap in some of the rescue sector that fails to view situations through the dogs' perspective. This chapter met all three objectives and so also met aims one and two.

This chapter also focusses on the impact of certain husbandry practices, particularly prolonged captivity through the caging of the dogs. In the observational and immersive tradition of multi-species ethnography, written notes and photographs were taken whilst observing caged dogs. The chapter presents an adapted form of ethogram, similar to a Qualitative Behavioural Analysis (Wemelsfelder, 2007a), but created to be more inclusive of the dogs' voice and experience. It was adapted in this way to present a purely qualitative approach and not just to present dog behaviours, but to show the impact on both the physical and mental health of caged dogs. In addition, it provides descriptions from hunters of their dogs, how they are trained and cared for or in some cases not. It also begins to reveal the trauma that some hunting dogs experience and

the compassion fatigue of those who are involved in seeing their suffering; the cause and effect that bridges both theories of CAS and care ethics. This chapter met objectives two and three and both aims.

Finally, the **conclusion** considers the future of hunting dogs, primarily those employed as such. It explores how education in a dog's physical, psychological, and emotional needs, may provide the solution to improving their well-being (Hawkins et al., 2017; Kareem, 2014; Peggs & Smart, 2017). It presents how the impact of the research has been used in pedagogical practices to improve the understanding of dog needs and behaviour, while being mindful not to commodify the dogs further by using their stories of lived trauma and suffering but instead to use my experiences as observer, witness, and canine behaviourist to inform my teaching. The educational translation of the research is twofold. Firstly, to engage with Cypriot representatives from political and hunting groups to share knowledge and form 'best practice guidelines' in terms of hunting dog care (McClellan, 2019). Secondly, the student audience are predominantly from middle class, female, white, 'Western' societal backgrounds and therefore I see an opportunity to challenge the homogenous assumptions of human-canine relations in 'non-Western' societies and indeed of pet-keeping practices in general (McClellan, 2019). By doing so, this chapter met objectives three and aim two.

The **thesis concludes** with answers to the research questions and describes not only the need for change, but how it may be achieved. The natural entitlement felt by Cypriot hunters demonstrates how hunting is unlikely to stop, but I conclude that without change their poor reputation for dog welfare will continue and non-hunter's negative perceptions of hunters will remain.

The chapters are presented in this order to give the reader information at relevant points along the research journey. To begin with, chapter one sets the scene and describes how an integrative approach to methodology was required to be able to capture such complex data with its many nuances. Then chapter two provides some background on hunting as a practice and how it translates locally in Cyprus and the areas in which fieldwork was conducted. Chapter three is a stark and challenging examination of witnessing trauma from both human and canine perspectives. It was important to portray the lack of canine agency early in the thesis as it is a context in which the dogs lived their lives in almost all environments they encountered. Chapter four presents a mixed and perhaps more balanced view of hunters and their relationships with dogs, giving examples of some who genuinely treasure the dogs they call their hunting companions, before delving into the darker side of crimes against hunting dogs in chapter five. Chapter six tells individual narratives of a selection of dogs, whose lives have been impacted by their roles as hunting dogs and it is at this stage that rescue and rehabilitation of the dogs is introduced. The rescue industry is examined further in chapter seven where the thesis demonstrates that hunting dogs are exploited by those who deem to save them too. Lastly, the conclusion contemplates how change may be encouraged through education and gives examples of the research being applied in this context.

VIII. What the Research Contributes

The research was applied to highlight welfare issues of hunting dogs and other animals in Cyprus and aimed to inform and promote policy change. It contributed more generally to animal welfare education but theoretically to feminist relational literature (Adams, 2000; Dashper, 2019; Gillespie, 2016, 2017; Kheel, 1996;

Mallory, 2009; Oliver, 2001), ethics of hunting (Bronner, 2007; Cartmill, 1996; Humphreys, 2010; Hurn, 2008a; Marvin, 2003, 2006; Rentería-Valencia, 2015), and bearing witness (Gillespie, 2016, 2017; Gillespie & Lopez, 2019; Oliver, 2001; Pihkala, 2019; Thieleman & Cacciatore, 2014). Unlike Betz-Heinemann's (2018) work on hunting practices in the Northern, occupied area of Cyprus, this thesis took a more multi-species approach. The thesis placed larger emphasis on the dogs used for hunting, rather than the social-technical aspects of the humans who hunt that Betz-Heinemann described. The discourse of both hunters, non-hunters, and critics of hunting who engaged in animal rights or welfare activities, were explored. This exploration helped to define the legitimacy, morality, and social implications of hunting in current day Cyprus. The way in which the research was conducted is now explored in detail.

Chapter 1 – Research Methods & Fieldwork. An Integrative Approach.

As a methodology chapter this section describes each of the various methods used. To talk about what a researcher does, it is useful to provide some context. Our work as ethnographers is inherently rooted in what our subjects are like, why they do what they do, and how their lives are lived. Unlike quantitative methods, these assumptions cannot be easily specified, they differ from situation to situation and individual to individual. The context can be fluid, never still, and we all interpret what we see in our own, different subjective ways. What I believe about this study is borrowed from my own experiences, beliefs, social constructs, and understanding. As a reader, you will believe what you believe and understand what I present in your own way. Therefore, it is important to lay a foundation about this methodology here.

An Integrative Methodology is one that I have created based upon the theory of Integrative Psychotherapy, which influenced my practice as a psychotherapist. The term integrative in a psychotherapeutic context refers to both the synthesis of affective, behavioural, cognitive, and physiological theory (Erskine, 1988). Within human psychotherapy this method is used to facilitate the integration or assimilation of fragmented parts of personality within clients, because whilst damaged, people cannot resolve issues or feel emotionally well.

In this context, I have taken this approach to integrate aspects of the research, including theory, process, affective, behavioural, cognitive, psychological, and physical, and they are all assimilated throughout the thesis to build a picture of what hunting with dogs in Cyprus is and how it impacts the lives of the dogs used within it. In a similar way to therapeutic interventions with humans, it has exposed

concepts that are used within the perspective of human development, such as tasks, sensitivities, crises, opportunities for learning, and basic functioning. Without all these parts being integrated, the gaps would be detrimental to the whole picture of the dogs' lives, giving a misrepresented, misinformed, and ineffectual piece of research.

This integrative approach meant that I could work flexibly and attempt to find answers to research questions from complex situations, where using only one approach may have missed information, been too prescriptive, or just not appropriate in the circumstances. The study covered such a wide range of themes that to have a large 'toolbox' of methods to use was helpful.

1.2 Multi-Species Ethnography

This methodology was an ethnographic way of finding out about hunting practices and the lives of humans and non-human others that are associated with it (Hamilton & Taylor, 2017; Hurn & Lewis, 2018a). However, it included other than human exploration and therefore diluted any human (including my own) bias that existed. When researching this method, I found that a vortex of postmodern philosophy surrounded me. Critical theory (Griffin, 1976), vague or overly detailed descriptions of reflexivity, narratives (Adams et al., 2015; Berry, 2013; Ellis, 2004; Ellis et al., 2010; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Hurn, 2012; Knight & Barnett, 2008; McIlveen, 2008a), visual methods (Dalsgaard, 2016; Marion & Crowder, 2013; Pink, 2013), sociological arguments, queer theories, and feminist theories (Wolf, 1996) all influenced me. Indeed, my work did come under a few stand-out theoretical headings. The ethics of caring in animal work (Coulter, 2016b) which appears to be a conceptual area which is still growing (Hurn, 2013; Srinivasan, 2013; Stanescu, 2013) and animal biographies (Anglin, 2013; DeMello, 2013;

Krebber & Roscher, 2018) were both influential to this work. Secrecy, criminology (Essen & Allen, 2017; Groling, 2014; Nurse, 2011; Singer, 1988; von Essen et al., 2014), and social status concerning non-human animals (Harding, 2014; Maher & Pierpoint, 2011) are also figural at times in sections of the thesis.

My interest was in others, in addition to the self, within the research. Multi-species ethnographic methods allow for the relational view within posthumanism, and indulged my liking for actor-network theory, as well as acting ‘... as a mode of understanding the connective and organisational processes that hold together (or repel) different agencies’ (Hamilton & Taylor, 2017 Kindle loc 421), and as such it was a preferred method. My aim was to focus as much on the dogs and their agency as the humans. Studying their connections and networks within the hunting context made it an effective mode of enquiry. It is not without its problems and critics though.

Despite multi-species ethnography being used to challenge the anthropocentrism within human-animal studies (Kirksey & Helmreich, 2010), it is not without its flaws. Micro-organisms and plants are excluded within the discussions. An example of how this exclusion may have affected this work is to consider the Sandfly, *psychodid diptera* of the subfamily Phlebotominae. It is a vector of the zoonotic disease Leishmaniasis (Showler & Boggild, 2017). Many hunting dogs sadly become infected due to housing and husbandry practices, yet the devastating impact on the dog’s health and potential risks to humans would not be addressed according to Alan Smart who writes: ‘Human–animal relations also leave micro-organisms and plants out of the discussion’ (2014, p. 3). Referring back to the actor-network theory of Bruno Latour (2011), we as humans need to acknowledge that actors who impact us, even if we do not understand that impact,

may still be of huge importance. By using a multi-species ethnographic approach, I hoped to incorporate these elements and by doing so, add to the current discourse about it. Therefore, the methodology sat predominantly beneath the multi-species ethnographic umbrella, but included many 'autoethnographic reflections', as well as some visual methods, some 'qualitative behavioural assessments' of dogs, some 'animal biography', and 'online ethnography'.

1.3 Autoethnography

To explain further, autoethnography is a process of telling stories of and about the self that are analytic and reflexive demonstrations of how we interpret our experiences (Adams et al., 2015, p. 1). Throughout the thesis, there are autoethnographic reflections where I tell stories that are an interpretation of my experiences, including thoughts and feelings. In the beginning, I wanted this research to raise awareness, change, or even abolish the poor welfare practices and animal exploitation that I witnessed. Academic achievement, notoriety, or opportunities did not hold much value for me at this time but making a difference to hunting dogs, and other oppressed and suffering animals in Cyprus did. I decided the only way to be grounded in the everyday lives of the hunters and the dogs was to experience it for myself, telling the world what that was like through my personal reflexive lens. My growing awareness of the influence of my social group in the cultural landscapes that I worked and lived in left me feeling uncomfortable and led to further investigation.

I was conscious during fieldwork that I wanted to present my data in a creative way. I felt conflicted between what I thought I should do and what I wanted to do. It challenged me and eventually, I realised that to be authentic in my work and in

keeping with the autoethnographic style, I would combine my experiences and those of both my human and canine informants with the existing literature and theory to broaden understanding. Andrew Sparkes put it more eloquently when he described autoethnographies as '...highly personalised accounts that draw upon the experience of the author/researcher to extend sociological understanding' (2002, p. 21). Autoethnography falls under the umbrella of qualitative enquiry (Adams et al., 2015; Ellis, 2004; Ellis et al., 2010; Méndez, 2013) and was a way of being that I have found to be the best for me to gain knowledge through the lived experience in the same way as traditional ethnographic methods would, but with more analysis of self. I am not alone in having felt unclear about the term autoethnography. Others who have trodden this path before me described uncertainty as to whether they should form a hybrid of methods, variants of autoethnography, or connect to an open-ended method (Forber-Pratt, 2015; Johnston & Strong, 2008; Wall, 2008). According to Chang (2007), it is the researcher's responsibility to be informed of the multiple usages of the term autoethnography and to define how they use it. With this in mind, I found myself drawn to creative analytical practices, using myself in the foreground but with a focus on the narratives of those surrounding me, writing in a way that was descriptive and evocative and used the conventions of storytelling (Ellis et al., 2010). The autoethnographic aspects of the research were most influenced by Ellis, who explained that ethnography is the study of a culture's relational practices, values, and beliefs and that by becoming a participant in the culture you can better understand it. That approach was good for the human aspects of the study but for the dogs it was more complex as they were more difficult to access, under the control of humans, and linguistically different.

Autoethnography, on the other hand, expands and opens up a wider lens on the world, eschewing rigid definitions of what constitutes meaningful and useful research; this approach also helps us understand how the kinds of people we claim, or are perceived, to be influence interpretations of what we study, how we study it, and what we say about our topic (Ellis et al., 2010, p. 3).

This wider lens as described above by Ellis et al. (2010) allowed me to retrospectively analyse parts of hunting dog culture and present their identities based on theoretical tools and by comparing my experiences to existing literature. My personal history of witnessing and being a part of hunting dog's lives and culture, combined with a lived experience of hunting and animal rights activism, meant that autoethnography felt the most natural way to express the learning from this project. This method imparted knowledge through personal experience narratives and by reflection of the topic and my relationship to it. It encouraged the notion that no one way of knowing is right and that all are legitimate. It provided new insights that would engage readers and provoke an emotional response to it and by doing so, would promote a positive change to the lives of hunting dogs in the future. Adams et al. describe autoethnographic stories as a way of using our experience to engage with others, stating that 'autoethnographic stories are artistic and analytical demonstrations of how we come to know, name, and interpret personal and cultural experience' (2015, p. 1), or simplistically, a study of the self (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p. 9). I always knew that I would be more comfortable with a qualitative methodology that focussed on human and non-human animal emotions, motivations, and experiences, rather than one which centred on a measured interaction or on statistical data. I used a more transparent method where my identity, beliefs, feelings, and bias could be explained and shown as an influencing factor in a genuine and authentic way.

This project was never a researcher and subject style, one where a separation between the two was apparent. Instead, it became about me being in the field, experiencing social, cultural, and political aspects of the work and exploring the experiences of others by being part of it. Gaining experience allowed me to make sense of the hunting practice and the dogs, connecting by observing others and reflecting analytically with hands-on, intimate, and occasionally uncomfortable participation and association but without becoming detached, and using a personal story to engage my reader.

The personal impact of hunting and hunting dogs on myself meant that I had to be a pivotal part of the process and be able to share my questions, experiences, and beliefs with my participants in an honest way within a trusting relationship. This process could only be achieved by connecting my personal experiences of them with the broader relational, political, and cultural contexts (Adams et al., 2015). Being this involved and able to work reflexively allowed me to create a platform of sense-making of others' cultural norms, even if this was at times challenging. I used reflexivity as a tool, as a medium between myself and others, as a self-regulation mechanism to remain present in the work. Adams et al. state 'reflexivity consists of not turning our back on our experiences, identities, and relationships to consider how they influence our present work. Reflexivity also asks us to explicitly acknowledge our research concerning power ...' (2015, p. 29). I did not necessarily agree with them as our own experiences, identities, and relationships are integral parts of ourselves. However, I agreed that reflexivity is being mindful of how these influence the work and how they relate to the power dynamic within relationships. Indeed, it is that self-awareness that is reflexivity.

Berry described reflexivity as 'taking seriously the self's location(s) in culture and scholarship' (2013, p. 212) and I believe this is perhaps a more realistic interpretation. The Institute for Critical Animal Studies (ICAS) sets out core principals of research that reject a theory for theory's sake approach and value the use of methods that focus on '... specificity, subjectivity and accessibility, such as the reflexive, biographical and visual methods ...' (Griffin, 2014, p. 112). Reading this was reassuring. As a researcher who has, at times, personally experienced academia as alienating through its bureaucratic systems and positivist attitudes, I found a genre of research that felt like a 'good fit' and challenged many of the feelings and thoughts I had previously held about mainstream academia.

My previous experiences of research were science-based when working as a laboratory technician within a research project at Cambridge University. I was expected to support the exploitation of animals through vivisection, being told it was for the greater good of those species affected and the only type of research that attracts 'decent' funding. Research there at that time was science-based, quantitative, and understood by 'true academics' who formed an elite few at that university. I remembered how this positivist view was fed to me in such a way that I believed it to be true and that I would never be amongst such revered people. I have since discovered that thankfully times are changing and slowly optimism towards reflexive social science grows. Matei Candea writes: 'Taking skeptical scientists who work with animals seriously in an ethnographic sense forces us to rethink both ontological dichotomies and the contrast between the tough minded and the tender hearted' (2013, p. 425). He explains that the rhetoric on both sides of the argument can be stark with the animal-minded scientists such as Donna Haraway asking us to 'meet dogs as strangers' (2003, p. 236)

whilst acknowledging that it is a counter-point to assumptions of similarity. Yet, the industries moulded by Cartesian science still distance themselves from intersubjectivity to enable an unemotional exploitation of non-human animals. Candea summarises the tough sceptical scientist versus the tender anthropomorphist argument by stating:

When it comes to scientists and animal minds, we seem, in other words, to be faced with a stark choice between engagement and detachment: either we acknowledge meaningful intersubjective relations between humans and nonhuman animals, which prove the inherent ethical and epistemic wrongness of skepticism, or we denounce these relations as illusory and side with those who bravely carry forward “the process of liberation from the delusions of anthropomorphism” (Kennedy, 1992, p.5) (2013, p. 425).

He goes on to explain how sceptical scientists suspend belief and detach from the notion of the animal mind in their daily interactions with research animals, yet this bracketing or detachment erases the animal’s mentality and can only be compared to Cartesian mechanistic methods. Candea’s work is set in the context of behavioural animal scientific work and therefore is not necessarily applicable to all animal research work and I acknowledge that detachment must make it emotionally and psychologically easier to conduct experiments. Alternative qualitative approaches encourage researchers to connect persons, both human and non-human, in their worlds providing substantive knowledge. They are also gaining acceptance and no longer considered an undervalued 'soft science'.

That said, all methods are subjected to criticism. My intent is not to devalue quantitative research and by engaging with these debates, I have paid attention to how I felt while reading them, which has provoked further insight. One of which

is the comfortable fit of reading reflections as mentioned above by autoethnographers like Ellis et al. (2010) and Sparkes (2002), whose work I have found useful, as well as Gillespie (2016) and Pachirat, (2011) work that concentrates on human-non-human animal relationships and scholarly activism. It is enjoyable and inspiring to read work that is interesting, powerfully evocative, and personal.

1.3.1 Criticism of Autoethnography

The most common criticism of autoethnography is of its strong emphasis on self, which is the mainstay of resistance to accepting autoethnography as a valuable research method. Autoethnographies have been criticised for being self-indulgent, narcissistic, introspective, individualised, and including inappropriate assumptions. Now, as I write, I am aware that this criticism sits on my shoulder, passing judgement on every paragraph. If I described my feelings, I questioned whether I had discussed them for too long, had I given myself too much importance in that particular sentence, and indeed what exactly was self-indulgence? An academic world dominated at times and in some areas by the scientific paradigm leaves my work open to undermining criticism of solipsism and I am aware that I need a good response to answer such comments. I wonder how critics of autoethnography, and indeed qualitative methods in general, would define self-indulgence, when perhaps more appropriately it should be described using language as noted by Sparkes such as, ‘... self-knowing, self-respectful, self-sacrificing ...’ (2002, p. 210). It certainly feels that plenty of self-sacrifices occurred during this research and many of the characteristics that Ellis (1999) discusses too, including systematic sociological introspection, emotional recall, the vulnerability of the researcher through disclosure, and the examination of

meaning. Sparkes beautifully describes some of the many outcomes that researchers using this methodology achieve:

... evocative stories that create the effect of reality; the celebration of concrete experience and intimate detail; the examination of how human experience is endowed with meaning; a concern with moral, ethical and political consequences ... the featuring of multiple voices and the repositioning of readers and “subjects” as co-participants in dialogue ... (2002, p. 212).

I invited some friends and colleagues to read sections of my work and to pass a critical eye over the content. By doing so, I gained understanding of what they saw and understood and compared them to my view of events. This critiquing allowed me to revise my perspectives; providing more clarity where it was needed and clearing away any personal bias with too much influence. These were not academic critics but those whom I could trust to give me an honest opinion and a true reflection of what they saw in the writing, in often frank and stimulating ways. Gray (2007) and Nilsson (2013) describe this as using a reflective guide where seeking another individual to listen and discuss the content provides an opportunity to explore and challenge events. Using the ‘critical friend’ to study the self is defined as a way of questioning our experiences and the response to that experience and by doing so it is another tool of regulating and refining the work (Loughran & Brubaker, 2015). Using these methods enabled me to gain insight into how the audience used the information I provided and translated it into their own experiences, coming to conclusions about what it meant to them and might mean to others within their network. Despite their viewing of it through their intersubjective lens, it was good to see how my experiences translated into others understanding and provoke meaningful dialogue about the subject matter.

1.3.2 Making Sense of it All

Another sometimes contested area of autoethnography is evaluation. Adams et al. discuss how according to critics autoethnography '...cannot be assessed for its explanatory power, scholarly insight, or ability to cultivate social change' (2015, p. 99). Data collection and analysis is an area of discussion where autoethnography is criticised, for example Fusch and Ness (2015) mention the importance of reaching data saturation; the point at which enough data is obtained to replicate the study and further coding is not feasible. They say that the failure to do so hampers the validity of the study (Fusch & Ness, 2015, p. 1408). Sarah Wall describes the general expectation that exists where ethnographers are to present 'hard' data from which interpretations and claims can be made (2008, p. 45) else the work lacks credence.

Despite these criticisms, Duncan (2004) recommends using multiple sources of evidence to support the autoethnographer's opinion. She explains that:

... autoethnographic accounts do not consist solely of the researcher's opinions but are also supported by other data that can confirm or triangulate those opinions. Methods of collecting data include participant observation, reflective writing, interviewing, and gathering documents and artefacts (Duncan, 2004, p. 5).

Legitimising the autoethnographic aspects in this study was done through the triangulation and validation of observations and responses through the use of transcripts of conversations, photographic evidence, a systematic reflexive journal, and field notes. These 'hard data' items were used to construct the

narrative account from which conclusions were drawn. To ensure an erudite account of the research, I tried to avoid a writing style that provoked emotional responses from readers without offering deep levels of reflection, analysis, and engagement with literature and by doing so, attempted to bridge the gap between personal experience and theoretical concepts. I approached the purpose of conducting the research honestly with a genuine curiosity about the lives of hunting dogs in Cyprus and how the practice of hunting affects them, in the process being open and reflexive about my bias towards activism and welfare improvements. Compared to other more artistic autoethnographic styles, I reasoned my own could be considered conservative, in a similar fashion to Duncan's work, as I tried to appease academic criticism while attending to my personal methodological preferences.

Autoethnography was an appropriate means of investigating the research focus within the context of the research field. Being immersed in the field when at work and home meant that autoethnographic methods could be incorporated easily and effectively without too much disruption to daily activities. It allowed me to explore my interests in the area and gain a deeper understanding of hunting with dogs from a variety of perspectives. By using a variety of evidence sources, I was able to deliver a scholarly account, rather than a purely emotive story.

1.4 Reflexive Journal

I began writing the journal in February 2017, and it became a powerful device by which I could not only record events while fresh in my memory but explore and make meaning of mine and other's values, thoughts, opinions, and norms. I would go back and re-read it again and again, making sense and gaining more

understanding before transforming it into an orderly thematic representation. From this, topic headings were created for the thesis. This process allowed me to be critical of my practice, discover inconsistencies, bias and contradictions, and consider how my personal experiences contributed to the social context of hunting. I used the journal to write notes of events and experiences, both mine and of others where possible, as a record of the fieldwork. This was not simply a process of recording what happened (reflective) but considering the social or intersubjective processes too. It was a tool used to recall experiences from the field to situate them within previous research and understand my own position, as described by Meyer and Willis:

Positionality, or one's social position compared to another's, renders each research encounter unique. Reflexivity can promote understanding of self-presentation in a researcher role and understanding of differences between the researcher and participant (2019, p. 582).

Stories from hunters, animal welfare supporters, rescue workers, and conservationists were heard and engaged with, and discourses were written initially in a journal where I made notes rather than video or audio recordings to transcribe later. As suggested by Crang & Cook (2007), Anderson defines a journal as:

some kind of record to how the research progresses, day by day, and to chart how the researcher comes to certain (mis)understandings ... represent the doubts, fears, concerns, feelings, and so on that the researcher has at all stages of her/his work (2012, p. 614).

I refer to the journal throughout and provide vignettes which, when combined with literature, move the writing from a reflexive analysis of a situation to an example of critical reflexivity within my own socially constructed reality. Over eighteen

months, I diligently and freely wrote in the journal, trying to capture in-person conversations, the many online discussions, phone calls, emails, and other communications, both formal and very informal, that all became threads of the tapestry (Dyer & Taylor, 2012). Some entries were emotional and written when feelings were intense, others more mundane, capturing the day-to-day humdrum of working in a veterinary clinic or driving around the countryside looking for caged hunting dogs. Through the writing, I began to create an inner dialogue with myself about issues that arose as well as serving as a reflexive tool. I believed that while writing about my experiences in the journal and reflecting on them, I was involved in a type of constructivism. As Karl Attard suggests: 'While writing I constructed meanings, interpretations, new knowledge and understandings' (2008, p. 308). The more I read and engaged with the literature, the more the inquiry progressed, developed, and informed future dialogues with participants. This, in turn, produced new data and subsequent interpretation in an iterative process:

Such an ongoing analysis shaped the development of my research, since the outcomes determined what I would be looking for subsequently. Hence, my observations supported my reflective and analytical process, while the visions that emerged from the latter processes influenced my practice and what I looked for in the future. (Attard, 2008, p. 308).

The journal was a record of my experience as a doctoral student and documented my journey as a learner with the persistent theme of uncertainty prevailing. Readings influenced these entries, as did discussions in a weekly meeting with fellow students where we shared our perspectives on the learning process. Similar themes emerged within this group and my particular views and feelings of being marginalised as 'less academic' than others appeared, but this became

a constructive process. I started to read about the marginalisation of others, particularly of non-human animals, and this aided the applied part of the work as I put my new learned critical theory discoveries into practice. Anderson comments on this too, describing how the composition of reflexive journals due to their embodied engagement with the process lead students to reflect on issues pertinent to them critically and therefore enabling self-education in practice (2012, p. 619).

I still write my journal, although it has taken on a more relaxed style, and it is still very relevant as I nevertheless experience notable episodes daily as I continue to be immersed in the hunting dog world. It is the foundation which my writing builds upon as it still captures relevant data and insights before they are lost, alongside photographs which I take for a 'snapshot' of a moment that acts as a visual reminder enhancing the writing.

1.5 Photography

I used photography as a visual aid to provide images of events, actors, and relevant visual evidence and examples of what I describe. I know that they may be perceived differently to how they were intended (Marion & Crowder, 2013, p. 127) but I hope it helps the reader understand my focus and validates the textual context. Photographic imagery was captured using a Nikon D5300 SLR camera with both an 18-55-millimetre lens and a 55-200-millimetre lens that enabled me to zoom in on distant objects. Video evidence was recorded on a GoPro video camera from which video and still imagery was obtained using a video grab editing system with GoPro editing software. The reasoning behind using this method of data collection is that visual representations of my own and the participant's experiences transcend the limitations of verbal discourse offered by

a conversation or an interview. The role of visual methods is explored by many (M. Crang, 2002, 2003; Marion & Crowder, 2013; Ownby, 2013; Pink, 2013; Scarles, 2010) and it aids the understanding of experiences of the self and others. Pink explains that visual techniques do not claim to produce a truthful or objective view of reality but offer versions of the ethnographer's experiences of that reality (2013, p. 34) and in this case the participants' views of their reality too.

I have taken my camera everywhere since the beginning of this research and it is full of images captured while conducting research and in day-to-day living. Many were not used, but as a whole, they were an essential way of me considering the 'hunting landscape' and making sense of it. It became such an integral part that to ponder studying without using photography seemed unthinkable. Merits of photography are debated, and for many, they are seen as a way in which I 'framed' my practice. For example, Sarah Pink writes that:

... photographs have been used to support ethnographers' strategic claims of authenticity and authority to speak as a person with first-hand experience of the ethnographic situation, and as a source of privileged knowledge (2013, p. 168).

The photographs were proof that I was there experiencing what I describe in the written text. Yet there are those who criticise the subjectivity of photographs (Collier, 1995), and there is no argument against that; it is subjective and representative of only my experience of it. However, 'the essence of a photograph is not the subject matter, but the appropriation of meaning given to it' (Barrantes-Elizondo 2019, p. 4) and as Pink (2013) says, a reflexive approach that supports this methodology is very important. Life is not objective and cannot be shoehorned into an 'objective scientific method', rather it is subjective and 'only

known as the individuals experience of it' (Barrantes-Elizondo, 2019, p. 4). Reflexivity is drawn upon to help focus on how 'ethnographic knowledge about how individuals experience reality is produced, through the intersubjectivity between researchers and their research context' (Pink, 2013, p. 36).

To begin with, the images were mere data capture; a 'record of reality'. However, after reflexively reviewing them, I asked myself what influenced me to take the photo? Was I submitting to personal bias or others' bias? Why did I think they were worth taking and what was the purpose of them? As part of this reflexive process, the content became less important than the context and issues, such as how I produced, selected, and framed particular images in specific ways (Hall, 2009, p. 457). I considered what the image meant to me, what were my intentions when I took it, what message was I trying to convey to my audience, and indeed, to which audience was I projecting it? Informants were asked to provide me with photographic or video imagery as they saw fit. I was not prescriptive in terms of the required content as I was interested in seeing what representation they wished to convey. With this collaborative approach, the informants provided me with clues as to their culture, and common themes were analysed.

When Sarah Pink investigated bullfighting in Spain, issues of gender, identity, and culture associated with the practice emerged as a result of this technique. She explains:

By analysing the context in which the images were taken and the local photographic conventions to which their compositions complied, I gained a deeper understanding and a better-informed visual representation of the significance of particular social relationships of self, and stages of the bullfight (Pink, 2013, p. 64).

1.5.1 A View to a Kill?

In an attempt to capture video data of dogs out hunting, I invested in a canine harness and GoPro action camera, which I intended to fit to hunting dogs so I could capture a dog's eye view of the hunt. This equipment was later abandoned after some trial-and-error attempt with my dogs and reluctance by hunters to condition their dogs gradually to wearing it. Ethically I felt it was not appropriate for the dogs. Instead, I was provided with video footage by my participants of dogs accompanying the hunters, with the camera attached to their guns. The guns followed the dogs, and the footage provided a good view of the dogs' behaviours and how the hunter related to his dog. It could be argued that I have only received footage that the participants wanted to share and which they consented to being used for the research, but it did provide insight that was useful data and contributed to canine biography. Similar criticisms are levied at Horowitz and Hecht's (2016) work on animal play in Mitchell's (2017) review of their paper.

I believed there were overlapping points between my photography and my participants, and that a continuum was created, and a balanced argument formed within it. The insights that human participant photography gave were especially useful, and as a method, it was a successful and helpful way of incorporating the hunters voice within the research too.

1.6 Behavioural Observations

I spent hours in the field observing caged hunting dogs, but to evidence their experiences, I had to observe, record, and interpret their behaviour. This provided insight into the dogs' wellbeing and day-to day living conditions. For this purpose, I used qualitative behavioural assessments (QBA) which Arena et al. define as:

QBA is a 'whole-animal' approach measuring not so much what the animal is doing physically, as how it is performing these behaviours, i.e., the expressive style or demeanour with which the animal is moving (2019, p. 2).

I chose to use QBA style observation rather than a simple quantitative ethogram because it captured, not just a behaviour, but also emotional expression, such as anxious, relaxed, alert (Arena et al., 2019, p. 2) and it was therefore a meaningful welfare assessment tool (Walker et al., 2016; Wemelsfelder, 2007a).

The observation of dog behaviour does allow for the understanding of reasonably clear messages that most people can recognise. A dog wagging his tail is often seen as meaning the dog is happy in the same way as many people interpret the sound of a purring cat (Hatch, 2007). Dog communication is a detailed pattern of posturing, vocalisations, and use of body language, sending clear signals to their conspecifics and other species. As a canine behaviourist and a lifelong companion of dogs, both personally and professionally, I understood the more subtle and specific behaviours as described by Turid Rugaas. Rugaas (1997) is the dog trainer who coined the term 'calming signals' to describe subtle behaviours dogs exhibit in stressful situations to ease the stress he or she feels. For example, a dog may yawn or lip lick in response to a stressful situation, they may hold a paw up or freeze, and these more subtle signs are often missed or misunderstood by less knowledgeable observers. Understanding these indicators allowed me to know when a dog was feeling stressed or unhappy. Arluke and Sanders (1996) described this method of observing and understanding behaviours as speaking for the animal's subjectivity. Hatch expresses the human wish to convey what the animal is communicating as 'giving voice' when she explains the compulsion of volunteers to speak for the dogs

(2007, p. 41). There are other examples of autoethnography used to portray animal voices. Goode (2007) uses autoethnography to describe living with dogs to explore interspecies subjectivity, Shapiro (1990) presents his method of kinaesthetic empathy by describing interactions with his pet dog autoethnographically, and Rowlands (2009) gives voice to a wolf in similar fashion. Alison Hatch postulates that, 'any attempt to describe what animals are feeling in the absence of "hard" evidence is likely to be charged with anthropomorphism' (2007, p. 41). However, as pointed out by (Marc Bekoff, 2004), for humans there is no alternative to being anthropomorphic, but if we consider the context of the animal's world it can contribute to empirical work. Burghardt (2007) criticises Clive Wynne's description that:

... anthropomorphism, even of the reformed varieties, should have no place in an objective science of comparative psychology ... because anthropomorphism is a form of mentalism, and as such is not amenable to objective study (2006, p. 125).

Burghardt, (2007) makes a relevant point by stating that actually, the real culprit is not anthropomorphism but anthropocentrism, a notion that I have conveyed through this work. These differences may appear as semantics; however, my interpretation is that it is an important distinction to make. We cannot experience an other's world in any other way than as a human, but this does not mean we cannot interpret our anthropomorphic observations in a species-centric way, being mindful of their needs, daily lives, and emotional responses to their environment. Anthropocentrism is a means in which humans interpret and create understanding of what they experience, but it does not necessarily mean that humans have to consider that anthropocentrically.

By using the combination of my observations, photographs, and video footage provided by participants, I collated enough data to provide canine biography. However, when I considered the methodology of animal/canine biography I surmised that the best description of what I tried to achieve was participant observation with empathic observation. This enabled me to consider not just what the dog did, but what that portrayed in terms of his or her feelings too. This was then written into narratives that conveyed meaningful experiences or events, forming biographies. I gathered more data by intersubjective fieldwork with individual dogs who were prepared or able to recognise my subjectivity and share theirs. I observed behaviour and interactions with humans and conspecifics, individual character traits, and comparisons between cultures of companion dogs and hunting dogs. Shah suggests that because the animals described in memoirs by researchers such as Jane Goodall, Dian Fossey, Shirley Strum, and Robert Sapolsky, 'are firmly based on factual, well-documented animal individuals, the genre itself is a if not *the* medium of not only 'real-life' animal biographies but also animal subjectivity' (2018, p. 135).

1.7 Animal Biographies

The animal biographies were the result of these assessments and observations of non-caged dogs with my own dogs as a comparison. Animal biographies are a human attempt to capture the animal's individuality, not as some might think to present an animal autobiography. I could not read animal minds or completely know what they may be feeling, but I did try to describe my experience of them; their quirks, likes and dislikes, personalities and so on, in a way that promoted their individuality and personhood. Krebber and Rosher explain how:

It is an attempt to study and show cultural and local characteristics of both groups of animals and certain individuals within those groups, with the hope of breaking the mould of identity that lumps together all animals as principally the same. The writing of animal biography also points to the intimate interlacing of the lives of animals and humans (2018 eBook loc 206).

It was deemed an appropriate method to bring the dogs into the work because it presented them as individuals, making their experiences more relevant, personal, and impactful. It has added to the field of multi-species ethnography, and by conveying a truthful, non-traditional writing style and narrative that represented the dogs, I hoped to make the research more accessible to non-academic audiences (Adams et al., 2015; Wolfe, 2009; Reed-Danahay, 1997). By doing so, it was more likely to facilitate positive change for hunting dogs; one of the research aims. Capturing the canine biography was always going to be challenging. I didn't share a completely common linguistic communication with dogs, but I did share a consciousness, a subjectivity, and a sense of self with them. With a reflexive approach that monitored anthropomorphic interpretation (Hurn, 2018b), my autobiographical writing would capture the individuality of the canine actors enabling them to be viewed as individual persons. The autobiographical approach was used as a translation tool, from canine to human, making it more accessible and easier to understand. I endeavoured to capture my involvement with non-human others, their worlds and how they related to it. There were local and cultural characteristics of dogs involved in hunting that I demonstrated, alongside their individual personalities. Krebber and Roscher define animal biography as: 'the attempt to account for their individuality without having to read their minds, reconstruct their feelings or infer their intentions' (2018, p. 16). They continue by concluding that, 'animal biography also points to

the intimate interlacing of the lives of animals and humans' (Krebber & Roscher, 2018, p. 16). Indeed, it was these interactions that fuelled the desire to make change and raise awareness of the dogs' situations.

1.9 Online Ethnography

Online ethnography was an inevitable result of daily life and communication within the communities that I was working within and therefore another method of researching: 'These concepts, we propose, enable us to understand how social media ethnography produces 'ethnographic places' (Pink, 2009) that traverse online/offline contexts and are collaborative, participatory, open and public' (Postill & Pink, 2012, p. 124). Social media, predominantly Facebook, played an important role as individuals could be 'met' and their identities and experiences explored via a laptop. It was also the place where groups (hunters, rescuers, village communities and so on) would 'meet' in online forums and groups, which allowed access to many more people than would have been possible in person. It meant that much time was spent scanning through member conversations or posts for relevant information or an opportunity to create a dialogue. Despite criticism that online ethnography was not as good as face-to-face, not everybody wanted or could meet in person. Dalsgaard stated:

Facebook has provided a way of staying up to date when the physical distance of the field prohibits frequent returns and the timing of the next field visit is uncertain (cf. Whyte 2013). Even if I went to PNG frequently, Facebook would remain important to access the imponderabilia of everyday life of those interlocutors who use it (2016, p. 97).

It was a case of do as they do; most of my participants shared information through Facebook, therefore that was how I was to engage with it.

Authenticity was another point to be considered as people were able to hide behind an online façade. However, the communities in which I was interested in were small and everyone knew everyone else, or at least knew someone who did, so it was not very easy for someone to be fake. Difficulties were encountered where some information about a person was not accessible without adding them as a 'friend' which I was not always comfortable doing. To overcome this, I focussed on what was said by these individuals, rather than their personal information.

My daily routine during the project would always involve checking Facebook frequently. It has become part of everyday life for many; a type of community where 'friends' can meet and discuss opinions, share posts, and create groups with others who share similar interests. Identities are shaped by how people present themselves or what they share through their posts, and I would spend hours trawling through different Cypriot hunting group posts, learning about individuals' thoughts, feelings, practices and it was the same case with rescue group members. There was, and still is, a vast wealth of data on Facebook that could not be accessed solely by work in the offline field. Online interactions with individuals were sometimes easier than face-to-face interviews as the shield of a computer screen seemed to elicit more confidence in informants or those who wished to share their opinions with me. Alternatively, they would seemingly feel more comfortable presenting that internet version of themselves (Silverman, 2016, p. 236), which I would consider reflexively, wondering if who I was experiencing was authentic or a projection of whom they wanted me to see. I would ponder what audience they believed me to be too but surmised that the issue exists as much in face-to-face interviews as it does via the internet.

I would feel a sense of guilt about spending so much time on Facebook when I should be writing. It felt like I was playing rather than working, yet the information I gathered through this resource quickly proved that it provided access to the field despite me being sat at my laptop. It allowed me to maintain contact with informants outside of hunting days, follow the stories of rescued hunting dogs, watch the progress of cruelty cases, and read local hunting-based news reports. The Facebook groups gave me access to information about legislative changes, meetings, and other general hunting politics that would have been inaccessible to me otherwise (Dalsgaard, 2016). I could interview or chat informally to people at times that were more convenient to both parties, rather than having to meet in person. Time becomes malleable (Silverman, 2016, p. 235) with the use of the internet and the multitude of technology that people now have to access it. I could reply to people while doing the shopping, or they could give me answers from work or even when out socially by using their phones. Harng Luh Sin describes how 'unwittingly and inevitably, information sourced from social media entered the plethora of mixed methods I used in my research' (2015, p. 676), and inevitably this happened to me too. I used Facebook as it was the most utilised form of social media by the groups of people who were of interest.

Kozinet et al. explain how: 'online social spaces are important fields for qualitative social scientific investigation because of the richness and openness of their multifarious cultural sites' (2014, p. 2). Communications could be linked across various groups at the same time, allowing the sharing of information, opinions, and discussions to and from multiple sources, which could be examined simultaneously. Data could be collated quickly from many sources that would have been virtually impossible in person. It also allowed me to carry out background research before approaching particular people of interest by joining

groups and just observing the discussions around posts, something Kozinet et al. describe rather unflatteringly but appropriately as 'lurking' (2014, p. 2).

Internet research presented a couple of problems that I had to consider. Firstly, the vast amount of available data meant that I had to be mindful of focussing on what was relevant and not become distracted. It was easy to feel saturated by the mass of information or find something that was very interesting but not particularly related. Secondly, I had to be mindful of ethical considerations, such as anonymising people's names or using pseudonyms, informed consent, and people's perceptions of privacy. The last point needed some research as groups within Facebook had different statuses. Public, is what it says, public; Closed is where posts are viewable by anyone but joining is by invitation only; and Secret is where only members of the group could see its contents. As a researcher, I could only share information from Public or Closed groups for confidentiality purposes. Individual conversations were, of course, anonymised.

Internet ethnography proved to be a useful way of interweaving the close, personal, face-to-face work with the digital, which created a blended platform or field with which to work within.

1.10 The Scenes, Actors & Players

In addition to observing hunting practices in two geographical areas, I worked part-time in a small animal clinic as a veterinary nurse. The clinic was in the village of Pegeia, a predominantly residential area that I would describe as a small town, although it was referred to as a village. It sits within Paphos district and was a popular location for British immigrants and as such, had been nicknamed 'Little England' by some Cypriots who lived in or near the village. The

clinic provided services for residents of Pegeia and beyond and amongst the predominantly British customers there were some hunters. This job offered many opportunities for me to engage, albeit briefly, with hunters and their dogs, during consultations and in the reception area. I nursed sick hunting dogs and witnessed a wide variety of ailments, often due to neglect, that I would have missed by just observing dogs in the hunting field. Through the clinic, I was introduced to two hunting dogs, who are featured as case studies in chapter five, Pixie and Marla. I chose to use their real names as at the time of writing Pixie was living with me and Marla's new guardian had permitted me to use her real name as she wanted her story to be known. For me, as an advocate for these dogs, it felt important to acknowledge them as persons, not just pseudonyms, which somehow alluded to their commodification which I challenged. The dogs had personhood, in the moral sense at least, where they exhibited self-awareness and were reflective; they had thoughts, feelings, desires, and understood the intentionality of the acts of others or their environment (Rowlands, 2016). The commodification of dogs by humans turned them from these persons into objects to be used, bred from, or traded (Bruckner et al., 2019; Gillespie, 2017; Stuart & Gunderson, 2020). It was this loss of self, or the personhood of the dog, which I objected to.

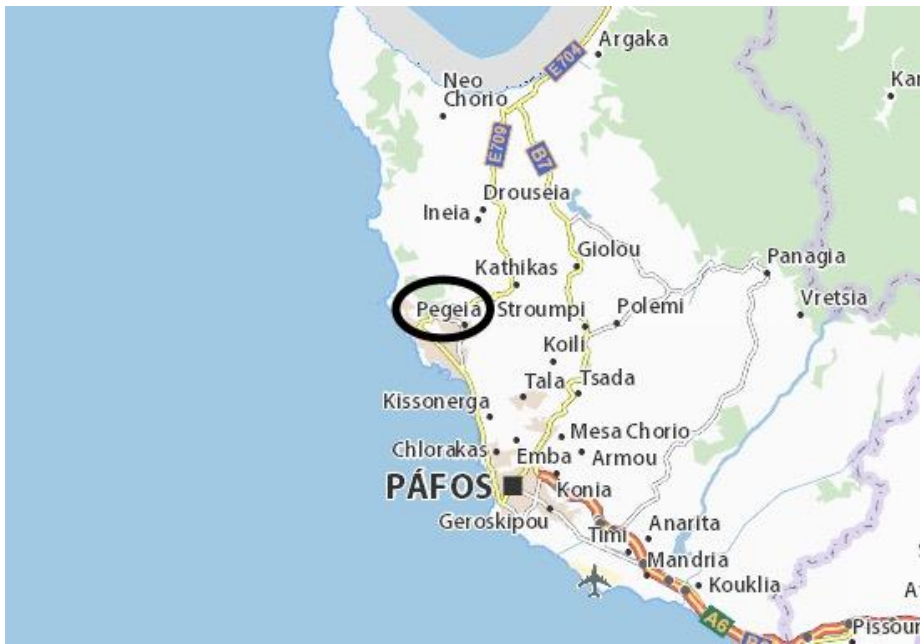


Figure 1. Map showing Pegeia, Paphos

1.10.1 Canine Actors

I now introduce you to the canine participants. Still, I should mention some played a more significant role than others, and many emerged through my day-to-day experiences whose names I do not know, but who have impacted the work significantly by their presence, however brief.

Max (Fig. 2) is a mature Jura Hound whose life you will read in the form of a case study in chapter five, along with Pixie (Fig. 4), a young Creten Hound, and Marla (Fig. 3), a young Litse Hound. These three dogs all shared or continue to share periods of my life and were implicated in the hunting scene in differing roles. All three are labelled as ‘rescues’ having been removed from their previous hunting dog or free-ranging stray environment and now live as companion dogs with their respective humans.

Three dogs feature as active hunting dogs. Regas (Fig. 6), known by his pet name King, is a middle-aged English Setter who is a successful trials dog, hunting dog

and stud dog. Orion (Fig. 7), an English Pointer, who is another successful trials dog and also a useful hunting dog. He is not as revered as Regas though. Finally, Maya (Fig. 5), a female English Setter, who is a successful hunting dog and trials dog, but who more recently has been joined by a young, glamorous French hunting dog and consequently, has become less prominent in the hunting scene.

In addition to these more obvious canine participants were those whose lives I observed more covertly. These were the dogs who lived in cages in remote locations within driving distance of surrounding villages. There were others who I saw being used for hunting near my house and those sick and injured dogs that were brought through the clinic during the period from February 2016 to June 2018.



Figure 2. 'Max' Jura Hound



Figure 3. 'Marla' Litse Hound



Figure 4. 'Pixie' Cretan Hound



Figure 5. 'Maya' English Setter



Figure 6. 'Regas' English Setter. Photo courtesy of AA.



Figure 7. 'Orion' English Pointer. Photo courtesy of AA.

1.10.2 Human Actors

Six human participants from both hunting and rescue groups were willing and consented to their views, experiences, and information being shared in this thesis, and I shall refer to them by their initials throughout. Others have contributed but wish their details to be kept anonymous, and therefore, I shall reflect their views and opinions within the work but respect their wishes for anonymity. Participants were mixed in gender, ethnicity, and age, but it should be noted that all hunting participants were male and Cypriot. Some non-Cypriots did hunt, and I heard of one female hunter, but she did not reply to my attempts to contact her. Some of my informants were local to me, and therefore, I saw them and met with them through daily life, so accessing them further was not too difficult. Others were part of the Setter and Pointer Club in Nicosia, whom I approached directly having heard that they considered themselves to be role models for hunting with dogs. Several of their members were happy to talk and

discuss issues relevant to the research. Other hunters were informally engaged with through the work at the veterinary clinic, but they provided more anecdotal stories which fleshed out themes rather than giving specific data. Other participants were people involved in the rescue side: a manager of an environmental organisation, a vet, a local councillor, and an animal physiotherapist, all of whom had been impacted by hunting dogs through their work and I approached them directly through social media. I met them informally and had conversations that explored elements of hunting relevant to them. It was important for me to hear their stories of encounters with hunting dogs rather than to gain prescriptive answers.

1.11 Rules, Regulations & Ethical Considerations

My fieldwork was conducted in public areas and focussed on issues and practices that evoked emotional responses from both pro-hunting and anti-hunting informants. One of the two geographical regions for fieldwork was the area in which I lived. This area was in and around the village of Kathikas, Paphos District (see Fig. 8), where I knew many local people involved. I had initially planned to build on these contacts and form friendships with hunters in a semi-covert way (Amstel, 2013) presuming that my familiarity would elicit an emic perspective that might be more difficult to achieve elsewhere.



Figure 8. Map showing Kathikas in Paphos District and Nicosia

A semi-covert approach would allow smoother engagement and a more honest experience rather than saying I was a researcher that might make hunters suspicious and fear judgement, despite me trying to persuade them otherwise. I created a new Facebook profile where I projected a persona of a pro-hunting woman, keen to establish links with likeminded hunters so that I could accompany them on hunting days and secretly gain insight and data. I got to know the local gun shops, obtained a gun licence and was on the brink of buying a gun to join 'the gang'. However, after some reflection, advice, and constraints from the University's ethics board, I had to re-evaluate my position. The Ethics Committee decided that from a health and safety perspective that I should not be in close range of firearms, especially in the remote areas where hunting took place.

Spicker shed light on my actions by writing: 'Covert research is research which is not declared to the research participants or subjects. This approach is often muddled with deception and condemned as intrinsically unethical' (2011, p. 1). Amstel discusses how ethical rules around covert fieldwork are often found to be too strict and restricting and should be considered on a case-by-case basis (2013, p. 21). I knew that by making my study overt I would be able to use the data but that it would have an influence on my informants and perhaps I would not get the real picture from the information that they shared with me. Ultimately the University and Ethics Committee had the final say, but I also made the following observations and concessions.

Firstly, Cyprus was a small place, where everyone knows everyone and gossip or news about people was shared in local coffee shops and taverns fervently. It would not take long before my 'cover' was blown and if the truth was discovered, I was unsure as to the repercussions or reprisal (Arluke, 2006; Donaldson & Grant-Vallone, 2002; Singer, 1988). I could have put myself and my animals in danger (people's animals are often poisoned in the form of retribution if someone feels they have been wronged or betrayed) and lose any credibility that I may have had. Historically within Greece and the Mediterranean, there was a village kinship system. Groups of related family dominated the social structure, that acted as a solidarity interest group towards other similar groups. Julie Makris writes about this experience during her ethnographic study of Crete, a comparable island to Cyprus:

Thus, while one does not find antagonistic classes such as exist in other parts of southern Europe, groups of agnatic kinsmen are mutually opposed in their competition for power and prestige in community relations. Furthermore, the jural rights and duties that obtain between agnates are

the basis of customary law, including the institution of vendetta (1992, p. 57).

Despite this customary law that allowed varying degrees of vendetta being extinguished by state law and the legal system, it still exists within some families.

Reputation was critical in Cyprus, and who you knew (and what you knew about them) was very important. I realised that to conduct formal participant observation work I would need to acquire informed consent. That would mean being honest from the start. It was going to be difficult gaining access as a middle-aged, English woman to a community where emotions were heightened by historical anti-British feeling. Cyprus was a British colony until 1962 when it gained independence (Ker-Lindsay, 2007; Kizilyurek, 1993; Morgan, 2010). British soldiers are known to have interrogated and killed Greek Cypriot 'Eoka b' rebels in the 1950s and 1960s (Morgan, 2010; Stern, 2008). I contemplated having to live in the same area once the research project was completed and wondered how my life may be impacted if I had damaged relations with local people. I did not feel like justifying or defending an 'unethical approach' to them afterwards or having to have my work discounted by the University Ethics Committee. I always tried to be an open, honest, and congruent person, who although happy to maintain other's confidentialities, struggled with deception and lies.

Finally, as I alluded to previously, my ethnicity, culture, and gender made me stand out very obviously. Despite my childhood experiences of hunting which proved hugely helpful in engaging hunters and rapport building, I was still very much a foreigner, treated suspiciously with many hunters appearing defensive. Some thought I was an animal rights person sent to spy on them, others presumed I was a journalist, and some I heard had said I was a lesbian trying to fit in with the men or a 'straight' woman desperate for a man. Samantha Hurn

describes a similar impact on researcher-informant relations in her book chapter. She explains how her veganism resulted in her being slightly removed from her network and wrote: 'My lack of carnivorous desire, not to mention my gender, nationality and academic motivation placed me in a vulnerable position vis-à-vis my informants' (Hurn, 2013, p. 220).

Research involving humans and non-human animal subjects can raise ethical issues which in turn can cause legal, social, and political issues. My interpretation of commonly defined research ethics was that it is a combination of three main objectives. Firstly, protecting human participants (there are some ethical guidelines about research involving animals too). Secondly, ensuring that research was conducted in a way that served the interests of individuals (but interests sometimes competed), groups, and society as a whole, and lastly, that individual research projects were ethically sound. Autoethnographers do not work in isolation and are required to work ethically with others (Adams et al., 2015; Ellis et al., 2010). The multi-faceted role that the autoethnographer plays, especially when research occurs in the workplace (as it did for me at times while at the veterinary clinic), means that all those implicated in the text have rights. As such, mutual respect, dignity, and connectedness between myself and those communities where I live and work had to be valued (Ellis et al., 2010). This meant that I had to consider my decisions of what to include and exclude, share or not carefully. How this would impact on those who would read it became food for thought. In making these considerations, I was mindful of myself and others, being aware of my agenda, power dynamics, and agency. (Tolich, 2010) suggests that authors consider who might be offended by reading the work and in doing so, become aware of potential ethical issues. My discomfort and incongruence during writing would also suggest that ethical concerns needed

attention, for example, when should I intervene in a situation where an animal was suffering or remain 'objective' enough not to act?

The University Ethics Committee did approve my research, and as such, I adhered to their guidelines. Informed consent from human informants was sought and their names anonymised. Datasets were managed confidentially, risks assessed, and any potential ethical dilemmas addressed through supervision when they arose.

In terms of canine participants, I observed their behaviour for signs of discomfort or appeasement. If seen, I would withdraw until the reactions stopped, therefore acknowledging that my withdrawal had restored an emotional equilibrium. Reconnection would be made if shown to be acceptable by the dog's behaviour and therefore, an assumed consent given. This consideration of ethics was not just addressed at the beginning of the project but was an ongoing process of evaluation and was revisited regularly. This assessment included not only harm or potential harm to research participants but also to the researcher, both physically and emotionally.

Within the following chapters, ethical considerations are presented, and actions portrayed as they happened, to demonstrate the choices and decisions I made, while acting in the best and most ethical way I could at the time.

1.12 Emotional Dissonance & Reflexivity

As a solo researcher it sometimes felt like I was quite alone in the research with little or no assistance in the field and I struggled with different actors' perceptions of my identity. Trying to maintain reflexivity occasionally led to feelings of isolation

and emotional dissonance. The hunting communities within which I integrated shared values and moral beliefs about other animals which I did not share and often disagreed with. Bracketing out these feelings to create rapport and engage with some actors, posed a threat to my identity. This emotional dissonance, or acting to reduce the anger that I felt, contributed at times to a loss of self and feelings of powerlessness when having to be something I was not. Jansz and Timmers describe this process as: 'emotional dissonance emerges as a warning signal that an emotional person jeopardizes his or her status as an accountable citizen' (2002, p. 90). Hurn explores the impact of difference and identity too. She writes how dietary preference is part of identity and having to maintain this identity in a conflicting environment can place the researcher: '... one step removed from the network of relations ...' (Hurn, 2013, p. 220).

I felt the responsibility and accountability (Dyson, 2007) for projecting a genuine and honest voice (Ings, 2014) of those humans and dogs who participated within the research. It led me to view myself, as much as those whom I observed and interacted with, through a reflexive lens. As Ings described, during fieldwork the researcher: 'will encounter distinct ethical, critical and personal challenges that must be insightfully and critically considered' (2014, p. 676) and to manage this, I took a more reflexive approach: 'a turning back on oneself in a process of self-reference' (Aull Davies, 2008, p. 4). Awareness of my subjectivity (Probst & Berenson, 2014), accessing my motivations, biases, and reactions allowed me to view difficulties with intersubjectivity, producing more nuanced findings.

1.13 Every dog has his day...not in Cyprus!

As I sat writing this chapter, I was surrounded by the sounds of sleeping dogs breathing slowly and steadily as they snoozed in comfort and contentment. They

never switched off completely during the day; they were always aware at a subconscious level of my movements, keen to stay in the same vicinity and to keep an eye on what I was doing. If I worked past their feeding time, they would let me know by impatiently nudging me with their noses or offering a paw, creating a stir to the point where I would get up and attend to them to gain some peace. Once satiated, they would return to laying in the warmth of the Cypriot sun or the shade of an olive tree until they felt obliged to follow me to wherever I went once more.

For two of these dogs, life had not always been this content co-existence of human-canine appreciation, as they were previously used as hunting dogs; an experience which was for these two dogs and indeed many others, one of neglect, abuse, and commodification. The discomfort of knowing their stories and that they were and are not alone motivated this research. It did not lead precisely where I thought it would, like most chapters in our lives it wound a course in unexpected directions, delivering hurdles and insights along the way. Discoveries and experiences presented me with alternative paths with regularity and similarly to autoethnographer McIlveen (2008a). I found myself venturing into unplanned topic areas such as the welfare of horses, for instance foals were also kept in cages and horses were tethered by a chain in the mid-summer heat with no shade or water.

The pace of the fieldwork and data collection was sometimes painfully slow, which reflected how the pace of life in Cyprus could be. The expression 'σιγά σιγά' which meant 'slowly slowly' was a Cypriot phrase that suggested a slow, relaxed pace and meant that things would get done, when they got done. This reference to the Tortoise and the Hare fable by Aesop was a cause of frustration

to people (including myself at times) who were not used to this lifestyle. An illustration of the tale was even depicted on Cypriot stamps in 2011 as if to drive home the point. Arrangements to meet with people were often cancelled or postponed, or sometimes people arrived late, if at all. Authorities were obstructive and unhelpful. Correspondence with them went unanswered and missed phone calls were not returned. It was generally accepted that this was just how it was. When I considered how this research might contribute to a positive difference for hunting dogs, these frustrations and obstructions added to my concerns about the timescale for implementing any changes. Based on my experiences, it could have meant that dogs would suffer needlessly for many years to come.

To go full circle, my snoozing Cypriot dogs were a reminder of the inertia and attitude to life that frustrated me. My British construct of time did not constrain or define life in Cyprus (Levine, 1997) and time was conceptualised differently. In Cyprus the heat influenced the structure of the day, with early starts for those working, a long gap in the middle of the day, and a return to activity in the evening. These irritations of fieldwork and lack of action made any change making processes difficult, especially within such a traditional and popular practice as hunting, which I describe in detail in chapter two.

Chapter Two – Hunting

I do not hunt for the joy of killing but for the joy of living, and for the inexpressible pleasure of mingling my life, however briefly, with that of a wild creature that I respect, admire and value

(Madson, 1973 in Pellegrini, 2011, p. 13)

My resistance to ethical constraints was brought into focus once I had begun to experience hunting at close range while in my home environment and the risks were realised when hunting season began literally on my doorstep. This chapter introduces the hunter, the dogs, and the practice of hunting itself. It presents some of the issues that the anti-hunting protagonists argue are reasons for banning it and gives insight into the ways of the hunters, including their feelings towards their dogs, the class structure that exists, and some traditional practices.

2.1 Review of Hunting Literature

The use of dogs as aides to hunters has been recorded as far back as 8000 years ago, when carvings in the Asian Peninsula in Western Asia depicted leashed dogs being used by humans in deer hunts (Orr et al., 2019, p. 853). Social, ethical, and moral beliefs are a part of hunting processes. Discussion of the morality of hunting is limited to the moral evaluation of the desire of hunters to kill for pleasure. According to Causey, 'this desire can be explained by biological/evolutionary concepts and defended as morally neutral' (1989, p. 327). However, the morality discussion about hunting fails to acknowledge that violent death is often part of nature and that a human's participation in it can be viewed as both natural and culturally acceptable, an argument that hunters will use in

their defence. The morality discussions often divide people into two judgements; either right and good or wrong and bad. Some literature addresses the morality of hunting according to the type of hunting, where sport or trophy hunting are seen as less acceptable forms (List, 1997; Peterson, 2004; Vitali, 2010).

The activity is also often described as male-orientated (Flynn, 2002; Kalof et al., 2004; Luke, 1998; Smalley, 2005) and linked to violence and domination (Kheel, 1996; Luke, 1998; Marvin, 2010). Indeed, it was my experience that all the hunters I saw were men, although I did hear of one female hunter in Limassol, but I was told by a fellow hunter 'she is a lesbian' as if this somehow negated her female gender. Hurn's (2008b) research within the male-dominated arena of Welsh Cob showing is similar. She describes how, in a way reminiscent of hunting, the horses are valued in a culturally determined, gendered way where the emphasis is very much on the heterosexual masculinity associated with the practice (Hurn, 2008b). Fox-hunting in the UK was led by a Huntsman: 'It is only the Huntsman and his hounds who are directly hunting the fox. No other participants are permitted to attempt to find, chase or kill foxes in foxhunting' (Marvin, 2003, p. 53). Although many followers were female, the main roles of the hunt were described in male terms, such as 'Huntsman' and 'Master of the Hunt', rather than less gender specific terms. However, the stereotype of a hunter as a white, middle-aged, rural, working-class male is perhaps not without some truth. George writes: 'According to the 2011 report by the Department of Fish and Wildlife survey on Fishing, Hunting, Wildlife, and Recreation, and the US Census Bureau, 94% of hunters are white, 72% are individuals aged 35–64, and 89% are men' (2016, p. 483). Yet, she goes on to conclude that women hunters are growing in numbers in the USA and that they claim that participating in hunting

'reinforces their social roles as daughters, wives, girlfriends, and mothers' (George, 2016, p. 496).

In Cyprus, the male dominated hunting scene seemed to stem from the farming roots of the rural Mediterranean, where women were not involved in hunting (Hurn, 2008b; Pink, 1997; Theodossopoulos, 2003). The provision of food was seen to be the man's role and the preparation of the provided food as belonging to the woman. Theodossopoulos writes how hunting in the Greek islands is a male activity, 'undertaken solely by men, an all-male sphere of activity, not very dissimilar to the coffee-house ...' (2003, p. 156). He goes on to state that it is a social-context where masculine identities are formed and reinforced and explains that while male solidarity is ruled by friendship, matriarchal female relationships are governed by kinship (Theodossopoulos, 2003, p. 157). Through social media contacts, I discovered that occasionally wives would accompany their husbands hunting but I did not see it. Those who I spoke with said that their wives and girlfriends preferred to be at home, spending the time with their children or female relatives and friends (MP. 2017).

Hunting is divisive. The moral and modernist claims of animal rights activists protesting against hunting call the practice barbaric and label it a 'blood sport' (Adams, 2013; Bronner, 2007; McKenzie, 1996). Blood sport is defined as 'the practice of pitting animals against each other (or against humans) in bloody combat to the death — is a tragic form of human entertainment that has been resilient since antiquity' (Kalof, 2014, p. 438). It is a human-driven, sport-related form of violence that involves the abuse and suffering of other animals (Young 2012), and according to Kalof, 'provides an "identity prop" (Dunning 1999): all

male competitive sports and games provide men with a way to demonstrate masculinity by feminizing opponents (Dundes 1997 in Kalof, 2014).

Indeed, there is a theme of masculinity and a link to hunting as a form of validating heterosexuality within this thesis (see 2.6.2). Yet, increasingly, human consumption of animals continues, albeit not necessarily in food form. Tourist practices involving 'capturing' wildlife by photography are another form of hunting as recreation (Bulbeck, 2012; Pearce, 2005; Servais, 2005) and illustrate the human desire to engage with and experience nature and wildlife. Photography is a practice that I enjoy, and the connection to nature and the environment when photographing is a feeling that hunters described too. This balance between 'economic, environmental and social dimensions' (Pearce & Moscardo, 2015. p. 59) is reflected throughout the hunting and welfare discussions of this research.

The ritualistic nature and potential elitism of the hunting experience have been acknowledged (Hurn, 2012; Young, 2010), particularly in an indigenous context. Evidence of elitism and ritual date back to medieval times and were referred to by Marvin who wrote that nobles hunted to instil acceptance, popularity, and superior status (2006, p. 120). This was demonstrated by rituals of the 'lesser men', butchering the prey following the hunt. This was a task that was deemed too lowly for gentlemen hunters but was nevertheless a skilled process that was carried out in a ritualised manner according to hunting manuals of the day. Certain body parts were saved and cleaned for the hounds or fed to ravens as part of a superstitious practice too (Almond, 2011, p. 80–81). Particular prey species had more value than others, with deer and wild boar considered more elite than a hare or bird that any poacher could kill. Almond (2011) writes how quarry type, method, seasons, rituals, and procedures were all indicators of an

elitist pastime. Only a small number of the population could afford to hunt on horseback and equip themselves properly to hunt in a way considered to be gentlemanly. Hunting was a practice that set apart the noble classes from the commonality and was a key part of the public persona of the European ruling classes (Almond, 2011, p. 89). The elitist public persona still exists within some hunters in Cyprus who prefer to distance themselves from the poachers. Although not nobles in the medieval sense, these men do consider themselves a different class of hunter in a similar way to those early 'gentleman' hunters.

The enjoyment experienced by a hunter using dogs has been described as the interaction between actors, for example watching the hounds track prey (Hufford, 1992; Marvin, 2003, 2005; Young, 2010). Yet, it takes some perseverance and work to be able to experience this enjoyment. The dogs have to be cared for year-round and hunters and their dogs need to withstand harsh conditions of rough terrain and high temperatures. They need to find and stalk the game species and before any of this can happen, obtain the necessary licenses, vehicles, and equipment to hunt legally. Hunters I spoke with described their enjoyment as being based on an introspective pursuit involving them and their dog(s) in nature (Komppula & Suni, 2013). Yet as Marvin points out, the hunter's behaviour on the day is 'in the end, a question of personal judgement and personal ethics' (2010, p. 152), an example of which you will read in 2.2.

2.2 Conservation or Carnage

Personal experience of living in Cyprus proved to me that hunting with guns was thriving, with the activity practised enthusiastically. According to Charalambos Pittokopitis, President of the Paphos Federation of Hunting and Shooting, 10,000 hunters took to the countryside at the start of the season in 2016 in the Paphos

area alone (Cyprus Mail, 2016). It received endorsement and condemnation in online discussion groups on Facebook and in local newspapers. Reports by animal welfare organisations of illegal hunting practices and cruelty towards hunting dogs (see Fig. 9) evoked much criticism of the hunting fraternity, mainly through social media, for example:

I would be intrigued to know what they hunt ... They starve their dogs, supposedly to make them better at hunting ... WTF, how can a starving animal hunt, when they have little or no strength!!!! all for what ... rabbits???
Hunters my arse ... just men being Neanderthals ... (S., 06.12.17, Facebook Post; Group 'Ask Anything Paphos').

Beautiful birds, and millions of them killed by brain dead bastards! (G., 08.03.18, Facebook Post; Group 'Ask Anything Cyprus').

I have a rescued hunter who looked like the hunter in the pic, she was starved and terrified. She is 11 now I have had her over 10 years, she has the most beautiful nature and is my fur baby (J., 14.01.18, Facebook Post; Group Cyprus Animal Defenders).



Figure 9. Emaciated English Pointer (Onlyvets Vet clinic, 25th Nov 2019)

However, tradition, culture, conservation, politics, and financial gain were persuasive arguments to sustain and justify the pursuit and ultimately the deaths of selected species. The breeding of prey bird species for recreational hunting was comparable to game ranches in other countries, where captively bred animals were released into the wild environment for trophy hunters. Trophy hunting in Zambia generated income and directed it to local wildlife management (Dale & Peter, 2002) in a similar way that hunting license monies and Hunting Federation membership fees supported conservation initiatives in Cyprus. Indeed, hunters argued that if the practice did not exist, bird species would reduce dramatically as care for them disappeared, an argument that is heard in hunting communities in many countries (Dale & Peter, 2002; Loveridge et al., 2007; Wels, 2003). The following field journal vignette provides an example of what it was like living in an area used for hunting:

I woke with a start to the sound of the diesel engine of a pick-up truck travelling slowly up the driveway of my house, located on the outskirts of the rural village of Kathikas (see Fig. 10). It was still dark, and I realised that it was early on Sunday, which was a hunting day. Climbing out of bed, I checked the TV monitor that displayed images from the CCTV cameras outside. I watched a white pick-up truck pull onto my land before the headlights were switched off and I could see nothing as blackness engulfed the screen. Then I heard two loud shots fired in quick succession; the house shook momentarily from the sound. I rationalised that they could not see birds to shoot yet as it was pitch black still. I wondered if these hunters were being deliberately antagonistic.



Figure 10. Map showing my location circled

The house had been empty for three years, and this was the first season that anyone had lived back there. Were they making their perceived rights to hunt on

my land known? I remembered reading about antagonism between landowners and hunters/poachers that had existed in the UK for centuries. Thomas concluded that there was an increasing emphasis placed on animal welfare in the 20th century writing:

The way in which supporters of hunting have had to justify their activities on various grounds, such as conservation, protection of endangered species and control of vermin. The position of hunting has changed from being a significant elite sport to a reviled minority sport, and its future is dependent on whether: it can continue to provide good sport for its participants without creating conflict with the majority of the population; the kill is considered essential or the sport can be justified on social and recreational grounds; the sporting instincts are benign or sadistic: "hunting can adapt its methods towards more compassionate treatment of animals; and skills would be lost if hunting was abolished (1986, p. 174).

In the USA landowners began restricting access to hunters, preferring to encourage and preserve wildlife or charge a fee for access to their land (Wright et al., 1988, p. 157). Reluctance to allow hunters on privately owned land was due to trespassing, damage to property, and an increasing number of public liability prosecutions (Wright & Kaiser, 1986, p. 30).

Half an hour later, it was starting to get light, and the shooting was about fifty metres from my house, an infringement of the two hundred metres distance required by law. Shotgun pellets were landing on and around me as I stood outside with my dogs, some of whom were barking while others ran back inside the house. They were fearful of the noise and the strange men that they could see and smell around the property. This anti-social behaviour was not unusual, and the law was difficult to enforce in a similar way to that described by Sir Nick

Harvey MP, who in 2013 claimed that anti-hunting legislation in the UK is unenforceable and encourages anti-social behaviour (Dominiczak, 2013).

My dogs were all 'rescues', and three were used as hunting dogs in their previous situations. All three of these ex-hunting dogs were fearful and hid in the house, one under a table, another peered nervously through a window, leaving her nose prints on the glass. I wondered if the views held by many local animal advocates regarding hunting dogs being abused were indeed correct and if the dogs who were hiding inside from the hunters were doing so due to their own experiences of abuse in a Pavlovian, fear-conditioned way (Bolles, 1970; Dykman et al., 1979; Eysenck, 1968; Weiss et al., 1968), or perhaps the dogs were just fearful of loud noises (Blackwell et al., 2013; Overall, 2002; Sherman & Mills, 2008).

I walked towards three of the hunters' trucks now parked on my land and videoed them with my phone, attempting to gather evidence of who these hunters were should I need it. I then called the Game Police, the authority whose responsibility it was to enforce hunting laws, as the proximity of hunting was irritating me due to the noise, and the fear and excitement it caused my dogs. The Game Police explained that they were in another village some fifteen kilometres away, but they would try to get there as soon as they could. I felt disappointment as I knew that by the time they arrived, this group of hunters would probably have moved on and nothing would happen.

Feathers from shot birds started falling around me like snowflakes as the autumnal breeze blew up through the mist laden valley, further validation of how close they were shooting. Yet they remained difficult to see through the fog. Keeping a safe distance, I asked one of the hunters to move further away from my home. He ignored me until I walked right up to him so that he could not. He

was an older man probably in his mid-fifties, wearing camouflage clothing, a dark green woollen hat, and heavy boots. He was without the obligatory fluorescent orange tabard or cap, perhaps an indicator that hunting illegally was not a problem for him. I wondered if he had a hunting license or even a gun license.

He said, 'ok, ok' in English and reluctantly climbed over the dry-stone wall that he was stood near. This reaction still did not make him the required legal distance from my house, but as he had moved, I did not challenge him further; it was 6.15 AM, I was alone (except for the dogs), surrounded by five to six men with guns, and I was aware of my vulnerability.

By 8 AM all the hunters had moved on. My dogs were uneasy, alert, still hypervigilant, but quiet and I too felt calmer. I reflected that the experience was stressful and, in some ways, intimidating and wondered whether the men out there ever considered the impact their behaviour had.

This was a typical hunting day for me; an experience that happened on Sundays and Wednesdays throughout the season, beginning on the first Sunday in November and lasting until the final Sunday in February. I dreaded these days for the feelings of intrusion and upset caused to both myself and the dogs I shared my home with. It meant that I could not walk them and even leaving the house felt risky, as I was never sure if they would walk through the property gates to collect a fallen bird or shoot one of my cats, something I had experienced before. I had heard tales of dogs being poisoned by hunters throwing laced bait meat into people's gardens if they dared to complain about them, and I was a little afraid of the consequences to my earlier challenges. I reasoned that I was not aggressive, merely asking them to keep to a respectful distance, but it was still received and

actioned begrudgingly. I was mindful of feeling disempowered and somehow controlled by this practice in a way I had not experienced before.

2.3 Anti-Social Behaviour

The disturbance and apparent lack of consideration to those affected by the practice was a common theme discussed amongst local people, mostly English immigrants, who socialised in the village tavernas or pub. It was a regular topic of conversation with complaints every week about hunters' shooting too close to residential properties, killing an already sparse population of wild birds, and abusing their hunting dogs. These were points that I could identify with having had similar personal experiences. At that time, I joined in with the demonising of hunters and their 'barbaric ways' laughing at the 'wannabe Rambos' dressed in camouflage gear, driving around in trucks with extra-wide wheels, that I presumed was because they thought it made them look 'cool' and acted as a status symbol. I felt anger when looking at the rear of these trucks, where hunting dogs' eyes could just be seen trying to peer out of the metal or wooden box carriers that are welded into the trucks, with small slits to allow air in (see Fig. 11).



Figure 11. Hunting dog transportation method

My overall impression of the hunting fraternity (before starting my fieldwork) was one of uneducated men, with juvenile mentalities, only interested in killing small birds indiscriminately, and with little consideration for those in the vicinity that their behaviour affected. However, that was a simplified view of the reality and hunters themselves had a hierarchy that began with the separation of hunting and poaching.

2.4 Hunting or Poaching?

Hunting in Cyprus, as in many countries, was a traditional practice (Cartmill, 1996). It was an aspect of my own childhood experience too, growing up in the UK, where I would accompany my father hunting regularly. Initially, this occurred when I was a young child and we endured financial hardship. His poaching, 'the illegal killing of animals' (Liberg, 2011; Wilson-Wilde, 2010), would provide much of the family's meat. As a young child, I enjoyed the intimacy of accompanying

my father in a 'secret' activity, poaching being a secretive, more 'at one with nature' affair, where the prey was stalked carefully, and you would 'bag' one or two pheasants or hares for the table. I remembered fondly, early weekend mornings spent in the mist-covered countryside learning the skills of foraging for large flat field mushrooms amongst dewy pastures with groups of grazing cattle nearby and picking blackberries from bushes as an early morning treat. Later, when he was a wealthier man, he ran a shoot, accompanied by the fashionable Labradors (Hirschman, 2003; Tarrant, 2002) who would run to 'pick-up' fallen birds shot in a very organised and rather 'canned' fashion (Ireland, 2002; Schroeder, 2018). The officially organised shoots were in effect a mass slaughter of pre-raised birds, for what seemed like the pleasure of those who could afford to pay for a 'gun' and the privilege of killing them.

After the hunting followed the cleaning and preparation of the animal for the kitchen; a process that created my interest in animals from an early age. Yet, the teenager who witnessed organised shoots felt at odds with the practice and I experienced regret for the lives lost in what seemed like a gluttonous overindulgence in death. 'Driven game shoots' were, in comparison to poaching, a very formal system of shooting where individuals with guns would stand in a line across a field against numbered pegs. As directed by the gamekeeper, a team of 'beaters' (people with dogs and sticks), would move through nearby wooded areas or hedgerows shouting and banging the sticks around, flushing out birds so they would take off and fly towards the guns. The shooter's dogs would retrieve shot birds. I would spend what seemed like hours, feeling cold, often wet, as the autumn and winter rains poured down, watching soggy birds fleeing only to be gunned down in a flurry of feathers.

Sometimes a bird would be injured, and a dog would be sent to retrieve him, so he could be dispatched 'humanely' by having his neck broken. My dislike of the shoot was tempered by watching the dogs work and seeing the enjoyment they appeared to get from it, and I can relate to Hufford's (1992) descriptions of foxhounds working through the Pine Barrens where hounds pick up scent trails, busily looking for signs of their quarry. Some of the hunters I spoke with explained that this was an enjoyable experience for them too and they felt pride from seeing their dogs 'work'. Yet, unlike the hounds she describes as uttering music in a noisy vocal chase of a fox, these dogs were quietly going about their business in a determined and focussed manner. Busy spaniels, noses glued to the floor and tails wagging furiously, would zigzag across fields searching for birds, and the more controlled Labradors would trot in the direction they were sent to recover birds in a sedate and accurate fashion. I remembered wanting to interact with the dogs but was not permitted to do so as they were working and were not to be distracted. I could remember speaking with my father after one of these shoots about the disgust I felt at the number of birds that died. He told me that if it wasn't for the shoot, the birds would never have had a life as they were bred specifically for that purpose. There seemed to be an expectation that I should, therefore, find this acceptable. Marvin discusses this concept:

... in the case of human/animal relations, the human need and ability to kill animals and the general acceptance or tolerance of the violence of killing is fundamental to the creation of the social order between these sets of creatures ... (2006, p. 11).

He argues that many non-human animals, especially domesticated ones, owe their existence to the purpose of being killed, for food, to use their body parts, in religious rituals, in laboratory experiments, for public health and so on. Morally I

could not justify creating someone solely for the purpose of exploiting them through their death.

It was during my studies much later that the works of Peter Singer (1973) and Tom Regan (1983) prompted thoughts of my late teenage years. My preoccupation with anti-hunt organisations, particularly foxhunting, 'sabbing', and vegetarianism (Boisseau & Donaghey, 2015; Nocella et al., 2015), was perhaps in response to those earlier shooting experiences. I felt disgusted at the violence inflicted on the species classified as 'game'. 'If something frightens or saddens us', Milton writes, 'we are likely to be particularly attentive to its presence in the future, if only for the purpose of trying to avoid it' (2002. p. 65). My emotional involvement with the game birds and memories of their deaths had influenced my own identity.

Latterly, the philosophical arguments of animal rights and my inability to reconcile my feelings about hunting and the use of animals led me to explore further the interactions of humans and nonhuman animals. I found that other animals, at least in many dominant Western ideologies, had become members of an 'other' or marginalised group. They were therefore, as I saw it, in need of acknowledgement, protection, and political recognition (Coulter, 2016b; Hurn, 2012). This will be discussed in more depth in later chapters.

Historically, hunting has been portrayed as a practice of hunting animals for consumption and relates particularly to indigenous populations (Gruen, 2011, p.451; Hurn, 2012, p. 176; Waldau & Patton, 2006, p.1311). In hunting communities where the procurement of meat is not the main purpose, hunting becomes a multi-faceted activity; sport, engaging with nature, trophy hunting, and the shared activity of the hunt itself are more important than meat consumption,

which becomes a bonus. Hurn describes hunting as a 'highly subjective activity' (2012, p. 431), where local practices, cultural influences, country-specific attitudes and international views, and legislation will affect hunters and those who experience hunting in differing ways. This view was reflected in the opinions of both pro- and anti-hunting informants that I had spoken to. Those who participated in or had positive views of hunting relied on arguments of tradition, culture, and conservation. In contrast, those who were against it, appeared influenced by international opinions or wider perceptions rather than having a local focus, claiming it cruel, unnecessary, and outdated. One informant who explained he used to be a member of the British Association of Shooting and Conservation and regularly participated in shoots in the UK had this view:

In Cyprus, it is not an organised shoot, but what I call rough shooting, the hunters walk across the ground, sometimes with a dog to flush out birds or chase hares. The dogs are not trained to pick up, just flush. They are also starved before hunting to make them keener to chase prey. I live in the middle of a hunting ground, so see a lot of what goes on. It is generally unsafe; there is no high visibility gear worn, no ear protection seen. I generally don't support hunting here because they shoot anything and never rotate hunting grounds to give it a 'rest' ... There is no organised line of hunters, so they shoot across each other's paths, and hunters are shot every year by fellow hunters due to unsafe practices. I have seen them shooting up into trees and into hedgerows and not all will pick up the birds because, well to be honest, when they are shooting small birds, there's not much left to pick up! I've seen them using electronic decoys, mist nets and lime sticks and some evenings have seen them 'lamping'. It's weird really because the competitive sport of shooting is very good here, Cyprus does well in the Olympics with shooting, but hunting is a different story (CS. 18.07.2017).

As a once avid participant of shooting, he now condemned it. Not for reasons of cruelty towards the prey, but for the manner in which it was conducted. The lack of organisation, safety precautions, illegal forms of hunting, and the mistreatment of hunting dogs, had persuaded him that hunting in Cyprus was not to be supported.

Ingold forms a distinction between hunting and predation and argues that hunting is a uniquely human predatory activity which: 'consists in reality in the subjective intentionality that is brought to bear on the procurement process' (1986. p. 79). This premeditated intention to track, and kill is what separates humans from non-human hunters. He explains that:

Whereas the predatory sequence of pursuit and capture begins at the moment when the predator detects the presence of a potential victim, hunting can begin long before with the onset of an intentional *search* for signs of prey (Ingold, 1986. p. 90).

He suggests that non-human hunters will kill when presented with prey but that human hunting is projective, not spontaneous. However, he does not clarify whether an intentional search for prey, such as a scent hound following a trail or a cat scanning trees for birds, is different to human hunting and I am inclined to disagree with his theory. Indeed, it is well documented that many social mammals, for example dogs (Case et al., 2011; Hare & Tomsello, 2005; Miklósi et al., 2014; Stevens & Hauser, 2009), wolves (Mech, 2007), hyenas (Glickman et al., 1997), and chimpanzees (Boesch, 2005; Mitani & Watts, 2001; Tomasello & Carpenter, 2007), hunt cooperatively and in a planned, considered manner rather than always spontaneously.

2.5 Hunting in a Cypriot Context

The previous accounts of my own childhood hunting experiences demonstrate two of the main types of hunting practices. The illegal poaching that occurred was to feed the family, but the organised, driven shoots were for the sport or leisure of those participating and financial gain of the shoot's owner. 'Game' shot was sold to local butchers as an additional outcome of the shoot, rather than the main purpose.

When considering the hunting that occurred in Cyprus, once again the types could be divided into two different categories: shooting and poaching. Interestingly, angling, as in the UK, was considered a separate activity (Hurn, 2012, p. 430).

Poaching can be defined as the illegal shooting or trapping of animals or the use of other animals to kill prey (Eliason, 2003). The term in Cyprus covered activities where hunters would kill animals either out of season, without the correct licences, in no hunting areas, unpermitted prey, or any activity where the hunting legislation and regulations are not adhered to. Under this umbrella fell activities such as 'lamping' which is a practice where hunters walk at night shining a high-powered lamp and brandishing guns, attempting to lure foxes and rabbits by using distress calls (Hurn, 2009, p. 7), and hunting hare with sighthounds such as Lurchers or Greyhounds. The illegal trapping of birds was carried out on an industrial scale on parts of the island using mist nets or lime sticks (Hunting | BirdLife Cyprus, 2017). A mist net is a fine-meshed polyester net, suspended between two poles originally used by ornithologists to capture small birds for research purposes (Dunn & Ralph, 2004; Spotswood et al., 2012). Lime sticks are twigs covered in extremely sticky glue and placed to resemble perches, in

order that birds will land on them becoming stuck (Hirschfeld & Heyd, 2005; Murgui, 2014). However, the most recent reports by Birdlife Cyprus, suggested that this activity was decreasing with increased surveillance by law enforcement agencies (Charalambides, 2018).

Hunting was permitted on any land that was within designated hunting areas. These areas were generally in rural, less inhabited parts of the island and were periodically changed to allow wildlife recovery. Maps of the various hunting zones were published every year by the Game Fund along with information about what quarry could be hunted at certain times during the season which ran from the first Sunday in November until the last Sunday in February.

There were no gamekeeper roles similar to those in the UK, but regional hunting clubs did raise and maintain quarry species during the year for hunting. Photographs of volunteers on behalf of the Hunting Federation who were trialling some new feed for game birds were posted on their Facebook pages. A seed formula was imported from Spain and birds were observed at feeding sites both during the day and at night using video recordings, with numbers reported to the European Federation of Hunters as proof of conservation efforts by Cypriot hunters.

The shooting method itself is termed 'rough shooting' which The British Association of Shooting and Conservation describe as:

... [the] most common method of live quarry shooting. Shooters use their trained dogs (usually spaniels or Labradors) to flush game out of the hedgerows, woods or other covers as they walk along. These dogs also retrieve the shot game. Should the quarry be wounded, the sportsman will retrieve and despatch it quickly and humanely. Virtually all the quarry species listed can be walked-up (i.e., where the shooter flushes out the

quarry as he or she walks through cover). The countryside knowledge and hunting skills required plus the fresh air, exercise and the training and working of specially bred dogs makes rough shooting one of the most popular, rewarding and cheapest forms of live quarry shooting (B.A.S.C., 2018).

Hunters in Cyprus would often walk large distances over rough and hilly terrain, sometimes accompanied by dogs, in this method of shooting. The dogs used varied and different breeds or types were fashionable. These breed trends appeared to change from time to time and from region to region. The hunters in areas near Nicosia during the first year of my research in 2017 tended to favour English Pointers (Fig. 6) or English Setters (Fig. 7). In contrast, in the Paphos region, there was a preference for Beagles (Fig. 12) or more traditional hound types such as the Jura Hound (Fig. 13), Bracco Italiano (Fig. 14), or Segugio Italiano (Fig. 15).



Figure 12. Beagle. Photo courtesy of CP.



Figure 13. Jura Hound



Figure 14. Bracco Italiano



Figure 15. Segugio Italiano. Photo courtesy of CP.

The reasons for these breed variations are explored further in chapter five. Dogs were used to scent prey, indicate where it was or to flush it out, depending on breed and training. In most cases, dogs did not retrieve, but the hunter collected the quarry. However, some hunters claimed that their dogs were trained to retrieve shot birds too. Dogs used for hunting in Cyprus were usually referred to as 'Hunters' or 'Hunting dogs' rather than as in the UK where they may be referred to as 'gun dogs' or 'hounds'. Sighthounds, such as Lurchers, Greyhounds, or Afghan hounds, were not referred to in this way. Indeed, they were not mentioned within hunting communities generally as they were used solely for illegal hare coursing. Yet, I have experience of Cretan Hounds (a sighthound used to chase hares) being used for hunting (see Pixie's story, chapter five), but allegedly the quarry was shot before the dog reached them. I cannot confirm this as I never witnessed them used during hunting.

The use of dogs for hunting has been evidenced for thousands of years. In Ancient Greece youths were encouraged to hunt boar as part of their military training and leadership skills. It was seen as a healthy pastime and as preparing

men for war according to the philosopher and historian Xenophon (c.430-354 BC) (Xenophon, 1984, p. 373). Plato (c. 428-347 BC), another philosopher, agreed, arguing that 'the capture of four-footed animals with the help of dogs and horses' (Saunders, 1970, pp. 319–320) was the right sort of hunting, claiming that fishermen and poachers were less praise-worthy.

During the medieval Lusignan and Venetian periods (1192-1473), falconry was the preferred practice to hunt prey, but hounds imported from Turkey and cheetahs from Africa via Egypt were also used (Coureas, 2017). Legal texts of the Lusignan period contain references to hunting with hounds, stating that anyone who found a lost hawk or hound should send them to the nearest town within fifteen days of their discovery. According to Nicholas Coureas, hunting in this period cut across social, religious, and ethnic barriers. He goes on to write how the German traveller, Ludolf von Suchen, visited Cyprus in 1350 and described the methods of hunting that he saw:

... the nobles of Cyprus practised tournaments, jousting and above all hunting daily, Ludolf stated that they spent all their money on hunting. As he recounts in his travelogue, wild rams, namely the Cyprus moufflon, were hunted and caught with leopards, and the count of Jaffa is mentioned as having over 500 such dogs and one servant for every two dogs, charged with feeding and cleaning them. Nobles who went hunting in the mountains and forests with hounds and hawks spent over a whole month sleeping in tents, with camels and other beasts used to carry their foodstuffs and other necessities (Coureas, 2017, p. 107).

Interestingly, these early forms of hunting used the sighthounds to catch hare and rabbits, and scent-hounds to flush out birds which were caught with nets. Guns in Cyprus did not appear until much later. According to my informant, the use of

guns did not begin until the arrival of the British in 1922, when Cyprus became a Crown Colony. Our conversation went as follows:

AA.: Guns arrived here beginning of the 19th Century but when it became a colony, only the British were allowed to own guns. Cypriots were making their own out of steering wheel bars. Hunting then was mostly to complement their poor diet as a food source.

Me: That's really interesting, how do you know that?

AA.: My Grandfather was a gun maker and learned the craft from his uncle. Trapping was also popular.

Me: Hunting runs deep in your family! When did it change from a source of food to a leisure activity? In the 1960's?

AA.: That's a good question. "Good hunters" were respected and praised in small communities then. Maybe it was a sign of achievement and skills. After all, some colonial officials often organised hunts with huge numbers of partridge and hares, displaying them later in the coffee shops. Often rich native doctors and lawyers would participate too. It must have been a compilation of "small dick syndrome" and some sort of achievement and proof of skills. 'Cause it does take skills. More now than then. Still, huge numbers doesn't excuse much of the behaviours now or then. Maybe Fraud [sic] has the answer. I know in tribes even now good hunters have some sort of rank and privilege (Facebook Messenger chat 24.08.2020, 15:55).

As in other countries, the British in Cyprus during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used hunting as a means of portraying a superior identity. The sophistication of guns and the implementation of hunting codes of practice became part of the identities of colonial hunters and related narratives of prowess and status. In doing so, they created feelings of unfairness and injustice amongst

the local society. Yet the spectacle of hunting and the way in which hunters present themselves within society, suggests that despite this colonial influence, the traditional views first expressed by the likes of Xenophon and Plato, are still relevant to them today.

2.6 Social Scenes, Identities & Hierarchies

During early morning trips to the local village shop, I was aware of hunters' trucks parked up outside tavernas and coffee shops. The trucks were parked haphazardly, blocking some of the smaller streets where you could only just squeeze two cars side by side. Most had dogs peeping out of their metal boxes and hunting paraphernalia spread across the seats.

I had heard that hunters gathered at meeting places to eat soup before starting the morning's hunt, perhaps acting as a mark of identity (Hurn, 2013, p. 220). Following discussions with two hunters, AA. and AS., about their hunting rituals before they hunt, it seemed that this practice was no longer conducted by what they described as the more 'distinguished' hunters. It is more usual to meet afterwards for food and Zivania (a strong, alcoholic drink made from distilled grapes) to socialise and discuss the morning's hunting. If they did meet beforehand, soup might be eaten, and they described this as a traditional practice enjoyed in more rural areas. The soup is usually τραχανάς (trachana) which AA. described as:

Trachana is a traditional soup made when you cook together crushed wheat and sour milk. You then dry it in the sun until rock solid, and when you need it, you put it in water for a few hours and then cook it in chicken or in our case, partridge (AA., 2017).

Alternatively, they might eat αυγολέμονο (Avgolemono), egg and lemon soup:

It is egg yolks and lemon juice beaten together and carefully added to stock to thicken it. Rice or Orzo (a type of pasta) is often added, and sometimes, some Halloumi [cheese] is also added (AS., 2017).

AA. explained that he would dine at a tavern after hunting but would eat minimal food, such as eggs, olives, toast, tomato, and maybe some sausage, accompanied by wine or Zivania before going home. His descriptions appeared rather elitist as he described himself as an athlete compared to other hunters:

Look I am into the athletic aspect of hunting; loads of hiking after fast dogs. The more difficult and rougher the terrain the better, 'cause we hunt from morning to dusk, walking for 5-6 hours. I will just have some bananas and tangerines during and a light dinner after. Many stop at 10-11 AM and grill, eat and joke before going home. Most are there for the social experience (AA. FB Messenger 15.11.2017, 19:17).

AA. was very serious about how his dogs performed compared to other hunters I spoke with. He belonged to a group that was keen on promoting English Setters and Pointers and competed with them throughout Europe in field trials. Therefore, he took hunting more seriously than many, and this seemed to set him apart from the more 'regular' hunters. He certainly tended to his dogs as if they were champions, unlike many. He was the only hunter who I saw groom his dog to remove any burrs, grass seeds, or ticks at the end of a hunting session, before putting him into his truck. He would also provide his dog with water from a battery-run water cooler. He added an electrolyte powder to the water to replace salts and sugars the dog may have lost during the exertion of the hunt. His treatment of his dogs, in my presence, could not be faulted. Yet, I had seen photos of him

with his dogs wearing electronic 'shock' collars, that delivered an electric shock to the wearer as a form of positive punishment (considered unnecessary training aids and detrimental to the dog [Massen et al., 2010; Ziv, 2017]). I felt disappointed that he would use aversive methods such as this. I had high expectations of him based on what I had previously seen. I knew he would dismiss my dog training techniques, which involved operant conditioning and positive reinforcement of wanted behaviours, as 'weak'. He got defensive if I made any suggestions or negative views about his training methods, so I stayed quiet. He said that his dogs were so valuable, both financially and personally to him, that he could not afford to lose them if they did not come back. Therefore, he felt it was important to use a method that he believed prevented this, claiming it was not cruel but effective and kept his dog safe. I disagreed but did not verbalise my thoughts as I did not want to appear challenging, and part of me could understand his fears.

His care for his dogs did set him apart from many other hunters and he was keen to demonstrate that difference. He presented himself as a serious sportsman, rather than a leisure hunter, and this illustrated the levels of hierarchy in the hunters' social group. These layers of the group were further defined by not just how they behaved during hunting but by what they wore, which dogs they used, and how their male prowess was exhibited.

2.6.1 Dressing Up

Hunters are boys playing soldiers. It's all about that macho crap, and it makes me respect them less. Well not respect them less but I am more suspicious of them. My wife tends to follow my opinion, but she doesn't think as deeply about stuff as I do. She finds hunters in their camo gear unattractive, and it puts her off Cypriot men generally. She, like me, says

that hunting is just part of the Rambo, macho image and that they wear camouflage clothes and drive around in modified trucks to try and look cool (LT., 2017).

This view above was a popular one, which I heard regularly during hunting season, expressed by those who were not hunters and those who were but viewed themselves as superior. I had been guilty of this opinion in the past too, but it was the case that many hunters wore clothing bought from hunting stores, that was predominantly a camouflage pattern or 'safari green'.

Before embarking on work with my research participants, I decided to go to buy some appropriate clothing. I travelled to a hunting supplies shop in the nearby village of Kissonerga intending to buy some good boots and a jacket. I did not want to wear 'wellies' and look stupid or not fit in, knowing that all the hunters locally wore green or camouflage jackets. The shop looked like somebody's house from the outside; small, single-storied, with dirty whitewashed walls, and a metal door that looked like it had been fitted in the seventies. There were trucks parked outside, and I knew that when I walked in, I would be seen as some kind of curiosity. Inside the shop were a few older men who looked at me like I was an alien. I felt very self-conscious yet was determined, so I began to look around like I knew what I was looking for. The men were sat about in a small semi-circle on wood and wicker chairs, one was smoking, and their chatter fell silent when they saw me. I was aware of an embarrassed flush of self-consciousness starting somewhere at neck level and rising across my face like a scarlet thermometer reading on a July morning. I pretended to look at a pair of boots when after a few minutes one of the men who had been sitting in the group came to ask me what I wanted. I replied I wanted boots and a jacket, at which point he called for C. C.

introduced himself and helpfully found me some sturdy, green lace-up hunting boots. He then showed me to rails of camouflage jackets, which were made for flat-chested men (the majority of customers being male), and the fact that I could not zip them up brought a slightly uncomfortable, boyish amusement to the room. Eventually, I found one that did fit, and in broken Greek and English, we managed to sort out a deal. Before I turned to leave, someone from the group asked me where I was from, and I replied that I lived in Kathikas. Another one of them then asked where I was from in the UK before explaining how he enjoyed shooting in the UK and that there were many more pheasants and rabbits there compared to here.

In order to maintain rapport, I decided to act semi-covertly and claimed that I *might* be going to try hunting here. I questioned whether this counted as deception as it was a lie and I felt uncomfortable. Bulmer writes: 'Covert, secret or disguised participant observation may be defined as research situations where the real identity of the observer as a social researcher remains secret and entirely unknown to those with whom he or she is in contact' (1982, p. 252). I felt that what I had said was not so far from the truth to equal deception, after all I would be on the hunting field with hunters, and I had previously intended to carry a gun out in the field to fully experience the hunt until the University's Ethics Committee intervened. Drawing on my childhood experiences, I was able to share some hunting stories from my life in the UK, and I asked them if there were any hunting clubs, but they said no. They explained that people tended to hunt as individuals or in small groups. I also asked them about the rules and regulations of hunting. They explained that if I got stopped by the Game Police, I would have to show a license and that bright, orange-coloured tabards and cap should be worn during November and December but that just a cap would suffice the rest of the time. I

replied that I had not seen anyone wearing them and they said that as long as you carry them on your person, you are considered legal. I knew driving home from that shop that I could never act covertly and although it might have caused problems with integration with hunters, I had to be upfront about who I was and what I was doing, as discussed in the previous chapter. During the following few weeks, I wore my boots around the house to 'break them in' and once teamed with the jacket, I did look like a hunter. It gave me a sense of feeling a part of something, as though it carried status or that perhaps I might be taken more seriously if I was seen wearing them, despite my camera and student identity. The link between types of clothing and social identity are well documented (Dodd et al., 2000; Feinberg et al., 1992; Frith & Gleeson, 2004; Guy & Banim, 2000). Lewis explores how clothing communicates a particular identity, especially in leisure spaces which serve as safe spaces for 'different' clothing (2015, p. 51).

I chatted to AA. later that day and told him excitedly that I had bought the boots and camouflage jacket, ready to go out with the hunters, but he laughed. He said that 'only "village boys" wear those types of clothes' and that I would 'get laughed at in Nicosia' (AA. 2017). I felt very disappointed as I had spent €165 to buy the two items that I thought would help me fit in, but instead it seemed it would do the opposite and the fact that he mockingly told me this, as though I was stupid not to know, just added to my low mood. I wondered if I was to wear the jacket around the village what reaction people would give me but quickly talked myself out of it. I thought it might just draw more attention to myself when at that stage, I was not sure if I wanted to be associated with hunters or any other connotations it may have had. The differences in clothing worn locally and by those in Nicosia were apparent, and if I wanted to fit in with either, I would have to be aware of those differences when making my clothing choices. The type of clothes worn had a

particular status to each group; to wear camouflage in Nicosia would bring derision and wearing sportswear locally would not be seen as correct 'hunting gear' and I would lose credibility again. Adopting certain identities for specific situations was a reoccurring theme of the research process as it was important for me to be perceived by others as worthy of being included in that group. My aim was to have harmonious relationships and being seen as similar in terms of identity helped. Erving Goffman wrote about how non-verbal signals such as appearance were important in becoming accepted within social groups: 'Sometimes he will intentionally and consciously express himself in a particular way, but chiefly because the tradition of his group, or social status require this kind of expression ...' (1977, p. 121). This required metamorphosis of identity, not just to find acceptance between hunters and non-hunters, but between the hierarchies of hunters too.

2.6.2 Machismo & Sexuality

Non-hunters saw this 'uniform' as having military affiliation or linked to masculine prowess and therein a 'macho' connection but in a derogatory sense. It was reminiscent of colonial hunting days in Africa, where game shooting safaris were popular (Kibicho, 2016; Wels, 2003). Those safaris constructed a masculine, powerful identity of white people in Africa and an authoritative authenticity, creating a hunter role model with a self-image of physical and mental superiority. A similar social identity seemed to have been created through the wearing of camouflage within the Paphos hunters. Gilmore describes machismo as a 'masculine display complex involving culturally sanctioned demonstrations of hypermasculinity both in the sense of erotic and physical aggressiveness' (1987, p. 130). Hunting is argued to be represented as a sexually charged activity in

popular culture (Kalof et al., 2004, p. 237) where animals, women, and weapons are sexualised, particularly in hunting magazines. Feminist theorists have used sexual narratives to explain their interpretations of contemporary hunting literature, for example 'heterosexual predation' (Luke, 1998, p. 630) and restraint (or outlet?) for aggressive sexual energy (Kheel, 1996, p. 91). Kheel (1996) suggests that hunting can be considered a safety valve for sexual energy that is directed at a non-human, an arguably more acceptable target. The link between hunting and sex appears based on a desire to possess or take possession of another being and hunting language often evokes a sense of the erotic. 'Passion' for hunting, 'love' of the prey species, that 'intimate' moment with an animal before it is killed, the 'surrendering' of an animal, 'being at one' with nature, and the 'union' of a man and his dog are all expressions I heard regularly. My interpretation of this 'love' and 'desire' was a need to possess, which ultimately meant killing and eating of the prey (Tuan, 1984, p. 9). There was no reciprocity or mutuality as Collard (1989) points out. Yet, hunting has been seen as a rite of passage for young men since Ancient Greek times.

Connections between hunting and the male persona can also be seen in archaeological evidence. Examples of hunting landscapes in the American Southwest are explored in Potter's work: 'hunting and its associated landscapes facilitate the creation and substantiation of the male persona through metaphorical linkages between humans and animals, hunting and warfare, and game animals and women' (2004, p. 322). Such themes evolved throughout the work as noted in my journal extract below:

I met with a local councillor this morning over what she describes a 'quintessentially English' cup of tea to chat about hunting and the impact of it on her, and people that come under her jurisdiction. She said:

I am originally from Canada, but my husband and I travelled as part of our work for the United Nations. He is much older than me and when he retired, I did not have to work, so we decided to settle in Cyprus, rather than go back to Canada. I was a Friends of the Earth activist for many years and in the 1990s set up an Agro-tourism project in the villages of Kathikas, Drousia, Arodes and Kritou Terra (LL., 06.06.2017).

The theme of the camouflage clothing arises, and I ask her if she feels it is specifically a Cypriot hunting tradition. She replied:

It's not culture. It's just a man thing, a macho man thing. It comes from the military and national service. In the army, they [men] are sent into the countryside to keep them fit. Even the national guard do it regularly. Hunting is a way of keeping fit and fight readily; should you be needed. It comes from the recent history of occupation and the constant threat of the Turks. That's why you see it more here than in other countries (LL. 06.06.2017).

Despite her acerbic tone, I had not considered a tangible military connection before, and the national service requirements here were still stringent. Mosher describes a connection between machismo and a warrior: 'This ideology of the warrior still influences the socialisation and enculturation of males, creating

macho men and perpetuating hypermasculinity ...' (1991, p. 199). The military connection to the camouflage dress could have been relevant, as men are expected to serve in the military guard from the 1st January of the year in which they turn 18 until the 31st December. This rule applied to all male citizens of Cyprus as well as non-citizens born of a parent of Greek Cypriot descent. National service was not an experience which many young men seemed to enjoy. I spoke with three who for different reasons were excused after difficult negotiations on the grounds of 'mental health issues' less than six months after starting. Military service continues throughout their lives. As reservists they have to attend training several times a year up until they reach the age of 55 years. This has recently been an issue that has caused some consternation in men who are British nationals of Greek Cypriot descent who wished to claim Cypriot citizenship following Brexit - the UK's impending departure from the European Union. A major consideration for them was whether they would be expected to serve in the National Guard on repatriation or if they could find some way to be exempt (Messios, 2017).

When hunters wore camouflage clothing at the veterinary clinic when I was there, I noticed they would receive looks of disdain from British customers who were waiting to see the vet. To them, it seemed to represent an image of machismo, rather than being at one with nature, as it was explained to me by S., a hunter from the Paphos region. I wondered whether it was a macho image they were trying to project or whether there was a misinterpretation of the image based on British assumptions. Once again, I am reminded of my own cultural and societal baggage here. Colonialist attitudes, historical reminders that are borne out of judgments and assumptions, were present in the clinic. I could feel the need to try to sit, albeit rather uncomfortably, in both 'camps' if I was to gain a truer

understanding. It was not just British immigrants and my Cypriot colleagues that formed judgements on the camouflage wearing Paphian hunters though. Those who saw themselves as more elitist hunters, particularly those from Nicosia, wore waterproof sportswear rather than camouflage clothing, which discounted the argument of wearing camouflage to remain unseen by prey. My exploratory trips into gun shops did reveal racks of camouflage jackets and trousers and they were sold along the roadside in the weeks leading up to the start of the season, adding to a sense of expectation as the opening date drew closer. Yet, I did not see the type of clothing that the hunters from Nicosia wore stocked; apparently, they bought it online from specialist sportswear retailers. I believed the importance of the camouflage for the functionality of the hunt was an association to social groups within geographical areas, rather than the need to go unseen by prey species (Croghan et al., 2006; Kuchler, 2005; Lühtrath & Schraml, 2014). AA explained that to wear camouflage was in fact dangerous: 'Wearing camouflage is dangerous. You wear camo only at static hunting like woodpigeon. Birds have amazing eyesight but when hunting with dogs, you don't really need it'. I asked why the Paphos hunters choose to wear it then and he replied: 'Paphos is a different species of human beings!' (AA. May. 2017). This once again reminded me of the separation between the two regions and the opinions about Paphian hunters. My contacts in the Nicosia group often discussed their involvement in field trials, which were competitions where handlers and dogs would compete in hunting related skills. By chance one of these trials was being held near my home area and I will now describe my experience of the trials.

2.7 Trials & Tribulations

In September 2017, I was invited by the English Setter and Pointer Club to attend a field trial which happened to be being held in a nearby village, rather than near Nicosia where the club and members were based. The area was quite mountainous and as such was being used for that particular trial which involved such terrain. Once again, I was unsure what to wear to fit in as it was still hot during the day, so I decided walking shoes and lightweight trousers would probably be the most appropriate. The meeting place was at a secret location in Drousia; a village that was a ten-minute drive from home. I was told that I would be sent a map and directions the night before the meet. I was instructed to meet at 6 AM promptly at the meeting point, and from there, everyone would drive to the trial location. I had AA. to thank for this opportunity as he had kindly set it up for me with NK., the president of the club. He sent me a complex set of rules and encouraged me to take my camera to photograph the event. I felt a bit nervous and apprehensive the night before as I was not sure where the meeting place was, and it would still be dark at the 6 AM rendezvous time. I was awake from 3.20 AM knowing that the alarm was set for 4.30 AM; an annoying quirk of mine when I know I have to be somewhere important. I got up at 4 AM, showered and dressed ready. My dogs were not cooperative; it was still dark and too early for them to be getting up. Their routine is nearer 6 AM at dawn, and they did not want to go out to toilet. I needed them to, as I would be out until 10 AM and I knew they might be uncomfortable waiting until I got back. Eventually they did choose to go out before rushing back to their beds, curling in tight balls and falling asleep again. They started barking and howling when they heard me leaving though, something they do not normally do and I wondered how this change in routine might have

affected them and I felt guilty for upsetting their usual routine and leaving them (Carr & Cohen, 2009).

I considered how my own dogs' routines were very different from the hunting dogs that I would meet that day. My dogs were an integral part of my family who provided me with companionship, love, and affection (Archer, 1997; Hart, 1995). The hunting dogs would have spent the night in a cramped metal box in the back of a truck, being allowed out first thing to toilet and then returned to the box. They would not be fed until the day was over, when they would be returned to their kennel or cage. The distinction between the lifestyles of companion dogs and hunting dogs was stark. How I shared my life with dogs and how hunters shared theirs differed enormously. I embrace the positive methods of engaging with dogs referred to by Haraway and Wolfe as 'Positive Bondage' (2016, p. 43) which has gained popularity in recent years, while hunters have hung on belligerently to the old path of dominance and control in their human/canine relationships.



Figure 16. Regas and Orion in travelling boxes, built into the back of the truck. (Sept. 2017)

It was very dark as I drove towards the meeting point. Not even the earliest hint of dawn appeared until I got there and parked the car. Then I noticed the vaguest pink hue appearing behind the distant mountains, but it was difficult to see as the cool outside air temperature caused condensation to form on the windscreen of the car.

The road was jammed with trucks nose to tail, and I joined the end of the line rather sheepishly, hoping nobody would notice my vehicle which was different from the others. The windscreen steamed up instantly the minute I turned the engine off, and I was glad as nobody could see me. Hiding in the car I sent AA. a text message saying I was there, he replied saying he was on his way; it all felt somehow clandestine and secretive. It seemed as though there must be something wrong about this event for it to be so secretive and I considered the link between perpetrators and secrecy (Rising, 2013, p. 17) as I waited in my car. After a while, I saw AA.'s truck pull up, and he sent me a text message saying I should join him and meet everyone. Rather reluctantly, I stepped out and made my way towards the group of men huddled around someone's truck, feeling very aware of my introversion but putting on a professional front to look like a convincing researcher. This was the first time I had met AA. face-to-face but I recognised him from his photos and online chats instantly, and he, me. He introduced me to the chairman of the Cyprus Pointer and Setter Club, whose event it was, NK. He was very welcoming and explained how the day would run and that he was pleased to have me there. He said he felt it was very positive that I was there to see things from a different perspective, and he was happy for me to video and photograph the events. He said he would like to see the work and hoped that I would promote the club positively. I agreed and explained my plans for an exhibition of hunting dog photographs, and he said he would happily

promote and attend the event. I was not so sure that down the line he would and the idea of having hunters and anti-hunt campaigners in a room at the same time made me feel distinctly uneasy. I pondered about who my audience was and whether a website might be a more realistic alternative.

Next, I was introduced to the second judge (NK. being the first). K. was from Nicosia too and worked as a vet, mostly equine. There were a large number of racehorses in Nicosia and a big racetrack, and he worked with them. He said despite this, he loved dogs and had a particular interest in working Pointers and Setters. He was a hunter too, so I asked him about the paradox between saving animals and shooting them. He said that he hunted to be out in nature and that shooting was an unfortunate aspect of hunting. He said that as time had gone by, he now preferred field trials as you got the nature experience with the dogs, without the killing of prey. Disappointingly at that point, we were called to get into cars and move off to the trial site.

As one convoy, we followed the lead car out into the mountains. The sun was almost over the horizon, causing the early morning mist to lift in time with the temperature. The dogs in the trucks were noticeably quiet, which seemed unusual as dogs I had seen in trucks heading out for a morning's hunting were often barking loudly. After reaching the site, we waited for two cars that had somehow got lost en-route, one of which carried the second judge so nothing could begin until his arrival. While waiting, I asked AA. about his dogs. He had brought with him a five-year-old English Setter and a twenty-two-month-old English Pointer. The Setter, Regas, was a champion trial dog, and he expected good results from him. The Pointer, Orion, was relatively new to the game, and he was worried he might run off and not come back. Both dogs were housed in

the back of the truck in caged areas. They could not stand up and had to either lay, crouch, or sit with heads lowered. Other dogs were in cages in vans and trucks, crates in the boots of cars, and one was free within the car sitting on the back seat. AA. explained that the dogs had been trained to be used to travelling in these vehicles and that they happily slept overnight in them when competing away from home. I had to agree that they all seemed settled and quiet, but I am not sure that 'trained' is the right term, habituated was probably more appropriate. AA. did not feed the dogs before the competition, overnight he just gave water and allowed toilet breaks, the rest of the time they were in the vehicle. He explained that this was for their comfort during the night and to avoid problems with heavy exercise after food that morning.

Once the missing people arrived, NK. greeted the group more formally and introduced me and welcomed me to the group, so that they all knew my purpose for being there. Everybody was warm and helpful, speaking English when required, and explaining what was happening and what I should do. After a short while, the first pair of dogs and handlers set off up the mountain with two judges following behind, scoring their performance. After a while, they all disappeared into the distance and the other competitors and spectators, including myself, drove along single-track roads around the mountains trying to meet them on the other side.

At various points, we stopped and watched the proceedings before driving on to catch up again. Men and dogs could be seen as small figures in the distance, running up and down hills. There were times when nothing could be seen, so this allowed an opportunity to have conversations with the competitors about dogs and trials. It was during this time that my only bad experience of the morning

happened. We pulled up near a small pond, which was surprising in itself as most of the rivers had dried up after a long hot summer. In the pond were frogs, which was lovely to see. One of the men had brought his son aged about thirteen years with him, and the boy spotted the frogs and promptly threw rocks on to them. He injured one and fished it out of the pond on the end of a stick before tossing it into the road, watching it die and poking it with the stick. I looked at him sternly, but nobody seemed to care. I did not say anything as I was a guest and did not want to upset the rapport that had been built. However, I did take my camera out as if to record it, at which point his father told him to leave it and sit down. He did briefly, before returning to throw rocks at other frogs. I could not bear to watch, so I headed back to my car. Fortunately, the convoy had to move out of the way of an oncoming tractor, away from the pond.

I wondered if the child's behaviour was learned from his parents; it seemed cruel and unnecessary. The lack of reprimand or even notice led me to think that this behaviour was acceptable within this group, and it was only when I was seen about to photograph it, that anything was done. It appeared like the group were on their 'best behaviour' due to my presence. I wondered if the child demonstrated an attitude towards non-human animals that the adults were hiding. I questioned if I was overreacting coming from my own background of pro-animal rights and ethics but then, as ever, I considered the incongruence of not speaking up for the frogs for fear of disrupting the research. In a way, I was as bad as that child because if it had been a dog being beaten to death, I would have spoken up and not cared if the day had been ruined, but because amphibians are not dogs, I stayed quiet - what a hypocrite! By exposing this incident here, perhaps I am in some way trying to make amends in a less confrontational way. Bearing witness to this animal suffering brought to mind thoughts about my ethical involvement in

an activity that I am against, and I considered this example particularly perplexing. There is never just a perpetrator and a victim in these scenarios, but witnesses too (Rising, 2013, p. 16). The bystanders would have chosen sides should I have confronted the child, and I doubt it would have been mine. At the time, confronting a child over what would have been seen as an insignificant creature, in the company of hunters seemed illogical, risky, and alienating. Yet, I saw my subtle challenge of taking photographs of the child as weak and taking the easy route out.

After an hour and a half, AA. and his competitor partner returned having seen no birds. He explained he might have to go again because of that, but that it would depend on the judges. He gave his dog water and poured some on the dog to cool him down. He then gave him some 'energy pills' which were a rehydration supplement. He allowed him to cool down and then combed out his coat, so that grass seeds and burrs would not cause problems by becoming embedded in his skin. Then he was returned to his cage in the vehicle. His friend's dog was already occupying his dog's cage and resting, and he was ordered to get in with this dog. It was clear from his behaviour that he did not want to. He avoided eye contact with the dog that was already in the cage, turning his head away and refusing to jump in. He was told again, and after licking his lips in appeasement, he complied rather anxiously. Whether this was because he was afraid the other dog might be territorial over the space, which was a distinct possibility as it was tight, or whether he just did not want to share, I was unsure. However, judging by his behaviour, I would say the first was most likely. I mentioned this to A.A. who said he knew, but that he had to share as the pointer in the cage on the other side was very aggressive when any other dog tried to go into his cage. That explained things: the setter had experienced this reaction from the other pointer, and that was why

he was hesitant. Once again, I hushed my ethical viewpoint. If the dog was fearful, then why was he made to do something that caused him discomfort? The dog communicated how he felt but was made to do it anyway, his choices ignored, and his power removed.

Everyone I spoke to was keen to convey the respect that they had for their dogs and nature. They emphasised that it was important that I understood this and that it made them different from other hunters, particularly those in the Paphos region, whom they said were still 'living in the stone age' in comparison. The Chairman explained that representatives from the club attended hunting federation meetings and tried, often successfully, to influence decisions made there for the better. They had lobbied government to introduce legislation that limited the number of dogs taken out hunting by an individual. The government later revoked this positive new legislation². We discussed the perceptions held by 'the English' of hunters and how it can become anti-Cypriot. They also pointed out that many hunters travelled to the UK to hunt, recently red grouse (*Lagopus lagopus scotica*) in Scotland. They said the Scottish gamekeepers managed the procedures very tightly and had a much better understanding of what prey was where and in what numbers. For example, shooting is prohibited on one side of a mountain as numbers were low compared to the other side. They also reminded me that the hunting season is longer in the UK and more species can be legally hunted, yet the British expatriates do not seem to acknowledge this. I tried to explain that much of it appears to come from the perception that hunters, in a general sense, mistreated their dogs. They agreed that in a few cases this might be so, but that

² New legislative interventions were overruled. This turnaround followed pressure from hunting clubs.

most dogs are lost, rather than abandoned, and that new microchipping laws should make reuniting dogs with owners much easier.

I noticed a dog was wearing a 'beeper' on his collar; an electronic device that emits a loud beeping noise when the dog has been motionless for some time, presumably pointing. This beeper lets the handler know that the dog is pointing when he cannot see the dog. If used when hunting, I would have thought that the noise would scare birds, so I was not sure how useful it would be. I asked the competitors if the dogs were bothered by the noise, and they said no. I am not sure that all dogs would tolerate it, yet many dogs cannot tolerate gunfire, so perhaps these dogs were particularly resilient to sound.



Figure 17. English Setter with 'beeper' alert on collar

The second pair of competitors shook hands and quickly set off up another mountain, followed by the judges. It was a strenuous activity for the handlers and judges, and I realised that the judges must be fit to keep up with each pair

throughout the morning. The dogs, on the other hand, raced across the countryside effortlessly. They disappeared out of sight, and we waited for them for an hour before they returned the way they came. I must admit that much time was spent waiting around, and I did find it quite boring at times. After the dogs were watered and put back in vehicles, the convoy moved on to a different area. It was at this point that I had to leave, so instead of following them, I found my way home through the back roads of Drousia.

I took many photos that day and sent them to the Setter Club Chairman. The photographs were focused on the men and their dogs (see Figs. 18-21). The club later posted photographs from the day of the men as a group, very posed in a line, with the banners of the club behind them (see Fig. 22). This pose seemed an important aspect, the showing off and bravado of lots of guys with their dogs, rather than the individual humans interacting with their dogs as I depicted. None of my photos were shared on their social media pages.



Figure 18. Maya and her owner



Figure 19. Regas being groomed after his trial event



Figure 20. Two competitors



Figure 21. In the field



Figure 22. Photos courtesy of The Cyprus Pointer and Setter Club (Sept 2017)

2.8 Concluding Conundrums

The field trial experience brought to my attention two main points. Firstly, the moral conundrums that this research presented are similar to those that all similar research situations encounter. Secondly, the husbandry practices that hunters use when with their dogs were alien to me. As someone who transported dogs in the back of a 4x4 vehicle, rear seats down to maximise room, and an old but clean duvet spread across the area for them to lie on to maximise their comfort on our journey, I struggled to view the hunting dogs cramped into cold (or on hot days, potentially suffocating) metal boxes in the back of trucks, knowing that they

will have been unable to stand fully or stretch for the whole night. The hunters would laugh at my anthropomorphic gestures, saying the dogs were spoiled or lecture me on having a car that smells of dog. I know that culturally we were different, and I accepted that they had their ways and I had mine, so we politely agreed to disagree, and there remained a discomfort and disapproval that nagged at me.

Ethnographers traditionally have been expected to accept the practices of those being studied, even if those practices are morally problematic. I know that I find it difficult to be passive in the face of challenging behaviour that I encounter in my fieldwork. Madison writes:

... in most literature on qualitative research methods, one of the most important attributes is for the ethnographer to be unobtrusive as possible in order not to disturb the natural surroundings of the site or divert attention away from the innate actions within the field toward actions that are influenced by the "approval" or "disapproval" of the researcher (2012, p. 138).

The incident of the child stoning the frogs in the pond is a good example of how I passively showed disapproval. Although I did not say anything, my deliberate attempt to photograph the boy in action brought about a response from his father that was a diversion from the innate actions in the field. My moral stance and angry perspective got in the way as I tried to balance being an ethnographer and an advocate. The father's reaction did show me that he realised that the child's behaviour was unacceptable to me (and therefore, others in a different context) and my challenge provided another layer of data. This approach was validated by Laura Nader who writes: 'The normative impulse often leads one to ask

important questions about a phenomenon that would not be asked otherwise, or to define a problem in a new context' (1972, p. 285).

I argue that my very presence as an outsider would be a disruption to the normal flow of the day and I reason too that we all have experiences and values that shape us and therefore it is impossible to be objective. Indeed, perhaps trying so hard to remain distant, uninvolved, and detached could have been perceived as arrogant and incongruent to the participants with whom I had been trying to foster friendship and engagement. German feminist Maria Mies argues that research must involve a change through activism and consciousness-raising (1983, p. 125). As Diane Wolf says, this is in opposition to 'the neutrality desired by positivism' (1996, p. 4).

The second issue that arose from these research conundrums was the lack of a shared universe in terms of ethical sensibilities. I reflected how the boy who was allowed to kill the frogs was being socialised into a hunting lifestyle with its concurrent values of non-human life. He was learning how different species have less value than others and that killing 'prey' is a guiltless pastime. This ability to overcome the guilt of killing or even deny its existence is what kept the hunter 'tribe' innocent and affirmed their actions. Roger Scruton writes: 'The prey becomes the sacrificial victim: the individual who pays with his life for the continuity of the tribe, by attracting the accumulated aggression between the hunters which is the price of their mutual dependence' (1997, p. 477). This quote resonated with me, as I often wondered how hunters can kill one species and care for another, for example the hunting vet I met at the field trial.

Humanly caused pain and suffering to non-human lives in my mind cannot be justified, and to do so for a sport must be considered immoral. Yet, Lawrence

Cahoone would argue that contemporary hunting is not a sport but a 'neo-traditional cultural practice in which contemporaries re-enter an archaic pursuit of meat' (2009, p. 84). He goes on to argue that hunting when regulated, is an ethical practice that supports ecosystems, self-sufficiency, and an honest animal inter-dependence when compared to farming methods used to provide meat and dairy products (Cahoone, 2009).

Whatever way I viewed the practices involved, I knew that I could not endorse activities that caused suffering and death of non-human animals. Not just quarry species, but the dogs that were used as part of the process too. Some hunting participants were aware of my views on the subject yet allowed me to hear their stories and observe them despite this. I tried to maintain a conscientious approach, knowing that I began the research from a conflicted position, treating human participants respectfully, not only to work ethically but to maintain access, for without which the research would be pointless. To achieve the goal of raising awareness and facilitating change, I was mindful of my ethical duties that extend to the non-human participants too. To challenge mistreatment of them in the field does not only help to protect those participants but provides further information by the observations of the hunters' reactions to me when challenged. I am human, and I would contaminate the field, but I believed that this approach did not only inform my research but strengthened it. However, the witnessing of suffering left me with uncomfortable feelings. Witnessing another's abuse or death was a difficult aspect of the research and I now explore this in the following chapter.

Chapter Three – You Are Not Alone; I See You

Whether we have experienced lives of privilege or privation, ease or exigency, in the mainstream or on the margins of society, we learn that to tell is to reflect, to interpret, to understand before our voices fade to whispers. We must all bear witness (Bloom, 2009, p. 14)

Although definitions of witnessing vary, I found the summary above by Bloom to be particularly useful. According to literature, it is an activity with four focal areas.

Fuyuki Kurasaw states:

Bearing witness as an exercise in truth-telling (its historical accuracy), a juridical outcome (its legal and institutional preconditions), a psychic phenomenon (a subjective response to trauma) or a moral prescription (the communicative responsibility of eyewitnesses) ... (Kurasaw, 2009, in Deckha, 2019, p. 7).

Kelly Oliver (2007) claims that witnessing is fundamental to generating human subjectivity and challenging the effects of domination and oppression. It goes beyond acknowledging another's suffering or victimisation by engaging in a specific type of relationship with that being where we address and respond in a reciprocal manner that is meaningful. It is a way of moving the oppressed and suffering to a place of agency and less oppression (Oliver, 2007).

I was aware of the emotional impact that seeing these appalling conditions and abused dogs could have but witnessing it myself was a necessary experience to be immersed in to better understand the lives of these dogs. This chapter unpicks discussions about witnessing, by defining what it was in the context of this project,

and the result of it in terms of the human witness, the dogs who were being witnessed, and the dogs as witnesses themselves.

3.1 Witnessing Dogs

'Witnessing' hunting dogs was important to me as the dogs were seemingly part of a dominant and politically influential practice, yet they had little agency within it. They had become commodified as part of a social and arguably traditional institution. The use of dogs for hunting had been implicated by many as being responsible for their suffering and abuse. Yet, the narrative that I heard from the majority of hunters was that keeping hunting dogs was a benign activity.

Similar to the keeping of livestock or other agricultural practices, their lives would depend on their performance in the field, or as breeding machines churning out next year's dogs. As I describe later (see page 242), I suggested to a hunter that his caged dog would benefit from the mental stimulation of toys or chewable items, he laughed incredulously that I had suggested that dogs might feel bored or frustrated by their limiting environments. He said, 'Can you imagine what the guys would say if they saw my hunting dogs playing with balls?' (TC. 2019) and then proceeded to impersonate his friends mocking him. It was seen as 'being soft'; these dogs were not for playing with but for hunting. Young et al. (2019) explain that environmental enrichment improves welfare. The addition of novel stimuli to a captive animal's enclosure, such as toys, provides informal learning and promotes social, cognitive, physical, and sensory experiences for that individual (Young et al., 2019). Indeed, much research suggests that enrichment is vital for improved welfare of captive animals (DePasquale et al., 2019; Eagan, 2019; Evans, 2019; Mason et al., 2007; Vaicekauskaite et al., 2019). Canine researchers have identified the importance of enrichment in allowing dogs to

express natural behaviours. Captive dogs (those who cannot choose their activities or express natural behaviours) benefit from enrichment activities, such as foraging, demonstrating an improved emotional state (Duranton & Horowitz, 2019). With no standard protocol for measuring caged/kennelled dogs' welfare (Polgár et al., 2019, p. 1), behavioural measures must be used to address welfare issues. As previously discussed, many caged dogs demonstrated fear and anxiety behaviours in response to strangers or new experiences suggesting that their welfare is poor (Broom, 1986; Mills & Marchant-Forde, 2010; Veissier & Boissy, 2007). Despite all the evidence, caged hunting dogs are not provided with such enrichment.

The work in the veterinary clinic repeatedly exposed me to the poor conditions of these hunting dogs. Many were too thin, infected with disease, used for breeding until they were elderly and incapable of bearing puppies normally, 'shut-down' emotionally, or just unwanted. They were presented time and time again. Some would die or be euthanised due to their condition, others would be taken away when the owners were given a poor prognosis. I was told by the vet that they may be taken away to be shot to avoid the further cost of euthanasia. My emotional response to these dogs was mostly kept in check due to the perception of others towards my disapproval, upset, grief, and self-consciousness. The context of the clinic was not scripted for emotions such as anger, hurt, or human (or animal) grief. This is similar to how Gillespie describes the cattle auction room: 'Animal's lives and bodies in this space are thoroughly commodified, their suffering illegible to the accustomed observer, the violence against them made mundane through its regularity' (2016, p. 575). She explores how cattle farmed and used for the dairy and meat industries become objects who are of monetary value only. The being or person is invisible, and their suffering ignored, despite being paraded in

front of many. Gillespie (2016) describes how witnessing these cows had an emotional engagement and a recognised function, unlike voyeurism or observation which does not have the same emotional involvement. In contrast, voyeurism is based in self-interest and observation posited as an objective form of seeing, which allows a more impartial or unbiased perspective without the emotional investment of witnessing.

Humans are keen to observe animals, capture their images, display them as exhibits to be viewed, yet rarely do we acknowledge being looked at *by* animals (Berger, 1980). Berger (1980) tried to show how a visual exchange or connection is impossible between human and animal as the humans had objectified the animals. That said, I remember watching a caged hunting dog circling the inner 'walls' of his enclosure stereotypically. He stopped briefly to acknowledge my presence but then was compelled to carry on. He carried on trance-like, eyes fixed ahead and not seeing much of anything, and I felt invisible to him. Perhaps I was objectified by him in the same way zoo animals are by human visitors? I was an impotent ornament that would not change his situation or bring him any joy. The dog's cage could be compared to the 'carceral institutions such as the prison' (Braverman, 2011, p. 827), where this particular dog's stress and attempts to cope by circling around and around, facilitated his non-seeing gaze. In comparison, Berger describes how zoo animals will avoid looking at the public voyeurs:

At the most, the animal's gaze flickers and passes on. They look sideways. They look blindly beyond. They scan mechanically. They have been immunized to encounter, because nothing can any more occupy a central place in their attention (1980, p. 26).

Other dogs would avoid making eye contact with me, at least initially, as it was too intimidating a gesture for them to cope with (Goode, 2007; Walker et al., 2010). Trapped within a cage and with no escape route, they would avoid eye contact until they felt comfortable with my presence. As Berger (1980) explained, in these environments the opportunity for a fulfilling encounter on either the human or animal's part is impossible and the conditions for seeing are undermined as the real animal disappears. My authentic self vanished too, with my inability to act to alleviate their discomfort. Incongruent and frustrated it was like seeing with my hands tied behind my back.

My emotional response to what I witnessed was in itself an acknowledgement of these dogs' lives, and later my protestations invited a political element to the process. Writing about what I had seen and by creating a public record of it was a way in which those animals could not be so easily erased. Observation in ethnographic research can be apolitical or more political (Schatz, 2009). Gillespie (2016) argues that engaging with a subject's embodied experience by paying attention to the emotion and feeling of, and with, that subject makes this a political act. The emotion has a political function and is distinguished as a unique form of ethnographic scholarship (Gillespie, 2016, p. 573). The dogs' suffering due to poor husbandry or death by gun or syringe would be shared, and consequently, the violence and suffering would be made public and hopefully challenged. For me to stay silent would have meant, not only was I complicit in pain, but it would have denied the value of my own experiences too, and that was my political contribution. As Naisargi Dave writes:

To witness is to be implicated and culpable in an event not at all inexorable. Further, a voyeur heightens the affective experience of being alive in his or her own skin ("I have survived this moment and now / feel

euphoric"); in witnessing, by contrast, that skin is shed, so that something in the person ceases to exist after the event is over. The fiction of the self is blown apart (2014, p. 440).

This quote by Dave made me consider the power imbalances between humans and non-human others and about power imbalances between humans and less powerful humans. It prompted self-reflection on my vulnerability and challenged my subjectivity and insight into multi-species lives. My responsibilities haunted my thoughts many times when looking into the eyes of some of the suffering and dying dogs. A moment that Dave describes as 'uniquely intimate, too, because it expands ordinary understandings of the self and its impossible social relations' (2014, p. 440). Those moments were often fraught with negotiation, complexity, grief or delight, depending on the outcome. The responsibilities for my part in those scenarios forced reality too. No longer could I hide behind a disenfranchised nursing role or an 'objective' researcher/observer in the field, for to do so would have denied my ability to respond. Kelly Oliver discusses responsibility or response-ability and argues:

We have an ethical obligation rooted in our very subjectivity for the response ability of others. We must be vigilant in opening up dialogue and responding to others and otherness in ways that will open up the possibility of response rather than closing it down (2001, p. 132).

I agreed with her in principle. Yet, sometimes amid anger and grief for those who were suffering, it was easier read than done. An example of the type of situations I witnessed is now described.

3.2 The Dog with No Name

An older man brought his dog limping to the clinic. He had been out hunting with his dog when his dog ran into a road and was hit by a car. The dog was unable to bear weight on his right hind leg and seemed unsteady behind as he tried to walk. I carefully lifted him and carried him to the x-ray room so we could take radiographs to ascertain the damage. The dog licked my face and wagged his tail. He was a beautiful, brown Pointer type, a young dog of about nine months who liked nothing better than someone stroking and making a fuss of him. Despite the pain he must have been feeling, his soft eyes looked eagerly into mine, and he gently pawed me if I stopped stroking him, licking my hand when he felt me touch his fur. I laid him gently on his side, and he was given some short-acting anaesthetic induction agent Propofol, to ensure that he slept and did not feel pain while he was manually manipulated and positioned for x-rays. The results of the examination showed that he had a small fracture in his pelvis, a ruptured bladder and a fractured femur, which could all have been surgically repaired. Eight weeks of rest and the young dog would be fully recovered and able to go back into the field. The anaesthetic wore off quickly, and he sat up, looking bemused before laying his head in my hands and dozing, while I gently stroked his head.

The vet explained the findings and treatment options to the owner. The man did not want to pay for treatment, but without which the dog would suffer and eventually die. He told the vet to euthanise the dog. The discussions were spoken in a fast, village dialect that I could not understand. When the vet started to gather the syringes of sedative and Pentobarbital for the final lethal injection, I began to realise what was going on. I asked why this was happening when it could so easily be remedied and was told it was the owner's wishes. The conversation

quickly descended into frantic bargaining on my part, which gained some sympathy from the vet as the dog was young, the repair was relatively easy, and he enjoyed doing orthopaedic work. He knew I could find the dog a new home, and it was potentially unethical to kill the dog as he was otherwise healthy. The vet was almost persuaded when the owner declared he wanted to take the body home.

I could not believe it; all hope was now lost. This kind, sweet, gentle dog was going to die because his human owner did not think him valuable enough to save. I knew he was willing to spend money buying hunting dogs, but not for treating them. I was so angry; tears started to prick the corners of my eyes and my face flushed. I held him tightly in my arms as he licked my face and wagged his tail, unaware of what was happening yet seemingly aware of my emotional reaction. He appeared to empathise with me, showing an intersubjectivity that I had not given him credit for. This was something that Barbara Smuts alludes to when describing her interactions with a dog called Safi:

When I'm sad, Safi always senses it and usually lies next to me with her head on my heart. She does this not just for me, but for friends when they begin to talk about something sad. She seems as calm and dignified as ever at these moments, so I do not think she offers comfort to make herself feel better but rather for the other's sake (2001, p. 305)

The Pointer was given the sedative injection intravenously and started to drift off to a semi-conscious state. As the owner came in to see his dog killed, I walked out of the room, knowing that if I stayed my anger would be unleashed and the pain I was feeling would only become worse if I were to watch this beautiful boy stop breathing and die. It seemed such a waste of a life, a young life, a dog who was so vibrant in his youth and deserved so much more. One moment he was

running around the countryside, the next condemned to death through no fault of his own. I do not doubt that if offered the choice, he would have chosen to live, but nobody asked him.

In Hurn and Badman-King's (2019) article on care as an alternative option to euthanasia, they argue for palliative care to be a more considered alternative to euthanasia. They point out that the veterinary profession often advocates euthanasia because it abruptly ends suffering. Yet, the juxtaposition in this example was that the Pointer was not suffering from a terminal illness. Perhaps the vet was governed by the rules of the profession as Hurn and Badman-King explain:

In veterinary medicine, too, care of the patient is inextricably linked with the veterinary professional's self-care, which includes the need to adhere to professional codes of conduct, to legislation regarding animal welfare, as well as to their moral code and perception of suffering (2019, p. 151).

But I would argue that his duty was to prevent suffering and preserve life which he could have done by treating the dog, rather than killing him. I saw myself advocating for the dog not solely from the standpoint of empathy or sympathy. Still, as Reed suggests, I was 'challenging the tendency to consider animals as resources, fit for human ends' (2017, p. 70).

Suffering perceived from an anthropocentric position is not necessarily correct and is undoubtedly biased. How do we know that non-human animals feel pain and hurt in the same way in which humans do? Surely, we should try, as Hurn and Badman-King (2019) point out, to empathise, not just generally, but with each species and individual to ascertain their level of suffering. However, according to Aaltola (2012) empathy is also subject to bias and Smuts writes:

When it comes to empathy, one problem is that the type of representation of the experiences of others which empathy produces may not correspond with what those experiences were originally like. That is, my empathetic representation of a pig's suffering may remain completely biased and be nothing like what the pig went through (2001, p. 307).

I believed that I had experienced what Smut's described as 'level seven' of her natural hierarchy. A level that 'develops when individuals experience such a profound degree of intimacy that their subjective identities seem to merge into a single being or a single awareness (at least some of the time)' (Smuts, 2001, p. 307). Both through the relationships with my canine companions and my working roles as a veterinary nurse and canine behaviourist, I thought I had a good enough understanding to empathise accurately with most dogs that I encountered. Although accusations of bias exist, I found her words validating:

Of course, I cannot know for certain the nature of Safi's experience, but both repeated encounters of this kind with her and similarities between Safi's behaviour and that of people with whom I have shared level-seven experiences make me believe that she and I experience similar subjective states when we connect in this way (Smuts, 2001, p. 307).

I thought about the Pointer who died on the x-ray table and the many others I had seen who had suffered or died throughout the timespan of this research and I contemplated the concept of their voices. One of the aims of this research was to give them a voice as I have said throughout. I often heard the trope 'a voice for the voiceless', and it provoked thoughts of vulnerable, powerless groups and individuals who were unable to protect their interests, yet I now found this problematic. All dogs have a voice, and they also communicate beautifully in non-verbal behaviours for those who take the time to ask and understand and those who are willing to listen and observe. Sunaura Taylor argues that phrases like

'giving them a voice' is patronising and promotes ableist assumptions. She claims that it perpetuates paternalistic and patronising paradigms and validated my own later opinion that 'Animals express themselves all the time, and many of us know it' (Taylor, 2017, p. 63).

I deliberated my role through this experience, and yes, I was a veterinary nurse, so I was expected to assist the vet. It was my job, and euthanasia was an uncomfortable and sad part of it, but still, I could not bring myself to be a part of this dog's death. What role did I feel I played in this scene - an advocate, an activist, a witness, an over-sensitive woman? Or a researcher who had become tired of seeing these dogs exploited, abused, and neglected, discarded like trash when it no longer suited their owners to keep them? Looking back now, it was probably a combination of these roles. I wondered how my being a part of it 'gave voice' to that dog, if at all. What does witnessing mean and what were my responsibilities within that? How did my emotional response (anticipated and disenfranchised grief) make any difference and was I beginning to feel ambivalent about it all? With the pointer lying dead in front of me, I thought how poignant the metal chain collar he wore was. Despite the dog being an active participant in his human's life, it was a symbol of ownership, property, and a statement of such. There was no identity tag to denote a form of caring. He had no name, just a metal chain collar that implied, 'someone owned me'. Hunters liked to share photographs of the wildlife they killed on social media as a display of their skill and prowess, yet their dogs' deaths were not afforded the same attention. This experience demonstrated to me that for some hunters, these dogs are not part of a profound relationship between 'man and dog' but more of a commercial one, where the dogs' lives revolved around the hunting seasons and their ability to work effectively.



Figure 23. The unnamed Pointer, shortly after death

I was moved by the similarities of these dogs' lives and the Greenland huskies described by De Vos (2013) in his book chapter. He writes: 'Greenland huskies possess a liminal status, afforded neither the status of hunters nor the attention and respect given to hunted wildlife. They are neither celebrated nor mourned' (De Vos, 2013, p. 289). The pointer did not have a burial or funeral service as humans would. His body was taken away and what happened after that is unknown. The normalisation of the euthanasia of the dog made me wonder if the

death of hunting dogs had been made too easy; if the hunter had to kill the dog himself, would he still choose to do so? I suspected so as coming from a culture of hunting, he may have developed an emotional distance from animals (Cahill, 1999; Morris, 2012).

It seemed the killing of hunting dogs who were not up to the grade for whatever reason was acceptable, in what can be seen as a case of what Grandin and Johnson described as 'bad becoming normal' (2009, p. 223). This socially sanctioned violence appeared not to acknowledge the presence of shame, for if it did, I suspect the 'other' would not have been so unseen. I asked the vet if he felt guilt or shame about euthanising the Pointer. He explained that if the dog had been left untreated, he would die, so to prevent this suffering, he killed him. Ethically he justified the decision and therefore alleviated any feelings of shame or guilt, although the defensive way he answered me suggested otherwise. I reminded myself that he qualified in Greece and had practised mostly in Cyprus, both countries where generally speaking, less critical views on animal use exist. Most of his practice and related activities were highly endorsed by his customer group, from companion animal owners to rural farmers. For him to abandon these constructs for my seemingly challenging moral argument would be a step too far. This is an issue that Serpell and Paul explore when examining attitudes of farmers and scientists towards the use of animals:

Irrespective of the moral rights or wrongs of animal exploitation, it is normal and appropriate for people to strive for consistency between their attitudes and their behaviour, and to resist attempts to contradict or undermine these constructs, particularly when their livelihoods are at stake (2002, p. 32).

Patricia Morris provides us with insight into how working with colleagues with different moral views can cause a different type of stress:

A veterinarian's stress can be exacerbated when employed in a practice with colleagues whose moral views do not match his or her own: "I have had a huge problem when it comes to the front desk and euthanasia; ... they get mad when we don't want to euthanize ... you don't need someone to make you feel bad about it or make you defend your decision." (2012, p. 139).

I have to accept that in this situation, I probably added to my colleague's stress. For him, he was solving a problem; he killed a dog for financial reasons at the owner's request. It would not be fair on local shelters or other colleagues to take on the task of euthanasia because he chose not to. Any euthanasia brings ethical issues of the profession and often they are as much about the owners as the animal's predicament. It is a relatively common occurrence for elderly owners to struggle to treat their sick animal or have to move to different accommodation, unable to take their animal companions with them. There have been several incidents when an individual has died and left their dogs looking for new homes, only for euthanasia to be the chosen solution when no home could be found. As Morris writes: 'Decisions regarding euthanasia of companion animals are rarely straightforward because they often require consideration of factors beyond the health and comfort of the animal' (2012, p. 140). Yet, the pointer was not a companion animal as hunting dogs slip into the liminal space between companions and working animals. They are not granted quite the same moral value as many companion dogs.

3.3 Power Disparities

Gillespie explains that witnessing is important, particularly for feminist inquiry as it reveals 'hierarchies of power and inequality that affect the embodied experiences of marginalized individuals and populations' (2016, pp. 572–573). Voyeurism is based in self-interest and observation posited as an objective form of seeing, which allows a more impartial or unbiased perspective. But witnessing is also a method within ethnography, which involves an engagement with the subject's own experience (Bishop, 1992; Chari & Donner, 2010; Gillespie, 2017; Reed-Danahay, 2016; Ropers-Huilman, 1999), similar to the 'entangled empathy' that Gruen (2015) refers to. She defines this entanglement of ethical encounters between humans and non-humans as an intertwining of 'emotion and cognition in which we recognize we are in relationships with others', an embodied engagement of moral perception (Gruen, 2015, p. 454–455). The result of this is to provide a responsible and attentive relationship based on the other's well-being. Villanueva introduces another term; entangled activism (2019, p. 192), which seems more suited to the context of those I have described who 'rescue' hunting dogs or lobby on their behalf. He has taken Gruen's concept that recognises empathy and the ethical aspects but incorporates embodied actions that arise from interactions with human and non-human species too. He says, 'Adopting the entanglement approach can redress the problematic ways in which animals have been traditionally represented by social movement actors' (Villanueva, 2019, p. 192). With this approach, Villanueva challenges the social movement of animal activism and how it uses emotions to create affective reactions and recruit campaigners. The use of confrontational, graphic, and sometimes shocking visual material brings a visceral response to animal cruelty and the perpetrators of it, which can be unhelpful to their cause. Rather than

focussing on human perpetrators of cruelty, his entangled activist approach encourages embodied activists who through witnessing exploited non-human animals help us to reconsider interspecies relations (Villanueva, 2019, p. 191).

The power imbalance in the example I have described earlier in this chapter demonstrated how hunting dogs are commodified, owned, and killed according to their usefulness or otherwise to humans. By witnessing the young dog in his suffering and pending death, I acknowledged his subjectivity, his embodied experience, and my grief was shared for him. This separated it from observation and my response became a political act of recognising his plight, knowing I would share his story. For me to be there witnessing, grieving for him, and doing nothing about the imminent trajectory of his fate felt impotent. My grief for this 'socially unintelligible' (Stanescu, 2012, p. 568) animal in this situation was seen as odd by the owner; it was part of my job to assist in animal death, an expectation of the social and contextual norm. Perhaps human exceptionalism did not allow him to acknowledge the dog's subjectivity or vulnerability. He seemed to convey this by a lack of empathy and remorse, described by Aaltola:

Often, actions towards other animals lack this mode of openness, as farmers or hunters act in relation to their animal others, but refuse to become open towards animality, let alone listen to the animal point of view. That is, other animals remain passive objects, not active subjects, and their experiences remain silenced and ignored (2012, p. 187).

I had become slightly uncomfortable with how I seemed to live in a parallel world to most; grieving those whose body parts filled the butcher's sections in supermarkets and feeling repulsed by the sight and even more so by the nauseating smell. I would cover my nose and mouth trying to avoid breathing in the stench of manure from the caged chickens as I drove past the battery farm,

knowing they were destined for death at eighteen months of age. Several times I followed trucks full of goats being transported with nothing but a few metal bars running around the back to contain them, their legs trapped and hanging outside of the vehicle. They were on their way either to slaughter or to the port in Limassol where they were forced onto transportation ships as live exports bound for the Middle East. I would contemplate their fates, with images of YouTube videos of Halal slaughter becoming figural despite my efforts to forget them. Or as in the Pointer example, I would remember the hunting dogs who lived precarious lives and never made the grade whose lives were shortened as a result. I did not enjoy the countryside as I once did, feeling slightly startled by the feeling of panic if I heard the mournful howl of a caged hunting dog somewhere in a valley. It seemed that what once brought joy had been soured and wherever I was, I saw bad things. Reed describes how one of his research subjects felt similarly:

Badness is literally everywhere. In fact, Barry complains that his investigations leave him unable to enjoy the countryside. For he cannot help seeing the sinister human motivations behind the aspects that others take as innocent rural or wild scenes (2017, p. 71).

I aligned with Taylor who writes: 'I am afraid that we neither mourn nor are we melancholy for the lives and deaths of most animals, as derealization has been so successful that we simply do not perceive these deaths at all' (2008, p. 65). In a society where veterinary nurses (and to a degree, researchers) are denied the right to mourn by protocols and cultural conventions, we are forced to deny connections to others. As such, I have created a part of myself which feels unreal, alone, and disconnected. As Stanescu writes: 'Mourning is a way of making connections, of establishing kinship, and of recognising the vulnerability and

finitude of the other. The protocols that refuse to recognise our mourning refuse all sorts of tangible, social intelligibility' (2012, p. 569).

I looked around the clinic that day, watching us all walking everywhere in private bubbles of thought, nobody acknowledging the other's emotion, but swallowing it down to appear professional. To do otherwise would mean our disempowerment and vulnerability would have been exposed for all to see. Our own suffering exposed in a palpable enmeshment with the dog's and an acknowledgement that he was not a Cartesian 'thing' but rather someone with autonomy and individuality (Greenhoe & Roe, 2010). Yet by having to hide my emotions behind professionalism, my own agency vanished in life as much as the pointer's did in death. Two beings whose shared suffering was felt but not acknowledged, something noted by Greenhough and Roe who build on the work of Haraway (2008, p.71) and state:

Sharing suffering demands more than representation, it demands active copresencing. It demands not closing ourselves off (often a coping strategy for the distasteful) from research subjects. Instead, we must cultivate sensitivity towards the other (through our bodies and the somatic expertise of others) (Greenhough & Roe, 2010, p. 44).

My need to appear professional and conceal my own emotional vulnerability felt as though I had colluded in hiding the reality of the situation and closed myself off. It was an estrangement between what I felt and what I 'should' feel, based on the situation and the expected presentation of what Hochschild refers to as emotional labor (2012). It meant that nobody knew what was unfolding behind the scenes and everyday work-life and the routinised process of veterinary 'care',

which Hurn and Badman-King (2019) have demonstrated focusses a great deal of attention on killing animals, could continue smoothly.

The complications of caring for the pointer in both the circumstances (his impending death) and the context (maintaining professionalism in the workplace) is summed up nicely by van Dooren's analysis of Haraway's portrayal of care. He defines Haraway's critical engagement with the complexities of care as 'definitively expansive, perhaps even explosive, rippling out into the world' (2014, p. 292) when he refers to her curiosity and question of 'Whom and what do I touch when I touch my dog?' (2008, p. 35 in van Dooren, 2014, p. 292-293). He states how Haraway makes an act as simple as touching a dog an opportunity to consider our shared histories and co-evolution (2014, p. 293). Similarly, van Dooren's engagement with Maria Puig de la Bellacasa's work on care (2012) demonstrates how caring is an affective state and an embodied, ethical, and practical phenomenon (2014, p. 291) but the ethical obligation to care for others can come at a cost. The pitfalls of care are explored by Maria Puig de la Bellacasa when she states: 'too much caring can asphyxiate the carer and the cared for. But should this prevent us from caring? Aren't anxiety, sorrow and grief unavoidable affects in efforts of paying serious mental attention, of thinking with care, in dislocated worlds?' (2012, p. 212). I agree that they certainly are unavoidable affects of caring but argue that being vulnerable to these negative states can impact negatively on the ability to provide good care when we feel overwhelmed by these feelings and by situations beyond our control. However, Laura van Dernoot Lipsky (2009) suggests that those of us who witness trauma should actively acknowledge the impacts in order to remain effective in our work. Remaining emotionally present reduces the risk of us harming those around us,

despite the difficulty of doing so. Compassion fatigue is a very real spectre of witnessing others' trauma.

Relatedly, Schrader (2015) encourages us to consider care as something that is not always and only action-oriented. Care can also be about a willingness to be vulnerable, rather than to be rid of vulnerability. Schrader explains how these moments of care keep 'the viewer suspended in a zone of indeterminacy, hesitating, slowing down, not exactly knowing what to do, confused, listening intensely to what might still be hidden before and behind ... but also desiring to act with passion' (2015, p. 683). These rich perspectives reflect how I felt in those moments whilst sat with the pointer; desiring to act, yet not sure how or what to do, feeling confused, vulnerable, and aware of his suffering – sharing it to some extent, whilst also having to be closed off from it.

The complexities of being impacted by another's suffering is an area that Donna Haraway considers in her book, *When Species Meet* (2008). She invites the reader to consider ethical connections and accountabilities in her own eclectic and discursive voice, suggesting ways in which to manage ethical issues within the context of vivisection and laboratory animals (2008, p. 69-93). Central to Haraway's argument is what she terms the 'sharing of suffering' (2008, p. 75), where, as I pointed out earlier, she calls for more than mere representation of the animal suffering through 'an active copresencing' (see also Greenhough & Roe, 2010, p. 44). In interview (Young, 2019), Haraway describes what she terms a response-able approach. She explains that being response-able is about showing up even if we are afraid, or when being responsive is not necessarily right or even perceived as a mistake, we are there in that moment. She says that we should: 'Take responsibility to learn something about something and if we are

good enough writers, write something' (Young, 2019, 1hr.08). By 'showing up' or being there and telling people about it, we make the world a bigger place without pretending to be perfect, sharing our experiences even when they may be unattractive or faulty. But Haraway is keen to point out that we don't show up to 'take the place of the suffering other' (2008, p. 72) in a way that could be seen as somewhat patronising. She goes as far as saying that taking the place of the suffering other is not sharing suffering, and further reminds us that those who suffer may not even be victims (2008, p. 72). In the case of the pointer, she might argue that he was a working partner in a consequential relationship where our lives and worlds were different, rather than a big divide of 'them and us' or as she writes: '...the Other across the gulf from the One.' (2008, p. 72). My knowledge or indeed lack of knowledge of the dog's world and life meant that I placed him as a victim when perhaps he wasn't, he was merely an 'unfree' partner in the hunter/dog dynamic. My situated knowledge of the dog was in fact made up; my own interpretation of what his world was like. The dog could have been a victim of his owner's financial circumstances or his unwillingness to provide the care required after surgery. A prolonged recovery period without the correct care could have meant a period of suffering for the dog. Yet, my offer of care was declined and the insistence of the owner to take the dog's body home, preventing any rescue attempt, validated my interpretation of the situation.

Haraway's notions of situated knowledges or as she defines, affirmations of strong truths, are described by her as follows: 'Situated knowledges or strong truths are made but not made up...An intra-activity of all of the players to make the world this way rather than some other' (Young, 2019, 6.20). Haraway invites us to be curious and 'nourish situated knowledges and their ramifying obligations in that sense' (2008, p. 289). I do believe that my knowledge of that dog in that

situation needed further nourishing and that by doing so, perhaps my response would have been different. Maybe having such a knowledge and truth of his world would have allowed me to be more accepting of his fate and consider the life he did have up to that point to be worthy of celebration; a hunting dog doing what he loved best, nose to the floor, tracking prey.

While laying on the consultation table, I stayed with him and took responsibility, despite my fear, anger, and inability to change the situation and I have subsequently written about it. On reflection following this experience, I am more careful about my own cynicism and insistence of claims about what was right or wrong. It revealed another way of knowing; a self-awareness that my own knowledge or desires should not dominate another's. The dog's forced death also forced me to experience what was 'a complex entanglement where all of us are transformed by the engagement – a risk taking engagement with each other' (Haraway, 2019, 10.02), But the risk was of course greatest for the dog who had no choice in the matter.

This response-able approach proposed by Haraway validated the inner conflict I felt towards my experience with the pointer. I wanted to share his suffering in an empathic way, and to write about it in a way that might then lead to the abolition of such scenarios, yet in this anthropocentric environment perhaps this was merely what Haraway refers to as 'heroic fantasy' (2018, p. 75) because, in reality, I could not facilitate change or abolition for that individual or for others. As Schrader argues, compassion moves us, but not necessarily in ways that prompt action (2015). Dogs continued to be forced into life by breeding and forced into death on the whim of humans because others refuse as Haraway writes: 'to come face to face with animals' (2008, p. 72). By doing so, they are blind to the dogs'

individual personas, their suffering, their wants, and desires, instead lumping them together into one amorphous, objectified category (Weisberg, 2009).

Haraway presents me with difficulties in terms of her opinions. Sometimes I feel excited by her strong feminist views (e.g., 1988, p.576) and her matter of fact and even blunt descriptions of human-animal interactions (e.g., 2007, p. 73). For example, when challenging the types of care within laboratory animal experimentation she writes:

We are face-to-face, in the company of significant others, companion species to one another. That is not romantic or idealist but mundane and consequential in the little things that make lives. Instead of being finished when we say this experimental science is good, including the kind that kills animals when necessary and according to the highest standards we collectively know how to bring into play, our debt is just opening up to speculative and so possible material, affective, practical reworlding in the concrete and detailed situation of here, in this tradition of research, not everywhere all the time (2008, p.93).

Her attempt here to encourage us to be open to the culture of care and feel what is going on rather than denying it questions laboratory animal welfare in a positive way. It made me reflect on the pointer's life too before he had the accident. Yet at other times I find her descriptions naïve and unrealistic, for example, later in her book, she is supportive of dog breeding, withholding judgement on the mass production of puppies in illegal puppy mills, claiming that it is beyond the scope of her research and analysis (2008. p. 139). She limits her writing to her own personal experiences of ethical breeding where she applauds laypeople: 'who are often self-educated, and often effective actors in technoculture for the flourishing of dogs and their humans' (2018, p. 140). Yet sadly there are many breeders who are not as caring or responsible. It is this type of unregulated and

unwarranted breeding that often leads to so many hunting dogs ending their lives in shelters and is another example of the commodification and exploitation of dogs. Haraway appears to dispute the notion of animals as instruments of technology and production (1991. p. 43-44), but then writes:

...I resist the tendency to condemn all relations of instrumentality between animals and people as necessarily involving objectification and oppression of a kind similar to the objectifications and oppressions of sexism, colonialism, and racism. I think in view of the terrible similarities, too much sway has been given to critique and not enough to seeing what else is going on in instrumental human–animal world makings and what else is needed (2008, p. 74).

This quote acknowledges both the harm that exists within the objectification and oppression of animals by humans, yet Haraway does not to condemn it, instead suggesting focus should be on how we can improve the lives of animals who exist in these environments of technology and production. Similarly, Weisberg (2009) states that Haraway provides a refreshing challenge to the anthropocentrism and narcissism of human domination of other animals: 'Her suggestion that humans and non-humans are co-constituted and co-evolving would seem to destabilize any claim that humans might make to having absolute superiority and precedence over other beings' (2009, p. 28). However, Weisberg goes on to suggest that Haraway undermines her own critical challenges to modern humanist thought, writing: 'She does this by configuring companion species within, and thereby reinforcing, the very framework of instrumentality that has been so central to the sado-humanist legacy of domination' (2009, p.28). Weisberg explains that although Haraway discusses human/ animal entanglement, co-constitutions, and so on, she in fact: 'reinforces the anthropocentric logic of mastery over nonhuman others by naturalizing unequal

instrumental relations between species – that is, relations in which humans are the *users* and nonhumans are the *used* (2009, p. 28).

The pointer is a case in point. He was used as an instrument of human practices; expended and discarded when no longer valuable and no longer seen to matter. Haraway acknowledges how most instrumental relationships between humans and animals are based on inequality, where humans hold power stating that instrumental relations between humans and animals 'are almost never symmetrical' (2018, p. 74).

Weisberg is not the only author to scrutinise Haraway. Gail Davies praises Haraway for offering 'a compelling opening up of the ethical and epistemic settlements around laboratory animal experimentation' (2012, p. 633). She explains that Haraway focuses on moments of shared suffering between experimenter and experimental subject, arguing that this focus can destabilise both identities and return the subject to a someone, rather than just an object. By doing so she reminds us that these animals are not just research tools (2012, p. 633). Davies does point out that, although Haraway's intentions are worthy, in reality, the culture of the animal experimentation industry would find contexts of such care challenging. She gives the following example:

A shared suffering based on copresence may be limited in this particular experimental context: such experiments usually take place within spaces that are isolated and increasingly invisible. The potential for shared suffering fits uneasily within large commercial mouse houses containing up to 60000 animals), in which animal care is increasingly as routinised as standard animal housing (2012, p. 633).

Davies goes on to argue that '...all animal experimentation develops entanglements between human and animal capacities, with potential

consequences for both animal and human well-being-which can never be ignored by science' (2012, p. 633). The culture of denying suffering within this industry can only create welfare issues for both the experimental animals and the technicians who care for and work with them. This is similar to the veterinary industry context that I was experiencing where to deny the dog's suffering, as well as my own affective response, was damaging to both of us.

Interestingly, Carrie Friese's (2019) ethnographic work with laboratory technicians did uncover an intimacy between the technicians and the animals they worked with. Despite vast numbers of mice being cared for, she describes in a vignette how one woman had become so familiar with her subjects that she had developed a way of *knowing* and *feeling* that they were alive and well. In addition to the taught welfare aspects of her job, she had developed an affective knowledge through her intimate entanglements with the mice in her care (2019, p. 289-290). This is yet another example, as Haraway proposes, of how affective responses to our interactions with animals impacts our work and visa versa (2008, p. 93). Lab workers do become emotionally connected to their subjects and care about them, yet experimentation and euthanasia happen regardless, in the same way as farmers may feel attached to their livestock, yet still send them to slaughter (Serpell, 1996). In my own experience I rescued dogs as a few representatives of the collective that I could not 'save'. The systems of oppression are powerful, and it is not possible to save all individuals in need (Gillespie, 2018).

My entanglement with the pointer certainly affected both our well-being negatively but what the previous critique of Haraway does do is highlight the potential for animal welfare gains through reminding us of the separate status of animals and their right to independence, albeit through a rather anthropocentric ethical

perception. She does promote a principle of harm reduction despite not purporting to support the abolitionist view (2008, p. 80). Overall, these arguments filtered through to me on many levels when reflecting on my time with the pointer; my own understanding revolved around a complex see-saw of embodied experience, emotions, and ethical reasoning. It is difficult to state a personal positionality in such situations. I align with authors like Kathryn Gillespie (2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019) whose chapter in *Animaladies* (Gillespie, 2018) in particular discusses the impact of witnessing animal suffering during her research into the dairy industry. She explores the way in which violence towards animals is denied. Not only does she acknowledge the personal sacrifice and impact on mental health of such experiences, but she exposes the pressure to present her work in a palatable way:

On the other, you have to package your research just right—so that it is not too political, not too obviously killing joy, to get in the door. And this process is made even worse if your work is about killing joy in relation to people’s everyday practices of consumption (like uncovering the violence of dairy production). When confronted with my first campus visit for a feminist geography job, I was advised to frame my work through its explicit contributions to feminist theory; I developed a job talk that highlighted these contributions (2018, p. 235).

In the edited collection, *Vulnerable Witness*, Gillespie wants to bring the reader’s attention to animals whose lives are ‘routinely rendered ungrievable through this normalised violence against them’ (2019, e-book loc. 83) and this was one of my goals too; to show how ungrievable the pointer was. Yet, is this merely heroic fantasy as Haraway implies? Quite possibly.

Haraway’s well known phrase ‘staying with trouble’ (2016) invites us to acknowledge our ethical stances as creators of inter- and intra-species life

narratives. By integrating ourselves within the everyday lives of the living and dying we avoid human exceptionalism because it requires us to be with our companion species, rather than privileging humans (Huff, 2019, p. 379). This is a brave concept, one which Haraway herself seemed apprehensive about sharing when she writes: 'I am afraid to start writing what I have been thinking about all this, because I will get it wrong—emotionally, intellectually, and morally— and the issue is consequential. Haltingly, I will try' (2008, p. 79). She asks us to step away from post-humanist ethical arguments and meet the reality 'face-to-face', in the company of significant others, companion species to one another (2008, p. 73).

Similarly, Porcher (2009) discusses the physical, mental, and moral suffering of pork farmers and those working in pork production. She explains the pressure placed on workers to produce as much tonnage as possible and to consider the pigs in terms of kilograms rather than as individual sows or piglets. The concealed suffering within the industry she describes as: 'The violent and "dis-affected" organization of work in animal production has consequences on animal health as well as human health. Yet in both cases suffering is concealed and euphemized with concepts such as "animal welfare," pain, or stress' (2009, p. 12). Therein through this industrial culture, meeting the animals face-to-face, one species to another, is denied and animal (and human) subjectivity ignored.

I did meet that pointer face-to-face though, one companion species to another. I stayed with his trouble, tried to be response-able, and considered the ethical implications of what happened. After engaging with Haraway's version of an ethical framework I am still unconvinced that making his death more comfortable by being with him was the best thing to do, and not from a human or animal rights

perspective, but being informed by my own moral compass. I still hear the interjections in my mind; buy him from the hunter, steal him and run away, do something to save him! Accepting that bad things happen due to human preferences and making the best of it was not enough in this instance. However, this paragraph by Haraway did provide some solace:

Staying with the trouble does not require such a relationship to times called the future. In fact, staying with the trouble requires learning to be truly present, not as a vanishing pivot between awful or Edenic pasts and apocalyptic or salvific futures, but as moral critters entwined in myriad unfinished configurations of places, times, matters, meanings (2016, p. 1)

Haraway reminded me that I could stay truly present in what was a tragic situation and learn from our painful entwinement. Staying in that place brought its own meaning and insight to me. I became much more aware of the ethical dilemmas within veterinary care and how animal lives were so easily snuffed out by human decisions. I decided that it was no longer a profession that I wanted to work so closely in. I felt that neither my own nor the animal perspectives were important, and the forced disempowerment hampered my ability to care for patients as I wished.

Kathryn Gillespie writes about how she felt watching the cattle suffering at the sales and she describes very similar feelings to those which I experienced in this situation:

I watched as these animals passed by and I contained these feelings of grief and feelings of being driven to the edge of sanity. I felt anger and disbelief and shame and desperation and I contained those, too. I moved on to the next field site. I wrote my fieldnotes. I finished my fieldwork. I taught courses on violence against animals. I prepared to write my

dissertation. I defended the dissertation and finished the Ph.D. I rewrote the research in book form, all the while working hard to contain the damage, because it was damage—layers of damage: the internalization of the damage humans cause to the animals they farm and the damage to the witness of this damage as a result of witnessing. (2018, p. 228).

I cannot honestly claim that witnessing was all about or for the dogs, though. The witnessing of hunting dogs became used as a tool in other more selfish ways. Their experiences had been captured in photographs and shared via social media routes by rescuers, activists, and political figures to highlight their plight and gain public support for change, funds, or prosecution of perpetrators. Yet even though the motives of these 'witnesses' was well-intended, it demonstrated an imbalance of power yet again. Those witnesses posting pictures of the witnessed were able to turn off the camera and walk away from the dogs once images were captured. The luxury of being human meant I could leave, in the same way that I would go after taking photographs of caged dogs. Ultimately, I was not there solely in the interests of those dogs. The experience had an additional purpose; to collect data for my research which would hopefully further my career and circumstances. It could be argued that my witnessing, although genuinely empathic and confluent, was also a selfish action. Yet, what I considered made my own experiences different from just observation, reporting and analysing, was my emotional response to it. I felt as though I was sharing their suffering, and this was what motivated me to begin more direct action, such as challenging hunters, training them, and running seminars about canine care and behaviour. However, being witness to these dogs and despite my efforts, it did not change anything for those suffering individuals. I walked away, while they remained stood hock deep in their faeces and urine, hassled continually by biting flies in often unbearably

suffocating heat. The fact I was able to walk away is something that Gillespie points out, makes witnessing 'ethically problematic' (2016, p. 579) and is an issue that still haunts me, like the ghost of the Pointer with no name.

3.4 Gender & Domination = Vulnerability

Witnessing is noticing the vulnerable and vulnerability is central to the care ethic of feminists (Adams, 2000; Donovan, 2006; Kheel, 2007; Plumwood, 1991). Instead of the more usual morals, these authors describe a more relational approach to ethics, that considers the individual animal in its particular context, with its own specific needs. They describe it as a mode of consciousness that stems from an emotional response to vulnerability; seeing the individual in their vulnerability and being motivated by that. It is this vulnerability that grants non-human others moral consideration.

If we follow Bentham's (1838) suggestion that moral guiding principles should be of pleasure and pain, rather than right or wrong, we can perceive how pain leads to suffering. The ability of non-human animals to suffer creates susceptibility for them to be disempowered and in turn, vulnerable to pain and suffering. Anat Pick invites us to consider the possibility of a link between vulnerability and violence, and maybe: 'by intimately linking vulnerability and violence itself betray a patriarchal worldview that overemphasises aggression and domination and ignores the realities of empathy and cooperation?' (2018, p. 413). This is a thought-provoking quote in the context of this research, for violence and a predominantly male demographic seemed to be the main ingredients of sport hunting in Cyprus, as elsewhere (Dunning & Maguire, 1996; Littlefield, 2010; Luke, 1998; Smalley, 2005). The theme of gender asserted itself again and I

considered how the hegemonic masculinity of the hunter assumes authority and creates vulnerability.

Gilgun and McLeod discuss gendered violence and how for some segments of society: 'violence as primarily a male phenomenon is taken-for-granted and not problematized' (1999, p. 170). The owner of the unnamed Pointer portrayed a sense of entitlement to decide if his dog should live or die (see 8.2). I perceived his decision to take the dog's body home as the further concordance of his beliefs about how he should treat his dog; he was 'in charge', the authority figure who would decide what happened to the dog's body. His gender, constructed and moulded by his societal and cultural definitions, was demonstrated as a reminder. I was as a subordinate woman (in gender and role) to his masculinity. I was mindful that my reactions to him and subsequent interpretations were influenced by my personal history and status in that context though and others may have described it differently. We all have quirks and peculiarities based on our own experiences, practices, and cultural influences. But while witnessing this scenario, I experienced his gender as a display of dominance and genderism (Goffman, 1977; Thorne, 1993).

In describing what and how I witnessed this scenario, I contributed to the discourse that challenges hegemonic behaviours, both to humans and non-human animals. Feminist writers such as Gilgun and McLeod also encourage scholars to 'write ourselves into the analysis' (1999, p. 185), which I believe I have done throughout this thesis, both by witnessing, empathising with, and grieving for these dogs. This emotional narrative alludes to feminist theories and of the political dimension of emotion that are, 'intertwined in both public and private spheres' (Gillespie, 2016, p. 574). Marti Kheel discusses how power and

hierarchy between humans and non-humans are considered, comparing hunting to rape:

As with hunting, rape is an act of violence in which the victim is seen to represent a denied part of the self--the self that must be subdued. In both actions, the real intent of the rapist/hunter is disguised in an intricate web of rationalizations and projections. We are told that "she wanted it," she "lured him into it" and "enticed him," she "captured his heart," she even "asked for it." A similar picture is painted of animals: they must be "harvested" (read "killed") "for their own good," since "they are over-populated" or "harmful to livestock and land." In other words, "they asked for it." (1985, p. 41).

Gruen and Weil introduce further feminist influence when challenging the animal rights philosophers by saying that their principals are gained through 'detached reasoning' (2012, p. 478) which excludes the complexities of human/non-human interactions. They explain:

These approaches don't adequately recognize the particular concerns, interests, worries, attitudes, sympathies, or sensitivities of actual people deciding what to do when confronting suffering nor the complex and conflicting experiences of those who suffer (Gruen & Weil, 2012, p. 479).

I have added to this ongoing work of theorists when describing the blend of emotions of both myself, and in relation to others whose needs I attended to when witnessing. I hoped that it would bring greater understanding, challenge and confront the treatment of non-human others, both in their lives and deaths, and by doing so provide more agency within the human-canine context.

3.5 Demonstrating Agency

Most people accept that agency or the ability to play an active role in relationships with other species exists in dogs. As sentient beings, they are conscious, self-aware and can make choices, demonstrating their intentions and intersubjectivity. Marc Bekoff and Jessica Pierce define agency as a philosophical concept: 'that means the capacity to act freely or, in philosophical parlance, to act autonomously' (2010, eBook 1706). However, in terms of moral agency, they write that historically animals were not considered to be moral agents because they act on instinct only. They argue that this is not true and that some animals do display moral behaviours, and as such, the term agency should be reconsidered. This point is qualified by explaining that animals are moral agents within their species context and community: 'They have the capacity to shape their behavioral responses to each other based on an emotionally and cognitively rich interpretation of a particular social interaction' (Bekoff & Pierce, 2010 eBook loc 1778).

Agency is no longer considered a human only capacity (Philo & Wilbert, 2000, p. 323 in Carter & Charles 2013). For example, animals escaping from a zoo are said to be demonstrating agency by fleeing from captivity (Philo & Wilbert, 2000, p. 23) and Sunaura Taylor explains how some animals will travel miles from a place of imprisonment once free or hide to avoid detection (2017, p. 66). I considered all the apparently 'dumped or abandoned' hunting dogs who were seen running through the countryside after a day's hunting. Were they unwanted or had they liberated themselves? I thought about my dogs and how we trekked together; nine dogs all off the lead, all different types, ages, sexes, and preferences, who all chose to jump into my vehicle to head home when they

reached the end of the walk. Throughout our explorations of the local countryside, they would run ahead or across into fields tracking scents, before periodically turning to check where I was, maintaining a connection with me. They did not lose sight of me and often ran back to me for a touch or soft word of reassurance before venturing off again. This action was something they chose to do, not because they had been deliberately conditioned, trained, or dominated to do so. This was more likely due to the attachment that the dogs had to me and of me to them. It is believed that dogs who spend more time with their caregiver are likely to be closer to them (Horn et al., 2013). In their review of attachment styles in dog-owner relationships, Rehn and Keeling describe how a relationship is dyadic, but that a bond refers to the characteristic of an individual (2016, p. 2). They explain that attachment is an affectional bond within the experience of comfort and security obtained from the relationship. Consequently, I presumed hunting dogs had different attachment styles to my dogs, as a result of a one-sided bond or the lack of a dyadic relationship, as demonstrated in previous chapters.

If a hunting dog chose not to return to her hunter, perhaps she was making an intentional choice not to return to a cage but towards an improved and free life. I thought these dogs were not lost but were either disconnected from their owner by a lack of a bond or were simply exhibiting agency by choosing a different life. This was not just speculation as it was a behaviour that I had seen in other contexts, such as shelter dogs who escaped from their cages, exhibiting the 'resistant' agency that Philo and Wilbert (2000) describe. There were examples of animals liberating themselves reported in news outlets regularly; a cow that escaped from the abattoir (Embury-Dennis, 2018), and the orangutan who released himself from the zoo enclosure (Eddie, 2019). Even my dog would jump on her hind legs and with her right forepaw she would pull down the door handle

and let herself outside of the house when she felt like it. The dogs I shared my life with often actively made choices about their social encounters; who they played with, who they slept next to, and whether or not to intervene if an argument broke out or if play got too boisterous. Indie, Pixie, and Henry would warn others of the presence of a snake by an alarm bark. This behaviour is arguably instinctual yet may also be learned, both by the experience of snake bites and from conspecifics (see chapter 5). This could be counted as moral behaviour, choosing to warn others of danger, and I would argue that human morality is often conditioned and instinctual too. Moral agency is considered a human exception by some and Paul Shapiro says that it would be ill-conceived to consider those non-human animals as moral agents in the same way as humans. Yet, he clarifies:

The reluctance of many to acknowledge that some animals may be moral agents and have obligations reflects a tendency to underestimate the mental lives of nonhuman animals. However, available empirical evidence for animal morality strongly suggests that being human is not a necessary condition for being humane (Shapiro, 2006, p. 370–371).

Bekoff and Pierce (2010) also suggest that morality should be considered on a species relative and context-specific basis. Rather than judging philosophical concepts against human standards, we should consider each species individually and consider their morality as unique to them and the context and culture within which they live. The hunting dogs did not seem to exhibit such an apparent moral agency, but by being caged, often individually, there was little opportunity to show it. In the field, the dogs were either tracking prey or enjoying the freedom of running, vocalising, and sniffing. It looked much like it was 'each to their own', with individual dogs selfishly making the most of the opportunity to be free, rather than considering the other.

Bekoff and Pierce formulated a hypothesis that certain species of animals displayed a set of behaviours, which if taken together, formed a system of morality:

Certain core behaviors are common across a whole range of species, including humans, and seem to naturally cluster into three general groupings: fairness behaviors, cooperative and altruistic behaviors, and empathic behaviors. Within each of these clusters, and across the whole suite of morality, we see a spectrum of behavioral possibilities, from simple to complex (2010, eBook loc 1859).

Within this framework a spectrum of behaviours might be observed, innate, cognitive, or affective that would inform and further our understanding. Despite these new concepts, I feared that until hunting dogs were allowed to live in a manner that would enable them to exhibit agency and morality, our ability to witness and understand them better would be hindered. By observing small amounts of agency in these dogs, I was reminded how they do at times 'have a voice', rather than as activists might suggest that they do not (Meijer, 2016). Witnessing allowed not only a better understanding of individual species agency but contributed to improved ethical encounters by a deeper empathic understanding.

3.6 Canine Witnesses

In addition to my own witnessing, I tried to understand what it might be like for hunting dogs to witness the suffering of their conspecifics. The observations I made again were hindered by how they were housed, and it was difficult to analyse whether the behaviour was social bonding, concern, or empathy, without having an element of anthropomorphic bias.

The study of empathy in animals has recently become a popular area of interest, despite previous accusations of anthropomorphism (de Waal, 1999; Panksepp, 2004). With so many scientists offering many different paradigms and concepts of the phenomenon, it has become challenging to find a method of recording it. Pérez-Manrique and Gomila usefully reviewed much of the literature on 'two complex forms of empathy in non-human animals; sympathetic concern and empathic perspective taking' (2018, p. 249). In doing so, they created a criterion that helped me to decide what the impact and response of witnessing was on the dogs. Table 3. below shows the definitions and components of their criteria. I did observe self-distress and what may have been a sympathetic concern, but both these components were more obviously observed in my group of dogs at home.

Table 1. Definition and principal components of consolation (sympathetic concern), personal distress and empathic targeted helping. (Pérez-Manrique & Gomila, 2018. p. 250)

	Components		
	1. Reaction	2. Response	3. Outcome
Consolation (sympathetic concern)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Other-oriented reaction in response to other's distress/situation/needs: moderate level of arousal; non-emotional match - Some level of emotional control regulation needed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Other-oriented response: attempts to ameliorate the other's state (approach responses) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alleviation of the distressed party
Personal distress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-focused reaction in response to other's distress/situation/needs: over-arousal; emotional state-matching - Emotional control regulation not needed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-focused response: attempts to ameliorate one's own distress (escape responses) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alleviation of the individual's own distress
Empathic targeted helping (empathic perspective-taking)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Other-oriented reaction in response to other's distress and after a cognitive appreciation of the situation: moderate level of arousal - Emotional control regulation needed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Flexible other-oriented response: fine-tuned help or care appropriate to the situation of the distressed party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improvement of the situation of the distressed party

This may have been for a variety of reasons. Firstly, my dogs were not confined or restrained in the same way as caged hunting dogs and therefore were physically freer to respond to another's distress. Secondly, being a large group, occasionally disagreements did occur, and post-conflict sympathetic behaviours were seen. Whether this was due to empathy towards an individual or rather a

means to establish homeostasis to the group was unclear. I may have inadvertently positively reinforced sympathetic behaviours by rewarding what could be argued to be anthropomorphised compassionate responses, in a similar way that you might reward a child for demonstrating sympathy to another child. In doing so, they may have been more likely to repeat these behaviours. My dog group have formed a bond to me, and it could be argued that this relationship has enhanced their socio-cognitive abilities to maintain an affectionate bond (Hare & Tomasello, 2005; Kaminski et al., 2009; Palmer & Custance, 2008; Prato-Previde et al., 2003; Topál et al., 2006). I spent more time observing my own dogs as they share my home, whereas observation time with hunting dogs was limited.

To dismiss the possibility of empathy being shown between the dogs is probably incorrect. Evidence that species are sensitive to the distress of others has been presented for decades in species such as rats, mice, and monkeys (Church, 1959; Langford et al., 2006; Wechkin et al., 1964). There is also evidence of post-conflict reconciliatory or affiliative behaviour in dogs (Cools et al., 2008). Much of the literature that seeks to find evidence of empathic responses in dogs focuses on the interactions between dogs and humans (Custance & Mayer, 2012; Miklosi, 2015; Palagi et al., 2015). Querval-Chaumette et al. (2016) did present their research into the pet dog's empathic responses to conspecifics distress. They explain that dogs who live in social groups coordinate the defence of their territories using a vocal and visual communication system within their groups. They argue that this points to: 'the potential need for synchronized action and hence a direct benefit from an ability to recognize and react to their conspecifics' expression of emotion, or even share their inner state' (Querval-Chaumette et al., 2016, p. 2). I would agree with this as the caged dogs were very vocal when they first saw me, communicating not just with each other but to any other dogs within

hearing distance. Quervel-Chaumette et al.'s (2016) research demonstrated that the dogs' behaviours were not just an automatic response driven by emotional contagion. After being exposed to whines, dogs chose to comfort their familiar partner without any solicitation or distress signal emitted by the other dog, instead of going to their owner for comfort. They seemed to be affected by other's distressing situations and responded to them by providing spontaneous interactions to conspecifics or even to members of other species like humans. I did not observe this behaviour in the groups of caged hunting dogs, yet as previously mentioned, being kept individually or paired did not necessarily allow the behaviour to be demonstrated. This is an area that requires further research, as Quervel-Chaumette et al.'s (2016) work used pet dogs as their subjects. As Pérez-Manrique and Gomila point out: 'Future studies should examine the effect of unsolicited affiliation in canids and features such as the existence of a familiarity bias in those contacts' (2018, p. 254). What was evident through my observations were attempts to self-soothe among many of the dogs. Self-soothing behaviour was an indicator of distress and anxiety. They exhibited behaviours such as paw licking and pacing in an attempt to relieve their own suffering rather than a conspecific's. Whether their distress was a reaction to another's though could not be discounted.

3.7 Human Witnesses

Alleviation of stress for human witnesses was a factor to which I should have paid more attention. Indeed, with hindsight, the effect of witnessing an other's distress seemed to impact me more than I realised at the time. It was as if once my eyes had been opened to the suffering, I noticed it every time I went out of the house. I could hear dogs barking and howling in cages all around me in the local

countryside, their cries carried up the valley to my home. I would notice that individual dogs would disappear from their cages, never to be seen again, and I would assume the worst had happened. I would be anxious driving in case I saw an emaciated hunter and would feel compelled to pick him or her up. I began to feel overprotective of my dogs and during the research, I added another three rescued hunting dogs to my group of six as I could not ignore their plights. It was a symbolic act of rescue for the dogs I had witnessed suffering and had done nothing to save. Lori Gruen uses the term 'empathetic saturation' (2015, p. 87), to explain the experience of someone who has been forced to deal with vast amounts of suffering at close proximity. She blames a failure to modulate empathy and self-care as the cause and advises distancing oneself as a useful tool in preventing burn out or becoming overwhelmed. She goes on to explain that 'entangled empathy has to have a mechanism for modulation to avoid burnout or breakdown, and distance can be useful in some situations' (2015, p. 87). It was difficult at the time to acknowledge the lack of empathic modulation as I felt driven to carry on for research purposes. Being employed in a setting where empathic responses were a necessary part of the nursing role allowed me to 'attend in appropriate and meaningful ways to the effects of our actions within complex networks of power and privilege' (Gruen, 2015, p 90). It was a balancing act to try to achieve modulation through entangled empathy and I agreed with Gruen that it made me more sensitive and attuned to the dogs, despite the negative personal impact.

For some reason, the hunters responsible for their dogs' suffering did not seem to acknowledge that the dogs would feel in the same way they do. Josephine Donovan discusses this and argues that non-human animals should have moral status:

... a strong argument for granting creatures moral status is to persuade oppressors that those they are oppressing are subjects who have feelings, not unlike those of the oppressor. This positing of similarity or homologousness serves to make empathy or sympathy possible. If one sees the other as a creature who suffers in a manner like oneself, then one can imagine oneself in that creature's situation and can thus imaginatively experience his pain. One thereby implicitly grants him moral status comparable to one's own (2006, p. 315).

I could not understand the mentality that viewed the dogs as mere objects. I became insular, and my anger was directed towards friends and family. I was oversensitive to any comments about the research or non-human animals in general. Eventually, it led to depression and I realised I needed to take a break. Compassion fatigue only became apparent when I did not care about dogs anymore. I had gone from a witness to an observer, I no longer felt grief or shared their pain, yet oddly the fear of grieving for my dogs became overwhelming. I resigned myself to a scenario where hunting dogs' lives would never improve and that my interventions would have been a waste of time. I started to feel a little crazy, and as Gillespie describes: 'overwhelmed by lasting grief and sadness, but [...] also marked by profound loneliness and by feelings of madness' (2018, p. 227). Gillespie explains how being a witness to suffering and violence again and again forms layers of internalised damage; a collection of harms that humans have caused animals which exacerbates negative feelings, reopens old scars, and adds to pre-existing mental health issues. Being vulnerable as a witness is examined in Gillespie and Lopez's book, *Vulnerable Witness* (2019), a collection of experiences written by those who have witnessed trauma. It demonstrates the unique entanglement of empathy and importantly, the grief that witnessing animal harms procures. The problem with feeling too much grief was that it filled so much space that it was difficult to feel anything else. It sapped energy and made it

difficult to think or write. On reflection and in a similar way to that which Gillespie and Lopez allude to, my experience of grief followed on from the feelings of anger and sadness. It could be argued that these are common feelings involved in grief, yet at the time it felt different. The grief followed the death of the dog and was inextricably linked to feelings of powerlessness and impotency in the situation.

They write:

Far from being only a private or interpersonal emotion, though, love—and love articulated as grief—is a radical form of resistance, especially in spaces where grief, love, and emotion are out of place, and especially in loving, caring for, and grieving those whom we are taught not to grieve (Gillespie & Lopez, 2019, eBook loc. 2710).

These words were particularly apt as my angry grief was a form of resistance and the context was one where I was not *supposed* to grieve for someone else's dog.

This situation is not an unusual place for people who witness suffering to find themselves in. Witnessing traumatic events is not without risks and is a recognised phenomenon of those who work with ill, wounded, or traumatised humans and non-humans (Adams et al., 2006; Animalandmind, 2017; Cohen, 2007; Figley, 2002, 2013). Hill et al. (2019) discuss the high level of compassion fatigue for both veterinarians and non-veterinary staff in veterinary practice, stating that the most significant risk factors were exposure to cases of cruelty and neglect and the stress caused by euthanasia. The focus of compassion fatigue centres on the veterinary profession, yet there are many who work with animals in other settings who experience it too. Work with animals can be extraordinarily rewarding, yet the paradox is that it can also be traumatising. If the trauma outweighs the reward, the ingredients for compassion fatigue are there. Polachek and Wallace explored this notion within their research and found that:

These satisfying and stressful interactions were then used as predictors of compassion satisfaction and compassion fatigue in the statistical models. The results indicate that "making a difference" and building relationships with patients or clients are related to greater compassion satisfaction, while barriers to care are related to less compassion satisfaction. The results also show that building relationships, barriers to care, and client grief are related to greater compassion fatigue (2018, p. 238).

I understood this as meaning that the greater the emotional investment, the greater the grief which in turn is linked to the risk of compassion fatigue. However, this does not acknowledge the cumulative effect that witnessing can have. It is not necessarily just about the relationship but about the dripping tap of seeing trauma so regularly that it eventually builds up to a level that becomes overwhelming. This long-term exposure is defined as 'vicarious trauma' and is thought to be different to secondary traumatic stress or compassion fatigue which can develop 'afterwards without an ongoing empathic relationship with a source of trauma such as a suffering other' (Pihkala, 2019, p. 3). Definitions of compassion fatigue or types of trauma vary, yet Figley, who appears to have published widely on the subject provides a description which applies to both secondary trauma and vicarious trauma. He explains it as:

the natural, consequent behaviors and emotions resulting from knowledge about a traumatising event experienced by a significant other, which includes symptoms similar to those found in people directly exposed to trauma, such as intrusive imagery, hyperarousal, and avoidance (Figley, 1999).

This definition suggests it is a normal reaction to seeing events, which we humans find appalling.

This knowledge now makes me wonder if those who choose to witness an other's suffering have a particular empathy towards those whom they witness. If so, this

will put them at a higher risk of vicarious trauma and compassion fatigue. Figley (1993) observed that those who have a large capacity for empathy, both felt and expressed, tend to be more likely to suffer from compassion fatigue. I considered how this might be measured in non-human animals as we know that non-human animals experience and demonstrate empathy (Bekoff, 2007; Bekoff & Pierce, 2010; Gillespie, 2017; Gruen, 2015; Lutz, 2016; Smuts, 2001). Does this make specific individuals more at risk of vicarious trauma? This area requires more research, particularly in anthropocentric contexts where non-humans are likely to witness the suffering of others, such as within food production and biomedical sciences. Increased understanding on the impact of conspecific suffering on non-human animal witnesses could bring about change, or at least positively influence how the commodification and exploitation of non-human animals are conducted. These types of investigations and understanding eventually filter down into policy and education, which is at the heart of change making. To create a shift in the way hunting dogs in Cyprus were treated, the findings of such research needed to be disseminated to those responsible for their care. Until there was a common understanding of canine needs and the importance of meeting them, change could not occur.

To be able to make sense of how the men who hunted with dogs treated them, it was necessary to look at their relationships with dogs in terms of the human canine bond. The next chapter starts to unpick this Gordian knot, to see where the dogs sat on that spectrum and to understand if they were just accessories or if there was something more meaningful within their connections.

Chapter Four - Humans and Dogs

It is no more sensible to think that people understand what they are doing with their dogs than it is to think that they understand what they are doing when they have a conversation (Goode, 2007, p. 125)

Humans assume the relationship with dogs has existed for centuries and rightly so. 'Man's best friend' has been accompanying humans in almost all types of contexts and environments from companions and carers to hunters, co-criminals, and religious tropes (Bradshaw, 2017). In this chapter I explore this entanglement in more detail and present the varying ways in which hunters perceived and related to the dogs that they used in their sport.

The commonplace occurrence of human-canine bonds is well documented and debated (Barker & Barker, 1988; Barker et al., 2018; Brisbin & Risch, 1997; Gavrielle-Gold, 2011). Bradshaw (2012) tells us that dogs are part of the *Canidae* family and share many characteristics with other family members including the same basic anatomy, sense of smell, retrieving skills, and arguably most importantly from a human point of view, a capacity to form lasting social bonds. Unfortunately, much of the research with both humans and dogs is tied to the Strange Situation Task, developed by Mary Ainsworth for investigating the human adult-child bond (Ainsworth et al., 2015), and it is not particularly relevant or appropriate to use with dogs due to its limitations. For instance, the test investigates and asks questions such as how distressed is my dog when I leave the room and they stay with a stranger? Do they look for me when I come back? So many factors can influence these responses, such as socialisation experiences, learned behaviours, and individual personalities. Usually, the

responses to these tests are conducted in novel environments, such as a laboratory, which is another influence that can skew behavioural responses.

4.1 The Human/Canine Bond in Context

The human-canine bond may also differ according to the context. Most research conducted on attachment behaviour in dogs has focused on the bonds between pet dogs and their owners. Thielke and Udell (2020) examined attachment relationships between dogs who were living in animal shelters and foster homes with their temporary caregivers/shelter volunteers or foster volunteers, respectively. They also examined these results in relation to previously published data from pet dogs in order to contextualise their findings. They discovered that the percentage of securely attached shelter dogs was significantly lower than that previously observed in scientific studies of the pet dog population. No differences were found between proportions of securely attached foster dogs and prior research with pets. They did not find significant differences between foster and shelter dogs in terms of attachment style proportions, but found evidence of disinhibited attachment, which is associated with a lack of appropriate social responses with unfamiliar and familiar individuals in foster and shelter dogs. This is relevant in the context of hunting dogs who were kept in similar environments to shelter dogs with less human contact than pet dogs.

Literature tells us that humans benefit greatly from their relationships with dogs (Barker & Barker, 1988; Barker et al., 2018; Baun et al., 1991; Bernstein et al., 2000; Esnayra, 2007; Herzog, 2011; Marino, 2012). For years, dogs have been adapted for human interactions and use. This may not always be in a way in which the dogs would choose. Dogs are particularly adept at behaving in ways

that elicit attachment (Marks et al., 1994). They are generally affectionate, intelligent enough to train, and are loyal and devoted. They perform ritualised greetings that express affection and are often said to be preferable to human company because they are perceived to give 'unconditional love'. This behaviour is often despite experiencing human emotions and behaviours such as anger and mistreatment and as such (sadly for them) they make reliable partners within a relationship (Serpell, 2017; Zawistowski & Reid, 2017). This perceived devotion is expressed non-verbally yet effectively enough that humans understand it. However, the dog's ability to criticise, offer negative communications, or make choices are not easily understood by many humans who assume dogs always appear as sincere and reliable friends. As mentioned in the quote at the beginning of this chapter, a large proportion of dog owners do not understand basic body language and canine communication. Donna Haraway gives an alternative version of this humanly perceived loved-up union. She says:

Commonly in the US, dogs are attributed with the capacity for "unconditional love." According to this belief, people, burdened with misrecognition, contradiction, and complexity in their relations with other humans, find solace in unconditional love from their dogs. In turn, people love their dogs as children. In my opinion, both of these beliefs are not only based on mistakes, if not lies but also they are in themselves abusive-to dogs and to humans (Haraway, 2003, p. 33).

Marc Bekoff also brings into question the idea of dogs exhibiting unconditional love explaining that dogs differentiate and discriminate among humans in the same way that humans do dogs (2018, p. 73).

These attractive canine qualities have promoted dogs as one of the most popular companion animals in 'Western' countries despite an increase in urban living

(Hubrecht et al., 2017). Yet, breakdowns in this relationship can lead to neglect, abandonment, and relinquishment to shelters in enormous numbers. Unrealistic demands on dogs combined with anthropomorphic misinterpretations of behaviours can lead to the rejection of the dog by his or her owner. Sadly, this is an all-too-common picture in Cyprus, with many dogs abandoned or neglected when the initial idea of a companion dog does not meet the human expectation. This flexible personhood is described by Dafna Shir-Virtesh (2012) where she discusses how pets are loved and treated as family members until they no longer suit the owners. Unwanted litters of puppies have been found in waste bins and plastic bags at the side of the road and shelters are so full that they refuse to admit any more dogs (D.O.G Rescue Cyprus, 2018). This issue is commonplace in many pet-keeping societies, not just Cyprus.

4.2 What's in it for the Dog?

Personal upbringing, culture, experience, and genetics all play a role in how we think about dogs (Ingold, 1988; Milton, 2005). As guardians of companion dogs, many of us offer our dogs stability, food, shelter, affection and love, but that may not be enough for our dogs to lead a happy and stress-free life. Martha Nussbaum (2012) encourages the idea of considering non-human animals in a species-specific, individual way, which encourages them to flourish. When we are deciding how to treat them, we should provide them with environments that match their capabilities, complexities, sentience, and social needs. She writes:

Each type of animal has its own cognitive complexity; each type has a story including at least some emotions or preparations for emotion, some forms of social cognition, often very complex, and complex forms of interactivity. We should learn a great deal more about these complexities,

and we should test our ethical views to see whether they are adequate to them (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 13).

The environment in which a dog lives can have a huge impact on their wellbeing and trying to cope in an anthropocentric world in which very often their needs are secondary to those of the humans around them can take its toll. Their lack of control over their environment and what happens within it can cause stress that they may be unable to alleviate, leading to increased anxiety and behavioural issues, particularly aggression (Knol, 1987; Landsberg, 1991; Yalcin & Batmaz, 2007). Simple daily routines need to be examined to prevent issues such as separation anxiety, resource guarding, or discomfort in the proximity of other people or dogs. It is vital to assess a dog's emotional wellbeing and identify any small signs of stress at the early stages to prevent such behaviours (Cannas et al., 2018). Training can be a cause of stress, both for the handler and the dog. In her blog the Hierarchy of Dog's Needs, Linda Michaels (2016) explains the importance of using positive and non-punitive training methods. She explains that when the biological (Maslow, 1943), safety, and belonging needs for a social animal are met, they are far less likely to display abnormal behaviour. A small study by Deldalle and Gaunet (2014) observed one class of dogs trained with positive reinforcement and a second class which used discipline-based, mainly negative reinforcement. The purpose was to use observation to compare behaviours associated with stress within the two groups. The dogs in each class were tested while carrying out familiar exercises and it found that 65% of dogs from the discipline-based class showed stress behaviours as opposed to 8% from the positive based class (Deldalle & Gaunet, 2014). Interestingly, Stanley Coren (2000) mentions that both humans and dogs tend to avoid looking at things that

raise their stress levels or make them feel uncomfortable and only 38% of the discipline group looked at their handler's faces compared to 88% in the positive group. Eye contact is a sign of confidence and connection between a dog and their handler, and as such, these results infer which method the dog is more comfortable with (Coren, 2000).

These suggestions and studies provide a theoretical basis for ensuring good emotional well-being for dogs who are human companions. Yet, I know from my experiences that for those hunting dogs who resided in the liminal space between companion and working dog, the daily routine may have been non-existent, and training might be confined to one month a year. Training the dog might consist of allowing her to roam so far, before then shocking her with a remotely controlled electric collar to prevent her from disappearing over the horizon. These dogs did not generally share a bond with their human owner in the same way that companion dogs might. They may see him once a day if lucky, to be fed, watered and cleaned, the rest of the time they had canine companionship in their caged environments. When I approached them, they were fearful of me, unlike many companion dogs that I encountered. As ever, there were a few exceptions, with some hunting dogs kennelled in comparative luxury near their owners' houses, and they were fed, watered, and trained regularly. They receive daily exercise and companionship from their humans, but this was not how the majority of hunting dogs spent their lives.

4.3 Hunters' Views of Intersubjectivity

It is known that human hunting ability is more successful when assisted by dogs than by humans alone (Koster, 2008; 2009). In his ethnographic book about the

hunter-gatherers of the Andaman Islands, Cipriani (1966) describes how the Onges acquired dogs for hunting purposes in the mid-1800s in order to capture pigs. Before this, the group survived on a predominantly fish-based diet, and the introduction of dogs revolutionised their lives. Cipriani claimed that the Onges' affection towards dogs was unbalanced as a result and that the dogs became a pest, outnumbering the humans and sharing their fleas, yet this did not diminish their love for the dogs (1966, p. 81). Similar relationships have been noted in other areas of the world. In Indonesia, the Matinen people hunt wild pig and buffalo accompanied by dogs: 'In the hunt, locally bred dogs play an important part. During the hunts, but also at home in Makatian hunting dogs are affectionately cared for by their male masters.' (Broch, 2008, p. 57). The Swedish explorer Carl Lumholtz spent four years with the aboriginal Australians of Queensland where he discovered an affectionate relationship between the humans and dingoes that were used for hunting purposes. He said:

The dingo is an important member of the family; it sleeps in the huts and gets plenty to eat, not only of meat but also of fruit. Its master never strikes, but merely threatens it. He caresses it like a child, eats the fleas off it, and then kisses it on the snout (Lumholtz & Anderson, 1889, p. 179).

Bird Rose's (2011) book also explores human-dingo interconnectivity between the Indigenous people of Australia and dingoes. She gives insight into the world of 'dreaming' and a different form of human exceptionalism, where dingoes will only present themselves to humans in canid form, rather than the continual shapeshifting seen by other bush creatures. Her presentation of dingo stories tell us that human status is different as we do not see the dingo transformations; in this case we are exceptional by what we lack (Bird Rose, 2011 e-Book loc 2526).

It was interesting to note that Lumholtz discussed the dogs used in areas where dingoes were scarce. He described dogs that 'are of different breeds, for the dingoes of the natives quickly mix with the shepherd-dogs, greyhounds and terriers of the colonialists' (Lumholtz & Anderson, 1889, p. 178). Reading this, I was reminded of a similar mix of Greyhounds and shepherds that I saw in Cyprus, where dogs were bred for similar purposes. The examples of Lumholtz and Bird Rose demonstrate close bonds between hunters and dogs in groups where the humans were, or still are, reliant on hunting for subsistence, either directly or as a form of revenue. This was not the case for Cypriot hunters where hunting was primarily a leisure pursuit and the relationships between Cypriot hunters and their hunting dogs was more ambivalent.

4.3.1 Cypriot Hunters' Orientations Towards Their Dogs

The hunting community across Cyprus varies in their connectedness with their dogs. For some the bond appears to be strong, with the relationship being of paramount importance for both human and canine, and ultimately resulting in a good working partnership in the hunting field and an appreciation of 'personhood' of their dogs (Hurn, 2012, p. 30). When I asked one of the hunters, AS., about his hunting dogs, he described them as follows:

... my best friend, who I love and respect as my hunting partner. Hunting dogs are not tools; they are friends, partners and companions during the hunting and during our lives in general. People that call their hunting dogs, tools or machines they do not respect their dog's effort to satisfy them, and they seem to be the same hunters that do not respect game, nature and hunting laws in general (AS., 2017).

AA., another hunter, describes the importance of training and having a close bond with his dogs:

Some dog breeds are developed to hunt far from their owner. Setters and Pointers open their range of search the less scents and birds there is, and scent hounds might chase after a hare for hours and kilometre after kilometre. These dogs could easily lose contact from their owner wander about, and even if they find their way back to their original position, the owner is not there 'cause the owner took off looking for his dog. This is why it is important to have a close bond and train them, especially when purebred dogs can cost a lot of euros (AA., 2017).

A different perspective was offered by TG., a local hunter, who during a casual chat about hunting outside the village shop described the importance of breed, type, or morphology rather than a more relational view, illustrated in this excerpt from my field diary:

I was in the village pub standing by the open door and noticed a guy known as TG. outside the coffee shop/shop opposite. He is well known as being a high-ranking ex-military person and a hunter; running the show in the village in terms of hunting and being friendly and helpful with hunting-related issues. He was the known 'go-to' person if hunters were causing a problem and was well respected and connected within the local hunting community. I went and said 'Hi' and explained briefly about my research and asked if he found it interesting. He was enthusiastic about it, smiling a toothless grin at me, smelling of dirt and sweat after a day working on his vines in the fields. Another man A., who owns the local shop, had overheard our conversation and came over and joined in, speaking fluent English. A. quickly told me how local hunters are bad people and mistreat their dogs. He said they keep ten or more in a small cage and abuse them,

starving them for weeks before hunting and not training them, but expecting them to be good hunting dogs. When they don't, they abandoned them. I remarked that this is often a more usual ex-patriate view and humorously asked him if he was saying it for my benefit, reassuring him that I was interested in his honest opinion rather than making judgements. He denied this and explained that he used to hunt in South Africa, where things were done 'properly' unlike here. There then followed a general discussion about the most popular dog breeds for hunting. English pointers seemed the best, but beagles were becoming more popular. TG didn't like beagles as he said they just chased prey, rather than letting the hunter know it was there and giving him time to shoot. More traditional hounds like the Bracco Italiano or Jura Hound were being overlooked as their strong olfactory senses made them easily distracted and difficult to train. For TG. it was more about what the dog could do for him in terms of performance, rather than the bond between them, in contrast to what the Setter hunters might say (Field notes 03.04.2017).

James Jordan (1975) described similar dichotomies with hunting dog value and treatment in the 'Rural South' of America. He notes the appreciation of the dog within that society yet identifies what he calls a serious objection that arises out of the callous and cruel treatment of the dogs. He rightly states that: 'this apparent schizophrenia of the rural white Southerner in his relations with his dog is not without parallel elsewhere' (Jordan, 1975, p. 244). He debates the ability of humans to turn their canine companions from subjects that are handled humanely to objects where no care is given. He provides three possible reasons, all of which I can agree with to a certain extent. Firstly, economic constraints and financial hardship may elicit the indifference to their dogs' welfare (Jordan, 1975, p. 245).

Secondly, he proposes that a masculine ethos of toughness that enables people to endure such hardship may be applied equally to the dogs (Jordan, 1975, p. 246). By doing so, the masculinity could be an unconscious defence against loss of the dog through straying, disease, or accident. Finally, he claims that the dog having a subordinate status can become an outlet for the men's dominance, power, or displaced anger in communities where men tend to feel displaced and powerless themselves (Jordan, 1975, p. 246). The importance of maleness and male dominance over non-human animals is considered in the wider literature on blood sports too. Garry Marvin (1988) argues that responses from the bullfight's audience and the performer are dependent on the biological maleness of the bullfighter. If the bullfighter is female, the emotionally charged atmosphere is absent. He goes as far as concluding that the bullfight's message is a definition of 'what it means to be a human male in this culture' (Marvin, 1988, p. 184). Sarah Pink writes an ethnographic interpretation of female bullfighters in what is traditionally a male dominated practice, presenting discourses from those who approve and those who disapprove, as women challenge the gendered role within this blood sport (Pink, 1996, 1997).

Linda Kalof (2014) corroborates the link between masculinity, male dominance, and blood sports. She writes that blood sports are a tragic form of entertainment, used as a prop of identity where men masculinise themselves by feminising their opponents. She concludes that:

The confirmation of masculinity and the expectations for appropriate masculine behaviour, including aggressiveness, strength, competition and sexual virility, are themes that run throughout the human abuse of other animals in competitive blood sports (Kalof, 2014, p. 448).

Using hunting as an example, Kalof describes sport hunting as 'an expression of masculine heterosexuality, with dominance a key concept ...' (2014a, p. 442). Examples of male dominance can be seen in the training methods used with hunting dogs in Cyprus. As a species, canines are one of the most likely to ally themselves to humans willingly yet their accommodating natures and willingness to please are often taken advantage of (Serpell, 2016). Abusive training methods, as described in the next section, are another example of this human dominance.

4.3.2 Training Harms

The imbalance or 'schizophrenia' as Jordan (1975) alludes to it, is apparent not just in the husbandry of hunting dogs but also in the methods of training. The training methods used with hunting dogs vary, with at least three hunters who are participants in this research so far admitting to using aversive positive punishment and negative reinforcement techniques such as physical violence, shouting, or electric collars to train. Their reasoning was to train a return on call, ensure dogs would not take poisoned baits, and to avoid vipers. All collars have vibration and sound warnings where you condition (or shock) them once or twice and then use alternatives of vibration or sound. One hunter told me that they are not allowed in field trials and that 'Extensive use of shock has 100% bad results so is not used as often' (AA. 10.05.2018). AS. told me that he does use them:

I use shock collar but not as a toy! This tool can do two things, first of all, and very easily it can destroy the dog for hunting and can harm him. If used wisely and on the lowest levels it can become a 'training god', the use of it is only for 2-3 times, after that it can be on the dog's neck but never used (AS. 10.05.2018).

NK. gave a more circumspect and considered opinion:

I am sure that some people use such devices for training purposes. In the proper hands and under the knowledge of the use, I do not think that you can cause any problems to the dogs. As you must know, technology has gone far. Most of these devices use the stimulating power of low voltage and can be used as vibrators only. I use a device with vibrator only. I think that, as in everything, people must leave these things to professionals only. I am sure that in some countries the use is not allowed by law. So, everything is useful as long as people use it in the proper way and have the right knowledge to do it. Sometimes a device like this may save a dog's life from eating poison or running to the street or ... (NK. 10.05.2018).

PD. explained briefly: 'yes I use e- [electronic shock] collar at very low voltage for different commands when [the dog] does not obey and most importantly knowing that I have control when they leave [run] away' (PD. 10.05.2018). I suspect that their knowledge of me as a force-free trainer would have influenced their comments. However, the use of electronic collars is common, and I have seen the marks left by them on the throats of several hunting dogs that I have encountered as strays or that have come into the clinic. I went to a local pet shop to see how easy it was to buy one and was offered a choice of three, varying in complexity, strength, and price. Instructions for use were that the metal contacts had to be close to the skin, so if I had a long-haired dog, I should clip the hair on his or her neck to ensure its efficacy. There was no instruction given on conditioning, training, or severity of shock applied.

Learning theory amongst dog trainers is rooted in the work of Skinner (1963) who demonstrated the effects of operant conditioning (Cipriani, 1966, p. 81), which in simple terms is a method of learning through rewards and punishments of certain behaviours. The subject of the learning establishes an association between the

behaviour and consequence. Modern techniques advocate the use of the Four Quadrants, or more specifically it acknowledges four but predominantly uses two (see Table 1).

Table 2. Operant Conditioning Quadrants (Starling et al., 2013)

	Decrease behaviour	Increase Behaviour
Add	Positive Punishment	Positive Reinforcement
Remove	Negative Punishment	Negative Reinforcement

The terminology used is 'positive' when something is added and 'negative' when it is removed.

Positive punishment is when punishment is added, for example, the dog is hit, shocked, or shouted at, and the frequency of the behaviour is reduced. The behaviour will reduce; however, the psychological response will be fear.

Negative reinforcement is the removal of something that will increase the behaviour, for example, a dog may be called to return to her owner and shocked until she decides to do so, at which point the shock will stop or be 'removed'.

Negative punishment is when something the dog enjoys is removed, decreasing the behaviour, for example, the dog may be ignored when jumping up at a person, removing the attention which she previously enjoyed.

Positive reinforcement is the addition of a pleasurable experience which increases the likelihood of the behaviour being repeated, for example, reinforcing a wanted behaviour with a tasty treat.

The use of positive punishment (using something which induces fear or at least relief when it's gone) reinforces negatively; the dog learns to avoid the thing that produces the punishment. Ziv (2017) describes how there are serious welfare consequences where trainers lack skills in the timing and application or removal of positive punishers, resulting in desired behaviours being punished. Anxiety levels in the dogs increase and ultimately cause a behavioural shut-down or learned helplessness and habituation, as identified in work with horses (Baragli et al., 2015), and this is something I have witnessed many times in hunting dogs and refer to in the introduction.

The belief that dogs should be dominated by a human 'pack leader' still lingers in the beliefs of some hunters: 'I have to be the boss, always ... the leader of the pack is the one who brings the food and gives the orders but most of the times the dog is born to have humans as pack leaders. It's something more than friendship' (AS., 10.05.2018). When the idea of force-free training techniques is raised, the practices tend to be dismissed as being weak or ineffective in the hunting field: '[force free methods are] Good and helpful; the use of a collar is needed when we have to do with dogs that on the field are very high on adrenaline and don't respond' (AS., 10.05.2018), despite evidence to the contrary (Blackwell et al., 2008; Guilherme Fernandes et al., 2017; Ziv, 2017). One factor influencing psychological welfare is how animals are prepared for their life, including how they are taught (trained) to behave. According to McBride and Montgomery, where such preparation is lacking or inappropriate methods are used: 'animals will be fearful and/or frustrated, resulting in impaired welfare, problematic behaviour, and potential injury to humans and other animals' (2017, p. 1). They explain further that the use of outdated and inhumane training methods by unregulated 'professionals' is a significant welfare issue in the UK

(McBride & Montgomery, 2017, p. 5) as it is in Cyprus too. Hunters who use positive punishment did not feel that it was ineffective, indeed it worked, but they seemed unaware or not bothered by the negative impact these methods would have on their dogs in terms of their welfare. It added to the already heavy burden that these dogs had to endure through caging practices, lack of regular exercise, and poor wellbeing.

Psychological or emotional welfare was given little importance for hunting dogs. As with all European countries, Cyprus followed the guidelines based upon the well-known 'five freedoms' model, that originated with the Report of the Technical Committee to Enquire into the Welfare of Animals kept under Intensive Livestock Husbandry Systems, the Brambell Report, December 1965 (*Farm Animal Welfare Council - 5 Freedoms*, n.d.). This stated that farm animals should have freedom to stand, lie down, turn around, groom themselves, and stretch their limbs. The five freedoms as currently expressed are:

1. **Freedom from hunger or thirst** by ready access to fresh water and a diet to maintain full health and vigour
2. **Freedom from discomfort** by providing an appropriate environment including shelter and a comfortable resting area
3. **Freedom from pain, injury or disease** by prevention or rapid diagnosis and treatment
4. **Freedom to express (most) normal behaviour** by providing sufficient space, proper facilities and company of the animal's own kind
5. **Freedom from fear and distress** by ensuring conditions and treatment which avoid mental suffering.

In a study commissioned by the PETI Committee, the Animal Welfare in the European Union report, provides welfare information for policy makers. Professor Donald Broom, veterinary expert in animal welfare, expresses how animal welfare is now a term for a scientific concept that describes a measurable quality of a living animal at a particular time (2017, p. 14). He points out an area where it can fail:

Welfare requires strict definition if it is to be used effectively and consistently in precise scientific measurements, in legal documents and in public statements or discussion (Broom and Molento 2004). Welfare refers to a characteristic of the individual animal rather than something given to the animal by people (Duncan 1981) (Broom, 2017, p. 14).

This advice sounds great, yet in reality, how it is applied is questionable. I never saw precise scientific measures of welfare provided to any animal owners in Cyprus during the research. Indeed, if complaints about an animal's welfare were made, it was considered adequate if they had food, water, and shelter, despite this not meeting the 'five freedoms' guidelines. Welfare was something humans provided rather than a measure of the animal's wellbeing, quality of life, or opportunity to flourish.

Broom (2017) explains how measurement of welfare is based on observing the animal's ability to cope mentally and physically with their environment. In order to assess this, observers should be familiar with that species, their motivation systems, functions to control their interactions with their environment governed by the identification of that species' needs. This can be interpreted with a wide variety of measures and subsequent welfare assessment procedures that are often governed by legislation and standards for animals used for human consumption, inappropriate for many other species, such as hunting dogs.

4.4 Local Perceptions of Welfare in Hunting Dogs

Five hunters who were either participants in my study or used the clinic, from both research regions of Cyprus, told me they kept their dogs inside their homes or in kennels attached to or on their property and shared in their daily lives. However, having seen many more just in my locality that were kept away from residential areas and in cages, I presumed that the majority do not have such a close attachment. This is further corroborated by speaking to hunters that used the clinic. They told me their dogs were not kept at home, but in the countryside or on their 'farms'. These 'farms' were not farms as such, but small plots of land owned by the family that were in the countryside away from their residences. They may grow fruit or nut trees, keep their hunting dogs there, raise some chickens and rabbits, or grow vegetables for personal consumption. It is these caging practices that sparked controversy amongst non-hunting groups and animal advocates, who deemed them to be poor in terms of welfare. These dogs were used as 'instruments' for hunters, rather than valued as sentient beings. However, even those who were employed to investigate welfare issues considered hunting dogs to be tools. The following is an excerpt from my field notes in July 2017:

I had a 'meet and greet' with one of the veterinary officers who work for the Government in the Veterinary Services Department in Paphos. It was the typical Cypriot municipality office with relatively organised chaos occurring (Baragli et al., 2015). Paperwork sat in piles everywhere, an old eighties style computer on a desk, people sat around drinking coffee and chatting in loud voices, and there was a haze of cigarette smoke wafting from some offices. I asked someone where

O. was located, and they directed me to her office. She wasn't expecting me and had forgotten the phone call where our meeting had been arranged. She was unwelcoming, suspicious, and challenging to engage with in any worthwhile conversation. However, I did get some information: in her opinion, complaints received about animal welfare issues are no more common for hunting dogs than they are pet dogs. Most complaints are about horses chained in fields with no shelter or water. She denied that there was a particular problem with hunting dogs and said they had little to do with them as they were considered tools. I asked her what she meant, and she replied, 'working dogs'. When I mentioned that I don't see reports of goat herding dogs being neglected on social media and in the press, but I do of hunting dogs, she shrugged her shoulders and turned away. She made it clear that our meeting was over, so I thanked her for her time and left.

I was disappointed with this meeting; O. seemed off-hand and dismissive of me, avoiding eye contact, giving one-word answers despite me using open questions, and I felt like I was unwelcome. On reflection, I wondered if a different approach might have yielded more useful information but having spoken with CP., a rescuer who deals with O. regularly as part of the export process for dogs, I was reassured that there was probably not much more I could do. She said: 'She's always like that, often unreliable, and miserable. Sometimes I turn up at the arranged time to be told she's not there, or she's taken the day off, and I'm expected to go again the next day' (CP. 18.06.17). I also mentioned it to the vet I work with who has known her for a long time. He explained:

Her father was the first-ever properly qualified vet in Cyprus, and he expected her to follow his footsteps. I heard she didn't want to, and it took

her 14 years to graduate from the University in Thessaloniki [the vet friend was a fellow student]. She got the job there to please the family but just sits drinking coffee and doing paperwork (NM. 2017).

I do not know how true this is, but it did put some things into perspective; if she hated her job so much and felt forced into doing it, no wonder she was miserable. I expect she did not appreciate me turning up seemingly to question her and the organisation's practices either. This reaction made me keen to investigate how Veterinary Services operated and to be allowed to present their work positively. Part of the conversation with O. was around how I might accompany the investigators as part of my research, and she told me to contact the head office in Nicosia. At the time of writing, my requests had been forwarded by the head office to the Department of the Environment, where progress had ground to a halt. I was left wondering if this ambivalence was about hunting dog treatment, animal welfare generally, or something else.

I attempted to get some help from a political party, the Animal Party Cyprus, who I thought may be able to help facilitate my working alongside Veterinary Services. The head of the party, Kyriacos Kyriacou, maintained a respected high profile on social media. He had direct links to both the head of Veterinary Services and the Cypriot President, Nicos Anastasiades. After a conversation with an Animal Party representative, PR., I was advised to take a different approach. PR. wrote:

Regarding correspondence with Ministries - there is never a reply. So, I wouldn't hope for that. Why not just report cases you find and then you would be with the investigators and would see how effective they are? Or invite people to do the same. That's my only suggestion. The President has mentioned the possible creation of 'animal police'. Good luck - I've found in Cyprus that you need to find an alternative way if you are to get success (PR. 22.11.2017).

I scoured the local countryside for caged hunting dogs until I found some in poor condition. I then reported them to Veterinary Services and got involved with them from that direction. The view of overcrowded cages, where dogs stood in their urine and faeces, barking at the sight of a human visitor was saddening when compared with my own experience of keeping pet dogs. The Cyprus law for the protection and safeguarding the health and welfare of animals (46(I)/1994) under the section, general animal care, states the following:

6.(1) ... any person having under its mastery, ownership or keeping of any animal, must provide it with feed, water and care, suitable for its species or category and, where necessary, shelter.

6.(2) The freedom of movement necessary for the animal must not be restricted permanently or without cause in any way which produces pain, distress or injury.

[...]

6.(4) Regulations may define general or specific needs for maintaining of the various species of animals with regard to such matters as are the minimum dimensions, design, lighting and ventilation, of the available feeding space or stocking density of animals housed in groups and the means of leashing of the animals (Animal Welfare Act 2006).

I happened across a cage of dogs while driving around one Sunday afternoon in April. It was a trip to see friends rather than a research mission, but down a disused track where I had driven to turn around after getting lost, I came across a large cage, with a smaller one next to it, both full of dogs. One dog was also

chained nearby and was wearing a fluorescent orange collar, the trademark collar of a hunting dog. They all barked at my car and I quickly took photos (see Figs. 23-24) before driving away, worried that their barking would alert their owner to my presence. It was sad to see their faces staring out of the cages, and I wondered when they were last allowed out to stretch their legs and sniff around.



Figure 24. Caged Hunting Dogs, Paphos



Figure 25. Caged Hunting Dogs, Paphos

Emotions aside and thinking back to the legislation, I have to admit that the dogs I saw appeared well-fed, had water, a form of shelter, were in reasonable

condition, and they had the company of others of their species. There were cleaning products and equipment nearby, so I presumed the cages were cleaned at times. They were kept legally (according to the Animal Welfare Act 1996) and therefore there should be no conflict or consternation. These dogs were used for hunting and deemed valuable enough by their owner to be kept as the law states. Yet, sometimes alleged financial constraints mean that hunting dogs were indiscriminately bred to make money from them. The following extract is from my field notes:

5th April 2017

I was working at the vet clinic this morning, maintaining, and monitoring difficult anaesthesia for a 14-year-old Border Collie bitch undergoing a nephrectomy. She wasn't breathing regularly, and so I was ventilating periodically when needed. It took concentration, and I had to be there, else she could die. The only two other staff in the building were the vets, both of whom were scrubbed in performing the surgery. During the procedure, a Cypriot man was shouting for attention. I reluctantly left the operation and hurriedly went to see what he wanted. He didn't speak any English, but with my poor Greek and gesticulation we managed to converse enough for me to understand he had a bitch in labour who had given birth to one puppy but the second had become stuck. I asked him to go and get her so she could be examined, before rushing back to the dog on the operating table.

He arrived an hour later with a small Jura hound and her puppy. He said he had no money, so a caesarean was not an option. I injected her with oxytocin [a hormone that stimulates uterine contractions] and after a little time, lubrication

and gentle persuasion she passed the stuck puppy. She was thin, covered in ticks and had had previous litters, due to her large, worn nipples and low-slung belly, despite only being about two years old. She looked at me through scared and reluctant eyes, but shut down when I touched her, unable to understand that I meant no harm, yet communicating her fears to me perfectly well (Wemelsfelder, 2007b). I know that the owner wouldn't part with her as he could make money from breeding pups; another example of how these dogs are expected to service their humans (Malamud, 2013). Such a sad situation; I tried to reason that at least he had brought her for treatment, rather than leaving her to die. There are so many like her, though, and some days it all feels futile, I wonder if I am starting to feel compassion fatigue (Coulter, 2016b; Huggard & Huggard, 2008).

One area where hunting dogs do enjoy good welfare is when they are out in the field performing natural behaviours, such as tracking scents and finding prey. During hunting season their quality of life does improve, as they are taken out twice a week to experience this. I watched them running free, barking and crying with excitement, noses to the floor and I sensed their love for this experience. I thought I would try to capture the dogs' experience of this, and I shall describe this process in the next section.

4.5 Point, Shoot, Retrieve

To attempt to understand what a dog's experience of hunting might be like, I thought that videoing the experience from the dog's point of view would be the best approach. As a trial run, I decided to try with my own dogs, firstly to see if it was possible and secondly, to understand what results it would give me. The following is an excerpt from my fieldwork diary on June 15th, 2017:

I finally received the dog harness for the GoPro camera yesterday, so this morning was the first opportunity to try it out. We set out at 6.30 AM, and it was already warm with the Cicadas singing loudly. I fitted it to Pixie first, she is a Cretan hound and very lively. She tends to be the one who darts into the bushes and runs around like crazy, interacting with the other dogs, so I thought she would provide the best footage. She is of slight build, though, and the harness kept sliding to one side as she ran. She also has a limp, a leftover from her snakebite last year, and that made the video jerky. I swapped it to Indie, Max's daughter, who is more hound/Labrador shape and is broader across the shoulders. It sat much better on her, but because she was wearing a harness, she must have thought she was on a lead and was happy to trot next to me, rather than go off exploring. She also kept turning her head around to look at it, so I knew to begin with she wasn't that comfortable with it. Every time she relaxed and ignored it, I rewarded her from my treat bag. I have never seen hunting dogs wearing a harness, so I am not sure how they will adapt to wearing a camera. Even so, Indie did finally relax and go on her way. The footage brought home to me how their scenting ability drives dogs. They communicated almost solely by scent, apart from the occasional check-in with me by looking to see where I was, her nose was to the ground most of the time. The editing of the video is a bit of a pain, but there was some great footage. I didn't go out for long as it is hot this morning and the dogs were showing signs of weariness after 25 minutes, so we came home.

This experience was enough to tell me that most of the hunters I could trust not to lose their dogs (and my camera), would not allow their dogs to wear this harness. The dogs would be too distracted by it, potentially affecting their

performance in the field. It might also spoil their experience of freedom and doing what they loved. Instead, I had a rethink and asked the hunters from Nicosia to provide me with video footage of their dogs working. Inevitably this was very much biased and only showed what they wanted to present. It was usually footage of their dogs successfully flushing out birds or indicating the presence of prey by setting or pointing, before the inevitable shot and kill. The cameras were attached to the barrels of the guns which were visibly following the movements of the dogs. The dogs in these video clips were highly tuned working dogs, well trained and responsive to their handler. They were focussed on their job, keen, and appeared to be enjoying the work. At times, they looked physically stressed, which could have been due to the length of time working or the environmental temperature they were being asked to work in; they would be panting heavily and wide-eyed. Mostly the clips showed healthy, happy dogs and a good connection between the hunter and the dog, here are two examples that were shared with me:

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QR1iYNC8hPg&feature=share&fbclid=IwAR1Sb7r9Jxw9-5Rb6zEVAKpl2EOTyKMdU_tm1BhAaMwmXz_zg7n6TIHHGg4
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L-0PXYkexJ0&feature=share&fbclid=IwAR3xlb4Yt_GQyIDhc1K5uwK7zpSBKKvibje8CtD_krm4jXL5ohntC6lpFD8

The beeping noise that can be heard is an alarm that sounds when the dog is still (sets) for a period of time when indicating the presence of a bird. They were worn on the dog's collar, sometimes alongside a GPS tracker so the dog could be followed if they went out of sight (see 2.7).

My observations of hunters and dogs in the field in the Paphos area were not usually like this. Dogs would be released from trucks and run in an uncontrolled fashion across the countryside at speed, following their noses. Hunters hurriedly chased them or sat in front of their predicted trajectory (if this were possible!) waiting for them to flush out prey to be killed. Again, the dogs were happy and excited but not in a trained way as the Nicosia dogs but in a more instinctual way. They would vocalise their excitement to each other, further increasing the enthusiasm amongst the group by baying; a melodious call containing many tonal variations (Coren, 2005). When they caught the scent of prey, the vocalisation would change to a different timbre, indicating they were near the victim and this would alert the hunters. Observing hunting dogs at 'work' was as much an auditory experience as a visual one, indeed, when the dogs disappeared out of sight, I could still follow them by listening to their voices. I was curious about this persistent and ongoing communication during the hunting process with these particular groups of dogs. It did not happen with the highly trained dogs, and I wondered if it was a breed-specific trait or whether it occurred when more than two or three dogs were working together. This seemed likely as when I have observed single dogs with a handler in both scenarios, they were less vocal. I assumed that when hunting with a few conspecifics, canine communication is geared towards contact with each other more than their human receivers. Taylor et al. (2004) describe how the domestication of canids has led to morphological differentiation and behavioural traits that are favoured by humans. This meant that they 'are able to exploit human perceptual abilities and biases as well as those best able to perceive and make functional assessment of human vocal signals ...' (Taylor et al., 2014, p. 131). They go on to describe how dog vocalisations retain social information that is understood by conspecifics, but that

functional changes may have occurred to aid communication with humans (Taylor et al., 2014, p. 132). It was interesting to note that the humans who throughout this study perceived themselves as the better hunters (Nicosia cohort) had the quietest dogs, which seemed to oppose perceptions of cooperation between humans and dogs when hunting. The use of beepers on collars (a human-made intervention) by the 'better hunters' seemed to be an auditory tool used instead of canine vocalisation when the dogs were not visible. I wondered if the more 'natural' style of hunting, where dogs could communicate freely with each other, and their humans might be more effective. Hunting where the humans were accessories to the dogs rather than the other way around, appeared to be a more natural, equally effective and rewarding experience for both parties, compared to the more tightly controlled, human-dominated version. Unfortunately, when the day's efforts were concluded, the dogs were returned to a lifestyle where their natural behaviours were not permitted freely, and their confinement and its impact is explored in detail through chapter seven.

Having explored how hunting dogs and their welfare were perceived by both the men that used them and the government department tasked with enforcing the welfare law and guidelines, I now present the more extreme aspects of hunting society and examine the illegal activities and lack of social justice for victims.

4.6 Suffering & Welfare

Brambell's Five Freedoms (Farm Animal Welfare Council, 1993) advise that non-human animals should not experience thirst, hunger, a lack of shelter, pain, or psychological frustration. The absence of suffering or negative welfare is deemed enough for a good quality of life. However, no positive welfare or positive states, such as pleasure, are mentioned. Another important welfare concept is that of

naturalness, or the ability to live as natural a life as possible: ‘that is, the idea that at least part of what makes for good animal welfare is animals having the opportunity to live “according to their natures”’ (Palmer & Sandoe, 2018, p. 430). We know that different species have specific behaviours that are essential to their well-being, such as horses rolling, pigs rooting, and birds flying. Rollin suggests that good well-being can be achieved when animals are able to express these natural behaviours:

Because of this ideological skepticism about animal consciousness, too many scientists have been excessively cautious in their work and have endlessly measured cortisol and catecholamines to assess “stress” or argued about whether behavioral anomalies mean that the animal is not happy. I would submit to you that no amount of cortisol measuring will convince the average citizen that an animal living in total restricted confinement is happy or that an animal exhibiting chronic stereotypical behavior is coping adequately (1994, p. 12).

A significant issue of hunting dog husbandry in Cyprus was keeping dogs housed in cages. It was a practice that made the hunting dog particularly vulnerable to poor welfare due to the lack of freedom and inability to express natural behaviours as described by Rollins. I now present Roo’s story which demonstrated the impact of caging, both physically and mentally.

4.7 Holiday Blues

In September 2018, Roo was almost eleven years old. He was a red and white (Orange Belton) English Setter who was brought to Cyprus from Greece as a puppy and placed in a cage in a rural location outside the town of Larnaca to be used as a hunting dog.

His plight was noticed five years later by an American tourist who was spending his vacation near to where Roo was kept. While in Cyprus, JL. visited Roo and his canine companion, a blind, black pup who was kept next to Roo's cage in a crate usually used for transporting chickens. Each time he visited, JL. brought the dogs meat and water and desperately tried to find help for them but to no avail. Once he had returned home to the United States, he researched organisations that might be able to help, and alerted an organisation called Cyprus Voice for Animals who eventually managed to bring a prosecution against Roo's owner. They presented evidence to the court that Roo was in a cage with no roof, situated next to many active beehives. He was fed stale bread for food, and a beige sludge that had settled at the bottom of an old saucepan was his only water supply. He was emaciated, covered in fleas and ticks, and had large open sores on his body. He was infected with tick-borne diseases, Ehrlichiosis and Anaplasmosis, and had an itchy and painful skin condition caused by the parasitic skin mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, which had caused him to scratch most of the hair from his body. He had multiple bee stings that were infected and painful.

The four-month-old puppy who was his only companion had been shut in a plastic container nearby that measured thirty centimetres by sixty centimetres. The puppy slept, ate, and toileted in this plastic box without the possibility of coming out.

Roo was successfully rescued (as was his companion) and adopted shortly after being confiscated by the authorities. However, he maintained a 'shut-down' demeanour of learned helplessness, caused by existing in an environment of inescapable fear (Seligman et al., 1979), for the first six months after leaving his cage. He avoided eye contact with his new guardians and preferred to be alone,

rather than with human or canine company. He would crouch, eyes closed and immobile, while passively accepting touch from his guardians, and he would not make any attempts to move away from them even though he was fearful. He also suffered moderate separation anxiety, a condition broadly defined as 'problematic behavior motivated by anxiety that occurs exclusively in the owner's absence or virtual absence' (Appleby & Pluijmakers, 2004, p. 205). This separation anxiety lasted for over a year following adoption and is a typical response of, 'deprived animals placed in a rich environment' (Wemelsfelder, 1985, p.125). He exhibited frantic vocalisation, pacing, and made attempts to escape through closed doors and windows. This behaviour is explained by Appleby and Pluijmakers (2004), who state that when a dog finds comfort in human contact and feels secure, opposing effects are created when they are left alone; the dog feels overwhelmed by loneliness, loss of security, and control. Symptoms persist until the care-giver returns and homeostasis is assumed again, and the dog can relax and recover (Appleby & Pluijmakers, 2004, p. 206). Studies by Gurski et al. (1980) demonstrated that isolation in unfamiliar and uncomfortable locations cause the highest level of dependence and related separation anxiety for canines in later life. However, he used beagle puppies in laboratory conditions that did not necessarily reflect the discomfort felt by dogs like Roo. Appleby and Pluijmakers (2004) proposed that dogs obtained from rescue situations were more likely to develop separation anxiety. This assertion was validated for me by the number of cases presented to me through my rehabilitation work with hunting dogs. Appleby and Pluijmakers write:

In relation to separation anxiety, destruction and vocalization are usually said to be attempts to regain contact with the owner by escaping from confinement and following, or by distressed/relocation vocalization (2004, p. 209).

This response is entirely understandable when considering the fear-inducing and aversive confinement conditions which many hunting dogs' experience.

Roo still panics at the sight or sound of bees and wasps, dislikes confinement, and is wary of strangers. He still will not socialise with humans, except for his female guardian, and although with time and care his physical ailments have disappeared, his psychological ones remain.

Roo and his puppy companion were lucky. JL. could afford to pay for lawyers to help bring a prosecution and free the two dogs when previous attempts had failed. The authorities had previously deemed that the accommodation was adequate (CM., 2018). As suggested in chapter three, ineffective enforcement of animal welfare guidelines was common for dogs used for hunting in Cyprus. Many owners whose dogs existed in unsatisfactory housing conditions were reported to the Government Veterinary Services (the government authority who is responsible for enforcing animal welfare regulations) and they were permitted to continue to keep dogs living in caged conditions.

Even those dogs who do receive adequate standards of shelter, food and water, were regularly kept caged for 24 hours a day, unless being used for hunting. Hunting days where dogs were allowed to be used occurred twice a week on Sundays and Wednesdays from the first Sunday in November to the last hunting day in December. The rest of the year, many of these dogs do not leave their cages.

Hunting dogs often presented in the veterinary clinic (field site) with tick-borne diseases, overly burdened with parasites, and malnourished. Their nails were overgrown through lack of wear and muscles atrophied in comparison to more

active dogs. Another common theme throughout these dogs' presentations was their abnormal psychological states. A lack of important socialising during puppyhood and a life of isolation made them fearful, withdrawn, avoidant, and overly compliant. They avoided eye contact, flinched when touched, and cowered or lay still in an attempt to avoid physical contact in what Seligman et al. describe in humans as 'passive acceptance' (1968, p. 256).

Sentient, conscious animals are known to be able to experience positive and negative mental states and varying emotional, affective states (Bekoff, 2006b, 2007, 2018; Boissy et al., 2007). Negative feelings of boredom, anxiety, fear, and loneliness are demonstrated through particular behaviours that were frequently observed in dogs caged for hunting purposes. Repetitive circling, persistent allogrooming in dogs caged in groups, and obsessive sniffing and investigation of individually caged dogs, were all seen as attempts by the dogs to increase sensory input and alleviate boredom (Hubrecht et al., 1992; Wemelsfelder, 1985). Dogs are social animals, and as such, a social environment is vitally important. Keeping dogs in single cages, often in single-sex groups causes social deprivation and (often stereotypic) displacement behaviours. No enrichment was provided to these hunting dogs. They were not given toys, blankets, sticks or balls to occupy themselves and alleviate boredom. They were often unable to play or interact with each other as many were individually caged and had little human contact.

Caging practices of hunting dogs in Cyprus inhibit the dog's ability to express natural behaviours, hindering a good quality of life. Despite a dog's ability to adapt to her environment in a way that protects her wellbeing (Moberg, 2000), hunting dogs showed universally recognised stress behaviours (Cozzi et al., 2016). Yet,

the practice continues with little attention paid to the dog's physical and emotional well-being and it is still considered a traditional and appropriate method of keeping hunting dogs. Linda Demetriou from the animal welfare charity Active8 describes the reasons for the practice continuing:

... that's how it has been since the beginning of time. They [hunters] believe a dog is the same as a chicken or any other animal they keep. It has a purpose, and it's not for the family and love, that's the pretend part of the newer generation in their attempt in becoming European, but then they fail, as hunting dogs are just for hunting. That's their job, and the wives don't want them anywhere near the house as dogs are dirty (LD., 2018).

Hunting dogs intersected within three categories, working, sports, and leisure (Carr, 2014, p. 37), depending on with whom I discussed them. Indeed, it could be argued that they occupy a symbiotic existence in all three categories from time to time. When being used to flush game they are considered a tool or working dog, in a similar way to the gun. If competing in a field trial they become a sports dog, and when accompanying their hunter across the countryside, in what is in effect a hike, they are considered a leisure or companion dog. I believe it is this lack of demarcation of their 'role' that exacerbates the expectations and realities of husbandry practices. For example, it may seem to be more acceptable for a working dog to live outside in a kennel or cage environment than a companion dog, who is more likely to find himself inside a human home. Although pet keeping in Cyprus was not as popular or as common as in the UK, some Cypriots did have dogs as pets, but only a few lived inside their owner's homes, others, especially larger dogs, were tethered outside on chains.

As such, the standards of expected provision are subjective according to people's perceptions of the dog's definitions, not necessarily mindfully, but just because it

was the norm. I previously mentioned how a veterinary officer responsible for maintaining and enforcing welfare was ambivalent about caged hunting dog conditions, stating that they were tools. Her expectations of their living conditions were much lower than a rescuer who would prefer to keep a dog inside the house and would view caging practices as abhorrent.

The conditions in which hunting dogs were kept have never been placed under the academic lens before, with focus previously on blood sports in general (Loveridge et al., 2007; Marvin, 1988, 2003, 2006; Milbourne, 2003; Smalley, 2005). Where literature has concentrated on the dog, it has been within veterinary science where attention is given to the physical impact of hunting (Payne, 2013). Despite the vast availability of literature about the canine-human relationship, less has been done to acknowledge their roles within leisure pursuits. Instead, it is an anthropocentrically assumed role that comes from being part of human lives, illustrated through literature and art. What has been lacking is a discussion of the conditions for dogs and the canine perspective which has not formed part of academic research.

4.8 Caged Canines

I received a phone call from CP. to say someone had contacted her after finding an abandoned hunting dog. The dog had been hanging around this person's home for three days and nobody had been looking for him. CP. wanted to take him and rehome him to the UK but had no space for him overnight. She asked if I could take him and she would collect him in the morning. I agreed, and an hour later, he arrived. He was a Jura Hound; a young, leggy male with long ears and kind eyes. He was confused and a little nervous as he was carried (he does not

understand the concept of walking on a lead) into the large space in which my kennels were situated. I let him loose and he immediately explored the area, nose to the ground, scenting and marking his way around the paddock. I marvelled at his long legs and gangly gait as he trotted haphazardly around, seemingly so distracted by the scents that he was not concentrating on walking correctly! He was thin but otherwise seemed okay. I introduced him slowly to my dogs and they greeted each other enthusiastically. He was not overwhelmed by them and appeared to be relishing the canine company much more than mine, suggesting a lack of socialisation with humans. They soon started to invite him to play with barks, play bows, and wagging tails. As they took off racing around the paddock, I left them to play and enjoy each other's company for a while. An hour later my dogs were bored and wanted to return to the house. When he was alone, he barked and cried briefly for their company before settling down to lie full out on his side to sleep in the shade.

That night I wanted to kennel him to ensure that he was safe. After thirty minutes of trying to encourage, lure, and reassure him that going into the kennel was a good idea, I gave up. He just did not want to be confined. I wondered if he had been caged like most other hunting dogs and if his reaction was due to this. While I sat pondering my next move, he made himself a 'bed' in the grass by circling around and around on the spot, before lying down, tightly curled up in the corner of the paddock. I decided to leave him.

As dawn broke, I saw him still curled up asleep in the same spot, and it was not until my own dogs headed over to him that he stood up and stretched, before greeting them happily. He heard the hunting dogs in the valley being released from trucks for the morning's training who were baying noisily, and he got excited

and started barking, sniffing the air, and trying to pinpoint their location. He told me by his behaviour that he knew this experience and that this was probably his routine too. I wondered how he would adapt from his previous lifestyle to becoming a companion dog in the UK. I did not attempt to find the owner as I could not know if the dogs across the valley were also owned by his owner and I had been given the task of keeping him secure for the rescue so I felt my hands were tied.

The start of the rescue process was quickly underway as he was collected a few hours later and taken straight to the vet to be assessed, blood tested, and an appointment made for his obligatory castration and ablation. As with many of these hounds, this dog had a pendulous scrotum which was removed during castration for aesthetic enhancement. The seemingly improved attractiveness was for potential adopters and to improve his chances of finding a new home. I found this practice by the vets and rescuers to be unnecessary and certainly a downside of rescue. It was another example of commodification, objectification, and a hypocritical procedure. Ear cropping or tail docking would be condemned by the rescue fraternity as cruel and unnecessary, yet to me this was no different. I felt a sense of sadness that this straying dog, who had shown me he valued choice and freedom, would soon be very much under the control of albeit well-meaning humans, swapping one set of constraints for another. I knew that if he had been caged then his life would almost certainly be improved by being adopted as a companion. He would have a sofa, regular food, and he would become part of a social group, yet he would pay a price. During the process of rescuing hunting dogs, I had to accept the 'inevitability of anthropocentrism' (Probyn-Rapsey, 2018, p. 49), the human who knows what's best for the dog without considering that dog's preferred choices. The alternatives of allowing him

to continue living as a stray (or caged escapee) were not socially acceptable, and I was aware that food would be scarce and water scarcer in the summer months for dogs that free ranged. Therefore, their survival was more likely in a human environment, even though their agency was limited.

To gain a deeper understanding of the caged dogs' perspective of their environment, I observed them to assess their behaviours. A five-minute walk from my house took me to a set of cages (see Figs. 41-42) that were covered with thick plastic so that the contents were hidden from view. The cage was set up the hillside a few metres from the road and behind some trees, but it was still visible. It was accessed by a dirt-track that led from the road up the hill before coming to an abrupt end, and from there it was a quick walk through a small olive orchard to reach it. One large cage, approximately three metres by three metres, was divided into four separate cages.

In each cage was a bucket of water and a wooden box at the rear, with a hole cut into it to allow access. The floor was covered in faeces, and four dogs stood in each cage. One dog in the furthest cage could see out towards the road through a gap in the plastic, the rest of the group could not see anything but each other and the interior of the cages. The dogs were in fair physical condition and they had been fed, had water and shelter. There were flies everywhere, but an attempt to reduce them had been made with sticky flypaper traps hung up on the roof of the cage. I approached the cages making reassuring noises in a soft low voice, yet the dogs were very fearful and barked anxiously at me. Once I reached the pens and they could see me, their demeanours changed. They jumped up to greet me excitedly, sniffing and licking my hand as I tried to reach them through the wire. After a time, the barking turned to whining and whimpering as they

started to pace the cages; I wondered if they were anticipating food or perhaps release. I took photographs and video footage of them before quickly leaving, knowing that somebody will have heard them barking and possibly notified the owner. Not wanting to arouse suspicion, or frustrate or upset the dogs further, I left but not without feeling sad that these dogs were living their lives in these conditions.



Figure 26. Observed caged hunting dogs, Episkopi, Paphos



Figure 27. Observed caged hunting dog. Episkopi, Paphos

The Cypriot (and E.U.) welfare standards might promote an existence free from hunger, thirst, illness and pain, but it does not address the quality of life issues. Consideration is not given to the emotional or mental health of the dogs in cages trying to obtain life-sustaining resources, such as food, water and shelter, that are not always sufficient or meet their ethological need to behave as the species should be able to. As outlined by the Cypriot Law for the Protection, Health and Welfare of Animals 46 (1) 1994, within the section titled general Provisions, '4. (1) The animals must always be handled in a way that suits best their physiological and ethological needs.', which is based on one of the familiar Five Freedoms as recommended in the Farm Animal Welfare Council's report (Farm Animal Welfare Council, 1993) that have been adopted and interpreted more generally for animal welfare purposes. The Farm Animal Welfare Council (1993) report states that (farm) animals should have the freedom to express normal behaviour by providing sufficient space, proper facilities, and the company of the

animal's own kind (Webster, 1994, 2005). Caging practices do not meet these recommendations and instead impact these dogs in a way that Mellor captures when he says:

Animals may also experience other negative effects that include anxiety, fear, panic, frustration, anger, helplessness, loneliness, boredom and depression. These situation-related effects reflect animals' perceptions of their external circumstances (2016, p. 1).

In the UK government guidelines state that dogs must not be singly housed for more than four hours and that dogs should be provided with outside runs. It says that dogs who weigh between ten kilograms and twenty-five kilograms (the average hunting dog weight) should have a cage that is a minimum of 4.5 metres squared (Code of Practice for the Housing and Care of Animals Bred, Supplied or Used for Scientific Purposes., 2014, p. 27). I did not see any cages in Cyprus that met that requirement, and it makes for a stark comparison. The UK's Department for Environment Food & Rural Affairs (DEFRA) produced a code of practice for the welfare of dogs that explains in layman's terms, what the minimum requirements are. It included elements of the Five Freedoms, such as being free from fear, pain, having adequate shelter, food and water, and veterinary treatment if required (DEFRA, 2018). I have yet to find any similar, easy to understand guidelines for hunters in Cyprus.

I spent the rest of the day thinking about these dogs and trying to find a solution but failed. I discussed the situation with both my rescue contacts and hunters. The rescuers said that there is nothing to be done as Veterinary Services would deem their care and housing as adequate, and even if they did remove them, all the shelters were full (J.P. & L.D., 2018). The hunters were quick to point out that they do not keep their dogs like that but that there are dogs all over the world in

far worse conditions. They agreed that education was a crucial component of facilitating change, but that it would take more than that as the dogs were viewed by many as just a fad that they quickly tired of or got bored with (A.A. & A.S., 2018). They went on to explain that having to care for dogs all year takes commitment and only those who were willing to meet the challenge would provide proper care. This pictured example of caging was one of the better ones, other caged dogs were in far worse conditions with reports of them dying from dehydration and starvation on social media not uncommon. That said, I had also discovered better conditions where dogs were caged in groups, with fresh supplies of water and clean conditions, and where the dog's behaviours indicated a happier existence.

Throughout the study, I decided to observe several sets of caged dogs within the Paphos region to try to gain some insight into their quality of life. I wanted to record certain behaviours similar to those recorded by Hubrecht et al. (1992) and more recently by (Bodnariu, 2008) in her study of dogs caged within the veterinary practice. Table 2 below lists the behaviours I observed and then an interpretation of them follows.

After an initial introduction to the dogs, so that they became familiar with my presence, I sat and observed at a distance of approximately six metres, so that the dogs were aware I was there, but I was not too intrusive. I did not interact with the dogs further at this point. Video footage was taken using an iPhone or GoPro camera and my observations recorded in field notes. As a canine behaviourist I was interested in the body language of the dogs which would provide me with information about their emotional and psychological states. Six sets of cages with between four and fifteen dogs were observed. The process was based on the

methodology of Free Choice Profiling (Wemelsfelder et al., 2000; Wemelsfelder & Lawrence, 2001) and I created a descriptive vocabulary based on my observations.

All of the behaviours listed were seen commonly when the dogs were unaware of or accepting of my presence. When first aware of me, there were some who were fearful or exhibited defensive behaviours. Different dogs presented with varying expressions, potentially influenced by breed and personality, as well as by their environmental and experiential factors. Actions of these caged dogs were compared with those of my own eight dogs. In comparison, my dogs could roam freely in or outside of the house as they wished and were able to demonstrate some choice and agency, albeit within the confines of their environmental context.

Table 3. Observed behaviours and interpretations

Category	Definition
Standing	Standing on hind legs using forelegs against cage sides to support the body
Circling	Repetitive circling around the cage
Tail Chasing	Repetitive chasing of the tail
Pacing/Restlessness	Repetitive pacing along or around cage sides
Jumping	Repetitive jumping so that all four legs leave the ground
Sniffing Human	Nose to any area of human
Nervous	Evade human, cower, rollover, growling
Vocalisations	Barking, whining, crying
Barking at Passers	Recorded where the object of barking can be seen, heard or smelt
Greeting Human	Tail wagging, 'smiling', greeting barks
Hiding Dog	Dog hiding in a box, avoiding contact
Yawning	Yawning as a 'calming signal' (Rugaas, 1997)
Flattened Ears	Ears positioned down or slightly backwards

Lowered Body Posture	Crouched on all four legs, head lowered
Paw Lifting	One front paw lifted, usually avoiding eye contact simultaneously
Unresponsiveness	The dog does not respond and appears 'shut-down'.
Excessive Panting	As a stress response rather than due to heat
Lip Licking	Licking lips or flicking tongue as a 'calming signal' (Rugaas, 1997)
Avoiding Eye Contact	Avoiding eye contact by looking away or turning head away
Tail Wagging	Confident tail wags with a raised tail (Quaranta et al., 2007)
Relaxed Demeanour	Dogs calm, settled with no stress indicators
Sleeping	Dogs lying down either laterally or in sternal recumbency, asleep
Happy	Confident, relaxed & unconcerned
Playful	Dogs playing with each other or objects within their cage

The observations I made told two particular stories and corroborated the literature previously quoted and referred to. Firstly, one of chronic stress behaviours and secondly, one of stranger-directed fear and general fear and anxiety. Both sets of behaviours were indicators of distress and isolation that demonstrated the detrimental impact this type of housing had on the psychological well-being and quality of life of these dogs.

The caged dogs demonstrated that they spent significantly less time sleeping or relaxed during observation periods compared to my dogs (Beerda et al., 1997; Mason & Rushen, 2006; Singer, 1973). They were alert and at times hypervigilant; pacing, sniffing the air, circling, or barking. In the caged dog group, substantial periods were spent standing rather than sitting or lying down. This may be due in part to the flooring type; often dirt or stone and soiled by urine and faeces. In some cases, boxes were provided, but these appeared to be places that they used to hide rather than relax or sleep. Some dogs preferred to stand

on the boxes, granting them a better view of their environment and a sense of safety. Occasionally dogs were seen persistently licking the same area of their body (allopathic grooming). Behaviours such as those observed are indicative of chronic stress (Beerda et al., 1999; Denham et al., 2014; Part et al., 2014). Long term stress leads to the production of stress hormones such as cortisol, and immobilisation for excessive periods can lead to oxidative stress and tissue damage, the precursor to antioxidant imbalances (Part et al., 2014). I wondered if the pacing and circling (stereotypies) was an adaptive behaviour to counteract these effects or a psychological coping mechanism (Beerda et al., 1997; Mason & Rushen, 2006).

Mills et al. (2014) explain that stress affects the physical, mental, and social health of animals, with all these altered dimensions contributing to the well-being of the animal. They argue that the amelioration of background stress, as well as specific stressors, should be focussed on when treating stress-related behaviours in pet dogs (Mills et al., 2014, p. 525). As caged hunting dogs are unable to escape specific stressors and background stress, their conditions become chronic and difficult for them to manage, resulting in decreased health and well-being.

On my arrival at the cages, all dogs barked, some ran away, and some came forward to investigate me cautiously. Many showed signs of fear including cowering, lowering and moving their ears back, eyes wide and round, showing the sclera (whale eye), and tucking their tails between their legs. Some would wag their tails (Quaranta et al., 2007) and whine excitedly once overcoming their initial fear. Others would cower inside boxes or in cage corners, lip licking, yawning or barking (Blackwell et al., 2013; Ley et al., 2007; Schilder & van der

Borg, 2004). I noted that my presence seemed to elicit anticipation in some of the dogs too, perhaps they assumed I was there to feed them or allow them out for exercise. Once I sat down to observe, the more confident dogs would continue their vigilant behaviours and pay me little attention. In contrast, the nervous ones would sit and watch me suspiciously, panting, and studiously avoiding eye contact.



Figure 28. Caged hunting dogs Kathikas



Figure 29. Caged hunting dogs Episkopi



Figure 30. Chained dog Episkopi

Dreschel writes that dogs experiencing fear and anxiety have reduced lifespans due to changes in hormonal and immune modulation which increases the possibility of disease (2010, p. 157) and outlines a correlation between stress and poor health resulting in premature death. Mills et al. acknowledge that there are many ways in which an animal's stress levels are inferred, but that there is no single way of doing it because the stressor governs responses and therefore different stressors require different methods of management (2014, p. 526). Historically there have been studies that measure cortisol levels as elevated levels are indicative of stress (Coppola et al., 2006; Part et al., 2014). However, cortisol is produced when a dog experiences arousal, for either good or bad reasons (Mills et al., p. 526), and consequently this is not necessarily an accurate indicator.

It becomes more complicated when we consider that stress is a response to emotion but defining what an emotion is precisely, opens up further debate. Finding a consensual definition that encompasses language, culture, and individual difference is difficult. It is a word that is used regularly, particularly in human terms, but scholars have yet to agree on a definition. Klaus Scherer defined emotion as:

an episode of interrelated, synchronised changes in the states of all or most of the five organismic subsystems in respect of the evaluation of an external or internal stimulus events as relevant to major concerns of the organism. (2005, p. 697).

Scherer describes how different components should be considered when evaluating an emotional response including the prompting event or antecedent, physiological symptoms and body language indicators (for example, moving

away from the stimulus), and feelings (2005, p. 711). Interestingly, although written in respect of humans, these measures can be applied to non-verbal non-human animals and this is corroborated by a similar model presented by Mills et al., (2014). Mills et al. state that a triangulation of features is essential when assessing emotion and is critical for the implementation of a stress management plan (2014, p. 528). They describe an auditing process where stressors, the physical and social environment, control and predictability, and supportive owners are all given combined consideration (Mills et al., 2014, p. 536).

The psychologist Jaak Panksepp tries to bring a more philosophical view to the neuroscience of emotion from a 'cross-species' perspective. Panksepp et al. write:

capacities for thoughtful reflection emerge gradually in higher brain regions developmentally and epigenetically. In this hierarchical vision of self-awareness based on primal mental processes, one progresses from "cogito ergo sum" to "I feel therefore I am" and with experience-dependent cortical programming to "I feel therefore I think" (2012, p. 8).

They continue to explain how tragic it is that science has not confronted the 'deeper evolutionary psychological nature of organisms' (Panksepp et al., 2012, p. 15). Therefore, we do not understand the higher reaches of the human mind, let alone the non-human, where we apply a behavioural approach.

A study conducted into fearful responses in the veterinary environment also suggested that a combination of at least three of the selected ethological criteria should be met before concluding an animal is fearful (Döring et al., 2009, p. 40). One alone, is not enough to be conclusive. Despite their strict classification, Döring et al. (2009, p. 40) discovered that more than 75% of their cohort were

categorised as fearful, using similar body language observations to caged hunting dogs.

These studies demonstrate that there are similarities between them and the observations made of hunting dogs, reflecting fearful emotions and stress-related behaviours due to the environment and caging practices. The subsequent result of that is not only physical and mental health issues but the likelihood of shortened life expectancy. My observations of the dogs in cages and at the veterinary clinic certainly indicated that hunting dogs were likely to experience high levels of fear, stress, and accompanying negative psychological states due to the way that they were housed, handled, trained, and rescued. Overall, it seemed that they experienced stressful lives by being subjected to 'slow violence' via their living conditions.

4.9 Critical Contemplations

Including mental and physical well-being in the notion of welfare was only widely accepted in the mid-nineties and it is only more recently still that the notion that animals experience feelings has been accepted as part of animal welfare science (Mellor, 2016, p. 264). Wemelsfelder has described 'quality of life' as: 'a rich, complex notion ... it reflects a more positive, dynamic approach, which inquires what animals like or prefer doing and what opportunities they have to fulfil these interests.' (2007a, p. 16). When considering the quality of life of the hunting dogs who have no choice but to live in conditions that induce stress, I can conclude that the quality of life is not what it should or could be. This is not anthropomorphic fantasising but based on the application of qualitative judgements. My observations gave me clear impressions of the individual dogs as well as an

overall pattern of behaviour exhibited by the majority. Primatologists during the late 1970s first posited the notion of emotional or affective influence within welfare (Buirski et al., 1973; Stevenson, 2004; Stevenson-Hinde et al., 1980). In canine terms, their emotional lives are well documented (Bekoff, 2007; Bensky et al., 2013; Bradshaw, 2012; Coren, 2000; Horowitz, 2016; Mariti et al., 2018; Thomas, 1993; McMillan et al., 2011). Knowing through observations that the dogs I have seen are distressed has a detrimental impact on myself, and I feel frustrated that they live such miserable lives. The temptation was to free, or in more critical terminology 'liberate' them, from such misery and I would not have struggled with this ethically (although legally this would be seen as theft) should I have been able to improve their lives in the long run. The lack of space in the local shelters meant that it would have been almost impossible to place them, and even if they could accept some, I contemplated if and how their lives would be different within a local shelter. I would mostly be transferring them from one cage to another, with the potential for them to be adopted in the shelter, or more worryingly if no home was found I would have been putting them at risk of euthanasia.

I began this research naively thinking it would be a simple case of finding the answers to simple questions, yet as it has progressed, the more I have argued that hunting practices do impact the dogs negatively. Through this, my 'epistemic humility' (Gruen, 2011, p. 528) or observation filter has clashed with my inner activist, although Groling (2014) suggests a compromise can be found.

I was aware that the advocate in me struggled with the apparent injustices inflicted on hunting dogs, either deliberately or through ignorance, while I tried to stay reflective and open-minded. As an 'activist-academic hybrid' (Groling, 2014, p. 89), I have throughout this research process had to grapple with the need to

remain objective and the urge to wade in and act. It's a schizoid existence between trying to stay part of the academic order while being pulled towards potential chaos that could jeopardise the research. The academic in me tells me to remain objective and observe. Zygmunt Bauman says, 'The history of modernity is one of the tensions between social existence and its culture. Modern existence forces its culture into opposition to itself. This disharmony is precisely the harmony modernity needs' (1990, p. 166–167). I could relate to this on several levels. Not just my juxtaposed position but also the ambivalence of rescuers who had become tired of reporting abuse, or the doubt of the general public who do not want to get involved for fear of reprisals, and the reluctance of Veterinary Services staff who do not do their job of enforcement for a variety of reasons. While humans use moral distance to manage Baumann's 'disharmony' of animal suffering, dogs continued to suffer.

I decided in the earlier stages of this research to strategically avoid disclosing my private views and convictions about hunting and hunters to engage more fully in ethnographic practice. Yet, as it now draws to a close, I feel able to be more honest, despite risking a political situation. I have managed to retain collegial relationships with some hunters, and we engage in discussions about their well cared for dogs. I expected little rapport with these men initially as we have little commonality. Yet, I have been surprised to find them well educated, well-read on canine welfare and training, and in terms of our canine interest we relate positively. But I understand their disdain at my more open views on those who cause harm to non-human animals as my masquerade slips and I become more congruent with my true self.

But until this work is done, I am aware that I am under obligation to conform to the University Ethics Committee and not cause damage to reputations, future research, or the field by my behaviour. As a result, I endeavour to maintain a balance and Groling captures the essence of my views when she writes:

Research that seeks to challenge relations of dominance with respect to human and other-than-human animals must simultaneously challenge the hegemony of existing research paradigms, their ontological foundations and markers of validity and reliability (2014, p. 106).

I am told that I tend to engage with my non-human subjects over-empathically; those who are my companions, those who I nurse at work, my research subjects, and in the daily interactions with those I come across. It's been said 'you're too soft' or 'you feel too much'. Yet, Lori Gruen writes:

Empathic engagement with other animals is a form of moral attention that enhances our awareness of the claims they make on us, helps us to reorient our ethical sensibilities, and calls on us to exercise our moral agency. They need us to develop creative, compassionate, and ethical responses to them, for their sake as well as our own (2011, p. 529).

If I am to 'hear' their voices and inform others of their stories, then perhaps there is no better way to be. Empathy is an essential component of understanding these dogs and to become part of their lives as a witness to their suffering is throughout this thesis. The theme of suffering continues in the next chapter when I consider the darker side of abuse and how competition and criminality figure in the dogs' lives.

Chapter Five - Crime and Passion

A peculiar virtue in wildlife ethics is that the hunter ordinarily has no gallery to applaud or disapprove of his conduct. Whatever his acts, they are dictated by his own conscience, rather than by a mob of onlookers. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this fact (Leopold, 1986, p. 212).

I chose the above quote because it seemed so apt for this chapter. The incidences I will now present did not have onlookers as such and therefore no judgement could be made at the time. Hunters and others who were implicated in these crimes were dictated by their consciences, received little repercussion, and perhaps in their minds the acts seemed to be worthy of conducting. In this chapter, I explore the factors that appear to connect hunting dog abuse and hunters, the influences that affect law enforcement and prosecution, and the assumptions made by non-hunters towards hunters regarding animal cruelty and vice versa. By doing so, I bring all the victims, both human and non-human, into focus. The link between hunters and cruelty towards their dogs is an under-researched area, and this chapter is another addition to this rather sparse field of knowledge. I begin by considering the complex issues that animal cruelty presents and reflect that it most obviously sits under a heading of criminality. In Cyprus, as in other European Union countries, there are guidelines at EU (European Convention for the Protection of Pet Animals, 1987) and local levels (The Dog Law of 2002, 2002) that are supposed to ensure good enough welfare of non-human animals to provide an adequate quality of life. To breach these

regulations should result in criminal prosecution. I, therefore, begin this chapter's passage by considering some of the criminological aspects encountered in this research.

5.1 'Hunters are all Psychos!' (CP., 2018)

Animal cruelty and abuse that is not socially sanctioned has historically been considered a psychopathological rather than sociological issue (Agnew, 1998; Beirne, 1999; Flynn, 2001). More recently it has gained the attention of sociologists, criminologists, psychologists, and feminists who all recognise the value of exploring the issues (Donovan, 2006; Flynn, 2012; Irvine & Cilia, 2017; Taylor & Fraser, 2019). However, the majority of studies remain focussed on the human element rather than the non-human animal. They indicate animal cruelty as a predictor of criminality, human to human violence, mental illness or personality disorder, which are seemingly the priority (Hensley et al., 2018; Johnson, 2018; Plant et al., 2019).

Arluke and Sanders discuss the importance of bringing animals into the arena of sociological exploration and are critical of the apparent reluctance of researchers to bring animals to centre stage in research settings even when they are major actors (1996, p. 2). They discuss the importance of understanding the relationships between humans and non-human animals as societal indicators. For example, they talk about how owners' personalities are mirrored in the birds of Balinese cockfighters (Arluke & Sanders, 1996, p. 3) and how a journalist adapts to killing animals in a Midwest slaughterhouse as quickly as killing flies (p. 5). Of more interest to me, they refer to the following example: 'At one moment hunting dogs are the subject of proud boasting because they have keen tracking

abilities; at the next, they are kicked hard enough to crack their ribs because they have gotten in the way' (Jordon, 1975, in Arluke & Sanders 1996, p. 5). This inconsistent behaviour was prevalent in the hunting scene in Cyprus. Dogs were regaled as field trial champions but at the same time they may be trained with electronic collars which are used to deliver an electric shock when the dog does not comply with a command (PD. 10.05.18), or there is the example of the much-desired Jura Hound, Max, who was shot in the head when he could not be caught (see 5.3).

Piers Beirne advocates that animal abuse sits 'squarely within criminology's moral and intellectual compass ...' (2011, p. 353). He explains that:

animals tend to be seen not as authentic beings but as Cartesian automata and as commodities that have been stolen, poached, damaged, misidentified or otherwise misappropriated. By the same token animal abuse is rarely seen as serious harm but as a minor infraction to be investigated only as an afterthought and as a luxury (Beirne, 2011, p. 353).



Animal abuse does now feature in the criminology field. Yet, it seems attention has focussed on the connection between animal abuse and inter-human violence rather than the suffering of the non-human sentient beings themselves. Hessen reminds us that non-human animals are of equal importance to humans when it comes to their attempts to avoid pain and that 'Language, abstraction ability, culture and morality are human features but far from unique for humans' (2013, p. 58).

5.2 Criminology

Choosing which criminological lens to examine Cypriot hunting dogs' lives through is difficult, as it is such a multi-faceted activity with so many potentially criminal and ethical issues. I could keep it solely within an animal welfare context, but that might be too narrow, excluding environmental factors or harm to wildlife. I could place it in an ecological context, but then the damage done to hunting dogs would not be as relevant. I could discuss a human criminal approach, in respect of the so-called rescuers who defraud supporters and fail to comply with welfare guidelines, or the hunters who neglect and abuse their dogs, but the non-human animals would then be missed. So, within this chapter, I aim to present clear examples of what criminal activities occur using case studies and conduct exploration of why they may take place, with an open mind and without necessarily categorising the criminality within.

Firstly, I consider why this issue arose during the research so considerably and the way it presented itself to me. In addition to my own personal experience, sections of evidence came via social media platforms, particularly through groups on Facebook. Postings of abused hunting dogs appeared on an almost daily basis, creating public outcry and occasionally, a frenzied attack toward the unknown perpetrators of the abuse. For example, a dog (Fig. 25) was found in someone's garden and passed on to a rescuer, who posted the following on her Facebook page:

Urgent Appeal!!!

 &  both messaged me last night to alert me to this horrific case that was in someone's garden.

Lovely [REDACTED] immediate [sic] volunteered to go and find him & I went to meet her - Massive Thanks to [REDACTED].

I was so shocked and upset when I saw this poor poor boy. I've seen some horrific cases over the years but nothing as bad as this 😞 😞

This poor boy is so skinny that his bones have broken through the skin & are protruding so he's full of open wounds.

His temp was 35 so I spent hours trying to warm him up. He is severely dehydrated. I honestly didn't think he was going to make it through the night but by some miracle he has & I'm now at the vets running loads of tests and he's on a drip.

Really praying we can save this boy and doing everything we can (AS. Facebook post 19.04.19)



Figure 31. (Facebook post. AS. 19.04.19. Rescued Hunting Dog)

Some of the comments in response to this post are shown below:

OMG! Whoever has done this evil to him.....I pray for his strength to heal with the care & love given him now. ♡♡🙏🙏 (Facebook post SB. 20.04.19).

Are the owners going to get away with it like so many other abusers and killers of helpless animals? (Facebook post MD. 20.04.19).

He is a hunting dog, owned by a hunter who did not care. thank you A for helping him (Facebook post SP. 19.04.19).

That isn't a hunter.. That was vermin. We need to find him and imprison him for life (Facebook post SU. 19.04.19).

There is something very very wrong to have even 1 case of abuse like this. Anyone who was in the area and saw it happening needs hanging (Facebook post SU. 19.04.19).

I think its it's about time we bombarded the Cyprus Tourist Board with the horrific things that the subhuman people that live in that Country do to poor defenceless creatures. I cant speak for crying or anger. I will never go to Cyprus or Greece simply because of crimes like this (Facebook post JF. 19.04.19).

Dear god 😞 how long has that poor darling been without food and water to look like that? What sort of human could sit in their warm house with their dinner and let that happen to an animal in their own garden? Words fail me they really do (Facebook post TA. 19.04.19).

This example demonstrated a typical post and set of responses that I commonly saw on social media about hunting dogs found straying in Cyprus. The moral outrage it created (Yates et al., 2001), reflected a public that directed hatred to those they believed were responsible, in this case, hunters. It is similar to the moral panic described by Yates et al. (2001) who documented the social reaction to horse maiming incidents that occurred in the UK in the 1990s. The comments used in my example display the traits that Yates et al. discuss:

[s]ocial practices are identified as a social problem...emergence of a vanguard of moral entrepreneurs ... attributions of blameworthiness and victimhood ... a demand for the deployment of agents of social control to identify and apprehend appropriate offenders ...' (2001, p. 2).

Posts like this summon comments that assume a pathological character of the offender. In a case where hunting dogs were found dead and dismembered (CALF Facebook post 03.05.18), the public commented with assumptions such as this:

This is pure evil, the mindset of the person who has done this is a danger to the public a psychopath who could harm children next, the police shouldn't ignore this, it's beyond revolting, unbelievable (Facebook post CJ. 03.05.19).

As this example demonstrates, cases such as these invite views about the offender's identity, character, and even psychopathy by many not directly involved with the situation. The descriptive language used invokes fear, hatred and contempt. Labels such as 'evil', 'killers', 'vermin', and 'sub-humans' are used and it focuses on the assumed status of the dog as 'defenceless', 'poor' and so on. Observers of these events try to make sense of it by applying their awareness and hypotheses to make some kind of meaning and apply blame. I suspect this might help them process what can be painful images to view and which in turn, create an uncomfortable emotional affect. The dog shown above (Fig. 25) may have been neglected by a hunter, but he may also have become lost while out hunting and struggled to survive before being found. In his case, we may never know the truth behind his tragic condition.

A few years ago, I may have reacted similarly myself, feeling shocked and outraged that this could happen and believing what other commenters were saying. Yet now, I often mourn animals slaughtered for food or used in vivisection and wonder if the slaughterers or scientists would be described as 'sick', 'subhuman' 'vermin' by those who purchased meat or benefited from the research.

While considering this human response to such cases, I pondered not just the speciesist perspective of many who condemn hunters, save dogs, yet eat meat, but also the hypocrisy that lies in different breeds of species too.

5.2.1 Victimhood & Hypocrisy

I recall a summer when working at Cambridge University as a pathology assistant. The job was part-time, and I needed to supplement my work, so the

University offered me employment hand-rearing the foals of Welsh Mountain ponies at the experimental farm. I was twenty years old, in love with horses, and naïve. The thought of cuddling foals all day was thrilling, and I quickly threw myself into nurturing these babies who had been taken from their mothers before having their first feed or standing up. It was my job to care for them, bottle feed them, and provide them with some company while there. They quickly got to know me and would nicker excitedly when they saw me, trotting on the spot, and swishing their short tails in anticipation of food. The foals were part of a research project into equine herpes virus and were not allowed to ingest colostrum from their own mothers. The research was driven by a need to develop a vaccine to protect horses, particularly expensive Thoroughbred horses in the financially driven racing industry (Borchers & Slater, 1993). Little did I know that in a few weeks, they would be killed in the post-mortem room where I worked my other job and samples of their body tissues would be taken for analysis. When I was told this, I was heartbroken. I pleaded to save them all, and when that failed, I begged for one palomino colt who I was very attached to, to be spared but to no avail. I experienced first-hand the brutality of vivisection, and I was told that their deaths were for the 'greater good' of the species; the researcher's work was deemed extremely important. He was not considered a 'sick', 'evil' person but a saviour of horses.

At that time, the university also kept greyhounds that lived their lives in kennels and were brought out in rotation to act as blood donors for other dogs being treated in the hospital. Nobody questioned this practice. It was considered a blessing for them that they had been saved as ex-racing dogs and spared the usual alternative of euthanasia. Again, they were there for the greater good of their species. This was reminiscent of Peter Singer's (1973) expanded utilitarian

view in his book *Animal Liberation* based on the much-used quote by Bentham (1838): 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the foundation of morals and legislation for the greater number' (Mills, 2007, p. 107).

These examples demonstrate how victimhood is ascribed to a non-human animal in the context of the human's relationship with it. Flynn and Hall make the point that:

Like criminology itself, victimology has been almost exclusively anthropocentric in its outlook and indeed even more recent discussions of environmental victims – prompted by the development of green criminology – have failed to consider in any depth the victimisation of nonhuman animals (2017, p. 299).

Rob White (2018) asks why some non-human animals are favoured by human communities while some are not valued at all, saying that animals are categorised based on how they are utilised by humans. Protection and rights of these non-human animals depend very much on their species and circumstances (White, 2018).

I expect the moral outcry towards the hunting dog shown (Fig. 25) was due to the commentators relating him to their companion dogs rather than a more general view about all exploited non-human animals. Cases such as these exemplify how 'the relationships between human and animals is revealed through authoritative utterances about offenders and victims' (Yates et al., 2001, p. 19), through social media by those who feel they have a stake in the well-being of these dogs. Yet, so many other harms are caused in so many different ways to non-human animals (for instance, farming, breeding, hunting, sports and entertainment), but

they are justified as a necessity or acceptable from an anthropocentric position (Flynn & Hall, 2017, p. 301; White, 2018, p. 246).

5.3 Victimology

I see hunting dogs as the captives of the humans who own them. They are usually kept in caged environments which can directly impact their physical, emotional, and psychological well-being, as discussed in chapter seven. When cases of abuse or cruelty are identified, the dogs are not described as victims in a criminal context but referred to in the legal status as property. Non-human animals cannot be classed as victims of crime, neither can they be classed as offenders (Flynn & Hall, 2017, p. 300), yet despite this, crimes do exist where dogs are direct targets. For example, in the United Kingdom, it is illegal to dock dog's tails or crop their ears (Animal Welfare Act 2006, 2006) or to have sexual intercourse with an animal (Sexual Offences Act 2003, 2003). The dogs themselves can also be accused of 'offences' such as being a 'dangerous dog', according to his or her breed type, which could result in the death of the dog (DEFRA, 2009; Flynn & Hall, 2017, p. 300).

Beirne suggests that: 'As property (as objects of human ownership), animals have entered criminology when they are stolen, poached, damaged, held as ransom, rustled or otherwise misappropriated' (1995, p. 16) which raises the question, who is the victim?

A victim is a complex, social construct further complicated by the fact non-human animals who have suffered a crime against them, will not necessarily be defined as victims (Dignan, 2004; Quinney, 1972; White, 2018; Winter, 2002). They are perceived to lack the agency to present themselves as such (Fitzgerald, 2010, p.

135). As per my example, the dog 'victim' was given attributions of being 'poor', 'helpless', and 'defenceless'. Within victimology, non-human animals are conceptualised as being amongst the most vulnerable of victims (Fitzgerald, 2010, p. 136). Amy Fitzgerald points out that 'Due to their status as property, animals, in general, are at perennial risk of being victimised at the hands of people' (2010, p. 136). However, during this research, and as shown in my example, the assumed owners of the hunting dog were made victims of abuse too. This also extends to the community of hunters who were regularly abused on social networking sites and accused of being entirely responsible for cases of abused and neglected hunting dogs. Yet, instances of cruelty and abuse occur across the whole world where humans and non-human animals interact (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019; Maciel & Bock, 2013; Peters, 2016; Sykes, 2019). Unfortunately, cases such as the one that follows simply validated the accusations.

5.3.1 Who are the Real Victims?

In October 2017 some tourists were walking in the countryside near the village of Koilli, Paphos district. They happened across two cages that contained dogs in sick and emaciated conditions, alongside the decomposing bodies of several dogs lying on the floor amongst them. The dogs had rotten raw food, stagnant black water, and the floors of the cages were covered in faeces and urine (CALF Facebook post 25.10.17). Word got back to the Cyprus Animal Liberation Front, who asked for activists to liberate the dogs before they posted details of the case and the location publicly on Facebook. One lady, SB. did go, but the events that took place were a 'catalogue of disaster' (SB. 10.06.19). After many months I finally managed to track down SB. who had left the island and was living in

Germany. We talked about the incident and what happened over the phone (SB. personal communication 10.06.19):

I remember seeing a post by CALF asking for liberators to go to the dogs, and I felt this kind of panic knowing the dogs were in this situation. I waited an hour or so, and nobody had come forward to volunteer, so I messaged them privately. They messaged me back telling me the location, which was not too far away; well, it was a forty-minute drive. I was volunteering for AE. at the time at her shelter the Freedom Dog Sanctuary, which has since been shut down as she was euthanising animals unnecessarily and spending the charity funds. Did you know that? Anyway, I asked A if I could take the dogs there if I managed to get them and she said yes. I borrowed a bolt cutter from her and drove to the place.

The dogs were in two locations; cage one had two English Pointer puppies and an adult dog, with the remains of another adult dog in the same cage. The puppies were very scared and cowered away from me, tails between their legs, but the adult dog was super friendly and desperate for attention, she was jumping up and licking me, whining with excitement, tail wagging away. I put the three dogs in my car and drove to the second cage. There was a man nearby the second cage, and I asked him if he was the owner; he said he wasn't. I asked if he knew who the owner was, but he said no. I told him the dogs were sick and would die and that I was going to take them. He became agitated and uncomfortable, saying that I shouldn't as the owner was his neighbour, so I asked him where the owner lived, but he said he didn't know! I called him out on the fact he just said they were

neighbours, but still, he wouldn't tell me! So, I just opened the cage and grabbed as many as I could.

Three dogs ran away, so I left food for them and thought that they stood a better chance free than in that cage. The man tried to stop me driving off, but I told him I would bring them back once a vet had seen them, but I had no intention of actually doing that.

SB. was muttering and trying to remember as much detail as she could for me. She seemed to become apologetic for liberating these dogs and explained that she had never done anything like this before. She reiterated that she was only doing it in the dog's interests and knew that something had to be done, otherwise, she said, they would die. It was like she feared I might judge her or disapprove of her actions. I explained that I understood why she did it and that it was more important for me to tell the dog's stories than make moral judgements about activists, at which she sighed, sounded more relaxed, and carried on:

I took the dogs straight to a vet and then on to the shelter to drop them off before going home. It all seemed straightforward, almost unreal but later that evening, I had a call from a CALF rep' to say the police were after me, that someone had given them my car registration number. They eventually tracked me down via the military as I am a military police officer. They asked me to go for an interview, and I knew that if I refused, they would arrest me and I didn't want that, so I went with my boss as I had heard Cypriot police were very corrupt.

They interviewed me for two hours without letting me have any legal representation, so knowing the law because of my job, I refused and said I wouldn't say anything without my legal representative there. They tried to intimidate me, shouting and slamming their fists on the table and eventually they gave me a number for a lawyer of their choice! I refused and insisted on my own. When my legal rep turned up, they said I couldn't have a private consultation, so again, I told them of my rights.

Later the inspector said that they had no intention of arresting me but that I had made things difficult for them! I said that I had gone there intending to feed the dogs, but that when I arrived, they needed veterinary treatment, so I took them to a vet. I explained that I had tried to trace the owner but couldn't. One police officer said that they were making an example of me, so other 'English' didn't do the same thing.

The police took me back to the 'scene of the crime' where I saw that the cages had been filled with new dogs, despite the remains of the dead dogs still being there. The police were not interested in this, and they just left everything as it was, they didn't care.

SB. explained that the liberated dogs remained at the shelter, and the case was made public with donations subsequently pouring in. AE. claimed that the dogs were receiving medication for both Ehrlichiosis and Leishmaniasis, diseases spread by parasites and common in hunting dogs who are kept outside. Ehrlichiosis can be treated with specific antibiotics, but unfortunately, Leishmania is incurable but manageable in most cases, and many dogs go on to live full and normal lives.

None of the rescued hunting dogs were microchipped as legally required for identification purposes, yet despite this, the owner was seemingly escaping any form of prosecution. SB. told me that he would go to the shelter demanding his dogs back and the police were called on these occasions. The police eventually persuaded him to leave the dogs there until they had recovered. At the same time, AE. was being separately investigated for mismanagement of funds and was becoming more and more challenging to deal with. When SB. asked how the two dogs that had Leishmania were responding to treatment, she said they weren't and that she was planning to kill them as a result:

I asked her to reconsider. I said I'd pay for their treatment myself and find alternative accommodation for them, but she refused, so I smuggled them out one night before they could be killed, took them to the vet who said that they had not received any treatment. AE. was furious that I had done this behind her back and had exposed her [lack of care]. She was just using them to make money! I had taken them somewhere where I thought they would be cared for, [the sanctuary] but she [AE.] was almost as bad as the hunter.

It turned out that the hunter's brother was a Sergeant in the local police, so of course, nothing happened to him. AE. handed the dogs back to the hunter, saying publicly that the police had told her to, but they hadn't, I think she did it to spite me. There was such a backlash on Facebook that eventually, the hunter was arrested for animal cruelty, but I heard he was never charged. My bosses told me that I should leave Cyprus for my safety in case of reprisals, so when the opportunity for transfer came up, I took it. I don't know what happened to the dogs. I guess they are probably dead.

SB. seemed circumspect when she described how the situation had ended, and I felt an overwhelming sense of disappointment on her behalf. She had tried to help these canine victims, only to be turned into one herself, and ultimately there was no protection or care offered to the dogs by any of those who were supposed to do so. SB. became a social outcast in the same way that the dogs were. She gained a label as a criminal and she was held captive for over four hours. Her freedom and rights were initially denied and she was told by the police that they were making an example of her to deter other 'English' from doing the same thing. The safe place she thought would care for the dogs became another form of exploitation. Her expectation of police corruption appeared to be warranted, and the fear of reprisal was severe enough to make her leave the country.

This transference of abjection from the dogs to this woman places her in a shared, objectified taxonomy. Both were victims of male oppression, intimidation, and definition. She was judged by her race and gender and made 'dog-like' by her moral actions. It is reminiscent of the stigma attached to women who have a passion for animals but who become disgraced by false labels such as 'hoarder', associated with queerness, or as having a 'weird' connection with dogs. It 'can bring a certain kind of perversity to the spheres of heteronormativity and normality' (Bowen, 2018, p. 220). Humans failed the dogs in this situation at every corner. However, SB.'s efforts acted as a distraction or smokescreen from the dog's pain and suffering. Her arrest, her labels, and her struggles to save the dogs detracted from the dog's voices. Her voice was heard on social media, the local press (Andreou, 2017a), and in the large network of dog rescuers, but the dogs silently bore the brunt of the abuse throughout. The dogs became a commodity to be used in arguments about law, blame, and rescue work. Despite

the victimisation and suffering in this context and the duality of their narratives, it was still the human that was more privileged in the end. Bowen suggests insightfully that 'in a world where such exquisite encounters are swallowed by the machinations of human power and violence, perhaps the best way forward is to become more like dogs' (2018, p. 231).

Another case was reported in the Cyprus Mail in 2017 (Andreou, 2017b). Twelve hunting dogs were living in a cage located on a plot of land in Zakaki, Limassol district. A fire was set outside the cage deliberately, killing nine of the dogs. A neighbour noticed the fire at 6 AM on a Saturday morning and rushed to try and open the cage, whereby three dogs managed to escape, but for the others it was too late. The fire service was called to put out the fire. Two brothers owned the dogs, and it was said anecdotally that the dogs disturbed locals with their barking. An Animal Party spokesperson said: 'we fear that it was the noise the animals were probably making that led some to resolve the issue in this revolting, criminal and barbarous way' (Andreou, 2017b). They went on to claim:

These so-called co-citizens of ours whoever they are, who caused a horrible death to innocent animals that did nothing wrong, cannot be characterised anything less than barbarians, uncivilised, and ruthless murderers and it is as such the government ought to treat them when and if they are caught (Andreou, 2017b).

Nobody was charged with this act of cruelty. It has since been described as arson rather than animal cruelty. The law was used concerning the damage of property belonging to the owner of the dogs. He was suffering the loss of valuable property, and the offence was categorised as arson, in the same way as if the perpetrators had set fire to the victim's car. Legal consideration did not take into account the suffering and cruelty experienced by the dogs or acknowledge who

the real victims were. This was also the case of the rival hunters who poisoned the dogs in Pegeia, Paphos (Brown, 2018). The victim was the owner of the hunting dogs who had lost valuable assets, rather than the dogs who had suffered and died.

The inconsistencies between what humans say about animals and how they are treated in reality are related to the status of animals as property. Hunting dogs have no more status or value than their owners deem to give them. Despite knowledge of sentience, the law still prescribes to the argument that animals are owned in the same way as inanimate objects or moveable property. Despite moral reasoning, human interest will always take precedence. Francione argues that:

Because animals are property, we treat every issue concerning their use or treatment as though it presented a genuine conflict of interests, and invariably we choose the human interest over the animal interest even when animal suffering can be justified only by human convenience, amusement, or pleasure (2004, p. 43).

5.4 The Perpetrators

Definitions of animal cruelty in this chapter are limited to both direct and unintentional acts of abuse, acts committed by individuals or small groups, rather than socially acceptable forms of violence, such as hunting or slaughtering animals legally (Arluke & Luke, 1997).

The dictionary definition of cruelty according to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary is: 'the quality or state of being cruel; a cruel action; inhumane treatment.' (Merriam-Webster. com, 2019). The dictionary also provides a legal definition:

'an intentional or criminally negligent act that causes pain and suffering: 'mistreatment or neglect that causes pain and suffering' (Merriam-Webster. com, 2019).

Abuse is given similar descriptions. However, it also includes an emotional aspect which, in the dictionary, is only applied to human context:

to put to a use other than the one intended; bad or unfair use, improper or excessive use ... to inflict physical or emotional mistreatment or injury on purpose or through negligence or neglect and often on a regular basis ... to attack harshly with words (Merriam-Webster. com, 2019).

Neglect is defined as: 'to give little attention or respect to ... to leave undone or unattended to especially through carelessness' (Merriam-Webster. com, 2019).

Ascione provides us with a succinct definition: 'cruelty to animals is defined as socially unacceptable behaviour that intentionally causes unnecessary pain, suffering or distress to and or death of an animal' (1993, p. 228). It seems from these definitions that the understanding and application of these terms is varied.

Abuse seems to be the word that encompasses cruelty and neglect while also considering the emotional impact, and as such I have used that term as it is the most appropriate for the context. The perpetrators who abuse hunting dogs come in several guises, which will now be explored.

5.4.1 Hunters = Abusers?

Straus proposed the notion that legal violence, such as hunting, could lead to criminal violence, suggesting that children who had witnessed violence or been physically punished may be more predisposed to criminal violence in adulthood (Straus, 1991; Straus & Donnelly, 1993). Flynn (1999) identified a link between

males that were smacked as children by their fathers as being more likely to commit animal cruelty. He claims that the experience of killing animals in hunting practices 'could lead some individuals to approve of, and use, violence in culturally illegitimate ways' (Flynn, 2002, p. 138). However, a specific link between hunting and violence is difficult to evidence, but Ascione (1993) does suggest that committing animal abuse in childhood may interfere with empathic development.

Flynn's (2002) work with college students in America draws some interesting results. He tried to discover whether those who had hunted in childhood were more likely to commit acts of violence against both humans and animals and whether those who have hunted had lower levels of empathy than non-hunters. His results indicate a link between hunting and illegal aggression or violence towards stray animals, wildlife, and property but not between hunting and interpersonal violence. He proposes that 'killing animals for sport may make it easier to inflict damage to socially distant victims ... animals that are not valued as companion animals' (Flynn, 2002, p. 152). Flynn makes an interesting point here because as already identified, hunting dogs are not generally considered companions, but instead as tools for hunting practices.

Other research suggests a different view. Oleson and Henry (2015) argue that animal cruelty is linked to the male need for power, dominance, and a lower capacity for empathy. Their results 'showed that among men, a high level of power motivation is associated with a relatively callous view toward the maltreatment of animals' (Oleson & Henry, 2015, p. 262). This view is corroborated by Henry and Sanders (2007), who explore the link between bullying behaviour and animal cruelty. They concluded that there was a link

between victimising people and animal cruelty that was indicative of disturbed social relationships in addition to power needs (Henry & Sanders, 2007, p. 125). The research to date appears to focus on two approaches. Firstly, it focuses on how animal abusers account for their behaviour, whereby they are allowed to justify or normalise it somehow (tradition, culture), and secondly, how they perceive their actions. In the case of the hunters I have spoken with, the answer would often come back 'because that's just how it is, how it's always been done' (ES. 2019). But what was clear was that the perception of personhood in dogs was lacking. These dogs had individual characteristics, personalities, strengths and weakness, which were as Flynn (2012, p. 81) says, '... reciprocal and intentional'. Yet this is dismissed. Instead, the dogs are considered as tools or commodities. An example of this is demonstrated by when I was working with a hunter and his dog who was 'gun shy' (see p.124). We chatted generally about hunting dogs, but in particular about his relationship with his dog. We were trying to decide what her favourite thing would be to use as a positive reinforcer for training purposes. For most dogs this is food, but his dog was not interested in food. However, she did get excited about the scent of prey. My suggestion was to rub a ball onto the coat of a dead hare and use it as a reward to reinforce wanted behaviours. He laughed and looked at me, incredulously. I asked him why he laughed, and he replied: 'throw a ball for my dog? She's a hunting dog, not a pet! She lives in a cage all day. I'd get laughed out of the country if any of my hunting friends saw me playing ball with her!' (TC. 12.05.19). I also suggested that to reduce her anxiety in the cage, he could provide her with toys and other enrichment items that would help relieve stress and occupy her. Again, he dismissed this saying he would lose face 'if she had toys like a baby' (TC. 12.05.19). Despite him caring enough to bring her to me for behavioural work, he

intended to improve her ability to be used, rather than address her psychological state.

5.5 Illegal Activities

The illegal activities I have encountered throughout the research can be divided into several categories including poaching, the unlawful keeping of dogs, and animal abuse. Poaching has already been discussed in chapter three, but the focus here is on criminal intent. I highlight the legal/illegal aspects rather than the differences between poaching and hunting.

To hunt legally in Cyprus, you must have both a gun license and a hunting license. To obtain a gun license, you have to complete an application form and present it at a police station. There you will be asked about any criminal background, physical health issues, or mental health issues that might affect your ability to use a firearm safely. Once the police are satisfied, you are issued with a license. You can then present the license at the gun shop as a prerequisite to purchasing your gun. Once you have purchased your gun, you have to register it with the central police station in your area. This process is an annual requirement.

Once you are a legal owner of the gun, you can obtain a hunting license, which requires attendance at a three-day course, where the rules of hunting safely are explained. A test has to be completed successfully before being granted a hunting license. There is also a fee for a hunting license, which varies according to when you wish to hunt, what species you want to kill, and whether or not dogs will accompany you.

There had been a few winter nights when I wandered outside with the dogs, usually for their routine last opportunity to toilet, sniff, and stretch their legs before we head for bed, when they have alerted me to the presence of people in the valley below. I could see a large, single beam of light scanning an area and heard the diesel engine sound synonymous with a pick-up truck. They were too far away to see what the light might be illuminating in its fierce beam, but I assumed they were 'lamping' for Red Foxes (*Vulpes vulpes*). I heard foxes fairly regularly, calling and barking to any potential others in the vicinity. Their distinctive screaming cries and yipping barks sounded slightly unnerving to the uninitiated, but it pleased me to think that some wildlife existed out there in the sparsely populated countryside. The Cyprus Hunting Federation had been complaining about the proliferation of foxes on social media, claiming that they were decimating bird and turtle populations and becoming a pest:

According to official investigations, the uncontrolled increase in populations due to the lengthy ban on population control effects and by 85% the nests of the sea turtle *Caretta caretta* in the sea area of Akrotiri threatening the existence and breeding of them. We were talking about it when the fanatics who sit behind a keyboard without knowledge are cursed in our social media posts. Like everything in this poor place, we will be running in hindsight to catch the disaster (Facebook post, 08.05.19).

The Game and Fauna Service were issuing licences to shoot foxes, but illegal trapping and shooting went on as I witnessed. The environmental impact of killing foxes was unknown. TC. told me that he hated foxes and would shoot one if he saw one regardless. I asked him why and he said because they eat hares and young birds (TC., 12.05.19). The hares and young birds he described are his prey for the hunting season, not food for foxes. There was little thought to how foxes were encouraged by the prey species bred and released for hunting.

A more common form of poaching occurred on most hunting days when people chose to hunt without gaining a licence. From my observations, poachers tended not to conform to regulations. They did not wear the correct safety gear, hunted in conservation areas, and disappeared very quickly when they heard that the Game Police were in the area. With an increase in licence fees in September 2018 making hunting an expensive activity, those who felt it was their right to hunt in the same way as their father and grandfather did, ignored the law and continued to hunt illegally. Coffee shop conversations about licence fees were commonplace, and there appeared to be a growing group of poachers who gained sympathy from those who agreed that traditional practices were being impacted negatively by regulation and legislation: '70% of hunters do not pay the licence fees, especially the new ones needed to take dogs; nobody cares anyway' (ES., 2019).

While working with TC.'s dog, I asked him if he could get hold of some prey bird feathers with which to make a toy. He explained that he does not hunt birds, just hares, and then proceeded to show me a video on his phone of his dog catching and killing a hare before retrieving it. I pretended to be suitably impressed and asked when the video was taken, to which he replied yesterday (TC. 12.05.19). Using a dog to kill prey was strictly prohibited, as was hunting outside of season. He had contravened this and was unafraid to tell me about it, which would suggest that others might act similarly.

Poaching was not confined to hunting prey out of season. The Cyprus Mouflon (*Ovis Orientalis ophion*) is an endemic, protected subspecies in Cyprus. The population of approximately three thousand are classified as 'feral' animals despite originally being a domesticated food species that were initially introduced

to the island during the Neolithic period (Sparrow & John, 2016). During the Middle Ages aristocracy hunted Mouflon with dogs and leopards (Sparrow & John, 2016, p. 830) and when the island came under British administration in 1878, Mouflon numbers were still reasonable. However, by 1938, due to hunting with firearms, the numbers were decimated, and the laws were revised, giving them protection. In 1978 the Mouflon were placed on the list of endangered species of the International Union of Conservation and Nature (Goodwin & Holloway, 1978). At the time of writing the population was considered satisfactory and was regarded as an excellent example of a species being brought back from the brink of extinction. Yet, poaching was listed as one of the major threats to this protected species (Hadjisterkotis, 2000). In 2016 the Cyprus Mail reported that a skinned Mouflon had been found in a house in Kannaviou by officers of the Game and Fauna Service, who believed that they had uncovered a mouflon meat trading ring. Anecdotally it was said that mouflon meat sold for €70/kg or €5000 per carcass, so the financial rewards were tempting for poachers. The awareness-raising that this case created also highlighted new opinions about the mouflon. Local farmers claimed that the numbers had increased to a point where the local forest was no longer able to sustain them and that they were beginning to venture out on to farmland, destroying crops in the process. Farmers were demanding that numbers be contained. According to the Cyprus Farmers Association (EKA), members claimed that they had witnessed 'once more the greatest destruction of agricultural production by mouflons' (Andreou, 2016a). At the beginning of that year's hunting season, police announced a crackdown on poaching, and they reported that so far that year there had been sixty-three poaching incidents where hares, mouflon, wild bird traps, and weapons had been confiscated (Andreou, 2016b).

This illegal killing of wildlife violates laws and regulations and can result in negative consequences for populations, particularly those whose numbers are already threatened. The impact of poaching on the natural function of ecosystems in Cyprus is unknown and an area that requires further research. What is known is that poaching can result in 'population suppression, range collapse and extinction of wildlife species' (Kahler & Gore, 2012, p. 103). Cyprus is a small island and Game Wardens will be known in their local communities, where they may be ostracised by hunters (Vaughan & Long, 2007) and potentially have to arrest friends or those known to them. The need to tackle wildlife crimes or green harms such as I have described, should be a priority of conservation practitioners, law enforcers, and other stakeholders such as tourist industry organisations (Knapp et al., 2010; White, 2013).

Literature about poaching motivations and non-compliance is scarce, probably because most available literature is somewhat speculative and fails to evaluate the effectiveness of incentives (Leader-Williams & Milner-Gulland, 1993; Muth & Bowe, 1998; Stern, 2008). The opinions of most seem to suggest that motivations to poach are complicated due to the 'diverse, economic, geographical, social and psychological contexts within which poaching occurs' (Kahler & Gore, 2012, p. 105). They are beyond the scope of this research. However, I did recognise economic motivations for some of the poaching activities in Cyprus, which was a typical incentive, alongside peer influence and perceived legitimacy of law. These incentives were similar to some of the animal abuse issues which now follow.

I believe that the law does not necessarily help protect dogs from the outset. As previously mentioned, the law divides the world into two categories, 'persons' and 'property' (Francione, 2004), with non-human animals falling into the latter.

Humans are afforded rights, but their property is not. Dogs are afforded some protections but not rights, and it seems that the level of protection offered to dogs is very much dependent on where they live and what purpose they have. Dogs that are considered family members appear to be offered more protection from harm than say greyhounds in the racing industry or hunting dogs whiling away their days in a small cage in the middle of nowhere. The word property objectifies a sentient being, and in doing so offers a bias of indifference towards him or her. Francione describes this juxtaposition of legal obligations and moral awareness as a 'moral schizophrenia' (2004, p. 1). He describes this as 'a profound disparity between what we say we believe about animals, and how we actually treat them' (Francione, 2004, p. 1).

Andrew Ireland Moore states that abused 'animals should be afforded protections similar to those granted to other crime victims' (2005, p. 91). He argues that if organisations, partnerships, business, and government entities can be afforded rights, then so should non-human animal victims. He raises the point that if entities other than humans can be considered victims of crime, then animals being offered the same protection is undoubtedly a natural progression of criminal law (Ireland Moore, 2005, p. 108). An example that comes to mind was the case of the hunting dogs that were burned alive in their cages.

5.6 The Law Enforcers

As part of this research, I had envisaged being able to accompany the inspectors from the government department, Veterinary Services, to investigate complaints of abuse, especially those that involved hunting dogs. This would have provided me with a more accurate indicator of how many charges against hunters were reported and the outcomes for the dogs. For some unknown reason, my requests

were initially granted but then not implemented and future correspondence, both from myself and the University, was ignored. Without this data, it was hard to provide valid evidence for or against the argument that hunting dogs experience higher rates of abuse, and I am reliant mostly on anecdotal data.

Discovering who the enforcers were of animal welfare legislation, or more accurately dog law in Cyprus, was confusing. There were no particular government departments or non-governmental organisations dedicated to animal law enforcement. There were avenues down which members of the public could make a complaint, but even those appeared to vary according to who you spoke with. I decided to experience this and 'test' the process by creating a complaint myself.

As part of my fieldwork, I travelled around the countryside to find caged hunting dogs and observed their conditions and behaviour. During one of these expeditions, I came across some cages which did not contain dogs but some adolescent pigs (Figs. 26-27). They were knee-deep in their faeces and urine, had no food, and no water. The cage was teeming with flies, and the smell was overpowering. The pigs were terrified of me and panicked, slamming themselves into the rear wall of the enclosure. I quickly took photographs before leaving as I did not want to frighten them further.



Figure 32. Pigs in shed Episkopi



Figure 33. A closer look

Once home, I emailed the Veterinary Services via the enquiry form on their website. They were the government department who were meant to be responsible for ensuring compliance with good welfare conditions for pet and farm animals, which included husbandry, transport, and slaughter. I included photographs and a google map pinned with the exact location of the cage, along

with written descriptions of the conditions and the legislation and guidelines that were being breached. After one week, I had received no reply or acknowledgement of my email, so I telephoned them, asking them if they had received my complaint. They confirmed they had and that an investigator was visiting the site that day. I requested they call me back and let me know the outcome following their visit, leaving my phone number. After four days my call had not been responded to, and I did not receive a follow-up call, so I called again and was told I would have to speak to the inspector dealing with the case who was currently unavailable. I asked when he might be free and was told they did not know but they would ask him to call me back. Again, there was no returned call. A pattern of poor communication had developed as once more nobody called me back, so I called asking to speak to the inspector. He did eventually talk to me and said that the investigation was completed. I enquired what he had found and what he had done, but he refused to discuss it, becoming defensive and angry. Eventually, he hung up, and I was left feeling frustrated and annoyed. I revisited the cage, but the pigs had gone, presumably slaughtered. I wondered then if my well-intended actions had caused their untimely deaths. All in all, it was a stressful experience, with no positive outcome.

I spoke to others who had also made complaints about dogs. They described similar experiences, where nobody contacted them to update them, where dogs remained in unacceptable circumstances despite the complaints and the general feeling was that there was little point in reporting cases. This attitude existed because making complaints could cause reprisals and nothing seemed to happen anyway making the risk of reprisal not worth it. Animal welfare charity Active8 is a UK based charity that tries to make an impact on animal welfare issues in Cyprus. They ran an online survey (Demetriou, 2019) where some of the

questions asked about the user's experience of reporting animal abuses. Over 75% of the 244 respondents said that they did not receive an update to their complaint. Over 82% said that they were unhappy with the outcome and almost 90% said they did not trust the competent authorities in animal welfare. These statistics, although just a snapshot of public opinion, make for damning reading where the authorities are concerned. Sadly, they also reflected my own experience. The photographs and video below (Figs. 28-33) show some of the hunting type dogs that were brought into the veterinary clinic either by their owners or by those who had rescued them.



Figure 34. Underweight breeding bitch



Figure 35. Hunter pup with Parvovirus – he died the day after this photograph was taken



Figure 36. A hunter pup with Parvovirus



Figure 37. Emaciated Pointer – note the long nails from living in a caged environment

[Hunting Dog video](#)

Figure 38. Video of emaciated hunting dog. Double-click to play



Figure 39. Emaciated English Pointer

The public perception based on the opinions of those I have spoken with, read, or seen on the survey results, suggested that respondents attached a low status to the welfare officers. Public misunderstanding of their roles and day-to-day activities may impact the workers negatively. Arluke suggests that:

They may start to wonder whether their work matters and to question their self-worth. As workers deduce their identity from the behaviour of others toward them, they often try to surmount the tarnished image that goes along with low-status or dirty work (2006, eBook loc 302).

Perhaps this accounted for the attitude of the staff I met, who appeared to want to be anywhere else but in that office with me. The animal welfare officers were not veterinary surgeons, only one or two supervisors were actually qualified, and they rarely left the office, delegating to the welfare officers. Welfare officers did not have the power of the police and said they could only advise owners of non-human animals against whom complaints had been levied. However, this varied according to who you speak to, as some dogs had been seized and handed to local shelters fairly regularly. The department's status was similar to an occasional dogcatcher and not as people who concerned themselves with the victims of abuse or neglect. This lack of social standing is mentioned by Palmer who writes: 'the dog catchers were found to be aware that their occupation does not enjoy the highest of statuses in the community and was found to be continually confronted with reactions less than supportive of their occupational chores' (Palmer, 1978, p. 98).

5.6.1 Social Justice

Kendra Coulter says that 'Care is integral to social justice' (2016, p. 199). I believe that my observations here indicated that interspecies social injustice occurred for hunting dogs when compared to the care provided to companion dogs. This was apparent in the treatment they received from the veterinary profession, the hunters, and the government department who were at some level providing a service that was supposed to ensure that the quality of their lives is good enough and prevent suffering. They had morphed from individuals into commodified, homogenised, disposable beings as a result of the work role that humans had given them. Set apart by a 'class system' where the level of care and protection varied accordingly. For many of these dogs, their containment in cages rendered

them unable to even care for each other. Their plights were denied by their owners and the authorities as demonstrated in the Koilli dog example. The reward they received for their 'work' as prey trackers and breeding machines, was variable. For some, it was food, affection, and proper care, but for others, it was the freedom of the hunt and a varying degree of care ranging from food, water, and shelter, to nothing. This was reminiscent of Coulter's proposed 'continuum of suffering and enjoyment as a concept and framework for seeking to understand animals' work from their perspectives ...' (2016, p. 205).

I felt frustrated that my investigation stopped here. I had wanted to engage with inspectors and be a part of their 'system', at least for a few weeks, to understand what happens and why the public's experiences are so lacking. Unfortunately, within the timescale of this project, I was unable to find answers that I wanted and had to base the conclusions on my own and others' experiences. Active8 stated that:

we are not surprised by the outcome [of the online survey], and it has confirmed that even people not in animal rescue, have no faith or belief in the competent authorities or the Police, and the fact that almost 90% do not trust them, clearly demonstrates the huge obstacles and amount of work the Government has ahead of them. It is also about giving the competent authorities the tools and training to tackle animal abuse in the manner the civilians want them to (Demetriou, 2019).

Active8 asked Veterinary Services to provide them with a report outlining the number of complaints they had received, the outcomes, and the number of prosecutions. The response they received was:

Regarding the questions, you have asked us and the information you request, you are aware that within the framework of the European and National Veterinary Legislation and our scope of competencies, the

requested information is not kept by our Service and therefore we can unfortunately not assist you, in any way (Demetriou, 2019).

The Veterinary Services website displays a mission statement which states:

The mission of Veterinary Services is to protect the public health from the stable to the table through eradication and control of several contagious diseases of animals, minimise the risk of entrance in the country of other diseases and the controls of all food from animal origin (Veterinary Services, 2006).

This statement seems to align with the European Commission's guidelines on Animal Welfare Officers, whose role is solely related to the welfare of animals undergoing stunning and slaughter procedures in abattoirs (Directorate General for Health and Consumers, 2012). Therefore, I could only assume that the department's priority was animals intended for public consumption and that hunting dogs or other non-consumptive species were not so important.

The data obtained through my personal experiences, via the survey conducted by Active8, and anecdotal opinions expressed on social media, would suggest that Veterinary Services were a department that was misunderstood, as their primary role was monitoring food safety and the importation and exportation of animals. There was no specialist government body who enforced animal welfare legislation and guidelines outside of the food industry.

Justin Marceau claims that the animal protection movement suggests a highly criminalised approach to animal law is the most effective way to successfully tackle animal abuse and elicit societal change (2019, p. 22). However, he states that 'the notion that punishing animal abuse with aggressive prison sentences will produce spill over victories for the animal protection movement is unsupported conjecture' (Marceau, 2019, p. 22). Yet, I saw many comments, such as the

following one, referring to the latest abuse case posted by a rescue: 'How can this small island ever improve animal welfare when the majority of dog owners leave dogs in this state? This poor dog has suffered for months, and the question is why?' (JK. Facebook 15.06.19, 10.58). This question, 'why', was asked again and calls for the perpetrator to be punished follow closely behind. Despite public pressure for punitive measures, the tendency according to Gupta et al. is: 'for animal abuse cases to receive "a slap on the wrist" sentences or at best lesser jail time than those sentenced for other violent crimes, incarceration may not be the complete solution for protecting animals from future harm'. (2017, p. 497). They critique the existing alternatives which focus on the assessment of individuals and appropriate interventions that clarify values and attitudes towards non-human animals and the development of empathy and interpersonal skills (Gupta et al., 2017, p. 500) and suggest that more attention should be paid to prevention in addition to intervention. They do add that these animal-assisted intervention sessions must be well structured, supervised, and they need to consider the safety and well-being of the non-human animal involved. The arguments against no contact orders are that they are difficult to enforce due to lack of resources and ease of access to non-human animals. In contrast, animal assisted interventions allow perpetrators to develop more positive relationships with animals in a supervised way.

These types of interventions are progressive and proving popular in the United States but what is of particular interest is the promotion of prevention. I believe that if education begins early enough, empathy and positive relationships with non-human animals can help develop a society that encourages a more compassionate and thoughtful view of non-human animals that would ultimately benefit both. The impact of witnessing harms elicited by humans, on both human

and non-human animals, can only have a detrimental effect on society at large. What follows in the next chapter are the stories of some of the dogs I worked and lived with that were examples how Cypriot hunting society seemingly did not value dogs used for hunting.

Chapter Six – Dogs' Tales

But give this a thought. What if the creation story in Genesis had featured a flawed deity who was understanding and sympathetic rather than autocratic and rigid? Someone who, in the process of creation, found herself lost from time to time and in need of advice ... What if the animals had decided on their own names? What kind of world might we have created with that kind of story?

(King, 2003, pp. 27–28)

My connection with dogs reflects my values, beliefs, identity, and my understanding of my commitments to others. Who I am in a relationship with dogs is informed by meanings I have made and by the influencing narratives that shape the possibilities and parameters of our relationships with non-human others. In this chapter, I outline the theoretical approach that informs my understanding of the connection between myself and dogs. I identify some of the critical narratives that have influenced my changing relationships with dogs and reflect on a few of them that have been important characters in my hunting dog story, which includes their own stories.

6.1 My Dogs and I

According to narrative psychology, identity is constructed through interactive processes of making meaning of our experiences. We then construct life story narratives, complete with characters, plots, and settings (McAdams, 1993). Identity stories are influenced by master narratives — these are dominant cultural

stories that inform our values and expectations, provide a structure for the development of identities, and inform our relationships (McLean & Breen, 2015). As suggested by the opening quote, the stories we tell structure the societies we live in. But there is not a 'single story' (Adichie, 2009). Master narratives can overlap with or contradict one another. This is the case with master narratives about dogs, which simultaneously position them as property, family members, friends, wild, captive, and in a variety of other ways that become foregrounded or backgrounded in different social contexts.

My first dog was called Brindle; a huge Irish Wolfhound that joined our family when I was five. Brindle was 'a family dog' whose life was tied to a narrative that 'dogs are good for kids', which can be seen as an extension of the dogs-as-property story. His purpose was to provide companionship, protection, entertainment, and to teach me responsibility for another being. While Brindle was supplied with food, water, and veterinary care, his psychological needs were not given much consideration, and he had little agency. I would drag him around on a leash and sit on his back as if he were a horse. Actions that now make me cringe when I remember them.

My adult relationships with dogs have been informed by an active resistance to the master narrative of dogs as property and striving to do better than I did for Brindle. It was actually my relationships with my horses that led me to question the predominant normative view of companion animals in my culture and to change my relationships with them. I grew up riding and competing horses and was taught to use fairly brutal methods to 'show them who's boss', using painful bits to gain control and the occasional use of a whip. I also loved my horses deeply and eventually recognised that my brutality was a form of betrayal. I left

riding because of this. My relationships with dogs have been a way of healing from the shame of my experiences with horses and learning to be different in relationships with non-human others.

The emerging post-humanist counternarratives position animals as 'more-than-human' and emphasise that 'animals matter *for themselves* ... and have important roles to play in multispecies worlds' (Dashper, 2019, p. 2). The anthropocentric view of human positioning compared to other animals has been disastrous to animals and the environment and it could be argued, contributed to racism, white supremacy, sexism, and other forms of structural oppression and violence against humans (Deckha, 2008). The idea of our relationship with dogs contributing to violence and oppression is exemplified by the dogs I met guarding homes, industrial units, or used to intimidate others as part of gang culture in Britain. Hurn terms this 'fetishized commodification', when describing how dogs are turned into objects, rather than loved family members (2012, p. 104). Caglar also writes about how pet dogs in unified Germany were used as accessories by Turkish immigrants, where specific types of dogs were used for fighting purposes and were given names such as Rambo or Gangster to emphasise their role and their owner's masculinity (1997, p. 82).

I think of my relationship with dogs as a type of mindful contract; I aim to live in harmony together, with love and friendship, while respecting the differences between us. I try to offer as much agency, choice, and consent as is possible within the context that we share our lives. I do not always get it right, but that is the direction I continually strive for. It is reminiscent of Claire Palmer's (1997) idea of the Domesticated Animal Contract, where she argues that this type of relationship or contract relates to key characteristics of social contract theory. In

particular she focusses on issues such as '... the change in state from "nature to culture'; to free consent and irrevocability; and to the benefits and losses to animals which follow from such a contract' (Palmer, 1997, p. 411). She uses Clutton-Brock's (1989) definition of domesticated animals, defined as: animals bred in captivity, for purposes of subsistence or profit, in a human community that controls its breeding, territory and food supply (Palmer, 1997, p. 413). Yet my dogs who are considered domesticated were not all born in captivity, and they were allowed to breed prior to living with me, so perhaps the definition should be altered. The biggest issue with contract theory is free consent. As she rightly points out, animals cannot always give explicit consent and in my own experience, compliance is often mistaken for consent. My use of the word contract was to imply some equality and influence within our relationship, yet obviously as a human construct, the nature of which is not understood by my dogs, it is a contract with myself, a guide or reminder of how I should be in the relationship with the dogs.

My first dog as an adult was Jess, a medium-sized cross who I adopted from a pound in Lincolnshire. We were lucky to enjoy a fourteen-year relationship that stretched from my late-teens through to my early 30s and encompassed all of the life changes (school, marriage, child-raising, and so on) that occurred along the way. I think of her as my 'soul dog'. However, there were times when I failed her, particularly during the phase when training was filled with theories of dominance hierarchies and harsh discipline. Despite the times I let her down, Jess was an example of dogs being 'man's [sic] best friend' and beloved family members. Jess's death also changed the way I relate to dogs. It shook my (rather atheist) beliefs about death and the afterlife and reopened questions I had long stopped asking. She was euthanised at home in my arms. At the moment she passed I

felt a strong sense in my body that she was with me because she did not want to leave and then it felt as though the whole house filled with *Jessness* — as though her essence had expanded into every corner and crevice. I felt as though she surrounded me. This experience also shifted the way I understand dogs and the possibilities for deep connections between humans and non-humans; it has made me wonder about shared consciousness and the spiritual connections that may be possible in our relationships (Holbrook & Woodside, 2008; Kemmerer, 2012; Linzey, 2015; Waldau & Patton, 2006).

With my current dogs, I have taken on a role quite similar to that of a guardian. Some are younger and adjusting to life outside of a shelter or hunting cage. Some are older but adjusting from free-ranging lives to becoming companion dogs. I spend time everyday teaching and learning with them. I feel happiness and pride when they are doing well and worry myself into sleeplessness when they are struggling or sick. The field of parenting has moved from an emphasis on parents as authority figures and rule-based (inflexible) parenting to an orientation to attachment relationships and, most recently, to a focus on bi-directional flows of agency and intimacy between parents and children (Kuczynski, 2003). In many ways, my dogs and I are 'raising' each other. My role as guardian to them is to provide gentle leadership, to teach and learn with them, and to work to recognise and understand them as much as I am able. I try to give them a world with as much freedom for them to thrive as possible.

But there are distinct ways in which my relationship with my dogs is different from the relationship I have with my human child. One crucial difference is that the dogs are still captive, despite the large area I have for them to roam near my house. As is customary in British society and, in particular the rescue world, my

dogs are spayed and neutered to prevent pregnancy. They also wear collars with tags on them and are walked on a leash when we are in human-populated areas. The notion of family dogs as captives (Bekoff & Pierce, 2019) contradicts those familiar dominant narratives that dogs are our best friends and that they love living with us. It is not a choice when we keep the doors closed, neuter them, and walk them on leashes. My growing awareness of my dogs' realities as captives has changed the way I interact with them, and I try to give them as much choice as possible in their day-to-day lives. It has also made me especially grateful for our outdoor lifestyle on the sunshine island. There are nine dogs in my home, including my eight and a foster dog, and the culture we have co-created is one where dogs are free to roam my large piece of land during daylight hours.

All my dogs are 'rescued', and much of my work is or has been involved with rescue dogs. Most of the dogs who come through my world have complicated histories; they are unwanted and often traumatised. I feel very good about the work I do. Having worked in human mental health for many years, it often feels lovely to have a sense of tangible progress; dog needs rescuing - dog enters foster - dog finds a new home with a wonderful family. But it seems to me that a few dogs might not have required rescuing; instead, they found themselves in proximity to someone who needed to do some saving. 'Dogs needing saving' is another narrative that exists in the relationship with dogs in my British cultural context. While rescue is essential work and many dogs do indeed need saving, I have started to wonder whether there are also some problematic dynamics and motivations at play in some rescue work.

My narratives and experiences inform my relationships with dogs and continually evolve as I make meaning of my relationships with dogs. My knowledge of dogs

is not objective, and I have been influenced by my positioning, learning, training, and personal history. Haraway critiqued the notion of objective knowledge in her theory of feminist objectivity or 'situated knowledges' saying that knowledge is partial, arising from embodied experiences and personal positions (1988, p. 581). I am more attentive to a dog's body language and interactions with me than concerned with her financial worth as a hunting dog or her breeding potential, for example. Due to this, I notice the subtle looks, postures, tail positions, lick lips and yawns, and movements that others fail to see. This empathic way of knowing hunting dogs acknowledges how the dogs and the humans relate in relationships of power, control, and care. I will now tell some dogs' stories which I hope will highlight the impact that these factors have had on their particular lives.

6.2 Rescues & Rehabilitations

The insights into the hunting dog's world begin with my own experiences of Cypriot hunting dogs, and an engagement with data that exists in my home and workplace. This data makes its presence known to me continually and is not to be ignored. The beliefs and values I have about hunting, and the dogs involved are influenced by these dog's stories, which are woven into my professional self and personal scenarios. This combination of experiences has allowed for internal dialogue and critical analysis that is unique and serendipitously timely as the events and case studies that follow have coincided around the beginning or during the research period. Ethical decision-making once more becomes relevant as dilemmas present themselves in each dog's story.

I present these dogs' narratives or biographies, as part of the methodology explained in chapter one. Within each story are aspects of narrative ethology,

and analysis that explores and portrays the dog's experiences. I have tried to present each story in the least anthropomorphic way possible. In his essay, Herman points out that by telling non-human animal stories we can: 'interrogate the ontological as well as biological status of species categories; to map out animal geographies and show how they embody cultures' tacit understanding of cross-species relationships' (2016, p. 2). McHugh acknowledges that animals are being 'reconceptualized as key players in all sorts of cultural productions' (2011, p. 10), and explains how ethological narratives 'provide the basis for change in the ways in which people live with animals in the industrialised societies ...' (p. 212). I believe a narrative ethological approach supports my attempts to represent the individuals whose stories you are about to read while depicting them in their social setting and environments.

6.3 Max

Max is an eight-year-old Bruno Jura Hound (Fig. 2); he is typical of his breed, with a short, smooth black and tan coat, long ears, a keen nose, and a preferred hunting dog breed for scenting and flushing prey birds. The breed originated in Switzerland, in the Jura Mountains on the French-Swiss border. The dogs were developed in the Middle Ages for hunting in this region. According to the European Kennel Club (EU Kennel Club, 2011), they are related to Bloodhounds and have a similar propensity for tracking scents, making them valued hunting dogs. Despite being rare in Europe, they are ubiquitous in Cyprus. Many hunting dogs that I have seen in shelters are Jura or Jura types, with the black and tan markings.

Max is a mature dog who is quiet and calm and likes to spend most of his time sleeping. His formative years were spent living as a free-ranging dog within a group of many other dogs, at Lady's Mile Beach, which lies between Limassol and Larnaca in the South-Eastern part of the island. The beach is well known for long sandy stretches and shallow, blue waters, parts of which are popular with tourists looking for safe swimming.

During his years living there, he was particularly fond of a female dog called Kanella, and it is known that they had at least one litter of puppies together. They had a strong bond and would be seen spending time together, scavenging along the beach tide line, or lying next to each other in the shade, while other dogs would amuse themselves individually. Lady's Mile Beach was (and still is) a place where dogs were regularly dumped; failed hunting dogs, unwanted pets, puppies that could not be found homes. In 2013, Sirius Dog Sanctuary, a local charity, ran a 'feral feeding programme' and would feed the dogs and supply them with water. They would also try to capture as many as they could to place them within their shelter, where they would be neutered, vaccinated, and potentially rehomed. An abandoned cargo container and an assortment of rusting vehicles provided some shade and shelter from the searing sun in summer and cold wind and rain in winter. Max lived on the beach for approximately three years, and as the charity managed to capture dogs and move them to a local shelter, Max and Kanella remained elusive, evading their best efforts to capture them. Kanella was caught and finally so was Max after being fed food laced with sedative drugs. Sirius Sanctuary posted this about him on Facebook in 2016:

Max is the king of our pack and was the longest resident on the feral feeding program. He came to us as a young adult over four years ago. I cannot count how many hunters had caught sight of him and chased him to make

him a hunting dog ... all those years no one ever succeeded in catching this clever gentleman. Max will be treated for his infection from ticks and had Giardia test on the first day. He will then be castrated and microchipped and has already been vaccinated (Sirius Dog Sanctuary Facebook Page, 30.10.15).

After four years in the shelter, Kanella finally found a new home with a British family. She was exported to the UK, where she now lives. Max quickly became depressed after she left and stopped eating. He did not want to play or interact with either canine or human company, and shelter staff became worried. They contacted CP., a woman who specialised in rehoming hunting dogs from Cyprus to the UK through a charity called Love Dogs Cyprus. She decided to take him on, but as he was used to living freely and had never been inside a home before, she referred him to me for rehabilitation.

He came into my world on 4th July 2016 straight from the Sirius Dog Sanctuary, Limassol. The volunteer's car pulled into my yard, and the gates were closed before he was allowed out of his travel crate. He crept nervously forward sniffing the air before retreating back inside where he felt safer. His head was lowered, he licked his lips, and avoided eye contact. Despite much encouragement from the lady that had brought him, he did not want to leave this safe area. I asked them to go, leaving him and the crate with me and I would return it when I could. They left him with me, and I opened the crate door and walked away. I let my dogs meet him gradually, and the company of other canines gave him the confidence to creep out of the crate and start to explore the garden. He began by engaging his olfactory senses first, sniffing the immediate area, and assessing the risk of moving forward to meet his newly acquainted conspecifics. The long, slow process of building rapport and creating trust with him began.

He interacted with my dogs well, and the group of six was now seven. They all shared one large bowl of food and ate periodically throughout the day whenever they felt hungry. The plastic bowl of food was kept inside of the house, but Max would insist on carrying it in an upright position outside, without spilling any of the contents, where he would step away and watch the other dogs eat before he would feed himself (see Fig. 34). This behaviour seemed to demonstrate pro-sociality; an altruistic food gesture previously thought to be exclusive to primates (Massen et al., 2010). However, Marshal-Pescini et al. (2016) demonstrated that prosocial behaviour in canines did exist and was more prevalent when the dog conspecific was familiar.



Figure 40. Max wearing the green collar carrying food for others (Just dropped, as startled by camera.)

I wondered why he did this and if it was a behaviour that he had developed while living in his free-ranging group. After a few months, when he seemed to realise that food was always available, it stopped. He quickly assumed a high position in

the group hierarchy, where he quietly observed the others, only intervening if required and assumed an authority based seemingly on his maturity and wisdom.

The group of dogs I live with demonstrate an age-related hierarchical structure rather than the more usually described despotic dominance order (Bonanni et al., 2017; Bradshaw et al., 2009). Food is freely provided, and competition is low, much like the mixed-breed free-ranging groups of dogs described by Bonanni et al., (2017). Subsequently, rank is not achieved through fighting, and the older ones guide the younger dogs.

It took Max a while to connect with me, though, and he would never approach me unless I had a tasty treat. He would avoid eye contact but wag his tail slowly when I spoke to him. He would run away from me, head lowered, and tail tucked under whenever I got too close and refused to come through doorways if I was in any way blocking the gap, a lingering anxiety that still exists today. It took six weeks to get close enough to habituate him to me and to gently place a collar on him. The collar had an identification tag on it in case he ever got lost. He would not walk on a lead and resisted the feel of the collar around his neck; he would panic if he felt pressure there and run backwards screaming, eyes wide and panicky. Feeling an utter failure and realising that some of the trust I had worked so hard to gain was probably dented, I decided that a different approach was required. I started to condition him to wear a harness instead, by placing the harness within his sight and feeding him cooked chicken, which he loved. Gradually I moved the harness closer and closer to him, every time feeding him cooked chicken so that he quickly associated the harness with something enjoyable. Using food and a gentle, positive method was the only way to train such a sensitive dog (Wilde, 2006, p. 156). Eventually, I managed to place the harness on his body for short

periods before extending those sessions to five to ten minutes. Once he was comfortable with wearing the harness, I attached a long line to it. Armed with chicken, we went for our first walk with him wearing a harness accompanied by another dog for comfort and confidence-boosting. He took to it immediately and enjoyed being out somewhere new, using his acute scenting abilities to full effect. He inhaled the rich scent-based environment that his nose had evolved to do, and urine marked significant points along the way, creating new scent posts for others that would follow, gathering information about him, as he was of those who had been along the path before him. The activity of sniffing his way along the route seemed to make him forget about wearing the harness, and over a few walks, he soon learned that the harness meant going out. This became an activity he loved, and he would become excited, wagging his tail and jumping up and down on the spot barking and whining enthusiastically.

On these walks, he would panic if he saw a vehicle, particularly so if the vehicle was a truck; the type of vehicle used by most hunters. He would scramble up the banks at the side of the lane, ploughing through thorny bushes and scrub to get away and ignore my attempts to reassure him or call him back. His fear was made worse as the long line he was attached to would get wrapped up in the undergrowth, causing pressure on his body as the harness pulled tight. He would then panic at that feeling and become further distressed, before eventually freezing until I could scramble up to get to him, untangling him along the way. I did not dare let him off the lead for many weeks in case he ran away in one of these scared moments, never to return. However, I felt conflicted over this as he was afraid and the feeling of being trapped by a harness or lead aggravated it. The safety he found within the group of dogs seemed very important to him, and after a while, he realised that there was nothing to fear as long as he was with

them and me, as I became in his mind an integral part of that group. He would look to them to see how they reacted to strange vehicles and people, and when he saw they were more interested in sniffing in the fields or following me, he would relax and continue walking. This was the key to keeping him close; if I called the others to me, he would come too and so the bond was deepened, and he was eventually trusted off the lead on all walks.

Despite this progress, he still would not tolerate any pressure on his neck, and I decided to take him to the clinic to be radiographically examined, to rule out physical causes of his discomfort. Despite being concerned about whether he would panic at the vets, I knew it had to be checked. He was terrified of strangers, particularly men and perceived unfamiliar humans as a threat. A prominent finding of McMillan et al. (2015) was that an abused dog exhibits increased fear behaviours towards unknown people, particularly if they have suffered a direct and negative interaction between a human and themselves.

He was surprisingly calm, reserved but not panicky, and we sedated him before examining him so that he would remain still for the procedure. The resulting radiographs showed an image that reminded me of a constellation of stars at night. His head and neck contained multiple shotgun pellets; clusters of white stars scattered across the orthopaedic shadows of his skull and cervical vertebrae, proof that at some time somebody had shot him, aiming at his head. This type of gun was predominantly licenced for hunting. I assumed that a hunter had committed this atrocity. I could not begin to understand why and wondered if he had failed as a hunting dog and they had tried to kill him before abandoning him at the beach, or if hunters who had tried but failed to catch him so many times had then decided to take a 'pot shot' at him in their frustration. From then on, he

wore a collar for identification purposes only and a harness if he needed to be kept on a lead. He also became a member of the family as I decided to adopt him.

Max is still uncomfortable having his neck touched, and I believe this is a symptom of psychological trauma similar to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) described in humans. Foa et al. recognised that animals subjected to traumatic experiences exhibit symptoms that resemble PTSD: 'These disturbances include alternations between sudden outbursts of agitated behaviours, on the one hand, and a state of lethargy, passivity, and withdrawal, on the other' (1992, p. 218). The unpredictable nature of somebody touching his neck may provoke an extreme fear response (not pain which had been ruled out) which was exacerbated by an inability to escape from the fear source. He would shrink away from my hand sometimes when I went to stroke or pet him, and I learned to avoid touching his head, but focussed attention on his back or chest, where he accepted it more readily. The psychological attributes of post-abuse dogs are often easy to see. However, some dogs might have personality types that can be described as cautious, anxious or fearful. Studies have attempted to ascertain pre- and post-abuse behaviours (Marder & Engel, 1998; McGuinness et al., 2005; Munro & Thrusfield, 2001a) to determine if certain behaviours that are automatically linked to abuse are present in non-abused dogs. These studies concluded that there are cases where abuse was suspected without a history of violence, and it was merely the dogs' demeanour. However, McMillan et al. (2015) did find that there were specific behavioural and psychological characteristics of abused dogs that would differ from those of typical non-abused companion dogs.

A study by Munro and Thrusfield (2001b) concluded that risk indicators for being abused do exist in dogs, with being male and under two years of age associated with a risk of harm. Max fitted into this category at the time he experienced his trauma.

The gunshot pellets can still be felt under the skin on Max's head and are easily palpable in his ears. During evenings when he lays next to me on the sofa, I am reminded of his trauma. As my fingers feel these anomalies under his skin while stroking his head, I consider the physical and psychological damage he has suffered. It is a permanent legacy of being a hunting dog. Max is not a rare case, and it was not long before another hunting dog graced my life with her presence.

6.4 Pixie

K., a local goat farmer and hare hunter, carried her through the doors of the clinic, protesting loudly that his dog had been bitten by a 'fucking οχιά' (Viper) while out hunting. He was calling the vet and demanding she be seen, despite the reception area being full of people who were patiently waiting their turn to see the vet. He, of course, was seen straight away, mostly to quieten him down and get him to quickly leave before he upset other customers with his brusque manner. Pixie, as she is now known, was unceremoniously dumped on the consultation table, holding her left forelimb up, unable to bear weight on it. Her body language denoted that she was afraid. Her ears were flat to her head, wide 'whale eye', (showing the whites, or sclera, of her eyes) and widely dilated pupils, lowered head, looking imploringly around and her tail tucked firmly against her belly. As the vet moved closer to examine her, she cringed away from him and lay down as if trying to disappear into the table itself. She was a Creten Greyhound, a breed

used by K. and other hunters for (illegally) chasing hares. These dogs are long and slender like a small greyhound but with a denser, longer coat. She was sable in colour and would have been well camouflaged in the field, apart from the fluorescent orange collar she was wearing as a safety measure to avoid her being shot. The breed is prized amongst some Cypriot hunters as they are rarely exported from Crete where they are a revered breed. The Greek Kennel Club (Greece's KC, 2014) described the breed as being unchanged for five thousand years. In the Heraklion Museum, a metal object has engraved on it a depiction of a ship called The Great Goddess, showing a Creten Hound on its bow, which dates to the Minoan period.

K. claimed he paid €3000 for her and was very angry that she had been bitten by a Blunt-Nosed Viper (*Macrovipera lebetina. lebetina*), a species discovered by Carl Linnaeus in 1758. These vipers are an endangered species and are strictly protected under the Berne Convention Treaty 104 (Council of Europe, 1982), yet they are commonly killed in Cyprus as they are potentially lethal to humans as well as non-human species and fear of them runs deep.

Pixie's leg was swollen where the toxins and bacteria from the venom were breaking down the soft tissues of her leg. The skin was blackened and beginning to slough off, exposing the rapidly necrotising tissue underneath. She was admitted and given intravenous fluid therapy and pain relief to counteract shock, before anticipated surgery the next day.

From my own experience of nursing these cases, treatment of viper bites is often unsuccessful, and many dogs die despite being administered treatment. If they do survive, wound healing is difficult, takes many weeks of treatment and is subsequently expensive. Pixie had surgery the next day to remove all the dead

tissue, and her leg was bandaged. The necrosis of tissue usually continues for weeks, so it was anticipated that she would need many more operations to remove damaged and infected tissue until the process stopped, and healing could begin. K. was informed of her treatment so far and potential costs for ongoing care. He arrived at the clinic later that day, stormed angrily into the kennel area and picked up the fearful dog. He said he would sort it out himself, paid a contribution to the bill and took her back to the farm.

A few days later, he returned with her. He said she was sick; the leg was much worse and covered in a blue antiseptic spray that he would use on the goats. The wound was now opened down to the bone, exposing delicate tendons, nerves and blood vessels. It was infected, and it seemed as if she might lose the limb. K was still angry and asked if we could do anything for her. The vet explained he would try but that there would have to be a charge as it would take a long time and treatment was not cheap. He agreed and left her there saying if she could not hunt, he could at least breed from her. K. returned two hours later having changed his mind, saying he would take her home and shoot her. The vet persuaded him to leave her one more day, to see how she responded to treatment. He said that if she did not improve, he would euthanise her as it was kinder than being shot. K. insisted that he would not pay for euthanasia but was happy to leave her another day.

During that day, I decided I would like to try to nurse Pixie back to health. I started to consider how I could persuade K. to let me have her but failing that, convince the vet, N., to tell him he had euthanised her when, in fact, I would take her home. Ethically, from a veterinary professional perspective this was wrong, and I knew it. I also knew that lots of dogs had been stolen from terrible situations by rescuers

to be rehomed in the UK and it went on all the time without repercussions. It was like an unspoken agreement between rescuers and vets that nobody would say anything about it. I knew passport records had been faked; dates amended to fit with flights and vaccinations recorded that were not given. Again, nobody challenged it as it was in the dogs' best interests to travel. I questioned still, what these situations were doing to me. I had a strong sense of fairness and doing what was right, yet here I was, considering lying and stealing to save this dog, knowing that months of work with her would follow and even then, I may not be able to rehome her.

I thought I would organise a fundraiser for her treatment and I would care for her myself on the condition that she would be signed over to me, and I could rehome her if she recovered. The vet spoke to K., and he reluctantly agreed to hand her over, claiming his children would be crying for her, despite previously saying he was going to shoot her! It was a relief to me as I would not have to fabricate a story and lie to get her to safety.

The long, slow, arduous process began, and she would have surgeries every other day to remove dead tissue and clean the wound for the first two weeks. She then had painful bandage changes every day, as the injury slowly began to granulate and form new tissue. The weeks went by and bit by bit the damage reduced in size, being replaced by scar tissue. The fundraiser managed to pay for treatment, with the vet giving his services for free and me feeding and nursing her too. A skin graft was ruled out as it would cost too much and so the healing took even longer than it might otherwise have done. Weeks turned into months, and eventually, the wound healed, but the use of her foot was impaired, and gentle physiotherapy was started to encourage the correct placement of her foot.

Six months later she would run around and weight bear on the leg again, her foot would flap loosely, but over time and with the right exercises, she almost regained full use of it. The psychological scars seemed harder to heal, and she was still wary of people carrying brooms, mops, poles, or sticks. I questioned K. about her fears when he came to the clinic sometime later. He explained that he beat his dogs with a stick as part of their training as he believed he had to dominate them so that they might comply with his demands. He saw nothing wrong with this as he thought that 'a man should be the boss over his dog'. Once again, post-abuse symptoms were apparent as her fear of unfamiliar people, particularly men, were exhibited as she would cower away from them, or creep away on her belly, with her tail tucked underneath her.

She is now very wary of snakes and will alert me if there is one around by barking furiously at it from a safe distance. Last spring, she warned me on three separate occasions about the presence of vipers. I soon realised that her snake warning bark was different from any other bark she vocalised and after the second time, I did not ignore her when I heard it. None of my other dogs did this, and I can only assume that it is a learned behaviour because of her own experience. The last time she called me, I went to her quickly after hearing the specific high-pitched cry, but then a worrying silence. This is what happened (field notes May 2nd, 2017):

I went out in the garden about 2 PM today, the weather warm and breezy. I thought the dogs would be lying around sleeping as they usually were at this time of the day, but Pixie had called 'snake', so I went to investigate. Six of the dogs were stood in a semi-circle facing something quietly. I went to see what it was and was surprised to see a Blunt-nosed Viper just lying in the middle of the

garden, in the gravelled area. The dogs looked at me, Pixie gave a gentle wag of her tail in acknowledgement of my presence but didn't stop looking at the snake. It was still. They were still, just looking at it but not approaching it. Don't they know it could kill them?

Pixie proved herself once again that day as a worthy companion that warned the other dogs and me of the danger. I felt pride that she could find these dangerous snakes and safely tell me where they were and reminded myself how I should respect her communicating with me and not stop her barking, after all, she does not do it without reason. It made me wonder whether it was her experience of being bitten and the months of trauma afterwards that made her recognise them and keep her distance, something the other dogs did not seem to have so keenly. Or was it an innate sense that she has? She did not just keep her own distance though but warned the rest of her group and me of the danger.

This type of behaviour is explored in Thornton and Clutton-Brock's paper (2010), where they argue that social learning plays a vital role in forming characteristics of individuals and groups. They claim that predator avoidance can be learnt from conspecifics after witnessing fearful responses. Mobbing and alarm call behaviours are also a response to social learning from early life experiences (Thornton & Clutton-Brock, 2011). Yet, it does not explain the response seen in apparently naïve dogs who have never seen a snake before. Some research highlights how canids prefer to choose den locations with the least predatory threat, but this does not explain a potential epigenetic link and it could once again be argued that social learning drives this (Jackson et al., 2014; Majumder et al., 2016). Research observing Bandicoots' reactions to new predators shows

naivety can be reduced through adaptation and that new predators or dangers will eventually become recognised. The argument for social learning within groups was once again validated (Frank et al., 2016). Mulholland et al. (2018) carried out research that examined the dog's ability to avoid venomous snakes by using the odour of rattlesnakes, claiming that the scent did not elicit negative emotional responses from the dogs. I know that my dogs are acutely aware of the scent of a Blunt-Nose Viper and will sniff the ground where one has been for a long time after it has left the area.

These stories depict incidents of neglect and abuse that were not uncommon and are examples of why hunters elicit condemnation and suffer a bad reputation. The seemingly uncaring attitudes towards hunting dogs as sentient beings exacerbated anti-hunting opinions. For some hunters, they were valued in monetary terms and as status symbols as in Pixie's case, but if they failed to meet expectations in the field, for whatever reasons, they were discarded or killed. Indeed, it was cases like these that confirmed the widely held opinion that hunters oppressed their dogs. Despite some of my hunting respondents' arguments about rescue propaganda, saying that they used cases of so-called abused hunting dogs to spread or incite anti-hunt feelings, these dogs were proof to the contrary. However, the mistreatment of a hunting dog could be used in other ways and rescue organisations who were supposed to be there to protect these dogs used emotive and shocking stories to gain popularity and financial benefits — exploitation of a different kind.

6.5 Marla

At the end of August 2017, a woman driving a truck along St. George's Road in Coral Bay, Paphos, hit Marla as she ran in front of her vehicle. Marla was sent spinning across the street, screaming, and the incident was witnessed by a young couple who were staying locally on holiday. They rushed over to her and were accompanied by the woman driving the truck that had hit her. They claimed that the woman said 'just leave her' to which they replied that they couldn't, and she apparently said: 'this is Cyprus, get used to it' before driving away. Visibly shocked, they brought her to the veterinary clinic where I was working, and I admitted her. They were shaking, and the girl was crying, saying we had to save her and that if she survived, they would take her home to the UK with them. She had sustained multiple fractures to her spine, pelvis, left femur, and had bruising and cuts elsewhere. The dog was unable to move and in pain, yet despite her injuries was stoical and quiet. She was a particularly distinctive looking dog with beautiful, marbled grey markings and sky-blue eyes, and I thought I recognised her as the puppy that a hunter had brought for vaccination during the previous year. I remembered her because she was deaf due to a genetic disorder. Her Merle colouration gene (Strain et al., 2009) was unusual, and I had tried to persuade the hunter to allow me to rehome her. She would be no good for hunting as she could not hear commands, or for breeding as she could pass on the genetic fault. He would not agree to it and said he would breed from her regardless. My boss also thought it was the same dog, and we set about trying to trace the owner. In the meantime, the tourists who found her called a local animal charity to see if they could help the dog. The following is from my field notes in August 2017:

The woman who runs this shelter, AE., has a reputation for bad practice and for being driven financially rather than by animal welfare. According to social network chat, she has over the last two years acquired accommodation which is paid for by donations and four new quad bikes for her teenage children. I have heard from ex-volunteers who used to work for her that she sells hunting dogs to unscrupulous hunters and breeds from the hunting dogs surrendered to make more money to fund her lifestyle. People who have previously volunteered at the shelter have spoken publicly through social media about the high euthanasia rate and that she will kill dogs for the slightest imperfection or difficult behaviour trait, much to their dismay and anger; '... I worked there for her when I first moved here, and the way she treats animals is sickening. She would put dogs down left right and centre ... I worked there for as long as I could but was going home crying my soul out every morning' (AW FB 15.03.2018). She has had dogs 'debarked', an illegal and cruel practice, and I know that this is true having spoken to the vet that carried out the procedure. There are many unsavoury rumours about this woman and having had unpleasant experiences with her myself at the clinic, I am not surprised to hear some of the stories. After being called by the tourist couple and seeing a photo of the dog following the accident, she realised that such a beautiful and an unusual-looking dog would gain a lot of attention. She rushed into the clinic, demanding that she see the dog, whereby she took photos of her with her mobile phone. Within an hour there was a fundraiser on her Facebook page, collecting funds for the "saddest case she had ever seen". She decided that she would claim the dog and look after it. Firstly, she has no veterinary training, and this dog will take months of specialist care and rehabilitation before she can be rehomed, and secondly the dog had an owner! She has no right to claim the dog or post anything about her on a social media page. The Cypriot

owner is not on Facebook and is unaware of this fiasco. Meanwhile, the euros are rolling into her account (22nd August 2017).

I considered the use of emotive stories in the process of fundraising and how often I have seen heart-wrenching tales on social media designed to spur people into supportive action. Merchant et al. have this view:

Non-profit stories are typically designed to take the consumer through different emotional stages. They usually start with an “inciting incident” or a case statement of someone in need. This may be drawn from the organization's wider ‘case for support’ and can be crafted to deliberately trigger negative emotions such as sadness, anger, etc. (2010, p. 679).

They describe how the negative feelings evoked when viewing sad scenarios are replaced by positive ones, where the person can donate to the cause in an emotional payoff. The ethics of charitable fundraising is too large a subject to discuss here, but disturbing imagery and emotional impact seemed to play an essential part in the fundraising processes of some animal shelters. Only one shelter vehemently refused to do it, saying it was what set them apart from the others. Interestingly, this was the most affluent of Paphos’ animal charities. Arluke (2006) discusses how the creation of enemies, in this case those who mistreat animals, is useful for creating identities and boundaries within communities.

The following day I saw the owner of the dog in my village. He owned a tavern and that is where I spoke with him and his wife over a coffee explaining what had happened. He was upset and worried about ‘Για λύρα’; the name he gave her which meant 'For Lyric'. However, he realised that he was facing a hefty bill for her treatment. He said she was a Litse Hound, a new breed of hunting dog

developed in Cyprus. They were beautiful dogs with blue eyes and Merle colouration, but many also carried the deafness defect. He did not know what to do and was considering euthanasia. I knew that my contact who rescued and rehomed hunting dogs would be able to find her an exceptional home if she survived, and I discussed this option with him. He agreed to sign her over to me to continue her care and find her a good home, but only me. He knew me from the village and said he trusted me but not any other local rescue organisation. This was an example of the importance of being part of the community within a village. Trust was built from within that group, which is sometimes isolated and reliant on others within it. The same day she underwent surgery to stabilise her fractures, and an identification microchip was placed under her skin. Once 'microchipped' she was registered in my name with the authorities; I was now the legal owner. The shelter owner was informed that her owner had come forward, and she was incandescent with rage. She demanded to be told who the owner was and where they lived, asking if they were English or Cypriot. The information was not given, and data protection law was used to substantiate the reason. She came back later when a junior member of staff was working and tried to bully her into telling her, but fortunately, she managed to deny her what she demanded. She had no choice but to stop the fundraiser and refund donations. Following this incident, I wrote this in my field notes:

It was quite incredible how aggressively she tried to gain possession of this dog, with no thought to her owner. She created such a stir on Facebook with her sob story, that was full of inconsistencies and frankly lies that a whole host of vitriolic remarks about hunters and Cypriots ensued. As a member of staff at the clinic, I was obliged not to get into the discussions, and I suspect I would be castigated

for defending the owner anyway. I also didn't want people to know that I now had the dog for fear of any reprisals.

That afternoon, the owner of the dog told me that he had two puppies he didn't want. He laughed and asked if I could take them, else he would kill them. Maybe my loyalty was misplaced. I hoped he was joking (22.08.17).

Months of hard physical work followed as Marla (as she was renamed) could not use her hind legs and therefore could not walk. It took two months before she recovered enough from the spinal injuries to bear weight on her hind legs. After weeks and weeks of physiotherapy, carrying her out to toilet many times a day, ensuring she had thick, comfortable bedding, she began to use her hind legs again. Slowly, she started to use her back legs; wobbly steps to begin with, but after a while, she would run, hopping like a rabbit before finally using them almost normally. She had bonded well with me and despite her disabilities and deafness, would regularly 'check-in' with me, looking to see where I was and what I was doing, and following when I beckoned her to do so. When I walked her, we were accompanied by my deaf dog 'Bo', who I communicate with through the use of hand signals. Marla would follow him closely, and I was able to recall her by using him as a go-between. Slowly she started to see the hand signals and learned how to communicate with me. She began to fill out physically, and I was worried that she might be pregnant. After an ultrasound scan, it was evident that she was pregnant with nine puppies. She was spayed and the puppies aborted. This seemed a cruel loss of life, but I knew that to try and rehome nine or more puppies would be impossible. Marla would be unable to deliver the puppies normally, even if she managed to carry them to term, due to the damage to her pelvis that was barely healed. As an owner of a deaf dog and having rehabilitated them too, I

was aware of the abilities they have to lead fulfilling and happy lives (Taylor, 2017). However, trying to persuade people to adopt them was difficult. I considered those people who had said to me 'you can't save them all' and contemplated the notion of ethical rescue. It was better to save a few and provide quality care than try to save everyone.

Marla did eventually recover enough to be offered up for rehoming. She now lives in Cumbria, UK, with a vet and her wife, along with five other dogs on a pig farm and she has been featured on a local TV show. She, like Max and Pixie, was fortunate in that they were rescued. These cases were three that I had a hand in rehabilitating in one way or another, but many hunting dogs' lives do not end up in a rescuer's care and some that do are there for arguably the wrong reasons.

It was posted on social media some weeks later that AE. had been proved to be negligent in her care for the sanctuary dogs and related finances. As a result, she was evicted from the site from where she ran the shelter and lost her chief sponsor. Vaca-Guzman and Arluke (2005) discuss the normalisation of passive cruelty in their research that explores the justifications used by animal hoarders. They describe how hoarders may use reasons such as, denial, being a Good Samaritan, professing to be victims of the system or indeed using external events, such as scapegoating and self-handicapping (Vaca-Guzman & Arluke, 2005). Meanwhile, AE. still fundraised and had dogs within her care that were potentially vulnerable. Yet, her profile was more discreet, and dealings with her were done secretly, often with a local vet and her 'manager' acting as intermediaries, neither of whom were willing to discuss these matters with me.

6.6 The Seeds of Change

At the time of writing the hunting season had begun once more. Despite the reversion to Greenwich Mean Time, that particular Sunday did not provide the 'extra snooze' that Winston Churchill described, but the inevitable 5.30 AM start of gunfire and resulting upset of my canine companions. Watching the morning's events unfold, I was pleased to see fewer hunters overall than in the previous two years and only one hunter who was accompanied by dogs. The expected unleashing of tens of overexcited, baying hounds, with their jangling goat bells suspended from their collars adding to the percussive of hunting sounds, was surprisingly absent. As was the usual presence of lost or confused hunting dogs on the local roads, which had to be carefully avoided when driving on a Sunday.

Despite these noticeable changes, the usual public protest by many British immigrants on social media was still evident. In forums dedicated to these groups, questions could be asked about local matters. The subject of hunting was quickly discussed, with complaints about shots being fired too close to houses, the indiscriminate killing of wildlife, and the anti-hunting rhetoric that I had come to expect:

It's 5.30 pitch black, and they are out there with the guns. What the hell are they shooting at they cannot see anything. I hate hunting season and it's the first day (PF. Facebook, 27.10.19, 05.39).

Does anyone know the law about hunting, I. E. How far from houses or developed areas. We live in Zelemenos in Tala, firstly I believed the land to be protected and secondly, there are about 8-10 cars, hunters shooting

and about 6 dogs running less than 1km from the houses. Is this legal? Just asking because we and many residents here have pets and I often see walkers in the area where they are shooting..... (LAR. Facebook 27.10.19, 07.31).

i live in Neo Chorio. I walk past the threatening looking hunters rifle in hand and right next to a sign saying no hunting Hunting prohibited. If i was to question them id guess id be in for a tough time as they are law upon themselves and also 100 m from residential premises where law says 500m.If you report ive been told the wardens come out and if caught are fined (SM. Facebook 27.10.19, 09.05).

Same here!!! 😡😡😡 Pellets landing on the roof so all dogs have to be shut in!!!! The joys of hunting season 😡 Just waiting for all the dumped, discarded, lost dogs to turn up now!!!!!!! 😡😡😡 (CP. Facebook. 27.10.19 10.28).

OK, who else is on edge hearing gunfire around the village for the past few days? What the hell are these brainless idiots "hunting" anyway? There is no wildlife left to hunt! This is a densely populated village with children, pets, people walking & exercising in the fields and area around the village. Why is this allowed in Mandria?! (MH. Facebook, 26.10.19, 12.08).

Yet, I also noticed comments that were not so negative, but advisory, suggesting a shift towards tolerance and acceptance of hunting:

There are laws of course and we accept that and we cannot question the customs of this beautiful country. They may not be what we are accustomed to, however the sadness..... many hunters take it upon themselves to disregard the written laws..... (LAR. Facebook post. 27.10.19, 11.27).

Where about in Zelemenos are you, we live at the top and whilst we hear the guns this morning, thankfully nobody down our road, are you overlooking the raven towards Adonis baths? Think hunting is allowed down there. Call hunting officer if you believe too close. On Monday report to the Kili council office (SB. 27.10.19. 08.13).

Same hee Lee- Anne - Kouklia - always has been - and indeed the rules above apply. On rare occasions they come closer to the house than they should, but most of the time we just make sure to keep the dogs in the garden Sundays and Wednesday in the hunting season.. To be fair, this whole experience takes us back to where we lived, in the UK countryside, where there were regular 'shoots' - I sort of grew up with it! (AW. Facebook post. 27.10.19. 08.28).

My perusal of social media after the first hunting day of the year seemed to reflect the efforts of hunting federations, clubs, and indeed the government, to improve the perception of hunters and promote responsibility towards their dogs as discussed in chapter two. Over the summer of 2019, the government provided free identity microchipping of all dogs to counteract the stray dog problem that

exists, which is mostly blamed on hunters who are accused of abandoning their dogs at the end of a season or who lose them on hunting days. They also commissioned television advertisements and videos on social media, that promoted responsible dog ownership and improved welfare. The hunting federation tried to impose a limit of four dogs per hunter at any time while out hunting. Hunters reacted angrily, and the rule was quickly overturned. Instead, the federation increased the cost of hunting dog licenses which could only be obtained for dogs who were microchipped and introduced hefty fines should any hunter be found in possession of an unlicensed dog.

I believe that times are changing, and the country is beginning to wake up to the notion of animal sentience and welfare. There is a new tolerance for hunters by some and new expectations by many, including even the hunters themselves, that they need to become responsible and respectful towards their dogs. I hope this continues and that it ultimately leads to a reduction in suffering and the improved lives of these beautiful creatures. However, exploitation of hunting dogs occurs in places where it was least expected. In the next chapter I present cases of hoarding and financial exploitation of dogs who were rescued and supposedly saved from a life of abuse.

Chapter Seven – Rescuers

A war we cannot win, but we need to concentrate on the small battles we do win, one dog at a time. There are too many enemies and no allies (MM. Volunteer at Cyprus Dog Rescue, 2018)

The dog rescue fraternity in Cyprus was a much needed and at times maligned group of individuals and organisations. The ‘saving’ of abandoned, lost, and neglected dogs very much relied on those humans who identified themselves as rescuers. However, I now argue that being ‘saved’ was not always in the best interest of all the dogs. In this chapter I present the complex and contradictory practice of rescue that existed in Cyprus, and the good, bad, and ugly sides of saving hunting dogs.

The rescuers existed in a variety of ways across the island. They ranged from individuals to local groups in towns to larger and more formal shelters. A few shelters received small amounts of government funding and all relied on charitable donations. Initially, I got to know them by offering to help and once relationships were established, I explained that I was conducting research into hunting dog lives and all of those who I spoke with were keen to help. Their collective aim was to provide some sanctuary for the rescued dogs before they were found permanent new homes.

7.1. The Subjectivity of Well-being

The word sanctuary conjures up images of utopian style refuge, a place of safety and a place where a dog can feel free of fear. Yet for many, the anthropocentric

systems where rescuers put their own and societal needs first, resulted in a different set of challenging circumstances with new fears to be overcome by the dogs. The dogs existed in a place of limited agency, recognised as individuals at times, yet also treated as property by shelter policies and procedures. Dogs' were neutered (an attempt to tackle overpopulation), segregated by sex, age, temperament and existed in shelters where: 'they function in their relationships with humans as property, living beings within a shifting spectrum between property and subjecthood' (Abrell, 2016, p. V). Hunting dogs were mostly found abandoned or lost and went from their caged environments when used for hunting to another caged environment when found and rescued, both with little human interaction and enrichment. Dogs placed into foster homes were considered more fortunate, but they had to cope with a sharp learning curve and unfamiliar indoor living conditions with strange places, people, objects, and other species. These dogs often developed a hyper-attachment to their new human companions and subsequent anxieties when left alone. The ideology of a rescuer conflicted with the reality for many, where post-rescue dogs could create dilemmas for the often well-meaning but inexperienced carers. Problematic canine behaviours became difficult for humans to manage when hunting dogs were expected to transform from unsocialised, fearful dogs into model 'pet' dogs.

Rescue in Cyprus was different in many ways to the rescue organisations I had experienced working with, when in the UK, yet the three main functions as described by Guenther (2019) were the same. Firstly, they helped stray and abandoned dogs by providing food, shelter, and health care, then they policed the human-canine relationships by deciding who could adopt which dog and finally killing, by euthanising those dogs deemed inappropriate for rehoming or to manage the population (2019, p. 46). This contradiction between the animal

rights discourse and relational care ethics was ever-present, yet it is an area that seems to gain little attention in animal studies literature. The contradiction has been attended to in terms of the caring/killing paradox that Arluke (1994) defined, and the impact on the humans who are expected to care for animals but also kill them. However, the animal who has been incarcerated and social rights removed are seemingly overlooked.

This 'dark side' of rescue and care was rarely spoken of by shelter staff and volunteers. Dogs were killed after hours by the shelter manager when nobody was there to witness it or were taken to be euthanised by a local vet, again out of sight and mind. The decision to kill a dog would be in his or her best interests or in the interests of the remaining dogs. Sometimes the blame would sit with the previous owner for abusing the dog or abandoning them but was never placed on those who were directly responsible. Guenther (2020) made the connections between these three domains of helping, policing, and killing visible. She calls them the 'empirical examples of the tensions in biopolitics itself: biopolitics can hinge on domination, exploitation, and violence, but it is also centred on care and providing care' (2020, p. 47). She explains how in human society the welfare, carceral, and anthroparchal states engage in interventions that promote social and economic well-being and by doing so, ensure the good welfare of people. Anthroparchy denies non-human animal personhood and maintains the legal property status of them, using caging and euthanasia as solutions to homelessness. Guenther points out that all three domains 'involve control over bodies and efforts to manage behaviour – and thus are attempts at subjectification, or self-governance, of both humans and animals' (2020, p. 47).

Whichever type of 'rescue' was offered, each had the commonality of human dominance over the dogs. Most followed predominantly masculine patterns of interaction with the dogs where they were dominated and outdated concepts of having to be the 'pack-leader', 'the boss', or 'alpha' were still used. Canine consent was never requested from dogs, they were expected to comply with human demands. Whether that be to accompany them on a walk or move outside of a cage so that it could be cleaned, to not comply meant they would be being forced to. Treats were rarely offered for fear of triggering fights and medications and veterinary procedures were carried out regardless of the dogs' preferences, but at the whim of the humans who cared, controlled, and made decisions about their lives. Guenther describes this form of interaction as 'anthroparchal logic' which she observed in the shelter, PAW, where she volunteered and explains how it:

...runs through everything that PAW does. At each opportunity, PAW asserts human dominance over animals, whether in making choices for animals about their activities, location, health, or continued survival. Anthroparchal control is evident in PAW's management of animals' bodies through the practice of caging, the methods of interaction between staff and animals, the medicalization of animal bodies, and the assessment of which animals are adoptable and which are not. The most severe example of anthroparchal logic is the practice of killing (2020, p. 72).

The paradox of care and control was evident in all rescue environments that I encountered. Some animals would be killed to 'help them' if they were suffering, others would be policed by exclusion to prevent injuries through fights or to

prevent the spread of disease. Guenther acknowledges these contradictions of shelter life:

Staff and volunteers must negotiate and cope with these contradictions, usually emphasizing their efforts to support the welfare of animals and communities over acknowledging the centrality of policing and killing at the shelter. Yet this work of helping also involves the assertion of biopower over animal bodies, judging animals for temperament and health while simultaneously subjecting animal guardians to normalizing judgments about animal practices (2020, p. 79).

The shelter staff I chatted to were keen to explain how hard they worked to keep the animals safe and happy within the shelter environments. In most, they were well fed, lived in clean cages, and received veterinary care, yet staff would still choose those who would be euthanised due to an inability to be rehomed easily. For example, if the dog was a breed that was unpopular such as a Pit Bull terrier, or if it was a dog that would fight with other dogs, their days would be numbered. They would explain that the dogs were not re-homeable because of breed specific legislation (2020, p. 137) or were deemed a danger to other dogs and as Guenther points out, would assert biopower over animal bodies and make excuses for doing so by normalising their judgements (2020, p. 78).

It seemed that these contradictory practices were a way in which shelter staff and volunteers managed both the numbers of animals within their care and the emotional impact the work and the environment had on them. I wanted to see where hunting dogs sat within the context of a larger shelter. Were they also deemed difficult to rehome because of breed types or previous living conditions? Many hunting dogs were never socialised and would be terrified initially in a home

environment and of strangers. To see a dog cowering away from potential adopters didn't necessarily place them in the most wanted category. There were also hunting dogs that were not pure breeds, and cross breeds were not as popular as a pedigree dog. Guenther suggests that certain characteristics such as breed:

were linked to broader ideas about race, class, disability and deservingness. Shelter death risk is thus the outcome of complex calculation of the value of any given animal, a value that is very much determined through social processes and that reflects human ideas about, and practices of, inequality (2020, p. 119).

It was suggested to me by a shelter worker (M.M. 2019) that hunting dogs were considered less appealing than other breeds and types of dogs. They were not socialised, house-trained, and would allegedly be difficult to train as they were driven by their innate need to track prey. Yet this was not my experience of these dogs and I discuss this issue in the next section.

I pondered what dog rescue in Cyprus was and this was a problematic definition to formulate as it presented itself in many ways. There were individuals who would find a stray hunting dog and either decide to adopt or foster him or her. Fostering would result in the dog being housed, either inside or outside, fed and sometimes provided with varying levels of healthcare before attempts would be made to rehome him or her. There were small charitable organisations that cared for a limited number of dogs, rehoming most within the UK or Germany. The larger shelters were all non-profit NGOs and had to survive by fundraising and generating donations. Most were poorly equipped, with kennels varying from wooden boxes or plastic barrels to concrete and wire cages. Some were 'high-kill' shelters where dogs were euthanised after a fifteen-day legal time period,

and some claimed to be no-kill shelters but still euthanised 'problem' dogs that caused fights with other dogs, had long term health problems, or were aggressive towards people. The majority of shelters were managed and maintained by volunteers, with very few paid staff. Government municipalities were supposed to provide dog pounds where stray dogs could be kept for up to fifteen days before being euthanised, if not claimed or moved on to a shelter that had space. The provision of pounds varied from area to area, with some being managed better than others, and some areas not having them at all. Dogs that were placed in a pound should have been scanned for microchips, fed and watered, but this was not always the case. Some pounds received assistance from local rescuers, shelter organisations, or volunteers who tried to ensure the dogs in the cages were fed and watered and taken into the shelters when possible. There was a sense of pressure and anxiety for people involved with pound dogs as the kill policy meant that time was an issue; dogs had to be moved elsewhere before their fifteen days expired (see Fig. 39). Small shelters tried to operate beyond their means which often resulted in dogs being kept in unsatisfactory conditions.

7.2. Where are Hunting Dog's Situated?

I visited Dali Dog Shelter; a smaller organisation based on the outskirts of Nicosia. MM. met me there and was proud to show me around. I was unsure what to expect but I was left feeling disappointed when I saw the conditions inside. The building was an industrial style warehouse that had been sub-divided into small, caged areas that housed one to three dogs, depending on size. The floor was concrete and the exterior walls corrugated metal. The dogs could see each other, and it was airy as one side was open, yet I expect that this would mean that there would be a cold breeze and the rain would blow through in winter. There was one

staff member who was responsible for cleaning and feeding the dogs. They took all day to do so due to numbers of dogs there. As a result, many dogs were not cleaned out more than once a day, and the floors of their cages were covered in urine and faeces that had been walked in and spread across the small floor area. Food was plentiful and they had clean water. The smell of excrement was overwhelming on first entering the unit and the dogs looked quietly forlorn. A few would come forward to the front of the cages to observe the visitors; some barking, and some retreating back as soon as they saw me. As you will see from the below images (Figs. 35-38), many of the dogs were the breeds or types used for hunting, particularly those popular with hunters from the Nicosia district; English and German Pointers and English Setters. MM. placed the blame squarely at the feet of those who used them for hunting and claimed that the shelters were full of hunting dogs abandoned by the hunting men. This claim could not be corroborated with any factual evidence.



Figure 41. German Short-Haired Pointer, Dali Dog Shelter



Figure 42. English Setters, Dali Dog Shelter

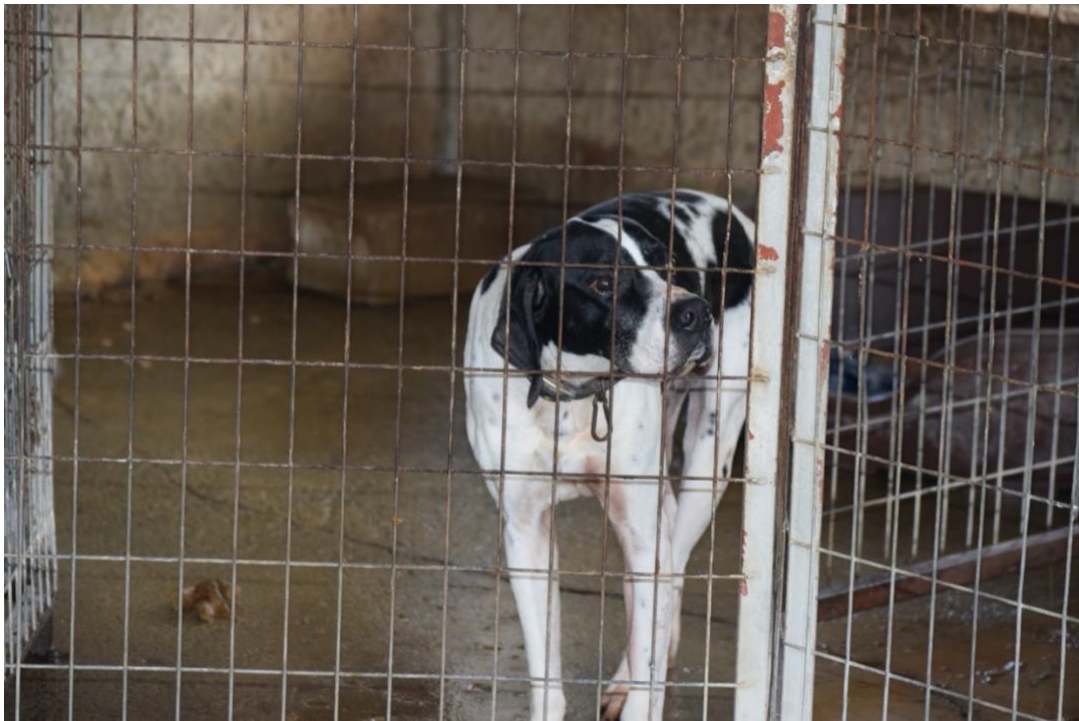


Figure 43. English Pointer, Dali Dog Shelter



Figure 44. Beagle mix puppy, Dali Dog Shelter

 shared a post. ...
Yesterday at 12:59 · 🌐

BEYOND URGENT !!

CYPRUS PLEASE STEP UP AND HELP

THERE SEEMS TO BE ABOUT 5 DOGS IN THIS POUND IN PAPHOS, and tomorrow is their DEATH , unless Rescuers step forward and even take one each

Also please share and tag any rescuer you know, and let's hope one or two spaces come up



Figure 45. Dogs in Geroskipou pound. (Facebook, 30.10.19: 12.59)



Figure 46. Living conditions of dogs at Dog Valley Rescue (Facebook 17.12.18:15.12)

Dog Valley Rescue Centre in Limassol district posted on the social networking site, Facebook, that they needed help when the winter rains arrived. The pictures are shown above (see Fig. 40) and illustrate the poor living conditions these dogs existed in, yet there was nowhere else for them to go.

I met small groups of people, again, mostly women, who tried to save and rehome as many dogs as they could by using their personal finances and holding fund-raising events. They used existing networks of shelters or fosterers to spread information about their 'saved' dogs far and wide, with little follow up. These disordered set-ups seemed to collect large numbers of dogs who received varying levels of care and found new homes with varying degrees of success. Results were seemingly dependent on where they lived while awaiting adoption and the quality of care they received there. Unfortunately, this style of rescue appeared to use enormous amounts of money, with the dog's journey from rescue

to adoption being chaotic and stressful as they were regularly passed from place to place. Placement of dogs into foster care was dependent on who had the space and financial resources, and it was not particularly successful with dogs often being returned to rescues through failed adoption.

7.3.1 Saviour or Hoarder?

There was a fine line between some of the rescuers and animal hoarders. Animal hoarding is a complex issue and defining it can depend on the motivation of the hoarder. According to Frost et al. (2000), one-third of hoarding cases involve animals. They write that 'hoarding is a problematic form of behaviour in which the individual actively acquires a large number of possessions (and /or animals in some cases)' (Frost et al., 2000, p. 229), in such a way that their daily lives are negatively affected. Patronek defines animal hoarding as more than multiple pet-keeping and not determined by the number of animals in a household, but rather when the collecting of animals causes the number to overwhelm the ability of the hoarder to provide adequate care (1999, p. 82).

There was a shelter in Paphos that at the time of writing housed over 200 dogs in poor conditions. The owner had received offers of help, both from myself and two other rescue volunteers, to take certain dogs from her to foster or rehome, yet she refused. She admitted to actively searching for stray dogs through her social networking page, looking particularly for those that were in a deplorable physical condition, to take to her 'shelter'. Pictures of these dogs were then posted onto her social media pages, which in turn would generate financial donations, sympathy, and praise. Many dogs were kept in poor condition as she was unable to fund their care effectively. Some had to share cages with

aggressive dogs, others were chained in isolation. Many were underweight and in need of veterinary care. Unfortunately, as there were so few spaces in any shelters for so many stray dogs, the authorities did not get involved and appeared to turn a blind eye to the issues.

The apparent lack of interest could be due to the enormous cost associated with having to rehouse and care for dogs removed from this situation, especially if any legal charges were to be made with the dogs considered as evidence. In these situations, all dogs require food and some veterinary treatment, and as Arluke et al. explains:

The cost of managing these cases, including the seizure itself, can run into the tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars. If the animals are not immediately surrendered to a responding agency, there are a variety of proceedings that might take place to minimize the amount of time they need to be held prior to disposition including custody hearings ...' (2017, p. 117).

The motivation for this type of rescuing, or arguably hoarding, is open to discussion but as Arluke et al. explain, 'The rescue hoarder has a missionary zeal to save all animals. They also actively seek to acquire animals because they feel that only they can provide adequate care and because they oppose euthanasia' (2017, p. 112). Typically, in these scenarios, the dogs are the losers, once again becoming victims but this time at the hands of their rescuers. When it comes to being rescued there is 'not much in it for the dog' either.

7.3.2 Rescuer or Abuser?

I reflected on my acquaintances who identified as dog rescuers. It was a stereotypical profile; female, white, middle-aged, middle class, and relatively well-

educated (Avery, 2004) with strong views and opinions about what they described as 'dog welfare'. The commonly applied profile amongst this group could be due to the shared history of the women's equality movement and the animal welfare industry, or just the gendered division that is common in animal care work (Gaarder, 2011). According to Hal Herzog, 'Women dominate nearly every aspect of grassroots animal protection. They make up 85% of the membership of the two largest mainstream animal protectionist organisations of the United States' (2010, p. 136). His explanation for the gender bias is that it is a mix of cultural, political, evolutionary, and biochemical forces (2010, p.144). In many ways, this simplified reasoning was reflected on the ground here in Cyprus within rescue work where femininity contrasted sharply with the masculinity of hunting.

The women I spoke with enjoyed the nurturing aspects of the work, many had older children who had moved on and caring for dogs they claim, in some way, replaced this role for them. During my research for my master's degree in anthrozoology, I interviewed participants about this subject. Some female participants described their relationships with dogs as similar to those they experienced with their own children saying: 'My love for them borders on insanity', and 'I have a very close relationship with my dogs. They are part of my family, and I will most times put my dog's needs before my own' (G., 2017). One male participant when asked why he thought women dominated rescue work in Cyprus said this:

Possibly because women are the carers in human society. They have greater empathy and perhaps, a more finely tuned moral compass than men. The maternal instinct plays a large part too. Women will react instinctively to a needy animal and want to help it. Men are much more

logically driven, less sentimental and tend to see the bigger picture and possible consequences (MH., 2017).

Unfortunately, men involved in the rescue sector in Cyprus were few in number and it is a caring role not traditionally associated with male gender in European economic communities (Bradley, 1993; Cross & Bagilhole, 2002; Simpson, 2004; Williams, 1995; Williams & Williams, 1993). Much feminist literature examines gender/work relationships where women are mistreated in male-dominated work arenas (Epstein, 1992; Kanter, 1977; Reskin & Roos, 2009). However, less research is available exploring the socially constructed male identity in work settings, especially in non-traditional roles. Traditional work expectations of men are that they hold roles of higher status and financial profitability compared with non-traditional roles. Societal interpretations of masculinity and manliness, pressure men into these roles in a way that women are not, and those men who do not conform to these expectations risk being marginalised or even ridiculed with gay male sexual orientation assumptions inferred (Bradley, 1993, p. 14). The stereotypical rescuer was not peculiar to Cyprus, but a theme that ran throughout animal rescue across many 'Western' countries and societies. Research indicates that canine rescuers are predominantly older, childless, Caucasian, single females, who are socially isolated with a tendency to anthropomorphise their animals (Avery, 2004; Jamison & Lunch, 1992; Neumann, 2010; Plous, 1991; Worth & Beck, 1981). Two people I knew through international animal rescue organisations stated that their colleagues were predominantly female and described similar scenarios and personalities within their experiences of working and living in France, North America, Germany, and Austria.

I supposed I had to count myself amongst this group of women, although for some reason they did not feel like 'my tribe'. Many were quick to judge, could be closed-

mindful, and did not consider the bigger picture. They were speciesist (Singer, 1973) in that they would move mountains to save dogs, yet eat the meat of other species. They did not understand my preference for a 'one dog at a time', quality rather than quantity style of rescue, often preferring to 'save' as many as they could. Yet, without this small army of mostly women rescuers, many more canine lives would be lost.

When I asked them why they did it, some said because they loved animals, some because it gave them something to do now they were retired or working part-time, others because their children had grown and left home and it satisfied a need to nurture (Gaarder, 2008; Katz, 2003; Markovits & Queen, 2009). I suspected that most did it for three main reasons including that they wanted relationships with animals, they felt concern for the animal's well-being, and they enjoyed engaging in complex behaviours with them (Irvine, 2004, p. 7).

As an example, I will refer to a participant (CP.) who rescued hunting dogs and rehomed them to the UK. She would have up to eight rescue dogs at any one time, but no more. CP. described her rescue dogs to me by their names and often their history: 'Do you remember Dotty? She was the one I brought to the clinic with the broken pelvis ...' or 'Luna was mum to the ditch puppies ...' and then she would talk about how she related to them: 'Conker is so gorgeous, he comes up to me now and wags his tail ...'. She enjoyed watching the transformation of her rescued subjects as they blossomed both physically, and more slowly psychologically, saying 'have you seen how Jack is doing now, can you see the difference?' (CP., Oct 2018). Her sense of self was made whole by rescuing, and as Weaver says, 'reveals an identity rooted in salvation' and religious inflection

(2013, p. 699). Social media posts would describe CP. and other rescuers as an 'earth angel' rescuing these 'poor souls' (dogs).

In addition to the reasons that Irvine (2004) stipulates, I know rehabilitating hunting dogs helped give me a sense of satisfaction and redress the balance of the suffering I witnessed, in what I understand as a self-healing strategy or coping mechanism. I enjoyed the dogs' company in a somewhat misanthropic preference to human company and learned from them too; how to interact, how to communicate and interpret behaviours which in turn informed my teaching of others. I relished our mutual interactions, observing our interpretations of each other, and shared well-being. Weaver (2013, p. 689) describes this as 'becoming in kind', an enmeshment of our identities, similar to Haraway's (2007) concept of 'becoming'.

However, rescue could be expensive. Many dogs had health problems or caused damage to the house due to separation issues in the early days (and my reluctance to crate them), it was heart-breaking if it went wrong, arduous work, and at times extraordinarily frustrating. The house needed constant cleaning to maintain a level of normality and the overwhelming demand for my help from other rescuers made me feel at times as if it was pointless. I contemplated whether it facilitated or enabled the need further, in a similar way to how commercial breeders are encouraged by pet shop sales (Kenny, 2011; Tushaus, 2009). The desire to make a difference in hunting dogs' lives was key for me. I enjoyed being part of a process where a dog that has had little human contact, presenting similarly to semi-feral or free-ranging dogs, adapted over months to living in a home environment. The wide-eyed look when the television was switched on in front of them for the first time or learning that jumping on the dining

table to eat my dinner is not a preferred behaviour, progressed gradually to a fully relaxed dog that would happily sleep deeply and securely on the sofa, snoring loudly, and content in mutual companionship. For me, this process was hugely important if rescued hunting dogs were ever to experience the happy ending all rescuers wanted for them. People like me who were prepared and able to bring dogs into their homes were unfortunately in very short supply in Cyprus and as such the rescue process was hindered. Even those that could, would vary in their approach to the dogs. Some were inexperienced and lacked the knowledge to engage with the dogs ethically, forcing them into situations or experiences before they were ready and by doing so, exacerbating problems. The position of rescue was succinctly summed up by a rescuer who described it as, 'A war we cannot win, but we need to concentrate on the small battles we do win, one dog at a time.' (MM. 2018).

Historical, cultural, and social factors determined each set of 'becomings'. Dogs with hunting men, dogs with rescuing women, and indeed my own style, all had disadvantages and advantages for the dogs. Hunters during hunting practices allowed dogs to exhibit very natural scenting and tracking behaviours and they provided freedom to run across miles of countryside which the dogs clearly enjoyed enormously. Rescuers protected dogs from some harms and facilitated a different life with obvious welfare benefits. My own way tried to find the balance between canine agency and mutual understanding, allowing choices but also an element of safety and harm prevention. Each approach was an enmeshment of identities, gender expressions, class, and sexuality, all expressed through the nature of the relationships. Haraway infers this kind of becoming is a 'dance of relating' in which the dancers are redone through the patterns they enact, a 'jointly available' process of human and non-human encountering (2007, p. 25). Yet, she

abhors the pet keeping style likened to oedipalized subjectivity. I agree yet disagree. I strive for the deep, encompassing intersubjective relating or becoming that enables me to be aware and to consider my relationships with dogs reflexively. Yet, somehow their own identities can be too merged with mine; their subjectivity smothered by my care and I have to check myself and step back, trusting them to be thou and me to be I. The compromise is in there somewhere, and I believe that good wellbeing and freedom is where that compromise has to exist.

Conclusion

'Men have forgotten this basic truth,' said the fox. 'But you must not forget it. For what you have tamed, you become responsible forever'

(Saint-Exupéry, 1995, p. 82)

In this concluding chapter, I reflect on the research overall and demonstrate how my initial theories about hunting dogs and their humans were correct. The implications of this research, my contributions to the field of anthrozoology and suggestions for future directions the research could take are discussed.

I. Purpose and Findings

This research initially set out to examine whether hunters and hunting practices in Cyprus are causing the neglect and abuse of hunting dogs, or whether this neglect is a fabrication of a one-sided opinion, formed by a well-meaning but misinformed community. I had underestimated how such a simple question would lead to such a complex study. The ethnographic journey led down many interwoven paths as I sought answers, which at the same time presented me with new questions and distractions along the way. As is so often the case, there is no simple answer. In a black and white world, I could answer yes, hunters and hunting practices do cause neglect and abuse of hunting dogs, yet as the data shows, there is far more to it than that. The shades of grey in between have different narratives according to a complex variety of contexts. Overall, I have discovered that the 'hunting dog' is regularly misunderstood in terms of

behaviour, needs, and how they experience their lives. I have found that they are not alone in this, as companion dogs too can suffer similar misunderstandings. The view that dogs can only be happy inside a house, with a human family to take care of him or her, seems to be the most popularly held one by those who contest the hunters and their dog-related practices. Hunting dogs, like many other species, are dominated by humans who control and dictate how their lives will be lived, regardless of whether those people are hunters or rescuers. Canines are a species that can form communities, find niches for themselves, and live a life more appropriate with their own kind, within varying degrees of proximity to humans. They are not lost souls waiting for human saviours but exhibit agency and free will.

The most critical piece of data to arise from this study concerned the practice of caging hunting dogs. The long periods of confinement, lack of stimulation and socialisation, combined with poor husbandry, seemed to have the most detrimental impact on the dogs. The dog's basic needs were not met mentally, emotionally, and sometimes physically, and they suffered as a consequence. However, many much-loved companion dogs are left confined in training crates within the home for long periods, while their guardians are out. Bekoff and Pierce (2019) explain how this type of captivity can be detrimental to millions of dogs suffering from boredom, loneliness, anxiety, and frustration. These feelings can manifest into behavioural problems such as excessive barking, destructiveness, or overeating (Bekoff & Pierce, 2019 eBook loc 326).

The second theme to arise was how many hunters considered dogs as objects or tools to facilitate their sport. This view correlates with dogs in other sporting practices such as greyhound racing (Atkinson & Young, 2005; Jackson, 2001;

Perniola, 2015), or working and assistance roles (Coulter, 2016b; Fine, 2006; O'Haire, 2013; Otto et al., 2019). While hunting, the dogs became essential and valued but should they fail to meet their expected role, the admiration, care, and respect would disappear. Their usefulness governed the dog's lives, suggesting that the consideration of the personhood of dogs was flexible. However, this is not limited to hunting dogs. Companion dogs were the subject of Shir-Vertesh's article where she writes: 'Pets are treated as "flexible persons" or "emotional commodities"; they are loved and incorporated into human lives but can at any moment be demoted and moved outside of the home and the family' (2012, p. 421). This is also seen in the context of family law where, in some cases, dogs are afforded personhood as family members or as property (Kymlicka, 2017) to suit the argument.

Thirdly, the rescue element within the hunting dog arena was another area of interest. The rescuing of hunting dogs was big business and small-scale industry in its own right. Competition for the neediest cases was sometimes surprising but brought financial benefits that did not always benefit the dogs. In turn, this was another form of exploitation, with the dogs objectified once more as victims.

Finally, the lack of enforcement to prevent criminal activity, abuse, or unethical practice was figural throughout. Political and financial agendas influenced work at ground level, which in turn affected the lives of those hunting dogs in need of help.

II. Previous Research

In terms of the original question of whether hunting and hunting practices can lead to the abuse and neglect of hunting dogs, my findings were consistent with

research carried out by those cited in chapter three. Many of these authors describe the view that hunting is more successful when accompanied by dogs. But they discuss how dogs can be handled humanely and then turned into objects based on reasons such as economic constraints or to enhance their masculinity to others (Jordan, 1975). Domination of hunting dogs to increase the perception of masculinity echoes the ideas of Kalof (2014), Marvin (1988), and Serpell (2016) who corroborate the link between masculinity and blood sports.

The telling of the hunting dogs' stories in chapter five, follows on from work conducted by Herman (2016), who promotes the telling of non-human animal stories as a way of increasing our understanding of species ontology and biological status. It contributes to the knowledge of cross-species relationships as discussed by the likes of Herman (2016), McHugh (2011), Smuts (2001) and Hurn (2012). It demonstrated how behavioural aspects of these dogs have adapted according to human preference and genetic modification to improve hunting ability and communication between dog and human, confirmed by the likes of Taylor et al. (2004, 2014). Hunters were and still are, attempting to breed new dogs such as the Litse hound (Marla in chapter five) who are morphologically appealing and have phylogeny that makes them effective scent hounds.

The neglect and abuse of hunting dogs and other non-human animals highlighted in this thesis brought together the fields of human psychology and criminology. The commodification of dogs was discussed in detail and corroborated previous work by Bowen (2018), Flynn (2002) and Ascione (1993). The hunter's justification for killing certain prey resonates with the work of Hurn (2013, 2016) and Marvin (2006), both of whom present opposing sides of the argument; Marvin is not critical of hunting.

One of the main concepts from earlier work which has been applied throughout this study is that of affective empathy (Aaltola, 2018; Decety & Jackson, 2006; Hurn, 2012, 2013, 2015). Affective empathy is one of the most potent phenomenological ways of experiencing non-human animals, allowing us to explore and accept the other's mindedness, seeing not just the species but the individual. Using this in the narratives, where I conveyed the individual's emotions as they resonated within me, the subjectivity of that person and their uniqueness was given added depth. It places humans in the background, making the non-human figural; challenging our egocentric anthropocentrism and enabling an epistemological shift. Therefore, humans can appreciate subjectivity and individuality in non-human others and refuse to commodify them. It is similar to the concept of entangled empathy that Lori Gruen (2015) describes. Entangled empathy is a way in which we see and connect with a specific individual in their particular circumstance and recognise and evaluate our place in relation to that other (Gruen, 2015, p. 63). Both concepts make the philosophical personal, focus on the caring relationship between two individuals, and place emphasis on consent and moral perception. However, with these approaches comes a responsibility to respond, to act on our judgements and help. Yet when circumstances beyond our control do not afford this, the impact on self can be damaging. The critical reflection of these encounters was demonstrated within this thesis, as was the effect of 'empathic overload', where empathy was not moderated, and I experienced the negative consequences of emotional burnout.

III. Key Contributions

In addition to providing some directions for future research, I believe my study has provided many contributions to Anthrozoological knowledge and

understanding, which is still a relatively new and rapidly growing science (Bradshaw, 2017; Herzog, 2010). The research has examined the lives of dogs used for hunting, exposed contradictory attitudes and treatment towards them, and challenged the systems of power that uphold their ongoing abuse and mistreatment. These issues need to be understood, challenged, and changed because otherwise no improvement in the lives of these dogs will occur. Hunters who purport to love their dogs demonstrate that this is not enough when they still sidestep ethical issues. The process of examination conducted within this research encourages what may be an uncomfortable scrutiny by hunters of their own practices, an open-mindedness to embrace change, and for animal advocates to encourage rather than ridicule this process.

Theoretical Contributions

Ethnographic record of Cyprus – The research contributes to the existing body of ethnographic anthropological literature about Cyprus (Papadakis et al., 2006; Theodorou, 2008), but with an additional focus on the cultural phenomenon of hunting practices with dogs. With hunting viewed as an important and traditional leisure pastime, this contribution adds new information and attends to gaps in the literature in terms of the lives of dogs used for hunting, not just the humans.

Developing animal biographies – Non-human animal biographical literature continues to grow and this research contributes further to this area by reframing animals from objects to individuals (DeMello, 2013; Krebber & Roscher, 2018; Savvides, 2012; Shah, 2018). The dog's biographies are captured and by doing so, their knowledge and experiences invite deeper discussions about the use of non-human animals in a hunting context. This is an important factor in terms of animal welfare and activist discourses. It presents a more dog-centric focus to a

sporting practice that has historically been portrayed from an anthropocentric perspective. In doing so, it enhances the understanding of animal exploitation in the context of hunting and shooting sports and answers the research question, what is hunting with dogs in Cyprus? It reveals that the majority of hunting dogs in this geographical context are commodified, abused, denied personhood, and devalued by their role in the activity. Dogs who have been used for hunting in Cyprus have not been studied in this way before. This study discovers the dogs' perceptions, suffering, and the connections with the humans they interact with, in this specific context.

Animal labour – Throughout the thesis, dogs are presented as individuals within the broader context of animal labour (Coulter, 2016b). Referred to as 'tools' by hunters and those within government departments, it provides insights into the human expectations of hunting dog labourers. The thesis challenges the anthropocentric paradigm of animals as machines and discusses the ways in which animal labour can be both exploitative and inherently oppressive (Coulter, 2016a) but ironically, in the case of dogs used for hunting, enjoyable for them whilst in the act of 'working'.

Animal Rescue – The research contradicts popular perceptions of animal rescue by showing both positive and negative aspects of rescue work. It confirms and expands on literature that encourages us to create new models of care within rescue that recognise individual engagement and acknowledge the interdependence of both human and non-human relationships, and by doing so protect the more vulnerable from further exploitation (Abrell, 2016; Guenther, 2020). The research shows the similarities between confinement in a rescue and hunting context and how these create similar welfare issues. It provides new

insights into the mismanagement of some rescue organisations revealing the potential for these safe havens to become places of financial mismanagement, neglect, and abuse.

Care ethics - Ethics of care theory is contributed to in a relational way by exploring the inter-species dynamics between human and dog. In this context, the hunting dog was at the centre and attention was given to how morality was considered by hunters in the sympathetic or otherwise treatment of their dogs during interactions with them.

Researcher positionality - My own positionality within the research contributes to existing knowledge in a way that validates work by Kathryn Herr and Gary Anderson, who describe the continuum that researchers take from being an insider to being an outsider, and back again. This study demonstrates throughout the dilemmas and possibilities of this type of 'action research' (Herr & Anderson, 2005, p. 2). The autobiographical approach adds to the knowledge base of self-practice and professional transformation, in particular the impact of witnessing trauma on researchers.

Trauma by research – Vicarious trauma experienced by researchers who witness, or experience another's abuse, violence, death, or exploitation is a growing area of research (Bloor et al., 2010; Chaitin, 2003; McCann & Pearlman, 1990). The psychological impact on the researcher and ways in which coping strategies are implemented and assessed are finally being recognised. However, the majority of knowledge is based on human trauma rather than non-human, therefore the discussion on the impact of witnessing a non-human other's trauma contributes to this important subject area from a novel perspective. It can help

others in the field to plan their work, create support and safety strategies, and encourages the effective use of positive interventions.

Witnessing - The act of bearing witness and the emotional impact of being amongst and embodying animal suffering is presented from both human and non-human animal perceptions, contributing to a relatively small body of work that already exists (Asher et al., 2009; Dave, 2014; Gillespie, 2016; Gillespie & Lopez, 2019; Ropers-Huilman, 1999). Yet, with the exception of Gillespie describing dairy cattle, these authors give an overview of the process of witnessing or present the perspectives of the human. The specific contribution that this thesis makes is that the witnessing of dogs is presented.

Dog welfare – Current literature on dog welfare focusses on aspects of working dogs, dogs within kennel environments, training methods, or within veterinary settings (Hiby et al., 2004; Polgár et al., 2019; Rooney et al., 2009). The examination of dogs used for hunting has not been presented in the way in which it is here. This provides a unique opportunity to consider the welfare aspects of husbandry and training methods of hunting dogs in Mediterranean areas and to inform change.

Methodological Contributions

Integrative approach in HAS – The unique approach was inspired by Richard Erskine's model within a psychotherapeutic context (Erskine, 1997). I drew on this and considered how the needs of the research could be met using a variety of methods that would integrate all aspects of the dogs' experiences, rather than just one or two, as in more traditional studies. This allowed me to 'go with the flow' of the research, changing to meet the needs of data collection and so

forming a greater framework of understanding without being constricted by a fixed methodology or methodologies. Although this way of working has been presented in other fields (Alikina et al, 2019; Haynes, 1999), I believe that it is novel approach within HAS. **Online data collection** methods were contributed to in how I discussed the themes of the research and collected data. This was particularly useful as it gave a broad perspective, allowing me to reach many more people than if I had kept interactions face to face. In terms of the COVID-19 situation, online data collection became even more significant and therefore this method was particularly pertinent.

An area that was not so easily achieved by online data collection was the **animal biography**. A large section of this thesis provides a narrative of the dogs whose stories are highlighted. Animal biographies and narratives are a way in which the animal perspective or 'zoonarrative' can be incorporated into the work, bringing another dimension and reference to the non-human animal experience. This adds depth and insight to the dogs' world and contributes further to the impact of non-human animal representation in the Anthropocene.

Applied Contributions

For this research to be impactful, it has to refute the beliefs of the audience and lead to 'real world change' which it does. For example, this research has demonstrated that rescued dogs do not necessarily experience improved well-being in a shelter cage compared with a hunter's cage. Sometimes hunting dogs prefer to be free than kept within the confines of a house. Not all hunters abuse or abandon their dogs, indeed some are cared for better than most 'pet' dogs. Not all rescuers are saintly or work in the best interests of the dogs they are charged with caring for. This research did highlight a need for a greater

understanding of dogs, their needs, and behaviour within hunting, rescue, and dog training sectors of Cyprus. It demonstrated that dogs witnessing the suffering of conspecifics are affected negatively and this is an area that deserves further research.

I have advocated throughout this thesis my wish to apply my own learning to improve the lives of hunting dogs. The only way I knew how to do this was to teach those who could share the information and act on the findings. This research showed that changes were needed, not just in hunting dog husbandry, but also in the rescue and training sectors and I wanted to raise awareness of all the issues that I had uncovered. I was keen for any education that I delivered not to be misconstrued as 'hunter-bashing' but instead as a process that encouraged a compassionate, respectful, and responsible understanding of the dogs, recognising their agency alongside their interdependence. I knew that the use of hunting dogs would not stop soon, so rather than seek to abolish it, I chose to provide accurate and evidence-based information that would encourage those who interacted with hunting dogs to do the least harm to them, physically, behaviourally, and psychologically. I discussed the issues of canine welfare more generally with Cypriot colleagues who were involved in rescue work in Cyprus and I asked them what they believed the solutions were to the many problems for hunting dogs previously discussed. The same themes arose every time I asked the question: the existing laws need to be enforced, communities need to be educated from an early age, and indiscriminate breeding, whether deliberate or not, must stop to reduce the population. Two of those solutions were out of my control, although I was happy to try to influence them, but I could educate and share my knowledge.

I was not a qualified teacher, however, I enjoyed helping others learn. To see the 'light bulb moment' when a human understood why their dog was doing what she did was hugely rewarding. I was far more used to being angry at the world, protesting and 'fighting' for animal rights, yet I knew this approach would not be useful if I wanted to facilitate change. I had built up a small network of people who worked within the dog rescue or training sector and I knew that they were keen to learn more about dog behaviour and how to work with them. This was my opportunity to consider how to translate my findings into something that could be used to get people thinking about the issues of hunting dogs and start working towards some solutions. I had to turn my passion for animal rights into educating others in the context of Cyprus.

Attitudes towards non-human animals within and between societies vary. Phillip and McCulloch (2005) studied the attitudes on animal sentience and societal use of animals. A questionnaire was used to gauge opinions of a multi-national and well-educated group of students. They found that attribution of sentience varied according to nationality and the species they were relating to. Students from Southeast Asia attributed high levels of sentience to pigs and chickens, while Chinese students to rats and fish. They found that cruelty to farmed animals was condoned more by students from Asian countries than those from the USA and Europe (Phillips et al., 2012; Phillips & McCulloch, 2005). These studies demonstrated the importance of the varying global recognition of sentience and the need for education or an appreciation that all species are capable of suffering and I thought back to the incident with the boy and the frog in chapter 2.7.

We know that the purpose of non-human animal welfare education is to promote a positive empathic relationship between children and non-human animals

(Ascione, 1992; Melson, 2003, 2009) and by doing so, improve welfare. Research also suggests that the relationships that children have with their companion animals are significant and that children are motivated to treat non-human animals with respect and care for them with an element of responsibility (Bryant, 1990; Fonseca et al., 2011). Children and young people who experience living with non-human animal companions have been found to be more empathic (Taylor & Signal, 2005). However, this is disputed by some, who suggest that this is apparent in dog-related companionship, but that cat companionship does not create the same empathic responses (Daly & Morton, 2008).

Hawkins et al. explain that 'Animal welfare education for children may be one of the most fruitful approaches for improving the welfare of animals' (2017, p. 241) and they carry on describing the importance of understanding the psychological factors involved in children's relationships with animals. Knowledge of welfare needs and responsibilities (Coleman et al., 2008), empathy towards the non-human animal (Ascione, 1992), and attitudes and beliefs about them (Jr & Kellert, 2002) appear to be critical aspects of welfare education. From these studies, I know that animal welfare education is beneficial, particularly regarding dogs which is of course the main focus of my research. Yet for adults, animal welfare education availability is aimed at professionals or industry, and the results are therefore different. As ever, animal welfare, including education, focusses mostly on the farm animal sector and as such, adult education about or perceptions of animal welfare is aimed mainly at farmers and other professionals involved in livestock production (Bennett, 1996; Jamieson et al., 2015; Ventura et al., 2016). In terms of the general public within the European Union, the EDUCAWEL (2016) commissioned a study on education and information relating to animal welfare, giving some insight into the views of adults in eight member states and it provides

an Austrian case study. It demonstrates that the public's knowledge of animal welfare is based on their expectations rather than reality, it highlights that it is predominantly non-governmental organisations providing adult education on animal welfare issues, and finally that there is a lack of harmonisation regarding training initiatives for animal professionals across Europe (EDUCAWEL, 2016, p. 46).

In Cyprus, there were no specific adult education providers through which people could access courses on animal welfare issues. Prospective students attended courses either through distance learning or in-person in other countries. I encountered a varied range of knowledge in colleagues who worked with dogs, both in rescue and as dog trainers. I decided that having found a network of people who shared a similar interest, I would begin my work of sharing research knowledge with them initially, with the hope that word would spread and eventually I would capture the hunting community too.

The first such seminar was in January 2019, where I organised a day of workshops entitled 'Understanding Your Rescue Dog' that was aimed at people who either worked in rescue or had adopted or fostered rescue dogs. The first seminar in a series of four (Fig. 47) was hosted in Paphos as that is the area that has the least opportunity to access training, unlike Nicosia where the occasional dog training workshop is offered. I invited an established force-free trainer from Nicosia and a veterinary surgeon to speak too, so the information covered ranged from behaviour and body language, training using appropriate methods, to health issues specific to rescue dogs in Cyprus. In my introduction, I discussed my research work briefly. Still, throughout my presentations, I demonstrated the rehabilitation work using examples of dogs that had previously been used in a

hunting environment who I had worked with, including case studies and photographs. Discussions brought up the subject of hunting dogs, with agreement amongst the audience that the majority of the dogs in the shelters where they worked or volunteered were hunting dogs.



Figure 47. Author presenting at seminar, Nicosia 2019

Some may say that I was preaching to the converted, but 90% of attendees said they found the day very informative in their feedback evaluation and that they were keen to attend more days in related subjects. I also posted some pictures from the day to my Facebook page and noted that it was 'liked' by several hunters with whom I was connected. Two days later, one of them who was also the head of the Cyprus Pointer and Setter Club, posted in their Facebook group page that

they intended to host a seminar day too on training gun dogs. I was sure our perspectives about training would be different, but the fact that they were offering training filled me with hope, and I intended to provide educational input to them should they have accepted it. I sensed the very tender shoots of change, not necessarily because the hunting community want what is best for the dogs, but perhaps more that they want to be seen to be doing the right thing (see Fig. 48). Nevertheless, by educating some of their members, bearing in mind that the Cyprus Pointer and Setter Club is only a tiny fraction of the hunting community, it was an opportunity for change that was not there before and for that reason alone I was pleased.

Temple Grandin says that '...changing human behaviour is the route to improving animal welfare and that many groups have an interest in seeing changes implemented' (2010, p. 228). However, change is a difficult concept for humans to grasp and accept, with many discovering that altering established behaviours can be extremely challenging. Considering that animal welfare change is not just about changing behaviour for themselves but for another being, it is even harder when that third party (a hunting dog) is not valued in the same way as themselves or other humans.

At the time of writing AA. told me that he had joined the committee of the Cyprus Kennel Club. Shortly afterwards he introduced me to the chairman who invited me to become a consultant for them, advising on welfare and education. This process is ongoing.

I have also published two articles based on this work in the peer reviewed The IAABC Journal (Tyler, 2020) and Edition Dog Magazine (Tyler, 2019), and provided consultancy to the directors of two films; Stray and The Hunt. These

films will feature at the Limassol Film Exhibition 2021, where I have been invited to speak about the issues raised within the research.

IV. Limitations

The most problematic areas of the research arose during data collection. Access to dogs and hunters was difficult when hunting was taking place, as having to observe the limitations imposed by the University's research ethics committee restricted me due to safety issues with firearms. This decision was understandable as the style of shooting was rather ad hoc, unsafe, and the risks of injury high. I resolved this by establishing relationships through social media avenues and then followed them up in person in non-hunting environments such as gun shops, coffee shops, or field trials where guns were not used. I also gained a lot of access through the work at the veterinary clinic, which proved an invaluable opportunity to talk with hunters and access their dogs. More difficult again was accessing caged dogs, who were often kept in remote areas that were not easy to find or to approach, accessible only by rough dirt tracks. The environment was often sweltering with temperatures above 35°C which made observations uncomfortable.

The biggest problem I encountered though, was with Cypriot governmental authorities, specifically the Veterinary Services. I thought it was an essential part of the research that I should discuss the issues surrounding hunting dogs with them. The department receives much criticism, and I wanted to hear their perspective and report this. Having access to staff in the department blocked, left a vital section of information out and forced me to try and discover this information by coming from a complainant's perspective. I reported the welfare issues of two

pigs that I found in a cage, with no food or water and in poor condition. This case was potentially biased from the beginning, due to the nature of the complaint (animal suffering). Therefore, while I tried my best to be reflexive, my view of their work was limited because of this lack of access.

The behaviour of some hunters towards their dogs which appeared neglectful or cruel would impact me in a way where it was difficult to remain unbiased and may have unwittingly influenced data. Seeing hunters using remotely controlled electric shock collars, or forcing the dogs into situations where they were afraid, created an angry emotional response in me towards the dogs' suffering. The immoral euthanasia of young hunting dogs profoundly influenced my interactions with those hunters involved. Trying to remain seemingly unaffected and unbiased was difficult, and I suspect may have changed how I related to those hunters.

Limitations of the research design were identified as follows. Firstly, it was affected to a certain extent by a language barrier, not specifically in terms of correct Greek, but colloquial or slang comments were missed at times. As an ethnographic piece, this could have been improved if I had understood these aspects of the language. Having to speak English to me most of the time was not so much of a problem linguistically. Still, anti-British feelings do exist in Cyprus, and I suspect this may have influenced some informants' attitudes towards me. Perhaps having a Cypriot research assistant might have been useful to counter this, rather than just gatekeepers.

It may also have been useful to invite informants to comment retrospectively on their interview transcriptions, to check my interpretation and observations were correct. 'Member checking' as it is commonly called, is seen as good practice by some to ensure the validity of transcripts and an accurate reflection of what was

said during interviews (Birt et al., 2016; Buchbinder, 2010). Other authors disagree and suggest that it does not enhance the quality of the research (Thomas, 2017). The few participants who were interviewed were asked for consent to use their information and quote what was said. Interviewees were asked to read my transcripts when the interview concluded. This offered them an opportunity to check that they agreed with what I had transcribed and consent to its use. Aside from those participants that were interviewed, other participants were engaged with, in an ongoing manner, where I facilitated a reciprocal and equal power-based relationship (Fossey et al., 2002; Goldblatt et al., 2011; Tracy, 2010). I was concerned that to revisit transcripts several years post-interview, would allow opportunities for participants to revise transcripts so that they would not accurately reflect the conversation at the time, or worse still, withdraw. After having already sought consent, I felt that this was sufficient. Finally, my research diary could have been more targeted or focussed on particular elements of the research rather than its day-to-day reality.

V. Recommendations

A future area for research would be for a thorough investigation into husbandry practices of hunting dogs and how this might be improved, this would include their role as witnesses to suffering. This study demonstrated that it impacted negatively on the dogs by how they exhibited stress behaviours while observed in cages, and the presentation of dogs in poor health at the veterinary clinic. As such, efforts should be made to make improvements which in turn will improve the quality of life for these dogs. Caging practices, in particular, seemed to cause much psychological distress and did not seem to encourage good care, often due

to the remote and exposed location of cages in relation to hunter's homes, which were usually some distance away.

The study demonstrated what appeared to be a lack of understanding and subsequent empathy towards hunting dogs by their owners. For some, this was reflected in their beliefs about animals generally, and the machismo persona was demonstrated in their attitudes and behaviours towards women too. A particular area that I believe would be important to research would be to establish if there is a link between this hunting mentality and the high incidence of domestic violence perpetrated by men in Cyprus (Baldry & Konstantinou, 2017; Mavrikiou et al., 2014; Panayiotopoulos, 2011; Zalaf et al., 2015). The link between animal cruelty and interpersonal violence is well documented (Ascione et al., 2016; Ascione & Arkow, 1999; Hartman et al., 2019; Monsalve et al., 2017; Taylor & Fraser, 2019). However, there is little literature available on the specific links between hunting and domestic violence, apart from anecdotal evidence.

A final area that could be explored is the apparent unwillingness or inability to enforce the law in terms of animal welfare, guns, and hunting. I suspect the lack of government finance for this area is an issue, but with the hunting lobby influencing the country's politics, it would be interesting to find a connection. However, without investigation, this remains a speculative notion.

VI. Final Reflections

During this research journey, I witnessed little encouragement for change. I saw cries for help, demonisation, blame, accusation, lack of responsibility, and an overall sense of crisis management. Different organisations or sections of the community had their reasons for why change must happen. The legislators

wanted to be seen to be active and to stop being undermined by lack of enforcement. The rescuers wanted to stop being traumatised by witnessing suffering. The tourist industry wanted to encourage visitors that are not going to discover nightmarish scenarios on their travels and then broadcast a negative reputation.

Good animal welfare is something the general public strive to be a part of. People are willing to pay extra for high welfare products (Blandford & Fulponi, 1999; Horgan & Gavinelli, 2006; Napolitano et al., 2013; Nocella et al., 2015), and are keen to make themselves feel better by donating to causes that help prevent suffering (Bennett, 1996; Paul & Serpell, 1993; Zagefka & James, 2015), they want to be seen as ethical and responsible.

But the hunting dog situation in Cyprus will not change until there is an awareness of it and change has to be facilitated by ownership of those accountable for their care. Telling hunters that they are wrong or bad people will not work, neither will me standing up and telling them that what they have done for decades is incorrect and that they must do it my way instead, even if my presentation slides are full of attractive hunting dogs. They have to be allowed to believe change is their idea, that they are the ones solving their problems (McKenzie, 1996).

At the time of writing the hunting season had begun once more. Despite the reversion to Greenwich Mean Time, that particular Sunday did not provide the 'extra snooze' that Winston Churchill described, but the inevitable 5.30 AM start of gunfire and resulting upset of my canine companions. Watching the morning's events unfold, I was pleased to see fewer hunters overall than in the previous two years and only one hunter who was accompanied by dogs. The expected unleashing of tens of overexcited, baying hounds, with their jangling goat bells

suspended from their collars adding to the percussive of hunting sounds, was surprisingly absent. As was the usual presence of lost or confused hunting dogs on the local roads, which had to be carefully avoided when driving on a Sunday.

Despite these noticeable changes, the usual public protest by many British immigrants on social media was still evident. In forums dedicated to these groups, questions could be asked about local matters. The subject of hunting was quickly discussed, with complaints about shots being fired too close to houses, the indiscriminate killing of wildlife, and the anti-hunting rhetoric that I had come to expect. Yet, I also noticed comments that were not so negative, but advisory, suggesting a shift towards tolerance and acceptance of hunting.

My perusal of social media after the first hunting day of the year seemed to reflect the efforts of hunting federations, clubs, and indeed the government, to improve the perception of hunters and promote responsibility towards their dogs as discussed in chapter two. Over the summer of 2019, the government provided free identity microchipping of all dogs to counteract the stray dog problem that exists, which is mostly blamed on hunters who are accused of abandoning their dogs at the end of a season or who lose them on hunting days. They also commissioned television advertisements and videos on social media, that promoted responsible dog ownership and improved welfare. The hunting federation tried to impose a limit of four dogs per hunter at any time while out hunting. Hunters reacted angrily, and the rule was quickly overturned. Instead, the federation increased the cost of hunting dog licenses which could only be obtained for dogs who were microchipped and introduced hefty fines should any hunter be found in possession of an unlicensed dog.

[Episkopi dogs](#)

Figure 48. Video - Different dogs but improved conditions of caged hunting dogs, Episkopi, September 2020.

I believe that times are changing, and the country is beginning to wake up to the notion of animal sentience and welfare. There is a new tolerance for hunters by some and new expectations by many, including even the hunters themselves, that they need to become responsible and respectful towards their dogs. I hope this continues and that it ultimately leads to a reduction in suffering and the improved lives of these beautiful creatures.

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