

“A new world”

Guide dogs as eyes and companions of blind people

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The sensoria, sight and blindness, are explored as cultural as well as corporeal acts. Blindness as an illness and sickness adds personal suffering and social dis-ease to the disability of that sensory loss. The loss of sense of self and ‘imprisonment’ concomitant with the cultural experience of the ‘newly blinded’ are described. Narratives from an ethnography of guide dog ownership within Britain are used to explore the processes of ‘growing together’ and ‘healing’; idioms which frame a discourse on humanity, disability and animality that maybe ‘muted’ within the dualistic ‘traditions’ of biomedicine and companion animal research. In ‘growing together’, a new sense of self which ‘incorporates’ the dog is refabricated enabling not only eyes but thoughts, mood and illth to be shared. This intimate companionship and synaesthesia in turn begins to heal much of the isolation and suffering of blindness. The embodied sense of self and dog is thus implicated in the experience of a newly created world of possibilities.

For those with vision, whilst sight is intrinsic to the eye and undeniably a sense of the corporeal biomedical body, it is also much more. Concomitantly, for those in whom the sense of sight is permanently extinguished, the loss both pervades the body and breaches its boundaries. Sight and blindness are both physical and cultural acts.

Like all ‘major illness’ blindness as a personal and cultural, as well as corporeal product, reveals its intimate relationship with “loss of identity (and)... transformation of personhood” (B. Turner 1992: 167). Within Britain, the ‘instrumental’ response to this sensory loss comes in the form of a mobility aid; the guide dog¹

This text explores the process of living and working with a guide dog. As not only eyes, but intimate companions of blind people, this unique partnership creates a space within which a powerful and efficacious sense of self can be reconfigured and a new sense of personhood, that is continuous with the dog, begins to heal the isolation and suffering of all the corporeal and incorporeal facets of blindness.

As the body is revealed to be “other than a (natural) stable experience” (Armstrong 1983: xi, Foucault 1973, 1977), so the sense of sight, as all techniques of the body, is “more than a completely physical arrangement of mechanisms” (Mauss 1973: 72). Sight, like all senses, is a culturally and historically specific, habituated and affective

bodily performance (Connerton 1989), which enables us to make sense of the world in culturally specific ways (Classen 1993). Our habits of perception therefore are both determined by and determine culture and both conceal and express cultural values and categories. Classen (1993: 136-7) states:

Sensory values are social values, sensory relations are also social relations... When sensory orders express cosmic orders, cosmologies are not only read about or heard of, but lived through one's own body. Every time a Tzotzil woman walks on the cool earth with her bare feet, she is reminded of her symbolic coldness. The Tzotzil feel their cosmology through the temperature of their bodies.

Sight and blindness are therefore not only, or even, exclusive properties of the eye but of the embodied self and culture. Blindness, like all senses (Classen 1993) and symptoms (Scheper-Hughes 1990), 'disrespects' the narrow focus of the biomedical gaze, for whilst blindness maybe a corporeal dysfunction it is, like all illth, also a personal misfortune, a cultural product, a symbol and a social dis-ease. Having lost their sense of sight, the newly blinded, like the newly sighted (Hocken 1977), therefore "need to learn what blindness means" (Zee 1983: 477), as a disease, illness and a sickness.

Disease, illness and sickness

For biomedicine, unless within the psychiatric domain, the diagnostic criteria for the loss of the sense of sight (rather than a disturbance of that sense, Luria 1973) is, relative to some diseases (Robinson 1988), comparatively straight forward. Aetiology, is perhaps more complex (particularly for the psychiatrist) but within biomedical parameters it is restricted to the boundaries of the optical apparatus; lesions to the eye, occipital cortex and optic tract. In short, to the parameters of the discrete body.

In contrast² the sufferers of 'river blindness' that inhabit the banks of the Sewa in Sierra Leone, attribute their blindness to witchcraft. After the 'struggle' of biomedical personnel against the 'stupidity and ignorance' of traditional beliefs and healers, some villagers were apparently successfully re-educated as to the 'true cause' of river blindness; that is, worms transmitted through the bite of the black simuliid fly. One villager, then took the time to enquire: "Who sent the fly to bite me?" (Dowden 1994: 13).

As the sense of sight traverses the boundaries of the eye and the body, so its loss adds personal suffering and social dis-ease to the disability of that sensory loss. Through the inescapable and cumulative experience of blindness, the newly blinded gradually come to learn the total personal meaning of their illness; what it is to suffer blindness. A distinction between the loss of a sense of sight and a 'sense' of blindness. In his personal account of encroaching sightlessness and eventual blindness, Hull (1990) refers to this process as marking the difference between a sighted person that cannot see and a blind person. No matter how rapid the loss of sense of sight, for the sufferer, the transition to blindness remains a slow and painful one, for encompassed within that journey is far more than the eye can ever behold. For Hull (1990) the paradox of blindness lay not in the instrumental dis-ability of its sensory loss but arose from the very 'ability' of blindness, over time, to destroy one world and recreate another and the 'unsharability' (Scarry 1985) of that world and of that pain.

Here, the frequently cited metaphor of prison (Zee 1983) is apposite, it tells of the social marginalization, isolation, loneliness and powerlessness of this other world and the reduced sense of self that comes to inhabit it. Extending the metaphor, the inhabitants of prison and blindness find themselves in a different temporal and spatial world, where space is reduced and time expands (Hull 1990). The boundaries between day and night, public and private, even life and death, become disrupted which, for the prisoners at least, leads to a reduced sense of self and power (Frankenberg 1988). Hull (1990: 111) states:

Modern technology seeks to expand human space and compress human time. The disabled person, on the other hand, finds that space is contracted and time expanded. It is because of the space-time co-ordinates within which the blind person lives that his life becomes gradually different from the lives of sighted people, particularly in a time of high technology.

The new world of blindness is an un-enlightened prison, the spatial co-ordinates of which are reduced to the body whilst the temporal dimension stretches infinite. The 'essentialness' of blindness, like pain (Scarry 1985), lies in the paradox of its unavoidable certainty and concurrently, its invisibility, distance and remoteness from other bodies. Blindness, as pain, "achieves its aversiveness, in part, by bringing about, even within the radius of several feet, an absolute split between one's own sense of one's own reality and the reality of other persons" (Scarry 1985: 4). The 'unsharability' of a sense of blindness leads to isolation, loneliness and despair. Hull (1990: 222) explains: "It is hard to help people to see that physical mobility is no problem. What worries me is social mobility."

With "no extension of awareness into space" (Hull 1990: 88), "the body itself becomes the organ of sense" (Hull 1990: 219). Whilst acoustic images help to define the world and touch, momentarily re-creates it, "the body's knowledge of its surroundings does not exceed its own dimensions (which) is such a... strange kind of reality for the body in the world, that the sighted can hardly grasp it" (Hull 1990: 219). The body, as an organ of sense and 'sight', creates a paradox for when the 'gallery' of remaining visual images fade. Hull (1990: 35) states:

To lose one's face poses a new problem. I find that I am trying to recall old photographs of myself, just to remember what I look like. I discover, with a shock, that I cannot remember. Must I become a blank on the wall of my own gallery? To what extent is loss of image of the face connected with loss of image of the self? Is this one of the reasons I often feel I am a mere spirit, a ghost, a memory? Other people have become disembodied voices, speaking out of nowhere. Am I not like this too, now that I have lost my body?

Another aspect of this is the horror of being faceless; of forgetting one's own appearance, of having no face. The face is the mirror image of the self... The disappearance of the face is the most poignant example of the dematerialization of the whole body. People become mere sounds (Hull 1990: 76-77).

As an illness, blindness reveals itself to be a prison, an 'autonomous' and bounded "little world... yet surrounded by and held within a greater world, the world of the sighted" (Hull 1990: 299). The disabilities which blindness, as an illness, creates are therefore further compounded by the debilitating effects of blindness as a sickness. Sight and

blindness as cultural products and symbols, are accompanied by a host of attendant myths (Zee 1983) and metaphors which may "make the task of individual's coming to terms with disease... more and not less difficult" (Frankenberg 1986: 606).

Visual metaphors (commonly employed in the English language) and the history of symbols in art, create an "intimate connection between seeing and knowing" (Hull 1990: 40), enlightenment and knowledge and ultimately, knowledge and power. "Blindness, leads to ignorance" (Hull 1990: 40) and ambiguity. Hull (1990: 87-88) states:

It has been suggested that blindness is one of the great symbols or archetypes. In the art and mythology of many peoples, blindness is associated with ignorance, confusion and unconsciousness... Perhaps my actual blindness has activated the archetype of blindness within me. This could be why in these states of depression I feel as if I am on the borders of conscious life... I feel as if I want to stop thinking, stop experiencing. The lack of a body image makes this worse; the fact that one can't glance down and see the reassuring continuity of one's own consciousness in the outlines of one's own body... I am becoming ubiquitous. I am dissolving. The archetype of blindness represents the power to obliterate the distinction between that which is known and that which is not known... It represents dissolution, the borderland between being and not being.

Blindness, like all illth, breaches the boundary of the eye and of the body revealing itself to be as much a personal and 'cultural' dis-ability as it is a 'natural' sensory disability. Under the biomedical gaze, the ophthalmoscope clearly reduces, delineates and bounds the area of sensory loss and signifies the appropriate locus and means of cure. Biomedicine's Cartesian legacy and organic and mechanistic conceptualization of illth, is coterminous with a commitment to curing and healing organised around instrumental action "which may stand in the way of healing success as well as lead to it" (Frankenberg 1986: 605), revealing itself to be 'partial' and often insufficient.

The stories of guide dog owners

Within contemporary Britain, the archetypal symbol of blindness, is the guide dog, colloquially referred to as the 'blind dog'. As eyes of the blind, they are instrumental as a tool for aiding safe and independent mobility. However, the tales of guide dogs reveal much more than can be seen at first sight. As the prison which is blindness reveals itself to be infinitely larger than a sensory loss to the eye and resultant inconvenience and immobility, so it transpires that the 'mobility aid' far outreaches its intended and perhaps primary 'function'. Closing down the prison of blindness, it heals some of its suffering and opens up a 'new world', of perhaps infinite possibilities.

The 'new world' of guide dog ownership³ is reconstructed through this text. The inspiration behind the research came from a poem, written by a child and dedicated to her support dog (whom she called 'God'). The poem recounts her new-found sense of freedom from within the constraints of a severely disabled body. The rationale behind the research came from the symposium of the 'Association of Pet Behavioural Counsellors' at which the poem was related. The juxtaposition of these two images; of the embodied non-dualistic experience of child and dog and the animal human dialectic upon which the conference discourse depended (Woods 1993), stood in marked contrast. This disparity was suggestive of a multiplicity of diverse meanings and images and unstable, constantly shifting boundaries, that must be continually managed by the

disabled in their relationship with a support dog. The story which this text reconstructs, explores the 'meanings' of guide dogs for their blind owners and the synthesis of human and dog which heals much of the suffering that is blindness.

The narratives that follow tell the stories of Andrew, Peter, Jackie and Michael; four guide dog owners living in the south of England who have owned guide dogs for fifteen, fourteen, thirteen and four years respectively. Given the passage of time involved, all are now 'experts', both of the medical, personal and cultural meaning of their blindness and of guide dog ownership. Each, gradually lost their sight in their professional adult working life (although currently only Jackie is employed) and with the exception of Michael, who immediately equated his blindness with guide dog application, the decision to apply for their first guide dog appears to have been gradual as the 'struggle' of safe and independent mobility became too great.

Michael currently 'owns' his first dog, Jackie, her second and Peter and Andrew their third. Andrew, Jackie and Peter have thus all experienced the retirement of a dog, both Andrew and Peter having kept one dog as a 'family pet' following its retirement. All three have experienced the pain of bereavement. All respondents lived with a spouse in what appeared to be a supportive family network.⁴ Indeed, in each case, the support and devotion of the 'sighted' partner was both evident and expressed as Andrew told me: "I'm privileged in having a wife who is fully sighted and extremely tolerant. It is, from my point of view excellent, and his (the guide dog) too for that matter."

Semi-structured interviews were conducted within people's homes with the expressed purpose of seeking to understand the 'meanings' their dogs had for them. All are retrospective stories and in reconstructing the past from the present, the stories guide dog owners chose to tell from the repertoire available to them, somewhat obscured the diuturnity of the 'prison' that is blindness, the 'developing' meaning of the dog and the 'process' of healing. From the current position of embodied sense of self and dog, the stories told were all happy ones.

The polysemic narratives of guide dog owners expressed multiple cultural tales. The stories pertinently revealed the dynamic process of constructing and relating knowledge and the multiplicity of diverse meanings held simultaneously (Young 1981). A dual narrative strand was discernible to greater or lesser degrees in each respondent's own personal story and created a perpetual tension between the dualistic thinking of animals as 'other'; as a disembodied 'guide' and the non-dualistic thinking of animals as continuous with the self and the gradual process of healing, which that synaesthesia and embodiment enabled. Whilst one story was told with confidence and clarity, the other was sometimes hesitant and whispered.

The following narratives trace two symbiotic processes. The first part looks at the diachronic process of 'growing together'; the embodiment of human and dog, or, in another idiom, the process of 'bonding'. The second, focuses on the affective, expressive 'process of healing' that is concomitant with the synthetic union of human and dog, or, the dog as a 'catalyst' for life changes. The juxtaposition of the two discourses, immediately throws into relief the perpetual tension which must be continually mediated by the guide dog owner in ways which will be both personally meaningful and culturally sustainable.

The process of constructing and relating knowledge is thus inherently fluid and draws upon multiple realities. The process of constructing and transcribing this text has been equally 'partial'. Transcripts were selected which predominantly gave voice to 'muted' (E. Ardener 1975a, 1975b) sentiments and meanings, of the human animal continuum, idioms which although expressed cannot necessarily be heard within traditional dualistic paradigms. An anthropological gaze sensitive to these 'muted' categories creates a space within which narratives that 'disrespect and breach the boundaries' of traditional dualisms (Scheper-Hughes 1990) maybe heard and venerated.

Growing together

The loss of the sense of sight and the concomitant restrictions this places on the safe and even flow of habituated bodily performance, is a very real and painful 'physical inconvenience' as Jackie described:

It is... difficult. Going out on your own is a bit impossible because lamp-posts seem to get in the way... all the street furniture, roadworks. When I was trying to go shopping, by the time I got to the shops I was a nervous wreck... I used a white stick at the time because my sight was going down. It was a case of someone saying to me why didn't I get a guide dog... I didn't think I needed one, a lot of people think they don't, they think... they should be for people who need them more than I do... you try and manage a lot longer than you should do really.

But more than physical inconvenience, for the newly blinded, sightlessness "maybe a threat to self esteem and to one's established identity" (Zee 1983: 475). Shelia Hocken (1977: 107) states:

To have that sense suddenly taken away is a terrible blow. It brings with it not only physical blindness, but a kind of equivalent mental blindness as well. Sea-anemones immediately close up when anything touches them. People who go blind seem to close up mentally in the same way.

Throughout the narratives of guide dog owners, the metaphor of prison frequently reoccurred and began to tell not only of the darkness, but of the isolation, loneliness, stigma, powerlessness, dependence and totality of blindness. When all aspects of life; work, rest and play are enacted within the prison of blindness, this may lead to a loss of a sense of self and ontological insecurity where freedom is lost and the capacity for growth and change restricted. Jackie and Peter explained:

They try to retire your dog on the day you are going for a new one, so that you're never without one because by that time you've got well used to working with a dog and it is just not on to be imprisoned again, literally.

They've given me a complete new lease of life from when I lost my sight, well you're restricted and it can become a prison.

It would appear that through the evolving partnership with a guide dog, the walls that restrict, begin to crumble. There is growth, change and freedom until almost anything is possible. The re-emerging sense of self is gradually reconstructed and ultimately becomes inseparable from the embodied sense of self and dog which creates meaning and enables healing.

Within the prison of darkness, the dog is by no means a panacea. Freedom, independence and a re-emerging sense of self, efficacy and power, are not attained without a struggle. The following narratives speak of that gradual process of 'growing together'; the mutual sense of dependence, respect, power and embodied knowledge, dog and owner develop of one another and finally, the strength of that synthesis and inseparability that itself contains healing properties.

Getting to know one another

The initial weeks of training are both physically and emotionally arduous and great courage is required to trust your life to the eyes of an animal. Andrew explains:

Initially it is not easy to put your trust in a dog... It is very hard for someone who is fully sighted to place their trust implicitly in a dog and also for someone who is blind the same applies... it takes a little bit of time to develop confidence in the dog.

Peter continues:

The first week of training, IT IS FRIGHTENING... To go into town with a strange dog you didn't even know and you didn't know where you were.

Confidence must grow in conjunction with the developing relationship with the dog, as Jackie explained:

In due course they sent someone out to see me who was a trainer, to assess my needs and whether I was a suitable candidate... whether they thought I would work well with a dog and had the courage to do so... With the first dog it is initially quite difficult to put your trust in it... a new owner... is treated by the dog as a raw recruit and will do things to try and get away with them... because they are youngsters and they see if they can, a bit like a child... The dog is fully trained when you get it but you and the dog aren't. You have to do everything together. To be together as much as possible because it is a matter of confidence from both sides, because it is a partnership.

For the novice, working with a dog is slow and frightening. Peter's story indicates the initial halting, rigid, awkward and disjointed process of acquiring the skills to work with a guide dog as the rules of safe conduct are continually and consciously remembered and rehearsed.

Suddenly the third day we came across an obstacle even the trainer didn't know about and he had sent me on and said "Carry on, go." So I went on and was walking along with the dog and the dog went right down and I thought Oh we're coming up to a kerb what do I do?... but he took over and walked very slowly and then back and then started stepping out again and I thought well I wonder what that was? With that, the trainer shouted to me to stop and I stopped and he came up to me and said "Why did your dog walk you out from the kerb?" and I said "Well he must have passed something." and he said "Right, drop the handle." ... He took me back and said "Stop." The dog had already sat... He said "Slide your foot forward" and it was like that, there was a hole in the pavement and nobody there and no barriers and about that much width between the hole and the kerb and the dog took me through and I thought after that, well, what have I got to worry about, this dog can do it and the confidence grew in both of us then... The centre says it takes twelve months before they can say "That is a unit." ... It was quicker with me and I put it down to the confidence that dog gave me by walking around that hole... Initially you are very

nervous and you hold the harness very tightly, which of course stops the sensitivity. So you've got to relax, the main thing is you've got to get the confidence to relax.

Reciprocity and confidence

Confidence in the depth and strength of the relationship; the gradual symbiosis is seen as developing on both sides. A belief in the interdependence and mutuality of needs, respect, trust and devotion leads to a sense of equality, reciprocity and congruence of power. A respondent of Zee's (1983: 472) states:

A dog would not be guilty of imposing her wishes on me because she thought I was blind and incapable of thinking.

Peter had his first guide dog only three short months, but even after the passage of thirteen years he still vividly recalls the reciprocity and devotion that characterised that relationship for him:

I came home in the December, early December... and he had to be put to sleep on the 21st of February. He wasn't two years old, he picked up a very bad virus from somewhere. Two months I had him and in that short time... and he had to be put to sleep and eh that was as if someone had really hammered me and I'd only had him that short time... but he was the sort of dog his confidence grew on you... I brought him home and I never went to bed for three weeks. I had a camp bed down here with the dog and he couldn't lay down or stand up, couldn't sit up and the only way I could get him comfortable, to get him any sleep at all, was to put one leg each side... and hold him up and he'd let all his weight go and he'd be fast asleep. Three weeks I would be doing that... They rang me up and said it wasn't as simple as it sounded and I was absolutely fuming. Oh I was really bound up tight. I went down to the vet's to get to see him before they put him to sleep and the vet said "It's no good upsetting yourself" and I said "I WANT THE DOG." I was getting uptight and he did finally get the girl to bring the dog in and as ill as that dog was he came up to me, licked my hand and sat up against my leg and then eh, as soon as they took the dog away, that is when I blew my top.

The building of mutual trust, confidence and safety grows almost imperceptibly although there seems to be a point, especially with the first dog, where the freedom that comes with the confidence to feel safe is cemented in one memorable journey or incident. All those with whom I spoke volunteered such stories. For Michael this happened very early on at the training centre:

When I was training with him he was that confident that he gave me confidence. I mean I went along at Wokingham one day and he walked me around something and I said to Paul "What did he just walk me around?" and he said "A pink tissue on the pavement."

Confidence is required not solely by the guide dog owner, but also by their spouse and family, as Jackie's story indicates:

When I had my first dog, my mother lived about two miles away and I said to my husband, "Right I'm going out to see my mum." ... I walked out with the dog and I was so elated by the time I'd arrived because it was my first trip out... I'll never forget that. It is a sort of life long experience that really sticks in the mind... As I say, I was really elated about going up there and when I got back home, my husband said to me "Oh I've been so worried about you, it was awful sending you out on your own." He really was, well, in quite a state and was so relieved to get me back

again but I was over the moon... Well, later we found out that she had used her own initiative and taken me round an area where the pavement had been churned up... which again gave me a wonderful boost and absolutely more confidence in her.

Growing together: Dog as self

Each dog was considered by their owner to be unequivocally part of the family and "losing a guide dog... like losing part of the family" (Michael), a spouse, or one's sight (Nicholson 1992a, 1992b). But perhaps more pertinently, the dog merges with and becomes inseparable from, a reconstructed sense of self. In struggling to find a discourse within which this could be expressed, the idiom of 'bonding' was commonly relied upon carrying with it the dualistic legacy of social psychology discourse. However, more frequently this was explained as a unique sense of 'growing together', which for all respondents, was cited as one of the fundamental differences in their relationship with a guide dog and other household animals. Peter describes:

They do have a stronger bond with me than a pet... because I mean the minute they hand the dog over to you... you start growing together and when you come home the bond becomes closer... Once you've had a guide dog for a little while, without appearing rude, if you left the dog at home and took a sighted guide you'd tense up, you don't trust them to be honest as much as you do your dog... They just grow on you and the minute you pick the harness up and you're back with the dog you feel a lot better.

The dog as an intimate part of the self was succinctly put to me by Michael after an enquiry about how he instructed his dog.

When you are going along with him, well obviously you just go where he goes. I don't know what it feels like really, I suppose it feels like an extension really... I never go anywhere without him, no he is always by my side.

For Jackie, this almost immediate and intimate sense of harmony made her feel that her dog did not really require training to work effectively with her:

They found me this dog. He was second hand... they thought he would be ideal for me so they brought him out to see me... and with him... I knew right from the start that it would work. It was almost as if he didn't need training. We are a partnership... they pick up little things from the individual person, it is one of those things, they become humanised really.

As the relationship develops, "many people's statements and comments... emphasise the blending of the dog and human personalities. There develops a contagion of behaviours, a process of mutual influence" (Zee 1983: 479). The dog becomes 'knowable' as self and concomitantly, the dog is perceived to 'know' its owner. Jessie Hickford (1977: 31) says of her guide dog Prudence:

It took some years before our mutual understanding had grown so that we were a complete partnership. The miracle was that it did happen, and then each was aware of the other's needs. This growing together in partnership is described in my book *Eyes at My Feet*, but it was after writing that book that I realised fully we had become a perfect unit and moved about as one.

Similarly Shelia Hocken (1977: 63) says of her guide dog Emma:

We seemed to develop an instinct for knowing one another's thoughts – a sort of telepathy. It may sound incredible, but it was perfectly true.

From the outset, the dog is believed to 'know' of their owners disability. Michael explains:

He realises that I can't see. I went up the garden once and he wasn't on harness and we got to some steps and when I went up the steps he was in front of me and he was holding me back and the same when I came down... So even when he is not working he knows if there is danger there but he doesn't do it to the rest of the family.

Andrew states:

He knows (of his blindness and his wife's sight) almost certainly and I'll tell you why... This happens quite often, he'll make eye contact with my wife and she looks at him and he'll come up to her and put his head in her lap. Well I can't see when he does that to me and he'll come up and look at me and he'll know... My wife will say "He's looking at you" and because I can't make eye contact with him I'll lose that precious moment... because I haven't got that ability to look him straight in the face, in the eyes, and he knows.

As the relationship comes to fruition, dog and owner develop "a mutual awareness of one another's moods" (Zee 1983: 474), a synaesthesia; a reciprocity of health, thoughts and affect. Andrew begins by explaining:

He knows my mood yes absolutely without a doubt. If I'm walking along... and my footsteps falter... he'll know and he'll slow down and he'll look around and he'll say "What's the matter?" He'll just be uncertain because of my uncertainty... he'll very quickly get that feeling from me... He'll slow down and he'll start looking around as if to say, "Is it all right? Are you all right?" As though he realises it is not quite right. Very much so and I think that any guide dog and his owner will tell you the same... If you are a guide dog owner you develop a considerable affection for your dog. If you don't I doubt you'll have the trust you need. It's a very close bond.

Similarly, Jackie says of her dog:

They can pick up on the atmosphere. Now if I'm sick, or I'm cross with my husband, he'll know. He'll stay by my side and try to get into bed, which isn't allowed.

Peter explained how he knew with certainty, that his first guide dog was fatally ill despite his veterinarian's constant reassurances to the contrary. Now he finds that with his current dog there is, once again, a process of mutual understanding:

It is obvious that they can pick your mood up, yes definitely. If I'm not feeling too good... and I'm out walking, well... he'll slow down, he won't pull. He would slow down and walk quietly. He knows, but I've said nothing... the dog's mood you can read... you can pick it all up... and it is obvious that he can pick your mood up.

Shelia (Hocken 1977:-117) similarly states:

People sometimes used to ask me how I knew if Emma was not well... I did not need to see her. People did not appreciate the extraordinary bond between us. I could tell as soon as she got up in the morning... how she was and even what kind of mood she was in.

The embodied experience of self and dog creates particularly 'painful' and 'sobering' emotions for even brief periods spent apart. For it is as if part of the self is missing. Shelia (Hocken 1977:-119) states:

Not only was I worried because Emma was at the vet's under an anaesthetic, but I instinctively kept feeling her bed... listening for her... It was like having left part of myself somewhere else. It was a very upsetting, empty feeling.

With one exception, Peter never leaves his dogs.

In hospital well I missed him terribly. Now if I had to go anywhere, say I went out for the evening and I didn't take the dogs, I'd keep doing that. Subconsciously I'd put my hand down to the dog they become so much of you.

For Michael, the idea of leaving his dog just can't be contemplated:

I wouldn't be without him, no, we go every where together, all over the place. I've had my chance to go abroad and I won't go... *If I ever left him it has been two and a half hours at the most and you do miss him...* I suppose you could say he is an extension of myself because I miss him so much when he is not here, so really he is part of me.

For all guide dog owners, the reality of the relatively brief life span of their dog is a ubiquitous and ominous shadow which threatens not only their mobility, independence and freedom; that which comes through the dog's shared sense of sight, but also, more pertinently, it threatens their very being. Jackie gave her first dog to friends after he was forced to retire following a car accident. Now, recalling the pain of that experience, she feels she could never part with her current dog despite the many practical obstacles. *When Peter's dog was forced to retire almost three years ago there was no question of not keeping him.*

When he retired there was no question whatsoever that I'd not keep him, I couldn't part with him he meant so much to me... the reason being we were more than just pals. He was eh, well I could trust him with my life, which I had to do... If he had gone somewhere else he'd have pined because he was that much taken over with me. There was no two ways about it. He meant so much to me I could never part with him.

Nicholson (1992a, 1992b) found that the retirement of a guide dog may be just as traumatic as its death, especially when the owner did not feel an equal voice in the decision over the future of the retired dog. *Andrew's second dog was withdrawn from service in a way which he found particularly traumatic and which appears to negate the power and strength of the embodied union of man and dog.*

They came down and did the final evaluation, without my knowing it was the final one, although I suspected... They only gave me two to three minutes notice before they just took him, put him in the car and left. I was shattered... I was so upset I didn't want another guide dog and I waited four months but I just couldn't get around... First of all there was a real sadness, I actually cried. Then I felt an unbounded rage... even now I do sometimes wonder where he is and is he being ill-treated. They won't tell me.

Novice to expert

These accounts bare witness to a transition from 'novice to expert' (Benner 1984) whereby 'incorporated practices' (Connerton 1989) become embodied, and expertise is evident in the 'spontaneous natural ease' by which the partnership achieve a safe, automatic, 'smooth and harmonious' performance. Andrew explains:

You have to work out with your dog a certain amount of trust and security then it happens that the process becomes more natural and you might look at this chap and think he's not working, he's just looking around him like the world's his... It takes about a year before the dog really embeds in and becomes part of you.

The skill of working with a guide dog maybe seen not so much in terms of the primacy of cognitive functioning for learning a skill and the 'dropping... (of) rigid rules into unconsciousness' (Dreyfus 1972: 249), but from the process of 'growing together'; the refabricated embodied sense of self and dog and the primacy of that synthesis, which confers meaning and leads to an even and harmonious flow of performance.

The dog as a mobility aid is a tool but the major significance here is that in our use of tools they become embodied, 'forming part of ourselves... we pour ourselves out into them and assimilate them as part of our existence. We accept them existentially by dwelling in them' (Polanyi in Dreyfus 1972: 252). For "a blind man... the stick (white cane) has become, like his body, a transparent access to the object he touches with it" (Dreyfus 1972: 252). In this case the nature of that embodiment involves not the embodiment of technology, the white stick, the cyborg, (Haraway 1989, 1991) but the embodiment and synaesthesia of another body – the dog's body, "after all" one respondent commented, "a dog's a dog and a dog's a person."

Healing

Blindness is omnipresent. However the prison which is blindness and which constitutes an altered and often reduced sense of self, loneliness, stigma and powerlessness may not be. With a dog, life is changed. Undeniably in terms of independent mobility but more through a refabricated, embodied experience of self and dog which gradually helps to construct new meanings and heals some of the suffering that is blindness, as Zee's (1983: 478) respondent explained:

I can't explain this fully, but it is like my self image is more flexible; I'm more spontaneous, more open to experience. Now I'm not in therapy or encounter groups or anything like that, and I believe the explanation is my dog.

Freedom, confidence, pride and power

In the beginning, the power of independent mobility brings with it a new found freedom and confidence as Peter and Michael's stories attest:

It can become a prison, but now having him I'm able to get out and about. If I'm in the workshop and I want some bits and pieces from the shop for a job I'm doing, I don't have to come in and

say "Can you take me up the road?" and have to wait. I can just say "Come on lad" and get the harness and away we go... You've got a wonderful friend and you can always get the dog and if you feel a bit brownd off and you want to go somewhere you've got no worries.

They introduced me to the dog... and it all started from there... I came home Christmas time with the dog and it was the best Christmas present I ever had... Now I go all over the place with him and he means really, what you're looking for, the answer is, what he means to a blind person is independence, complete independence, freedom. You don't need to rely on a guide, you know a sighted guide, and it's good, you can go virtually anywhere... I wouldn't be without him, we go everywhere together, all over the place... The dog knows what he's doing and he knows best, which means you can manage on your own.

The end of Michael's story indicates the sense of reliability and safety which comes with the change from novice to expert (Benner 1984, 1989) and which characterises the even and harmonious flow of performance of a skill, or tool – or dog – embodied. (Connerton 1989, Dreyfus 1972.) Shelia (Hocken 1977: 114) remarks: "Having Emma I never had the feeling when I went out that I was blind" (Hocken 1977: 114).

Independent mobility and freedom engenders a confidence and pride, which as it enables, extends its sway to many areas of life not traditionally related to blindness. For Jackie, such new found confidence and abilities have:

Just opened up an new world and opened up life. Certainly it's a confidence thing. After a few years I was asked if I would join the local fund-raising group... I was asked if I would give talks, I had never spoken to a crowd of people in my life before and as a younger person it was something that I was never able to do because I was very shy and reserved... Well eh, having sort of been so full of myself, you know, in having a dog and what I could do and everything, I said that yes I would be a speaker and now it is something that I really enjoy doing... It is a duty to enlighten people... it also makes people realise that you are just another human being trying to survive in life and get on and do as much as you can do... to lead a very full and active life... I suppose also there has been a personality change, I'm definitely more confident and outgoing.

The duty to enlighten people, to own and disseminate knowledge and thus power, helps to combat the enduring archetype of blindness; the ignorance, powerlessness, diminution and impotence, which Jackie clearly recognised, as since losing her sight, she found people would often respond to her as "a silly blind person that is a lesser character that can be bossed around."

Stigma and shame, were consistently felt to be compounded by the white stick, a multivocal symbol which spoke of loss, indignity and powerlessness. Michael explained:

Fifty per cent of blind people with a white stick will tell you it's embarrassing. I felt really embarrassed with a white stick and a lot of people I know feel embarrassed with a white stick. Why? I don't know, because it is obvious you're tapping about and feeling things, well I can't explain it really. Some people use it all of the time and don't care, but myself I didn't like the white stick at all.

The guide dog as a symbol of blindness embodies different messages; of light, pride and power. Jackie found that whereas "with a white stick you are going along with your

head down... with a dog you hold your head up, you're proud."⁵ Similarly, Zee's (1983: 478) respondent states:

I feel so proud when I'm with him, in control and able to conquer my environment. I sense that people around me are admiring and awesome and I like that respect... the dog reminds them that I have power too. I am not helpless and deficient; I can manage.

Andrew and Michael expressed similar sentiments:

You feel proud walking along with a guide dog. Yes you do, you really feel, well proud, that's all I can say... and all you can hear, I don't know what other people say, but they say "Oh look at that dog he's a guide dog" and it makes you feel good, yes it's a good feeling... You feel a bit of a twit with a white stick because you are so obvious. I know you are obvious with a guide dog but I suppose that is where the proud part comes in. You are not proud with a white stick you know.

Its been a real advantage having a dog... Yes, it's changed my life in many respects-no question... We get real satisfaction when we are chugging along, and he's taking me and I'm going... Now I can manage... When they are digging up the pavements... one of the men will say "Shall I help you around?" ... I say: "Rather than help me can you watch him work and if he runs into any difficulty, will you shout, I'll stop and you can help." And, this is no exaggeration, the men have stopped and they've watched... and they've applauded him when he's got to the end and it is quite a nice feeling... they have literally applauded among themselves... and it is a very satisfying feeling.

Enduring companionship and unambiguous understanding

Barring those unfortunate dogs whose mere appearance places them under the rubric of the Dangerous Dogs Act 1991 (SCAS 1993: 9), the British and American pet dog is a "cultural symbol of safety and security" (Serpell 1986: 84). A dog's presence thus facilitates and increases social contact with strangers (Hart et al. 1987, Hart 1990, Messent 1983, Serpell 1986), whilst the perception of situations and strangers becomes "more friendly, less threatening and happier when animals were added" (Friedmann 1990: 10). This is supported by peoples' reported social contacts when out with 'hearing dogs' (Guest 1992) and also by the visually impaired with their guide dogs (Zee 1983). The symbolism of her guide dog; the golden Labrador, was not lost on Jackie:

You feel good and you feel safe with your dog... and also I think people are more willing to help you if you've got that recognition... People are often afraid of approaching a blind person, but with a dog it is different... German shepherd dogs are also used, now they look like wolves but the Labrador, he's just so friendly, an old soppy, and he looks like a teddy bear.

Peter continues:

Where ever you are with a white stick it is a lonely place. But with a dog it is a another thing and you'll always find somebody that wants to speak.

More than a catalyst for social interaction, the guide dog itself is considered an omnipresent and enduring source of companionship. A spring of loyalty, devotion, unambiguous understanding and unconditional regard. There was a sense of ubiquity

and timelessness to the partnership. For guide dog owners, attempts to articulate the essence of companionship proved difficult and parallels sought in pet and human relationships very often proved unsatisfactory, as indicated by Jackie when speaking about bereavement:

A lot of people were saying that it was very traumatic when they lost a dog... and that they felt that the (guide dogs for the blind) association, at that time, was very unfeeling because they tended to say "Right well don't just ponder over that we'll give you another dog and get you going again." But that wasn't enough... People felt that they didn't realise how much it meant to somebody to lose not only their pet but their closest friend, like losing a best friend. Well no, to them it is a best friend and the animal that had given them, well I say animal, but to many people... they had lost a dear friend and they were just told "Oh well pull yourself together and let's get you re-trained."

When Andrew's dog was withdrawn it was "like losing a companion, a friend and knowing that the friend is not dead." Companionship was predicated upon a belief in mutual needs and understanding that always exceeded that which could be expected from other pet animals and at times, was considered more enduring, loyal and reliable than that offered by companions of the human variety as Jackie explained: "They are very loyal and a lot more so than a human most of the time." Michael continues:

It is a wonderful feeling, you're not on your own sort of thing. We're here to help you and it is a wonderful feeling, you can't explain really. They are very sensitive and they know what we don't... They are, in lots of cases, they are a lot more loyal than humans.

During observations made whilst spending time in people's homes, each respondent petted and caressed their dogs as they sat near or walked past them. This was always accompanied by a lowering of their head, eyes and body posture in greeting and conversation with the dog and a temporary break in our conversation. Friedmann (1990: 114) states, "It is almost impossible for someone to pet their dog or cat without at the same time talking to it." All respondents said that they continually talked with their dog and as Peter said, "Well I just accept him as knowing what I'm saying."

Studies of pet ownership are unanimous; 'companionship' and 'friendship' are the primary 'reasons' for pet keeping in the modern west (Serpell 1986). Similarly, the idiom of 'companionship' was consistently referred too when guide dog owners related the meaning their dogs had for them. However, the signification of companionship may not be entirely consistent across the two discourses.

The idiom of companionship that is constitutive of the recently emerging discourses of companion animal research and the social psychology of the human companion-animal bond is predicated upon static, reified notions of humanity, animality and the 'nature' of the companionship possible across this dichotomy. The recent psychological literature on 'support' dogs, perceives that, acting as a social catalyst, the dog breaks down the barriers to communication, ameliorates stigma and enhances the ability to cope (Zee 1983, Nicholson 1992a, 1992b). In expressing the meanings of their dogs, guide dog owners told another story. Whilst the dog was undeniably a source of pride and social contact, the refabricated, embodied sense of self with dog engendered an independent self efficacy, pride and power, which as Jackie said, "puts you on

a par with sighted people.” Embodied in companionship was an enduring sense of mutual knowledge and understanding which, even in ‘solitude’, helped to dispel the loneliness and isolation of blindness. Peter says:

You’ve got a wonderful companion. I mean you can walk along the street and you can talk to a dog, people take no notice, but you walk along with a white stick, and you start talking and they’d lock you up... It gives you that feeling that you’ve got a friend with you. How can I put it? It is as if some of the nastiness is taken away by the dog because you’ve got a wonderful friend... I mean you can walk along and as I say I talk to him. Going along here in the spring there are quite a few birds... and very often I walk along and when the robins were sorting out their area you could hear them chirping away and I’ve very often walked along and said to him “Listen to the robins Tosca” and I’ve got a friend. I’m talking to somebody and I’m not walking along in a sheet of total darkness on your own and it is a wonderful feeling you know... They are something out of this world to me.

The dog is a guide but facilitates more than just increased mobility. Zee (1983: 482) states, “In short the benefits the person derives from this bond, seem to be linked to the specific source, the guide dog, that makes them possible.” Conventional notions of companionship and bonding, within a dualistic psychological idiom, may be insufficient to argue, that the guide dog has a facilitative role in making them – which is the benefits – possible. An anthropological focus within a paradigm of embodiment suggests that the reconstituted sense of self and dog makes ‘them’ – which is the person – possible and maybe why “the partnership is intrinsically satisfying and at least periodically an end in itself” (Zee 1983: 482).

Rather than the power of facilitation for growth and change residing in the dog, the power lies in the refabricated, embodied sense of self and dog, which begins expressively ameliorate the suffering. Michael and Jackie explain:

He’s changed my life one hundred per cent really. Because well, as I say, independence, companionship, freedom... I can go anywhere I want and before when I had a white stick I wouldn’t really go out... As well he has changed my health, yes he has, I’m a lot fitter and my sugar level is better, because I was hardly doing anything before and it’s good. Yes it’s good.

He is my confidence, freedom, independence. You know all the things that, well, that make life worth while... to me it was a bonus being able to have a guide dog.

In some small way it maybe “as if, how can I put it, some of the nastiness is taken away by the dog” (Peter).

Separation and continuity: managing tension.

When we’ve got to go somewhere and we walk past the park, he looks in and I know he’s wishing-but after all he is only human isn’t he. Oh no! I almost said that before and at the end of the day it is difficult, but perhaps it should be remembered, that he is a canine (Jackie).

The biomedical gaze claims as its focus the ‘natural’ pre-representational truth of the discrete object body and as a corollary, the sensoria as natural not cultural products. In very recent years, within at least Britain and parts of Europe, biomedicine, veterinary

science, social psychology and ethological epistemologies have consolidated under the encompassing rubric of companion animal research and pet behavioural councillors (Neville 1990, 1991, Appleby 1993). These disciplines, together with an emerging discourse on the moral relevance of animals, (Clark 1977, Midgley 1983, Regan 1984, Singer 1976, 1993), similarly take as axiomatic and available to them the pre-cultural, pre-representational truth of their relatively recent creation; the companion animal (Woods 1993).

The scientific pursuit of 'thinking' objective bodies; both human and animal, is thus constitutive of a disembodied corpus of knowledge focusing on the Cartesian body. A commitment, which preserves synchronic reified and dualistic images, the boundaries of 'cherished categories' (Douglas 1966) and of the human animal dialectic. Of meanings disembodied from practice and concomitantly a rationalist, hierarchical and linear model of tool use.

There maybe, however, little universal truth of dogs, (Olowo Ojoade 1990) of animals, (Tester 1991, Willis 1990, Ingold 1988, Ucko 1990, Ritvo 1990) of humans (Armstrong 1983, B. Turner 1992). The truth of all animals lies in the discourse which transgresses and is constitutive of it, for animals have the convenient faculty of meaning whatever we choose them to mean (Tester 1991). Willis (1974: 128-9) states:

The distinctive peculiarity of animals is that at once being close to man and strange to him, both akin to him and unalterably not-man, they are able to alternate, as objects of human thought, between continuity of the metonymic mode and the distanced analogical mode of metaphor... At this level of abstraction human diversity and human identity are coterminous.

The reification of the dog, and of the human and human sensoria and sightlessness, is never-the-less frequently taken as the starting point to examine the human companion-animal 'bond' and its concomitant 'health benefits'. The gaze which traditionally alights on the guide dog is thus constitutive of a set of discourses which understands it as a disembodied guide; a catalyst for social interaction and acceptance (Zee 1983, Friedmann 1990, Hart 1987, 1990, Nicholson 1992a, Nicholson 1992b). A focus on the dog as a facilitator and locus of power.

Zee (1983:473) explicitly seeks to "illuminate... why and how a guide dog... facilitates adjustment to life." The idiom of 'adjustment', commonly used in the social psychology of disability, maybe illuminating but still insufficient to truly shed light on the embodied experience of persons and their guide dogs, in that it "glosses over some areas... of experience... that the inclusive rubric of embodiment may illuminate better" (Frank 1986: 190-91).

The lived experience of guide dog owners reveals the inapplicability of the dichotomy of self and other; mind and body; subjective and objective, perception and process for understanding the daily experience of their blindness and life with their 'guide'. Rather than a dog facilitating 'adjustment' to blindness, the process by which (newly blinded) guide dog owners recreate meaning in their lives and the power and impetus for change and healing; is reconstructed and eventually proves inseparable from, a non-dualistic embodied sense of self with dog. The power and impetus for change and healing coming rather from the thinking of animals as continuous with the

self, which characterises the lived experience of working in a sentient, intimate and embodied way with a dog.

The narratives of guide dog owners thus simultaneously expressed both duality and underlying continuity between dialectic constituents; the coterminous themes of separation and continuity (Willis 1974). Dogs are 'good to think with' (Levi Strauss 1966) and as a disembodied guide, good to define human ontological difference, which can be expressed and heard within current paradigms. However, the lived experience of working in a sentient and intimate way with a dog and the embodied non-dualistic thinking of the dog as continuous with the self, confuses categories that should be kept distinct. Their expression is, within this culture and at this time 'muted' for whilst the guide dog-owner partnership, in its non-dualistic form heals and creates a powerful and efficacious selfhood, it simultaneously challenges culturally important notions of the human body, boundaries, ontology and difference, disrupting the 'central tenets' of western biomedicine (Comaroff 1981) and companion animal research. These two discourses rely upon those reified, acultural and synchronic dualisms for maintaining the human in the human animal dialectic and in understanding the 'role' and 'function' of companion animals and their health benefits.

Conclusion

This text contains multiple cultural tales within which the dichotomous but coterminous cultural representations of animals as separate or continuous with the self are simultaneously represented. The multiple meanings of guide dogs for their owners combine and reform in a myriad of different ways to produce a knowledge which, at any one time, speaks a truth about humans, blindness and animals. Meanings therefore lie in the continual management of shifting boundaries and the perpetual process managing the tension and mediating distinctions between the dual narrative strands. The day to day experience of the blind, living in synthesis with their dogs and that which attests to the healing that may be mobilised by expressive action, configures a reality which although it maybe taut, is both personally and culturally sustainable for, "cultures and social systems are after all not only thought but lived" (Tambiah 1969: 459).

An anthropological discourse which understands all 'animals' as "fundamentally social (and historical) objects" (Tester 1991: 47); a paradigm of embodiment (Csordas 1990) with its principle characteristic of collapsing dualisms (B. Turner 1992), and a focus on expressive 'healing' as opposed to instrumental curing, may therefore illuminate more, than a somewhat narrower focus on adjustment. It also may say something more about areas of apparent non-compliance (Frank 1986) or cases where 'freedom' is forfeited by the personal decision not to 'replace' a retired dog (Nicholson 1992a, 1992b).

In exploring the ways by which guide dog owners, having lost their sense of sight, eventually come to re-create a new way of 'seeing' the world, the legacy of the Cartesian dualism for understanding the body and perception, the predominance of visualism in creating meaning in the West (Classen 1993) and the human animal dialectic, whilst represented are simultaneously reconfigured and re-presented as their reflected mirror image.

Through the developing relationship with the guide dog, the refabricated embodied sense of self and dog gradually begins to heal the suffering and dis-ease of blindness and opens up a new world. Here Peter's comment may be quite apposite "they are something out of this world to me." Out of the world of sight undeniably, but now possibly out of the prison of blindness – into a liminal space between the world of sighted and the world of the blind, but denying residence in either. The new world is one in which space and time may once again be reconfigured. The embodied sense of being with a guide dog extends space to beyond the boundaries of the human body and opens up a social space that blindness shuts down. Time, although an infinite darkness, must become fragmented and structured according to the needs of the animal and the daily rituals of health checks, grooming, feeding and exercise.

An embodied companionship, that enables not only eyes, but language, thoughts, moods and illth to be shared, reverses some of the aversive work of blindness. Whilst guide dogs can quite plainly do nothing to 'cure' what is, when all is said and done, the corporeality of the loss of sense of sight, the power inherent, not in the dog, but in the refabricated sense of self and dog, is a source of healing with perhaps infinite possibilities as Andrew so eloquently expressed:

I feel that with him by my side everything is OK. I have a feeling, a feeling but true never the less, that he stands by me as if to say to the world: "While we are together nothing can stop us."

The embodied synthesis of guide dog and 'owner' contains healing properties that reverse some of the pain of blindness, refabricating a new sense of self, recreating a new world; a liminal space which is, "held in most cultures to be regenerative" (V. Turner 1982: 84) and like all such spaces, is a spring of pure and endless creativity and possibility (V. Turner 1969, 1982).

Notes

Tania Helen Woods is a registered mental nurse, got her Hon's degree in social science/psychology, and studied medical anthropology at Brunel, the University of West-London. She wrote a dissertation: 'Thinking animals and mediating distinctions: Meanings and their management in guide dog ownership.' The dissertation from which much of this text was taken. With the greatest of thanks to Jackie, Andrew, Michael and Peter for their interest and enthusiasm in this developing area. Thanks to Ian Robinson for his support during the research and comments to an earlier draft of this paper. Thanks also to Joanna Dodd and Brian Thompson for their continued and unerring support and to Jill Nicholson for her generosity and invaluable work in beginning to provide a space for the voices of the bereaved and the hope it holds that Andrew's story (p. 15) will never be repeated.

1. Within Britain 'guide dogs' are solely provided by the 'Guide Dog for the Blind Association' which "came into being around 1930 and is now the world's largest dog breeding organization." (B. Pogle 1990:-28)
2. The contrast only extends as far as comparison with biomedical, professional explanations of disease. For social relations or spiritual causation for disease is not uncommon in Western lay explanatory models (Cornwell 1984, Hull 1990, Robinson 1988).
3. The term 'Guide dog owner' is that which is commonly used within Britain by the 'Guide Dogs for the Blind Association' (GDBA) and in the literature on support dogs. The term 'owner' is troublesome, both for the focus of this of this text and the blind themselves. The GDBA sell their guide dogs to the

visually impaired owner for 50p. This makes the provision of a dog available to anyone, regardless of economic means and the association claim that ownership resides with the blind person. However, all those with whom I spoke, believed that it was the organization, not them as individuals, who owned the dog and cited examples of guide dogs being reclaimed without the owners consent.

4. It was frequently suggested that the responses of single guide dog owners, living in solitude with their dogs, would be quite different. The relationship being characterised by even greater reciprocity and devotion than is evident throughout the text.
5. It is perhaps not insignificant that resplendent golden brilliance of the Labrador is the chosen symbol of the 'Guide Dogs for the Blind Association', rather than the German Shepherd the first dogs used by the association and which, "in other countries... is still more frequently used" (B. Fogle 1990: 28).

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