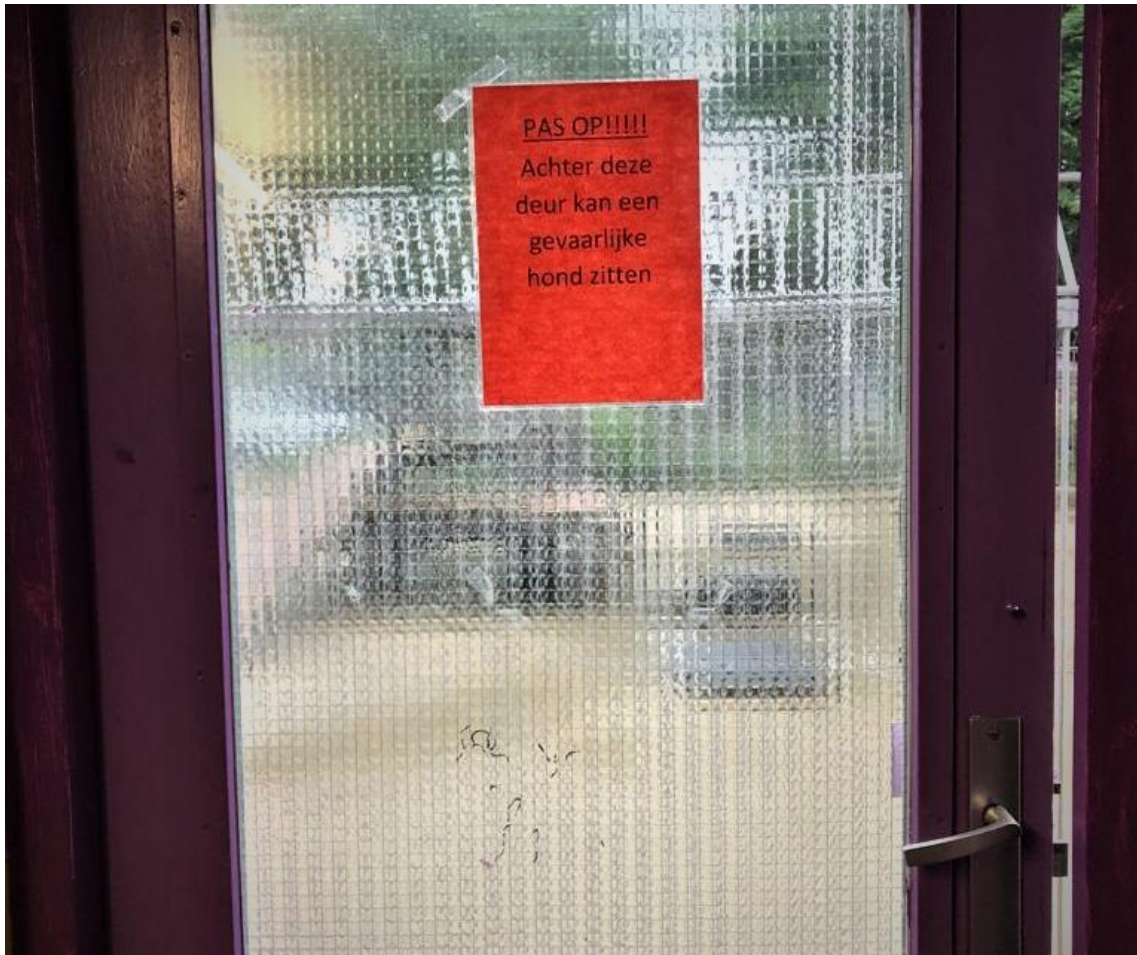# IN IT WITH THE DOGS

Navigating the rules through danger, safety & play

Master Thesis

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MSc Forest and Nature Conservation

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ABSTRACT

Based on ethnographic research at an animal shelter in the Netherlands, this research explored how shelter workers and dogs shaped identities through their routine social interactions in which they navigated the regulatory framework of the shelter. The regulatory framework of the shelter structured human-dog interactions through general and dog-specific rules with its aim to prevent incidents and safeguard the wellbeing of the dogs. The regulatory framework was thereby strongly tied to notions of danger and safety and had certain performative effects on identities within the shelter. In certain ways, the regulatory framework produced the beings that it regulated. The regulatory framework instructed shelter workers to *always* be on guard with the dogs they interacted with, and as such, it constructed unpredictability (as well as danger) as an innate quality in the bodies of dogs. Emergent identities within the shelter revealed how dogs' life and value are strongly dependent on their relationships with humans and humans' categorization of them as pets. This research explored rule-breaks, ways of dealing with feelings of unsafety, and play as interactions in which shelter workers and dogs navigated the regulatory framework of the shelter. Through these interactions, shelter workers and dogs built collections of shared understandings which served as foundations for interpreting each others' behaviour and perspectives and for finding ways to achieve (collective) goals. At times, these collections of shared understandings were at odds with the regulatory framework. The different contexts in which shelter workers and dogs had navigated the regulatory framework left a lot of room for awkwardness, miscommunication, fun, trust, surprise, creativity, and danger. Shelter workers were deeply committed to their work and to be 'in it' for the dogs. Nevertheless, in this research, I argue that the ways in which they communicated, cooperated, and played *with* the dogs were actually more meaningful in terms of challenging some of the fundamental issues underlying the vulnerable status of dogs as pets. These interactions may serve as foundations to re-imagine other interspecies relationships and communities built on shared understandings, trust, respect, play, and perhaps forms of work. This research thus reflected on how taking the possibilities for new forms of relationships and shared communities seriously means moving beyond thinking about and for other animals, to thinking and working *with* them. In that sense, the question of who we work *with* rather than *for* may be more relevant within animal welfare work and envisioning interspecies relationships and communities.

1. INTRODUCTION

Human beings have always had interspecies relationships with other animals, whether based on co-existence, dependence, mutualism, or predation. The relationship between human and dog is a unique one. Human-dog relationships are the long-standing proof of the possibilities of communication, cooperation, and companionship across species boundaries. People's interactions with companion animals have provided a valuable topic for examining how close relationships are expressed and sustained through routine social interactions that both construct and communicate identities of the participants involved (Sanders, 2003). In many studies, this involved (reflection on) the de-anthropocentrising of concepts such as friendship, personhood, communication, agency, and mindedness (e.g., Haraway, 2008; Alger & Alger, 2003; Taylor, 2007; Birke et al., 2004; Kohn, 2013; Olin, 2003, Meijer, 2019). These studies are therefore grounded in what is called the post-human approach, which attempts to not only decentre the human in theory and ethics, but also question the binary division between human and animal in a wider sense. Since people's interactions with companion animals usually take place in family settings, it has been mainly the place of companion animals in such familial relationships that has been a considerable subject of interest in literature (e.g., Alger & Alger, 1997; Sanders, 2003).

It is the status of animals as pets puts them at risk of abandonment when they fail to deliver on their owners' expectations, when affection dwindles, or when people's convenience takes priority (Haraway, 2008). Animal shelters take stray or abandoned animals in, look after them, and ultimately aim to rehome them. In our current society, dogs are in constitutive, obligatory, and changing relationships with humans, which are full of joy, play, creativity, invention, and love, but also of indifference, neglect, cruelty, ignorance, waste, and loss (Haraway, 2008). Animal shelters quite noticeably show some of these more unfortunate sides of human-dog relationships. The literature that has investigated everyday practices of animal welfare work within shelters has aimed primarily at exploring the ways in which shelter workers attempted to cope with the realities of their physically and emotionally demanding work (e.g., Arluke, 1991; Frommer & Arluke, 1999; Taylor, 2004). However, animal shelters are interesting places for research for other reasons as well. Especially since dogs' place in society is so strongly tied to their relationships with their human caregivers, animal shelters are unique places in which dogs do not fulfil their 'role' as companion animals. Dogs therefore occupy a unique in-between status as rejected pets as well as 'pets-in-waiting' (Taylor, 2007) within animal shelters, which makes the latter interesting places of research to explore identities and social relations. Investigating this topic is relevant for wider human-nonhuman animal relationships as well. It relates to exploring ways in which human and nonhuman animals can build shared communities as well as to how to take the interests, agency, and ways of communicating of nonhuman animals both within as well as outside of these communities seriously. Considering the unprecedented human-induced species losses (Ceballos, et al., 2015) and the numbers of domestic animals being killed for (food) production purposes (Pachirat, 2011), taking the

possibilities for new forms of relationships and shared communities seriously within both practice and academia is a worthwhile and valuable endeavour.

Previous research on animal welfare work within shelters has shed light on how shelter workers' commitment to their work, despite its high physical and emotional demand, was strongly driven by their principles of being 'in it for the animals' (Taylor, 2004). Taylor (2004) also found that this in turn was closely linked to identity constructions of the dogs as *good animals* and as victims of their previous errant owners who had failed to meet their lifelong responsibility to them. Previous research on identity constructions within animal shelters has therefore primarily focussed on how identities constructed within the shelter were strongly situated within wider cultural-legal frameworks of how humans 'keep' companion animals and how the status of animals as such puts them at risk of abandonment. The ways in which identities and social relations are shaped in animal shelters through their actual routine social interactions between shelter workers and dogs has been less explored so far. The aim of this research is therefore to explore how shelter workers and dogs shape identities through their routine social interactions in an animal shelter in the Netherlands. In doing so, I payed attention to the ways in which shelter workers and dogs navigate the regulatory framework of the shelter in their interactions, which is strongly situated within the wider cultural-legal frameworks of how humans 'keep' nonhuman animals.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How do shelter workers and dogs shape identities by navigating the regulatory framework of the shelter through their routine social interactions?

Sub-research question 1

Routine social interactions are guided by the regulatory framework of the shelter. While animal shelters are situated within broader cultural-legal frameworks of how humans 'keep' nonhuman animals, they also have their own local regulatory framework within which humans and nonhuman animals engage in routine social interactions (Birke et al., 2004). The regulatory framework provides shelter workers with a set of goals (e.g., clean the kennels, walk the dogs, feed the dogs) and the ways through which they are supposed to achieve these. Hence, a regulatory framework consists of both concrete, formal rules (e.g., laws, regulations, etc.) as well those that regulate discourse and practices within the space more informally (Birke et al., 2004). My first sub-research question aims to give an overview of the rules of the shelter.

- What general and dog-specific rules are in place within the shelter?

Sub-research question 2

Building on Haraway's (2008) and Butler's (1988) conceptualisation of identity and the concept of performativity (Butler, 1988), I will explore the performative effects of the regulatory framework on identities within the shelter. Performativity can be defined as: the process of becoming a particular material-discursive body in a specific space with its regulatory framework (Geiger & Hovorka, 2015) through routine social interactions (Alger & Alger, 1997). The concept of performativity illustrates how identities emerge through routine social interactions and through being performed, rather than referring to pre-existing properties. The regulatory framework of a space is important because it regulates these routine social interactions. The two are very much interconnected and inform each other. The previous sub-research question investigated which concrete rules are in place within the shelter. The second sub-research question explores how the regulatory framework of the shelter guides and structures routine social interactions in the shelter between shelter workers and dogs.

- How does the regulatory framework structure and guide routine social interactions between shelter workers and dogs?

Sub-research question 3

The previous two sub-research questions explored which rules are in place in the shelter and how the regulatory framework structures and guides routine social interactions between shelter workers and dogs. Within their daily routine social interactions, shelter workers and dogs therefore navigate this regulatory framework. Through their routine social interactions, patterns of interactions and norms emerge that may or may not correspond to the regulatory framework. The third sub-research question explores how shelter workers and dogs navigate this.

- How do shelter workers and dogs navigate the regulatory framework within their routine social interactions?

Sub-research question 4

Even though the regulatory framework of both the shelter, as well as broader cultural-legal frameworks of how humans 'keep' nonhuman animals, guides social interactions within the shelter, individuals are not 'condemned' to simply act out a certain identity either (McKinlay, 2010). Rules and norms within the regulatory framework are materialised when they are performed within everyday interactions (McKinlay, 2010). The previous sub-research question explored how shelter workers and dogs navigate the regulatory framework and therefore may not necessarily always act in accordance with it. The ways in which shelter workers and dogs navigate the regulatory framework influences how their identities are shaped within their routine social interactions. The fourth sub-research question explores this.

- How are identities shaped through the ways in which shelter workers and dogs navigate the regulatory framework of the shelter within their routine social interactions?

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This theoretical framework will discuss concepts of *performativity* (Butler, 1988), *becoming-with* and *response* (Haraway, 2008) in order to shine light on the process of identity constructions. I will first discuss the concept of performativity to illustrate how I conceptualise identity within this thesis and how it is informed by regulatory frameworks. Then, I will use that conceptualisation of identity to problematize the binary identity constructions of human and animal. Finally, I will lay out Haraway's (2008) concept of *becoming-with* as an alternative way of understanding cross-species relationships and identity constructions within them.

4.1. PERFORMING IDENTITIES

Judith Butler (1988) employs the concept of performativity in order to illustrate how identity categories such as gender are socially constructed through performative acts. Performativity is defined as: the process of becoming a particular material-discursive body in a specific space with its regulatory framework (Geiger & Hovorka, 2015) through routine social interactions (Alger & Alger, 1997). The concept of performativity thus emphasizes how identities are inherently social and interactively constituted and how this social co-construction is informed and regulated by the regulatory framework of the space in which it takes place. In this section, I will elaborate on what the concept of performativity entails in more detail. First, I will specify on the role of the regulatory framework, then on the role of routine social interactions, and thirdly on what is meant by material-discursive bodies. Finally, I will specify how I will employ the concept of performativity in this research.

Individuals participate in repeated social acts within a space and its regulatory framework (Alger & Alger, 1997; Geiger & Hovorka, 2015). In the case of human-nonhuman interaction, this regulatory framework can be general, such as cultural-legal frameworks that structure how humans 'keep' nonhuman animals, or they can be more local, such as in an animal shelter (Birke et al., 2004). The regulatory framework of a space consists of both concrete, formal rules (e.g., laws, regulations, etc.) as well those that regulate discourse and practices within the space more informally. The two are very much interconnected and inform each other (Birke et al., 2004). For this reason, Butler (1990) explains that the influence of the regulatory framework on identity constructions is not one-directional. Rather, regulatory framework and identity constructions are intertwined and inform each other since interactions within the regulatory framework of a space do not reflect identities but produce them. In Butler's (1990) words: "The subject is not determined by the rules through which it is generated because signification is not a founding act, but rather a regulated process of repetition that both conceals itself and enforces its rules precisely through the production of substantializing effects" (p.145).

These repeated acts within the regulatory framework of a space are not simply performed by subjects, but rather, they constitute the subjects (Jackson, 2004). By participating in these

routine social interactions, actors engage in a kind of ontological choreography. Haraway (2008) argues that it is through this choreography, this dance of relating, that actors co-create behaviour and identities within a specific space. In her words: "The flow of entangled meaningful bodies in time – whether jerky and nervous or flaming and flowing, whether both partners move in harmony or painfully out of synch or something else altogether – is communication about the relationship, the relationship itself, and the means of reshaping relationships and so its enactors." (p.26). *Response* is essential in this ontological choreography, since it are the acts of looking, looking back, touching, and regarding others that both demand and enable response. Haraway (2008) therefore describes response as the everyday ways of interacting, and it can be understood as the dance steps in her 'dance of relating'. Haraway (2008) argues that the possibilities for response grow with the capacity to respond, which can only exist in multi-directional relationships in which both parties hold each other in regard. Sanders (2003) argues that through repeatedly engaging in face-to-face interactions, individuals co-create a *collection of shared understandings* which serves as the foundation for evaluating and interpreting each other's behaviour and perspectives as well as coming up with means to achieve (collective) goals. Such collections of shared understandings therefore serve as common frames of reference that enables effective collective action (Sander, 2003). Building a collection of shared understandings therefore increases the capacity for response between individuals and is co-created over time through their interactions.

Understanding how identities emerge in this way, it can best be regarded as a form of meaning making. Meijer (2019) explains that "meaning is always generated between different perspectives and comes into being through and within bodily interactions, rather than referring to a pre-given truth" (Meijer, 2019, p. 34). In that sense, meaning is not a property of either worlds or minds, but rather something inherently social (Meijer, 2019). For that reason, Butler (1988) argues that "beings do not pre-exist their relatings". Haraway (2008) illustrates this point more concretely, as she explains that there are only contingent foundations, which are constituted into *bodies that matter* through routine social interactions. These contingent foundations that Haraway (2008) refers to can be understood as *kinds*: anyone has a lot of characteristics that they may or may not share with others, thereby belonging to the *kind* that does. Meijer (2019) similarly argues that any individual belongs to many different groups, and that such 'group memberships' are not always (equally) relevant in every circumstance. Although referring to the same thing, the term *group* already has social connotations, while kind merely refers to a cluster of individuals or things that share a characteristic (Nobis, 2004). A *kind* can be regarded as a characteristic in the broadest sense of the word. Kinds can be general or specific; you may belong to the kind that has teeth, to the kind that has 32 teeth, to the kind that has a field of vision, the kind that has a field of vision of 120 degrees, etc. Only certain characteristics, i.e., kinds, are considered to be relevant in terms of identity. When a kind is considered relevant in terms of identity, it usually has a category name (such as human, dog, female, etc.). All of these kinds already exist: there is such a thing as being a mammal, being human, being a dog, being female, being sentient, etc., and they inevitably influence our

experience in and of the world (Meijer, 2019). Nevertheless, any individual belongs to an almost limitless number of different kinds, of which only certain ones are considered to be essential in our identity formation. We have for example, a category name for *nonhuman animals*, even though this is an extremely specific kind. Yet, it is kind that is considered relevant in terms of identity. The process of identity formation is therefore one of signifying resemblance and difference based on particular kinds (Peggs, 2009). These kinds, or, in Haraway's (2008) terms, these foundations, already exist, but are only constituted into bodies that matter (identities) through routine social interactions and within relationships. It follows then, that identities are neither simply determined by personal characteristics, nor the abstract meanings attached to the kind of which the individual is part (Alger & Alger, 1997). Identity formation is therefore essentially a social categorization composed of certain kinds the individual is part of that are employed by others to direct and inform interaction (Sanders, 2003).

Conceptualising identity as a form of meaning making, we come to understand that identity is something that is inherently social, but not exclusively human. Since these routine social interactions produce *bodies that matter*, it relates to a complex interplay between the material (referring to 'bodies') and discursive (referring to 'that matter') (Birke et al., 2004). The material and discursive are interlinked and they therefore continuously shape and reshape each other. How a dog for example performs her identity as a dog, draws partly on multiple cultural representations of dogs (i.e., *dogness*), as well as her lifelong interaction with humans (Birke et al. 2004; Sanders, 2003). Longer timespans of interspecies interactions have also shaped her body as a result of co-evolution, through which she might already be, in contrast to a wolf, genetically more inclined to respond to human-initiated communication, i.e., engaging in eye contact with humans and following human pointing gestures (Salomons, et al., 2021). Material and discursive aspects of identity are thus continuously shaped and reshaped within relationships through routine social interactions.

When talking about the process of identity construction and the corresponding concept of performativity, I want to be clear about how they are employed within this research. When scholars such as Butler, Haraway, and Barad talk about beings not pre-existing their relatings, it is not always entirely clear what they mean with this. Although they often refer to and quote each other, it is difficult to assess to what extend scholars such as Butler, Haraway, and Barad are trying to convey the same message with their theories and concepts. The concept of performativity in terms of identity constructions has been grounded in agential realism, which critiques the view of identity as fixed essences that exist prior to interactions. Barad (2001) for example stresses that identities are socially constructed within interactions, rather than existing as pre-existing foundations. She continues to argue that identity formation is a contingent and ongoing process in which different identity categories are formed and reformed through one another. This conceptualisation of identity is therefore grounded in the ontological and epistemological debate on how reality is constituted and what sources of knowledge we can have about it accordingly. The most radical interpretation of this agential realism that there are

no existing foundations at all prior to social relations. Butler and Haraway however argue that there are foundations, but they are contingent. It could therefore also be argued that there is a reality with things (or kinds) out there, but that they are only constituted into bodies that matter, referring to material-discursive identities, through their routine social interactions. Kinds come to mean something only inside relationships, since meaning is inherently social. This latter interpretation guides how Butler's and Haraway's concepts are employed within this thesis.

4.2. THE HUMAN 'US' AND ANIMAL 'OTHER'

In the light of human-animal relationships, this perspective on identities means that species differences do exist, but that species membership is not necessarily a relevant characteristic (i.e., kind) in, for example, understanding someone else. Species membership may matter in certain situations and for certain individuals, but so may other kinds (Meijer, 2019). Philosophers such as Jacques Derrida (2002) have laid out the groundwork for critiquing how both 'human' and 'animal' identities are essentialist and reductionists constructions, which creates a divide between them. There is, in Derrida's (2002) words: "a discontinuity, rupture, or even abyss between those who say, 'we men,' 'I, a human,' and what these men among men who say 'we', what he *calls* the animal" (p. 30, original punctuation). Being human is often considered to be the most important kind that we share with others, with those we call 'us'. This is for example reflected in the second paragraph of the United States Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights" (U.S. Declaration of Independence, Paragraph 2, 1776). All the differences we may have, it tells us, are inconsequential, because all that matters in the end is that we are all human, and it is because of that kind that we consider 'us' as all equal. *We* are all human, but *they* are not. Derrida (2002) stressed that such a process of identity formation always assumes contrast and opposition with an *other*, and that therefore, in this creation of the human *we*, the *animal Other* was created as well. Stuart Hall (1996) similarly emphasized that identities are constructed through, rather than outside of differences. It is *because* of its capacity to exclude then (in this case, the animal Other), that identities function as points of attachment and identification (in this case, the human Us). As Stone (1981) states: "To have an identity is to join with some and depart from other, to enter and leave social relations at once" (p. 199). Certain kinds may thus be positioned as opposites of each other in dichotomies, such as human-animal, male-female, or culture-nature (Freeman, 2010).

The human 'we' and animal 'other' are thus central to the human-animal divide. We therefore see that the indication of resemblance to those we call 'we' and difference from those we call 'them' is key in identity formation. This appears to be tricky however, since the establishment of a framework of similarities relies on the disregard of some differences and the other way around (Haila, 2000). The identification of human as a key identity category for example, can

be indicated through emphasizing what are conceived as significant similarities (such as use of language), and disregarding differences conceived as less significant (such as hair colour). Even when individuals within who we call 'we' (i.e., humans) appear to differ from us quite significantly, we still emphasize this shared identity, by stressing that it is the belonging to the kind human that matters. In this regard, our shared humanity appears to be at the same time full of meaning and consequence, while at the same time surprisingly empty. Parry (2016) for example argues that "What is man?" is a rhetorical question to which she has no answer because "the anthropological machine outlines a 'perfectly empty' zone containing no traits definitive of the human." (p.33). The binary identity constructions of human and animal thus give rise to the illusion that all fundamental diversity is limited to species and does not apply to individuals (within species) as well (Freeman, 2010). Derrida (2002) too emphasizes that there are many differences between individuals both within and between species that could be regarded as 'uncrossable borders'. He furthermore stresses that al of that variety cannot simply be reduced to one definite border between humans and all other animals. In his words: "There is not one opposition between human and non-human; there are, between different organizational structures of the living being, many fractures, heterogeneities, differential structures." (Derrida, 2004, p.66). The binary concepts of human and animal produce ethical and ontological distinctions that obscure these many complex similarities and differences between humans and other animals (Derrida, 2002).

Although Derrida's critique on the construction of the concepts of *human* and *animal* is convincing, he does not offer alternative ways of being and relating to other animals (Meijer, 2019). Donna Haraway (2003) argues, similarly as Derrida, that far too often, category abstractions such as human and animal are taken for the world, and its profound consequences are mistaken for pre-existing foundations. In contrast to Derrida however, she offers us an alternative way of relating and becoming. She introduces the concept of *becoming-with*, which relates to performativity in many ways. The difference is that, while binary identities such as human and animal may be performed within relationships, *becoming-with* is always a process of identity formation that leads to more complex and accountable identities. While *becoming-with* does not mean becoming one, it does mean entering a process that goes beyond reliable binary category constructions of human and animal. For Haraway (2008), this means taking seriously, beyond these categories, the mutual response between two individuals within an interaction. *Becoming-with* is therefore not something done at an intellectual level. Rather, it is the mundane consequence of touch, regard, looking, and looking back (Haraway, 2008). In her words: "We make each other up, in the flesh. Significantly other to each other, in specific difference." (Haraway, 2008, p.16). Other scholars have also stressed the importance of interaction and response in the process of re-imagining human-animal relationships. Dave (2014) for example argues that entering into a relationship of intimacy with a nonhuman animal means moving away from the bounded human self towards the animal in a way that "thins the human skin and thickens relationality" (p.444). While *becoming-with* therefore does not mean becoming one, it is neither a process from one thing to another where an individual takes on a

new identity. Rather, it is "an operation on the categories of thought that we hold onto" (Haraway, 2008). In other words, it is a process of letting go of our bounded identities that are labelled and restrained by categories that we find ourselves belonging to. Central to *becoming-with* others is thus letting go of the categorisation that inhibits our response to others. The process of *becoming-with* demands then, that we not become something new, but that we let go of what we tell ourselves to be (Dave, 2014).

4.2.1. CHOICE OF TERMINOLOGY

As explained above, categories in dichotomies are placed in opposition to each other, creating a rigid boundary between them. Within the Human-Animal divide, the category of animal does not only exclude humans (even though they are of course animals), but represents the unhuman, the anti-human (Freeman, 2010). This use of the term animal is therefore a negative definition, meaning that it is distinguished by what it is not (i.e., human). I have discussed how the identity constructions within the human-animal binary are furthermore problematic because they reduce all of this variety between individuals to one definite border between humans and all other animals, even though there is no single opposition between them (Foss, Foss, & Trapp, 1985 ; Gillespie, 2018). For these reasons, the binary terms of human and animal are often criticized within literature. To reflect on the fact that humans themselves are animals, the term nonhuman or nonhuman animal is often used (Freeman, 2010; Gillespie, 2018). This terminology is however not uncriticized either, since it piles together millions of species by an absence, as though they were missing something (de Waal, 2016) and therefore still marks them as an *other* in opposition to the dominant term *human* (Freeman, 2010). I have already argued that *nonhuman animal* is a very specific kind. It is therefore not so much the term, but rather, the thing that is stated about all animals, with the exception of one specific one (namely homo sapiens) that is in any case interesting because of its specificity, and often problematic, depending on what is stated. The same is true for *other animals*, with the only difference being that the distinction is implicit, as it is just a shorter way of saying *other than human animals*. When writing or talking about this topic, one therefore will always find oneself having to make a conscious choice about which terms to use, with none being entirely unproblematic. We will have to make do with the categories we are familiar with, even though they may be problematic representations or clusters of kind. The alternative is to create a new category, as is done in certain literature (e.g., humanimal) (Freeman, 2010).

For the sake of avoiding confusing terms, I will stick with familiar categories in this thesis. I will use the following terms outlined below, unless referring to something said or written in my case study by someone else, in which case I take over someone else's terminology. I will use *animal* as a category that includes humans, unless used to refer to the 'Human-Animal divide'. *Individual* will be used as referring to an individual animal, be it a human or nonhuman animal. The same is true for other, in that sense, ambiguous terms, such as *someone* or *everyone*. If I mean to refer to only a specific kind, such as human or dog, I will specify. In order to refer to animals that are not human, I will use *nonhuman animals*. I explained above that it is important

to carefully consider why it is that we exclude humans from whatever it is we are going to say about other animals. For that reason, I will not unnecessarily specify an animal to be nonhuman when it is not relevant, for the same reason I would not specify he/she is nonbat or nonwhale. I will thus often refer to an individual, let's say, a dog, as an animal rather than a nonhuman animal.

4. METHODOLOGY

Since routine social interactions are central to this research, the interactions between shelter workers and dogs are the main part of my data collection focus. For this reason, it was important to focus on a case study through which I was able to investigate real day-to-day interactions between particular dogs and particular shelter workers. The data for his research was collected through participant observation in a shelter in the Netherlands. Being present in the shelter and participating in routine social interactions with both shelter workers and dogs was the most valuable methodological approach for this research. A case study design was chosen because the emergence of identities can only be made sense of within the routine social interactions of those individuals within a certain space (Butler, 1988). As Yin (2014) explains, a case study is an especially appropriate form of research design "when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". The choice to focus on one shelter as my case study was made because it was valuable for me to become familiar with the shelter workers and dogs in the shelter, as well as their habitual routines and embodied actions, in my attempt to capture their perspectives and intersubjectivities. Taylor (2007) for example argues that we can only make sense of the everyday communication and culture shared with dogs and reveal its complexities through long-term, immersive, and in-depth methods. In order to place my findings in the broader contexts, it was compared with other studies that have explored animal welfare work within animal shelters.

This work is an explorative research on human-nonhuman animal relationships and the identities that emerge therein. It employs participant observation as ethnographic approach. Participant observer methods have evolved over time and have become increasingly detached from concerns about objectivity of the researcher as participant observer (Haraway, 2008). My own influence on and experience of the interactions in the shelter were therefore an integral part of my research data. Investigating the intersubjectivities within the shelter was drawn party form my own direct experienced within the shelter, and for that reason, it was not possible, nor desirable, to only present data through an objective lens from an outside perspective. The aim of this research was to capture the perspectives of both the shelter workers and dogs within the shelter, but this was only possible through my direct involvement in day-to-day activities and interactions. Autoethnography was therefore a substantial part of this research. I will elaborate in the next section which methods I have used to include this.

5.1 METHODS

The data for this research has been drawn from field notes taken while participating in volunteer work at an animal shelter in the Netherlands. The research was conducted over a period of 4 months in which I have spent approximately 180 hours in the shelter working as a volunteer. Although the shelter housed both cats and dogs, dogs comprised the main focus of this research. Hence, descriptions of rules and procedures will therefore be mainly related to human-dog

interactions. Information about rules and procedures were obtained both through verbal explanation of managerial staff or experienced volunteers and through textual sources (made available to volunteers and interns by presenting it on location or sending it through email).

Consent for the observation was gained from the staff members. Volunteers I worked closely with (along with a considerable part of the rest of the volunteers) were informed about my research as well. It was therefore considered general knowledge within the shelter that I was working on a research project and that I was collecting data. Nevertheless, my main standing as a volunteer, rather than researcher, often meant that my data collection was unnoticed or ignored. This presented certain ethical dilemmas since shelter workers were therefore not always aware of the fact that I was also in position as researcher. Shelter workers would sometimes share very personal and emotional information with me. In some cases, this information was not relevant for this research and therefore excluded from the field notes. Attempts to bring my research position more to the foreground were largely inconsequential because of the rushed and hectic nature of shelter work. Managerial staff and volunteers mainly preferred to focus on the things that needed to be done or reflect about their work with other shelter workers and dogs. Since the focus of this research included the regulatory framework of the shelter and how shelter workers navigated this within their interaction with dogs, this meant I was gathering sensitive information. Volunteers can get reprimanded by managerial staff if they break certain rules, and they therefore interact based on trust in other volunteers that they would handle these things discretely. This meant that I had to be conscious of how transparent I was about my research and findings towards both volunteers and managerial staff. This was made easier by the aforementioned fact that shelter workers viewed me mainly as a volunteer and preferred to focus on shelter work. All individuals (both shelter workers and dogs) were assigned a pseudonym in the field notes and text order to be able to refer to the same individual throughout.

Field notes were kept and written down at the end of the day, and sometimes completed the day after. Field notes included observations and conversations, personal reflections, and possible patterns I noticed. As my data gathering and analysis was an iterative process, the data that I gathered also prevised my problem statement and research questions, rather than only the other way around. For that reason, the data collection in my field notes went from very broad (meaning I wrote down a broader range of observations) to more specific. The process of specifying my data collection went as following: I examined my data for emerging themes by thematic coding and determining potential links between different patterns in the data. I subsequently reflected on this within my problem statement, research questions, and theoretical framework, which served as guidance for the interpretation of the data I had gathered up until that point. This process led me to revise my problem statement, research questions, and theoretical framework multiple times over the course of my data collection and analysis.

As I have already briefly reflected on above, my position as participant observer was central to the nature of the data within this research. Given the fact that there was a lot of data to write

down after one day from observations and conversations, the data provided will inevitably not be an exact representation of what occurred. Nevertheless, ethnography is always already inherently situated and positional, and I already explained that objectivity is neither possible nor desirable. In order to make the data intelligible to readers, I have chosen to present the data, of for example conversations, as standard conversations. Field notes were however taken diligently, and all representations of conversations and interactions were done in good faith. Another relevant point to note is that all conversations were originally held and noted down in Dutch and later translated in English. The same is true for information from written sources. All information presented from written sources are translated but presented in their original typography as much as possible (for example with text in bold, italic, and underline).

5.2 SOCIALLY MINDED AGENTS

One of the basic challenges of qualitative approaches in investigating human-nonhuman animal interactions, is the need to address the status of the nonhuman animals as an agents. Franklin et al. (2007) argue that such qualitative approaches ask the researcher to reflect on the nature of the nonhuman animal action is as it becomes available to the researcher. Within this research, I have regarded both shelter workers and dogs as socially minded actors who are able to take the perspective of another and adjust their behaviour accordingly (Alger & Alger, 1999). By taking the role of the other, the socially minded agent therefore imagines what meanings others might attach to their (alternative courses of) action (Alger & Alger, 1999). A socially minded agent is therefore not only an agent with a subjective state and intentionality, but is also able to express their intentions and goals in a way that is understandable to someone else. The understanding both the humans and the dogs in this research as socially minded agents has pracitical and methodological implications and challenges. Sanders and Arluke (1993) argue that a researcher can only achieve an understanding of the a nonhuman animal's perspective and behaviour if they regard the other's mind and world as not just different, but also ultimately knowable (at least to some extend).

In the attempt to recognize and capture the perspective of not just shelter workers but also the dogs in the shelter, the researcher risks misinterpreting or misrepresenting their perspective and thereby anthropomorphizing. It is therefore worthwhile to consider how research can ensure that nonhuman animals' interests and perspectives are not misrepresented. Anthropomorphism is defined as the attribution of (what we consider to be) distinctively human characteristics to nonhuman animals (De Waal, 2016). In the endeavour to understand the perspective of other animals, it can be seen as both helpful as well as problematic. The term usually has a negative connotation; to be accused of anthropomorphism is to be accused of sentimentalism, and for the researcher, bad science (Alger & Alger, 1999). In contrast, De Waal (2016) argues that anthropomorphism can actually be a useful tool in trying to understand other animals, especially with mammals who are evolutionarily close to humans, since it is logical to assume continuity

in all traits from an evolutionary perspective. He furthermore argues that it is the use of human terms to describe what one sees in nonhuman animals is the only tool that is available to humans in order to understand other animal species. In contrast to anthropomorphism, he invented the term anthropodenial: "the prior rejection of humanlike traits in other animals or animal-like traits in us". De Waal (2016) suggests that especially in our attempt to understand other mammals, there is a benefit in anthropomorphizing and a danger of anthropodenial. Gillespie (2018) offers a less anthropocentric way to engage in the discussion: rather than considering the exploration of the emotional and social worlds of nonhuman animals as attributing *human* characteristics to nonhuman animals, we should consider that emotions and their particularities are better understood in their own species-, or sometimes interspecies-specific context. In line of this argumentation, research can take differences between individuals seriously without regarding them as uncrossable borders in the attempt to understand them. Belonging to a certain species is one of many things we may or may not share with others. Differences across all sorts of different kinds are not simply reducible, but do not necessarily inhibit understanding or communication (Haraway, 2008). To a certain extend, the charge of anthropomorphism is therefore pre-empirical. The extend to which we therefore consider it to be helpful or problematic is therefore as much a philosophical and social debate as it is scientific (Andrews & Huss, 2014).

Capturing the perspective of another, both within and across species, is always susceptible to miscommunication and misinterpretions, but the effort is worthwhile nontheless. In order to optimize the endeavour to understand another socially minded agent on their own terms, and therefore to minimize the risk of mininterpretations, it is important to learn to take the role of the other and communicate effectively and appropriatley with them. Sanders and Arluke (1993) argue that intimate interactions and emphatic engagement in the perspective of the nonhuman animal other are crucial sources of this knowledge. Fundamental to investigating, what Franklin et al. (2017) refers to as, 'worlds without words' is paying close attention to (the details of) habitual routines and embodied actions. Being present in the shelter and participating in routine social interactions with both shelter workers and dogs was therefore the most valuable methodological approach for this research. In other studies exploring the interaction between human and nonhuman animals, the data has typically been noted down as (Taylor, 2007):

1. Context and provacation of incitement of interaction
2. Human comment (often verbal, but often including gestures and body language)
3. Animal response
4. Human comment on the response (interpretation of what the nonhuman animal meant)

I find this form of noting down useful. Because of my focus on dog-human interactions, 4 primarily refers to 'dog response'. Since there often is a longer interaction, the data is often noted as 1, 2, 3, 2, 3, 2, 3, 4. When I refer to my field notes, they will be presented in te text as a paragraph with an increased text indent.

My attempt to be attuned to the perspectives of the dogs in the shelter meant learning more about dogs as a general kind, as well as the individual dogs within the shelter. In their work, animal trainers and ethologists stress the practical and methodogical importance of learning to communicate and behave appropriately in response to the expectations and values of the nonhuman animals with whom one is interacting (e.g. de Waal, 2016; Goodall, 1986; Hearne, 1987). For me, this meant learning to respond, move, and verbalize in ways that were understandable and appropriately communicative (Sanders & Arluke, 1993) to the dogs in the shelter. This understanding came partially from investigating literature on dog behaviour and body language. This included both ethological accounts and practical literature aimed at dog owners and trainers. Additionally, before and during this research, I was enrolled at the Martin Gaus Academie in the Netherlands to become a certified dog trainer. I was able to apply a lot of theoretical and practical knowledge I gained from this to my interaction with the dogs in the shelter. However, the individual interaction with and observation of the dogs in the shelter was perhaps the most important and useful source of information in learning to 'listen' to and communicate with them.

5. THE SHELTER – EMPERICAL FINDINGS

The data collection for this research was conducted at a shelter in the Netherlands which houses unwanted or lost companion animals. The number of nonhuman animals the shelter houses varies significantly over periods of time. During the time this research was conducted, the shelter housed around 100 cats, 5-12 dogs, and no other companion animals. The shelter is therefore considered to be a relatively big shelter for Dutch standards. A ground map of the shelter is drawn on the whiteboard in the canteen and presented below with indicated areas in colour. This, as well as the original ground map of the shelter, can also be found in in annex A.
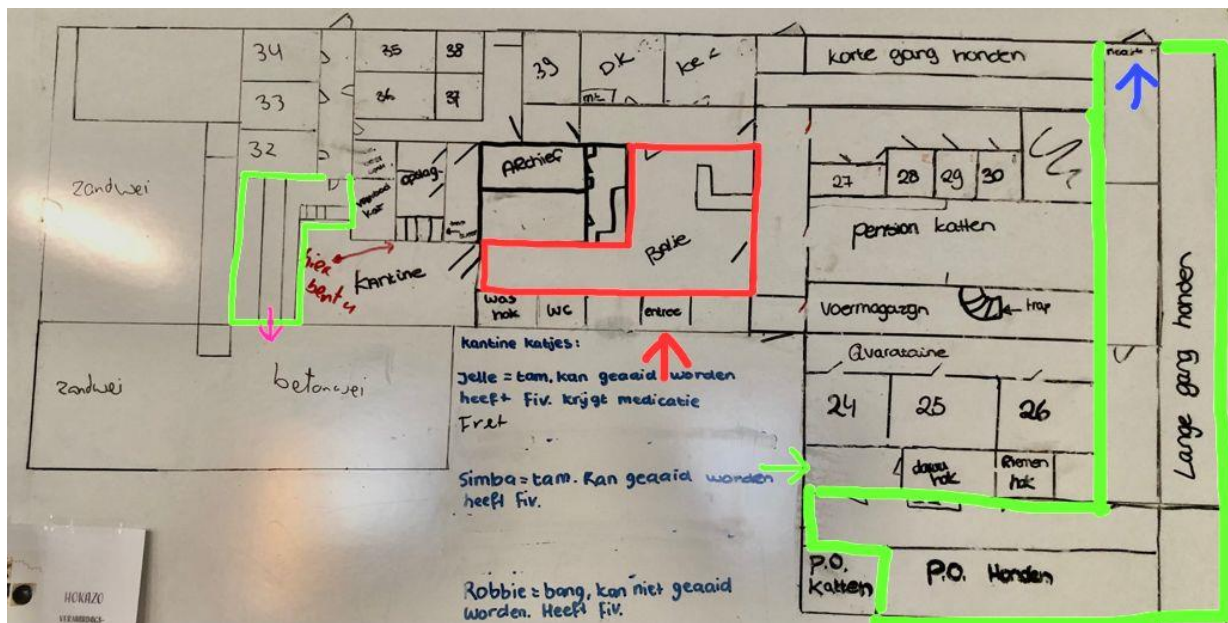
Ground map of the shelter (as it is drawn on a whiteboard in the canteen) with added indications

One can enter the shelter through the main entrance, indicated with the red arrow, into the entrance hall indicated by the red outlined area. The green outlined spaces signify the indoor dog areas. The green arrow marks the separate entrance to the indoor dog area located on the right side of the building. When you enter through there, you first come across the P.O., which is where dogs stay when they just came in until they are (confirmed to be) chipped and vaccinated. These kennels do not have outdoor kennels. If you take the door left and follow the green outlined area, you are in the long dog corridor, where most of the dogs are housed. Every dog in this corridor has an indoor and outdoor kennel, separated by a hatch that can be opened and closed by shelter workers on the outside of their kennel in the corridor. A small whiteboard is attached to every kennel which states the name of the dog, the amount and kind of food they get, and any particularities. On the opposite of their kennel, a small sheet of paper is attached to the wall that states some more detailed information about the dog: his/her date of birth, date of admission to the shelter, sex, breed, chip and registration number, and medical information.

By exiting at the end of that hallway through the blue arrow, you get to the outdoor kennels of the dogs staying in the long corridor. If you turn left at the end of this hallway instead of exiting through the door indicated by the blue arrow, you get to the 'short dog corridor' ('korte gang honden'). Managerial staff only places dogs in this corridor when all the other kennels are occupied, because the kennels in this corridor do not have outdoor kennels. During the time of this research, there were no dogs in this corridor and for this reason, it is not outlined in green. The kennels in this corridor were used to dry and store clean laundry instead. The green area outlined on the left of the building signifies what is called the 'guest house'. Although the shelter does also serve as a guest house from time to time, the dogs that are accommodated in the shelter for a short period of time almost never stay in this part of the shelter. Instead, managerial staff members often decide to house shelter dogs that are more sensitive (to for example noise or other dogs) here. These kennels also have outdoor kennels. If you exit through the door indicated by the pink arrow, you are in the outdoor corridor that leads either to one of the three fields of the shelter, or you can exit the shelter grounds.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into four different sections linked to the corresponding sub-research questions. First, I will give an overview of the general and dog-specific rules in place in the shelter. Then, I will discuss how this regulatory framework of the shelter structures and guides routine social interactions between shelter workers and dogs. The third section explores how shelter workers and dogs navigate the regulatory framework of the shelter within their routine social interactions. Finally, the last section explores how the identities within the shelter are shaped through the way in which shelter workers and dogs navigate the regulatory framework.

6.1 REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

The regulatory framework of the shelter presents volunteers with certain tasks and instructions for how to complete them. The formal rules and procedures within the regulatory framework of the shelter consists of those presented in the rule sheet and cleaning protocol sent to volunteers over mail, the rules presented on sheets of paper and whiteboards in the physical location, and those conveyed verbally by managerial staff and more experienced volunteers. In this section, I will give an overview of the most relevant rules and procedures within the shelter that structure human-dog interactions. For a detailed description of the rules presented in the rule sheet and cleaning protocol, see the annexes. The complete rule sheet and cleaning protocol are presented in their original format as well as translated into English in the annexes B, C, D, and E. I will first give an overview of how a general day is structured by the regulatory framework of the shelter. Then, I will discuss how the interaction of taking dogs out on a walk is structured by the regulatory framework in more detail. I choose to discuss this task in more detail because it is one of the main tasks for volunteers, along with feeding and cleaning, and

from those, it is most relevant in terms of interaction between shelter workers and dogs. Finally, I will present relevant dog-specific rules within the regulatory framework of the shelter.

Day to day management of the shelter is carried out by managerial staff. 3 out of 8 employees from the managerial staff are present each day as points of contact for both the public and the volunteers and interns working at the shelter. The day-to-day animal care (including cleaning and walking the dogs) is done almost exclusively by volunteers and interns. Volunteers are expected to register their presence for a certain day beforehand on a planning app. This way, the managerial staff are able to get an estimation of how much help they will receive on a given day. Since managerial staff members in principle do not carry out the daily care of the animals in the shelter, they rely heavily on volunteers for this. Every day, a certain member of the managerial staff is appointed contact person for volunteers helping out with the daily care for the dogs (from now on, contact person). She (they are all women) helps volunteers to divide tasks at the beginning of the day, around 9:00, and volunteers are expected to come to her with any potential questions. Volunteers are expected to report their presence at the beginning of their shift and sign off at the end of it with managerial staff members. Volunteers usually sign up digitally beforehand for a morning (8:45-12:30), afternoon (13:30-16:30), or full day (8:45-16:30) shift. In the morning, the dogs are all taken out for quick walks or put on the concrete field. Then, their kennels are cleaned and they are fed. How to feed the dogs is described in the cleaning protocol and rule sheet:

1. Go with the feed barrel and food bowls to the kennels and give the dogs the amount of food indicated on the kennel. Note: there are exceptions where a dog has "own" or "special" food. In that case, the food of that dog is at his or her kennel.
2. Place the food bowl in the holder farthest from the door. *Note: only feed when the dog in the outdoor kennel or on the field*.
3. Check that all kennel doors are properly closed.
   If you are going to feed the dogs, it is important that we treat all dogs as if they have food aggression. This is for your own safety, because a dog can always react unpredictably, no matter how sweet or small they are. So, the dog is put in his outdoor kennel, the hatch is properly closed and secured. be aware that some dogs can open the hatch themselves. Only then do you put the bowl with food in the kennel.

The regulatory framework thus very strongly structures not only what, but also how the dogs should be fed by the volunteers. All dogs should be treated as if they have food aggression and are therefore never allowed inside their kennels when the food is being placed. After cleaning the kennels and feeding the dogs, volunteers alternate between walking/playing with different dogs. Between 12:30 and 13:30, the dogs have a rest hour, during which the hatches to their outdoor kennels are closed, the lights are off, and no one is supposed to walk past. After the rest hour, volunteers alternate again between walking and playing with different dogs. At 16:15

volunteers start feeding the dogs, which they should be finished with by 16:30, after which managerial staff members make a last checking round and close up for the day. The managerial staff closes the hatches of all dog kennels, which means that all dogs stay in their inside kennel until the next morning.

6.1.1 WALKING WITH

Walking together is one of the main activities in which shelter workers and dogs interact together. This activity of going on walks is very important within the regulatory framework, which structures which volunteers are allowed to walk with which dogs, as well as how they are supposed to walk the dogs. Not every volunteer is allowed to take any dog with them on a walk. A colour-coding system of the dogs in the shelter serves as a guideline for who is allowed to walk with whom. This system is explained both in the rule sheet, the cleaning protocol, presented on a sheet in the physical environment next to the 'walking board', and often referred to by both managerial staff and volunteers.

Colour codes dogs

Blue: inform with management about things you should pay attention to, reasonably easy to walk with after the training period [referring to the training period of new volunteers].

Black: only volunteers who have been trained by management or experienced volunteers (appointed by management) can walk this dog. These volunteers are registered per dog on a list.

Red: this dog can only be taken out of the kennel by management (or persons appointed by management!). You cannot enter the kennel of this dog. If the appointed person enters the kennel to walk this dog or put the dog on the field, this **has** to be discussed with management each time.

The rule sheet describes that at the beginning of the day, the contact person divides tasks and as such decides which volunteer will be walking with which dogs. The colour-coding system for dogs described above states that volunteers who are allowed to walk with black or red colour coded dogs are registered per dog on a list. In practice, the contact person for dog volunteers determines this based on her estimation at that time. She bases this off her impression of the volunteer, the volunteer's own estimation of whether he/she will be able to walk with a certain dog, and how many other options there are.

On days when there are not many volunteers, or not many who are able to walk with the dogs that are considered to be more difficult, managerial staff members are more likely to let a less experienced volunteer walk with a certain dog. One morning, for example, Karin, who was the contact person for dog volunteers that day, was dividing tasks among the dog volunteers. She wrote all the dog names on the whiteboard above the sink in the dog P.O. area and wrote the name of the volunteer who would be walking that dog behind that. Besides me, there was only one other dog volunteer present that day. Since Tess, the other volunteer, is an experienced volunteer, Karin started writing her name behind the dogs that are considered most difficult.

She then wrote my name behind the 'easiest' dogs, after which there were still two dogs remaining whom Tess would not have time for, and with whom Karin was not sure I would be able to walk.

> Karin: "Have you walked with Benso before?"
> I: "I have, a couple of times. But never alone. I've held him on my own and that went fine, but I'm not sure I would be able to hold him on my own if he really wants to get to another dog."
> Karin nod her head and thought for a second.
> Tess: "It would be very helpful if someone can walk Benso because I already have a lot of dogs now and I can take some strong lead-pullers, but with my shoulder, Benso might be one too many."
> Karin nod her head again and then replied to me: "Okay, how about if I ask one of the interns to walk with you? Do you think that would work?"
> I: "Yeah, that would be fine. As long as I have someone who can help me hold him if he really wants to go."
> Karin: "And you can walk with Isa?"
> I: "Yeah, Isa is okay."
> Karin: "You've walked with her alone before?"
> I: "Multiple times with someone else, and last two times alone."
> Karin: "Okay, then you take Benso with an intern and Isa."

Given how this process works in practice, which volunteer is allowed to walk with which dogs can differ per day based on the estimation of the contact person for dog volunteers that day. This might give rise to some confusion, which was for example expressed in the WhatsApp group for dog volunteers:

> Kim (volunteer): "John will also come help today. He is allowed to walk with Rolo, Benso and Sip. He hasn't put on Sterra's muzzle yet."
> Lieke (managerial staff): "He has never walked with Rolo on his own before. So not with Rolo for the time being."
> "Kim: Pls communicate well with each other then. One allows him to, the other doesn't. He has walked 3x with someone else with Rolo. Last time he leashed him and took the lead off by himself. Same for Benso."
> Lieke: "The managerial staff member who is the contact person for dog volunteers today will make an estimation and makes the decision"

When a volunteer knows which dog he/she is allowed and supposed to walk with, he/she can write on the whiteboard 'out' under the dog in question. Each dog has their own harness or collar with lead which the volunteer can pick up in the entrance hall. If instead, the volunteer wants to put a dog on one of the fields, they write 'zw' (sand field) or 'bw' (concrete field) on

the board. To put a dog on one of the fields, shelter workers can use one of the hunting leads instead of the dog's personal lead. Dogs are allowed on the sand fields only during certain times, a rule which is enforced by the municipality in order to control noise disturbance for people living nearby. These times are presented on a sheet of paper next to the 'walking board' and stated in the rule sheet. Finally, only one dog is allowed to be on a field at one time. How to get a dog out of a kennel to either put him/her on one of the fields or to walk with him/her is described in detail in the rule sheet:

> When entering the kennel of a dog, it is important not to cause too much excitement. Make sure you are IN the kennel and have closed the kennel door. (So do not leash in the opening of the kennel.) It is important that you wait until the dog is calm or preferably sits. Then you leash the dog.

> Make sure the dog is leashed properly and get out of the kennel first, then take the dog outside via the shortest route. The dog always walks on the wall side, so he doesn't get too close to the other dogs. **Always** keep the line short, both in the hallways as well as on the property. Preferably you always go through a door first and then the dog. So that the dog knows that you are the one who is leading during the walk.

> When you put the dog back and leave the kennel, always back out of the kennel facing the dog. So, you can you keep a close eye on the dog and prevent it from slipping out or surprising you.

There are some very strict additional rules that are considered to be common knowledge, such as to keep the dog leashed at all times and to never let the dog make physical contact with other dogs you might come across. Since managerial staff members are generally occupied with other tasks than daily care of the dogs, it is usually a more experienced volunteer who passes these rules on to newer volunteers. When being on a walk for the first time with another volunteer, Marion, she told me:

> "If you come across someone else who doesn't have their dog on a lead, I most often just turn around. If that's not practical, I ask the person to leash their dog. If they're being stubborn and they don't, I'm not going to get into a conflict with those people, and I just turn around anyways."

There is furthermore one line in the rule sheet that stresses that: "Keep in mind that the dogs are in their kennel for about 22 hours a day. Let the dog therefore sniff here and there if he wants to when he is allowed to walk with you for a little bit." This is considered to be a very important rule informally, and shelter workers also regularly let the dog decide which ways the dog wants to go when out on a walk, as long as they would not come across other dogs. When coming back from a walk, volunteers should put the dog back in their kennel, keeping the same rules in mind as stated above, and then write the current time on the whiteboard along with a

magnet which colour signifies how long they have walked. This is stated in the rule sheet and pointed out by managerial staff and volunteers when forgotten.

6.1.2 DOG SPECIFIC RULES

The previous section described how different rules may apply for different volunteers. In this sub-section, I will lay out how the regulatory framework of the shelter also differentiates between different dogs. These dog-specific rules, in contrast to the general rules, are mostly conveyed verbally and through the physical environment. The first differentiation between individual dogs is made visible through the colour-coding system described in the previous section. During the time this research was conducted, the shelter almost exclusively housed dogs that were considered to be at least somewhat 'difficult'. Most dogs were therefore colour coded in black. There were some exceptions, with easy (often small) dogs coming in who would be colour coded as blue, but they were almost always adopted within a few weeks. It was mainly with the rest of the dogs, the 'long-stayers' that managerial staff and volunteers regularly interacted for longer periods of time and built relationships with. Dogs that are considered long-stayers in this research are those that had been admitted to the shelter more than a month before the start of the research. Most had however already spent a period between 6-12 months at the shelter. Only one of these dogs has been adopted during the time of this research. Since these dogs are considered to be 'difficult', many of them have dog-specific rules that guide volunteers' interactions with them.

During the time of this research, only one dog was colour coded in red; a female German Shepherd–Rottweiler mix named Nourah. She is generally considered to be a very dangerous dog, and therefore has the most extensive list of rules of all dogs in the shelter. I will elaborate on certain dog-specific rules for her specifically because I will come back to her and her interactions with shelter workers in more detail in following sections. There have been multiple incidents where she has bitten shelter workers, including those familiar to her and interacting with her regularly. There is only a handful of people allowed and willing to interact with Nourah without the kennel bars separating her from them. Four of these people are volunteers, and only two are managerial staff members. In the text of the email in which the managerial staff also sent the rule sheet and cleaning protocol to the volunteers, they mentioned certain rules regarding Nourah:

> The walking of Nourah is done with a set team of people, these people are trained to walk with Nourah. Management is trying to make this team as large as possible so that she gets to go out of her kennel enough every day, but Nourah is a dog that comes with an instruction list. For that reason, not everyone can and may walk with her.
>
> Nourah doesn't just like everyone and the 'do not pet' sign at the kennel is there for a reason. People with whom she is really comfortable and familiar can pet her. But since she protects her kennel, petting through

the bars is always advised against. Because if this goes wrong, she will get another negative note behind her name. Therefore, a friendly request not to do this (anymore).

Since most of the other dogs are colour-coded in black, the colour coding does not differentiate a lot between different dogs. Different rules may apply to different dogs for different reasons. Most of these rules are written down on the whiteboard attached to the dog's kennel. The whiteboard mentions some of these different rules, warning, or comments: "watch out with bikes and other dogs", "is a little bit reserved, but warms up from treats", "Don't try to take the stone from him if he brings it back from a walk, then he will bite", etc. Some rules apply to hygiene, such as the rule that volunteers have to check Rolo's kennel at the end of the day, because he pees against the dog bed in his kennel. His kennel therefore has to be checked and, if needed, cleaned before volunteers finish their afternoon shift. Most rules are however related to the safety of the dog in question, other dogs, or volunteers. One of the dogs to whom specific rules are attached is Sterra, a Stafford mix. While colour coded blue and generally regarded as one of the easiest dogs in the shelter, she is one of these long-stayers. She has had multiple bite incidents with dogs before coming to the shelter. One of these incidents is said to have resulted in the death of a Golden Retriever. Because of this, the municipality has imposed an obligation for her to wear a muzzle and be leashed at all times outside. This rule is made clear on the 'walking board', the whiteboard on her kennel, and always stressed to new volunteers verbally by managerial staff and other volunteers.

Sterra's blue colour-coding indicates something about how colour-codes are established within the shelter. The colour coding of a dog mainly signifies the ease or difficulty for shelter workers to interact and walk with this dog. This relates to a number of different things: how well the dog listens to shelter workers, whether the dog is reactive to for example bikes or other dogs during walks, how strong the dog is, whether he/she is known to react unpredictably towards shelter workers, and other particularities. While Sterra has a history of bite incidents with other dogs, she is very friendly towards shelter workers and because she has been in the shelter for a long time, she knows what they expect from her, and she is able to communicate well with them. Sterra enjoys going on walks, but she is not allowed to do so without her muzzle. Through their routine social interactions, both Sterra as well as shelter workers know the requirements for going on walks together. Sterra reacts happily when she sees her harness and muzzle because for her it means she will be going on a walk. For that reason, Sterra contently complies with wearing her muzzle and shelter workers generally have no trouble with putting the muzzle on.

The regulatory framework of the shelter thus sets a number of tasks for shelter workers as well as structures how these tasks should be carried out. This translates into a number of general as well as dog-specific rules, which purpose may range from ensuring safety (for shelter workers or dogs), hygiene, or wellbeing of the dogs. The colour-coding system of the dogs indicates mainly to the ease or difficulty for shelter workings to act in accordance with this regulatory framework within the interaction with the dog in question.

6.2. PRODUCING WHAT IT REGULATES

The previous section gave an overview of the general and dog-specific rules that are in place in the shelter. This section explores how this regulatory framework structures and guides routine social interactions between shelter workers and dogs. I will first elaborate on the aim of the regulatory framework to prevent incidents and analyse what ultimate purpose it serves. Then, I will discuss how the way in which the regulatory framework shapes social interactions in the shelter is situated within the larger context of how humans interact with and 'keep' dogs as pets. Finally, I will analyse how the regulatory framework structures and guides routine social interactions between shelter workers and dogs within the shelter itself.

6.2.1. IN IT FOR THE ANIMALS

Attached to the whiteboard in the P.O. area of the dogs is a sheet of paper through which the managerial staff members of the shelter explain the importance of the regulatory framework and acting in accordance with it:

> Dear dog volunteers,
>
> We have a new club of enthusiastic volunteers, that's great! For this reason, we have written down all agreements and rules regarding the dogs, so that they are clear for everyone.
>
> The reason for all these rules is very clear: To prevent incidents and facilitate a pleasant and above all safe working environment for human and animal.
>
> We ask you to follow these rules.
>
> If we notice that people deliberately ignore these rules, we will hold them accountable, and it will be noted down. Because ignoring these rules can have major consequences (we wish to prevent incidents at all times), a warning may follow. After 3 serious warnings, we will unfortunately ask you to quit your volunteering.
>
> Thank you in advance!
>
> Best,
>
> Management

The managerial staff members thus explain that the main aim of the regulatory framework of the shelter is to prevent incidents. The regulatory framework of the shelter is situated within broader cultural-legal frameworks of how humans 'keep' nonhuman animals and it is therefore also influenced thereby. For example, the management of the shelter is legally responsible for the safety of the people who interact with the dogs. If serious incidents were to occur and the shelter did not have sufficient prevention measures in place, they could be held responsible for that in a court case. Within Dutch law, shelters are considered owners of their dogs and they are legally liable for any damages the dogs might cause. In previous court cases, shelters have

been cleared of damages when volunteers had been bitten by one of their dogs, if they could demonstrate that the volunteer violated the rules (Hof Arnhem, 11 januari 2005).

Nevertheless, when shelter workers talk about the importance of preventing incidents, volunteers rarely if ever mention their own safety as an important factor in this, and neither do managerial staff talk about their legal liability. Instead, the emphasis is almost always on the reputation of the dogs. If an incident were to occur between two dogs or dog and volunteer, this would result in (another) negative note being made about the dog(s). This would then make it even more difficult to find a suitable home for the dog(s) in question. I had a conversation with Marian, a volunteer with whom I spent a considerable amount of time in the shelter, while we were standing next to Nourah's (the red colour-coded dog) kennel. The conversation took place right after Marian looked at Nourah and Nourah snapped at her. Marian told me:

> "They asked if I wanted to be trained to walk with her. I really like her, but I'm not going to take the risk, you know? I don't accept it if she snaps at me like that. I tell her no, and then she stops most of the time. But she's not predictable with me. So I'm not going to take that risk. For me it wouldn't matter, you know? But if something were to happen, she would have another negative note behind her name, and she doesn't need that."

The shelter workers with whom I interacted were very committed to their work and the animals they care for. For both volunteers and managerial staff, shelter work is very demanding in terms of time and emotion. Most managerial staff members start off working as volunteer in the shelter for very long periods of time before becoming an employee. One managerial staff member, Anita, told me she started as an intern at the shelter in 23 years ago, and continued working in the shelter as a volunteer afterwards, until she became a paid employee 10 years ago. About her work, she told me:

> "I've experienced the weirdest things here. One time, someone called saying there were 18 guinea pigs running around somewhere in the forest. I told her we would come to get them. We called some volunteers and went to the forest, where we caught 38 guinea pigs, some were even pregnant. This was on a Sunday, so we had to call a pet store from people we knew to get supplies for them. All the cat rooms were occupied, so the handyman had to come and craft cages from some doors that were lying around. It's improvisation in a case like this, but we do it. The animals always come first. And I love that. This kind of work may not pay the best and it really is exhausting at times, but I have always said: I will leave here when there is not a stone left on the ground, or when I lie between six planks."

In situations that call for it, both managerial staff and volunteers go out of their way to try to do their best for the animals they care for. For example, during particularly warm days, when the dogs cannot go on long walks, members of managerial staff open up the shelter earlier, around 07:00. This gives volunteers the opportunity to walk with the dogs before it gets too warm. On such days, many volunteers make sure to be there on the time the shelter opens, and some even come by to walk with the dogs before going to their work.

The tasks that need to be done around the shelter are demanding, and both managerial staff and volunteers take very little breaks on average. On the last day of my volunteering in the shelter, I spoke to Marian about the end of my volunteering work and how it came at a time that more volunteers quit. This meant that the work for the remaining volunteers was becoming more and more intensive. About this, Marian told me:

> "I love coming here. I'm here the whole day on Monday and Wednesday and half days on Friday and Saturday. But if there's so little people here now, well that takes some of my motivation away. Last week, I was on my own the whole morning. Susan [a managerial staff member] had to help me to finish cleaning all the kennels. Even if I sometimes have some tension with some people here, I come here for the animals. that's what it's about. But now it feels like I'm pushing myself too hard, giving a little too much. I don't want to burn myself out. That's why I told myself to only come in for the morning today."
> I: "You won't be helping anyone if you ask too much from yourself, so I think it's good that you listen to your own boundaries and choose to come for example only in the morning."
> Marian: "Yes, I really have to tell myself to take it easy. But it's hard."
> [She paused for a few seconds, while she looked down and swallowed. Her eyes teared up and she was trying to push them away]
> She continued: "Well, you can tell it affects me." ["*Nouja, je kunt wel zien dat het iets met me doet.*"]

Such deep dedication to the animals and the work in animal shelters is also recognized in other research. In a study that explored the drive and moral values of shelter workers in the United Kingdom, Taylor (2004) similarly found that the shelter workers were deeply committed to act on the behalf of the animals they care for and considered themselves to be 'in it' for the animals. Ultimately, the main goal for shelter workers is to find suitable new homes for the dogs, which is made more difficult by occurring incidents.

6.2.2. BAD OWNERS AND GOOD DOGS

Generally, shelter workers consider this commitment and devotion insufficient among most members of the general public. Members of the public, especially those surrendering their pets, but to a lesser extend also those looking to adopt one, are met with a considerable amount of

distrust from shelter workers. Taylor (2004) similarly found that: "Staff spent a great deal of time interacting with the public whom they view in very negative terms" (p.330). When a dog is surrendered to the shelter, there are always some comments made by both managerial staff and volunteers. Most comments are cynical, demonstrating their deep disapproval through, what Taylor (2004) similarly encountered and referred to as a 'nothing shocks me anymore' attitude. Comments are often made quickly, but when the topic comes up in a longer conversation, shelter workers usually respond much more emotionally. Marian for example told me about a German Shepherd who was adopted from the shelter a long time ago, but was surrendered to the shelter again 10 years later:

> "They were expecting a child, and she [the dog] was very sensible to noise stimuli. They didn't trust it, and so they got rid of her. I can't believe that you know? You have a dog for ten years, and then you just abandon her at a shelter because you get pregnant? Seeing a dog like that, that breaks your heart, really. I think she was claustrophobic too. She destroyed her whole kennel, we had to move her to another shelter where she would have more space."

Taylor (2004) similarly found in her study that "Reasons were seen as excuses on behalf of the owners and generally were taken as being lies or, in the case of poor behaviour by the animal, were seen as being the fault of the owner in the first place" (p.330). Poor, or aggressive behaviour from dogs are often considered within such a context in the shelter. As I have mentioned above, a substantial part of the dogs in the shelter is considered to be 'difficult', particularly the long-stayers. Certain dogs have behaved aggressively towards shelter workers before, which in some cases has led to (serious) bite incidents. Shelter workers however often stress that it was not the dog's 'fault' they exhibit certain behaviour, or that they were surrendered to the shelter in the first place. The dogs are instead often seen as having been 'made' a certain way by their previous owners, and thus as victims of an unfair past. 'Difficult' behaviour of a dog is often contributed to the errant ways of their previous owner, who had not given the dog enough boundaries, guidance, training, attention, or energy outlet according to shelter workers.

Interaction between shelter workers and Nourah, the only red colour coded dog in the shelter, are good examples of this. Although Marian is not allowed to walk with Nourah, she does put a lot of effort into building a trust relationship with her. When I worked with her, she would often have short moments of interactions with her in between our tasks. During one of those, Marian stepped towards Nourah's kennel and kneeled down before her. Nourah saw the treats she had in her and so she went to sit down before Marian and looked at her hand. She then put her paw through the bars, and when Marian softly touched it, she quickly withdrew it and lifted her lip and growled.

Marian: "Oh, okay. Well don't give me your paw then."

Nourah stopped growling and looked at Marian expectingly. Marian did not touch Nourah again, but when she lifted her hand a little bit closer to the bars of the kennel, Nourah looked at her hand mistrustfully, raised her lip and started growling again.

Marian: "Nourah, no!"

Marian then stood up, walked towards me and then turned around to look at Nourah and sighed.

Marian: "She wants to, you know. She's probably in pain. You can't really get mad at her or blame her because it's not really her fault. Just look at how she's sitting there. It's so tragic."

Behaviour of dogs is thus often made sense of in relation to their past and their previous owners. Shelter workers are critical of the current broader cultural-legal system of how humans keep their pets, as shows in their comments about the general public and the previous owners of the dogs. The latter are constructed as *bad owners* who are still responsible for unwanted behaviour of the dog that they have abandoned. The previous owners of the dogs are therefore still considered to bear responsibility for having compromised the chance of a better future for the dog (i.e., the dog being rehomed), because of the dog's current behaviour. The conceptualisation of the dogs in the shelter as *good animals* is therefore strongly linked with the perception of their previous owners as *bad owners*, as Taylor (2004) also found in her study. *Bad owners* are considered bad because of whatever reason, they had not prioritized the interest of their dog. This is also translated in the rejection of possible new *bad owners* who are looking to adopt a dog (partly) for non-love oriented reasons that could be considered selfish, such as guarding or driving away mice.

This conceptualisation of the previous owners by shelter workers in turn instructs how their own identity is performed within these relations: they will make sure to never do the same. The dogs' interest must come first for shelter workers, and they will be completely dedicated to act on behalf of them. This also means protecting them from potential new bad owners in the future by requiring a lot of criteria for potential new owners and meeting them with a level of scepsis. Their own identity is therefore performed by this dedication to the animals they care for, perceived as victims of an unfair past, who are 'made' by their previous bad owners, but protected for potential new ones by them.

6.2.3. DANGEROUS & UNPREDICTABLE DOGS

In the previous section, I have discussed the performative effects of the regulatory framework and its aim to prevent incidents in light of shelter-public dynamics. Within the shelter, rules are set in place in order to prevent incidents. The focus on the rules, and therefore the means by which incidents are prevented, is a focus on internal dynamic within the shelter. This sub-section will explore what the performative effects of these rules on identities and social relations

within the shelter are. The idea that dogs could always act unpredictably towards shelter workers is very strongly ingrained within the established rules. Volunteers are told explicitly to always be on guard, which is reflected in the rule that volunteers should always exit the kennels facing the dogs, to prevent the dogs from surprising you, as well as in the rule that dogs should always be outside when food is placed inside: "The dogs should **always** be in the outdoor kennel when they are fed (no matter how sweet or small they are, dogs can always react unpredictably". Both of these rules are stated in the rule sheet.

This sense of danger as a result of their unpredictability is tied to the material-discursive identity of both individuals and the general category of dogs. Dog's bodies have the capacity to cause considerable harm to other bodies. This differs per individual dog as well, since small dogs pose less of a risk in this regard than larger dogs, for example. Unpredictable small dogs are therefore seen as considerably less dangerous than unpredictable larger dogs, and there are less rules volunteers have to take into account in their interaction with them. A dog's breed is of relevance in this as well, as Rottweilers and Staffords are for example often regarded as more intimidating than Labradors or Spaniels. Weaver (2013) explains how qualities of danger are labelled as innate, and often unpredictable, qualities in the bodies of specific kinds of dogs who are characterized by the vague categories that are breeds. He furthermore argues that legal rituals (such as breed-specific legislation) around dangerous dogs take part in producing the very beings that they regulate. The same can be said about the regulatory framework, which attempts to regulate the unpredictability of dogs and differentiates between 'levels of danger and unpredictability' through the colour-coding of specific dogs.

The notion that dogs are always able to surprise you, to act unpredictably, is also conveyed verbally. While I was walking Isa, a female Belgian Shepherd, with Inge, a newly employed woman from the managerial staff, we were discussing reasons why people may not want to adopt a dog from the shelter. I brought up that I have often heard people worry that they could never fully trust a dog from the shelter, because they do not know the background of the dog and they do not know what he/she has gone through. She responded:

> "Yes, I guess. But you can never fully trust a dog. I can try all I want, but in the end, they're dogs, and they speak dog, we don't. Another dog might see all these extremely subtle things they're communicating, but we just can't see all of these things. And besides, some of these dogs here, you know, they are really okay all the way to their core, like Benso, Daisy and Sip."

I agreed that I did not see a reason to be very mistrustful of those dogs. She nodded and said:

> "And you know what, if you're convinced something is going to happen, it will. So if you're convinced your dog is going to be aggressive, he probably will."

The perceived unpredictability of dogs in general influences the lives of individuals dogs, also those that are considered "okay all the way to their core". There are general rules that count for all dogs in the shelter based on this perception that any dog can behave unpredictably (to humans) at any time. There are furthermore also stories of individual dogs that strengthen this view. One of these stories was told in a conversation when a volunteer, Herald, asked Karin what he was supposed to do if a dog would bite him when out on a walk. He asked this question because he and I were both learning how to walk with Isa, who had been said to sometimes redirect her aggression to the one walking her when passing another dog. Karin shrugged her shoulders and answered:

> "You wait."
> Herald raised his eyebrows to that response.
> Karin: "There is not so much more you can do. You wait until they let go. You'll only make it worse otherwise. If you make them more angry, afraid, stressed, or whatever the reason is they bit you, they might start shaking their head. Well then they really harm you. It tears your flesh. When this topic comes up, it always makes me think if Buddy's story. Do you know it?"
> Herald: "I don't think so."
> Karin: "His owner brought him in here because he had attacked him. He sat on the couch one moment, the next Buddy dragged him off the couch, stood on top of him on his chest and bit him in the arms multiple times. He was lucky they could save his arms, he had punctured them completely, wasn't pretty. It took a very long time, with him just laying there on the floor, and all he did was pet him with the arm he wasn't biting in, saying 'Calm boy, calm'".
> While explaining, she made slow petting movements in the air to illustrate. "That saved his life. It calmed Buddy down eventually so that he walked off and he was able to get away."
> Two interns who were cleaning the entrance hall had stopped and were listening to her story.
> Herald: "That... wow."
> I asked: "What happened that triggered Buddy to do that?"
> Karin shrugged her shoulders again and shook her head. She then pointed to her head and said: "Something just snapped."

This story, and those similar to it, reinforce the notion of dogs' unpredictability, and its alarming dangers. If any dog can just 'snap' at any time, you really do have to be always on guard. The unpredictability in this story does not arise from the fact that the dog may be communicating something which we are not able to understand because we do not 'speak dog', as Inge suggested, but from something much more unsettling: there was nothing you could have done

to see it coming or prevent it, de dog's mind 'snapped'. A dog, even the one who is your best buddy one moment, can suddenly snap and heavily attack you in the next. This dog, and his mind that can just snap, is so Other, it is almost alien. Acting in accordance with the regulatory framework, which tells shelter workers to always be on their guard, is therefore very important because shelter workers should not convince themselves that they do understand the *dog other,* because even if their communication would be perfect (which it is not, because they do not 'speak dog'), sometimes there is no reason, nothing to communicate: a dog's mind can just 'snap'. This also has implications for how shelter workers should interact with dogs in situations in which dogs may behave aggressively, for this was the reason why Herald asked the question. If the dog behaves like that for no reason, because something in his mind 'snapped', there is nothing to communicate with the dog even if we could. And so the advice is: "you wait".

Ultimately, the goal of shelter workers is to find suitable new homes for the dogs, which would be made more difficult if incidents were to occur. The rules within the shelter aim to prevent this, but in doing so, they also bring forward a certain notion about identity and the possibilities of communication and understanding across species boundaries. The regulatory framework tells shelter workers to always be on guard, because any interaction with a dog can be unsafe since dogs can always behave unpredictably. When a dog does acts unpredictably or aggressively, shelter workers should remember it is not the dog's 'fault'. Dogs' unwanted behaviour is made sense of in the context of their previous *bad owners* who had failed to prioritize the interests and needs of the dog. Shelter workers would make sure to never to they same. They shared deep commitment to their work and to 'be in it for the animals' and to act on their behalf, which also meant protecting them from potential new bad owners. In this way, the regulatory framework of the shelter does not only regulate dogs and shelter workers and their behaviour, it also produces them.

6.3. DEMANDING RESPONSE

Through their routine social interactions, shelter workers and dogs co-create patterns of interactions and norms that may or may not correspond to the regulatory framework. Within their routine social interactions, shelter workers and dogs thus have to navigate this regulatory framework of the shelter. This section investigates how they do so by exploring three different contexts: during rule-breaks, in situations where individuals feel unsafe, and in play interactions.

6.3.1. BREAKING THE RULES

Rule-breaks regularly occur within routine interactions between shelter workers and dogs. They may happen for a number of reasons and in various situations. Nevertheless, the most-occurring rule-break is during feeding routines, which is always during the busiest times of the day: in the morning, when all kennels need to be cleaned, all dogs need to be walked, and all dogs need to

be fed before 10:30, and in the afternoon, when volunteers can only start feeding the dogs at 16:15 and need to be done at 16:30. According to the regulatory framework, all dogs are supposed to be in their outdoor kennels when the food is placed inside. Volunteers usually first try to ask the dog to go outside. When they are asked, but they do not abide by the request, the volunteer must come up with more creative ways or break the rules by placing the food inside the kennel with the dog present. Some dogs, mostly the ones that have not been in the shelter for long, do not understand that they need to go into their outside kennels. Others may simply refuse to do so. It is not unusual for volunteers to just put the food in the kennel with the dog present. It happens more frequently, but not exclusively, when volunteers feel rushed. This rule is quite casually broken (although only with certain dogs) and volunteers do not seem to think much of breaking this rule. Only when a (relatively) new volunteer is present, they would comment on it. For example, when it was one of my first times feeding the dogs, Moniek put Daisy's food in the kennel with her present and said to me:

> "Officially, I'm not allowed to do this. Well, it's not how you're supposed to do it, with her still in the kennel, I mean."

Rule-breaks by shelter workers therefore almost always occur when they deem to rule in question to be unnecessary, at least for that dog at that time. Recall the rule that when shelter workers exit the kennel of a dog, they are supposed to do so while facing the dog according to the regulatory framework. Many shelter workers are not so careful with this and leave the kennel with their back towards the dog, if they are familiar with him/her. One time during the feeding rounds at the end of the day, a new dog that had come in earlier that week did not want to go to his outside kennel, and I asked Marian how we should deal with that situation. She put the food bowl in his kennel while he was still inside and then said to me:

> "I actually think the whole thing around the feeding rounds is very exaggerated."
> I: "What do you mean? The rule that we are not allowed to put the food in the kennel while the dogs are still inside?"
> Marian: "Yeah. I mean, most of these dogs are really not going to attack you when you put the food in their kennel."

The feeling that a certain rule is unnecessary almost always plays a role when shelter workers decide to break a rule in the interaction with a particular dog in a particular situation. Sometimes, time pressure or stress may play an additional role in this as well, and this may lead to rule-breaks in which there was not so much trust between shelter worker and dog. This was for example the case in a certain interaction between Moniek and Rolo. Moniek is one of the few volunteers who is able and allowed to walk all dogs in the shelter. In practice, this means that volunteers such as her almost only walk with the more 'difficult' dogs, because there are not many others who can walk them. Rolo is one of these dogs with whom Moniek walks regularly. One time, she wanted to get him from the sand field to his kennel, which volunteers

are required to do with a lead. She told me that that one time she just opened the gate and guided him to his outside kennel (which is opposite to the sand field) instead of leashing him first. I asked her why she did that without a lead and she responded:

> "Because he's so annoying. Even just leashing him is like throwing a lasso. And then when you have him on the lead, he juts bites it and annoys you. This way is easier and faster."
>
> I chuckled, and she continued: "Well he's just a bad dog [*rotjoekel*]. One time, I tried this as well, but the snow was very high, so it's easier for him to climb over the fence to the cat area and he went there, and jeez, I just panicked and rushed over to him to get him to go to his kennel. I was nervous because if it wouldn't work, I would have to get someone from management, and they would reprimand me, and I didn't want that. But luckily I managed to get him in his kennel."

Moniek is annoyed at Rolo's behaviour because she perceives him as understanding what is expected of him (to be leashed and be brought back to his kennel) and yet behaving in a way that makes it difficult for her. Moniek attempted to find an easier way to get Rolo to his kennel, but in the freedom that this permitted Rolo, he took the chance to investigate the cat area. When Moniek was talking about Rolo's behaviour that makes him difficult to handle for her, she indicated that she just doesn't like him rather than explaining or excusing his behaviour.

Such rule breaks by dogs also indicate the ways in which the regulatory framework of the shelter is not simply imposed by shelter workers on dogs. Instead, the regulatory framework often enforces dog-initiated rules. Dogs within the shelter, especially long-stayers, are perceived as understanding most rules that guide shelter worker-dog interactions. Shelter workers interact differently with newer dogs, who they do not expect to understand their requests yet. In their interactions with long-stayers on the other hand, shelter workers often comment on the situation in which the dog does not abide by a request or behaves differently in a situation. These comments are sometimes made in an amused, and sometimes in an annoyed way. In such situations, shelter workers often believe to understand why the dog was in a way breaking the rules. Most of the time, this was not considered an annoyance, but rather, a way of the dog to communicate his/her preferences, which occasionally altered the regulatory framework. For example, the regulatory framework of the shelter prescribes the amount and type of food a certain dog gets. Dogs however regularly refrain from eating certain types of food, after which their feeding routine is often altered by adding, for example, canned meat in addition to their dry food. Certain dogs may similarly refrain from eating their food based on presence of shelter workers instead of the sort of food they get. Sometimes it happens that a dog only eats when a shelter worker is present in their kennel. Shelter workers would then regularly break the rules by siting with the dog until he/she finishes his/her food. In come cases, the dog's specific feeding routine is edited by instructing shelter workers to sit with the dog until he/she finishes the food. The regulatory framework thereby explicitly contradicts itself (since it also stated that

dogs can never be present in the kennel when food is placed inside because they could always react unpredictably.

At other times, it is not time pressure or convenience that plays an important role in rule-breaks, but the desire to engage in interactions with dogs that the regulatory framework prevents. In section 6.1 I have described some of the dog-specific rules that are in place for Nourah. One of these rules stated to not pet Nourah through her kennel bars. Certain volunteers who are not allowed to walk with her still put effort into building a relationship with her. Marian is one of these volunteers, and as I mentioned before, she regularly invests time in between her tasks to interact with Nourah. During these interactions, she might pet Nourah if she will sit or lie against the kennel bars or feed her treats out of her hand. After one particular interaction, she went to Karin to voice her concern about Nourah's physical wellbeing:

> Marian: "I was trying to feed her some treats, and every time she would lie down in front of me but then raise her lip. I think she might have some pain that's making her agitated."
> Karin responded quite gruffly: "Yes, she does that. She has feeding aggression. So don't give her treats."

The regulatory framework inhibited Marian from interacting with Nourah through touch, which made it more difficult for Marian to voice her concerns about Nourah's physical well-being, because she faced the risk of being reprimanded by managerial staff for breaking the rules. In this case, she did get reprimanded by Karin. Even though Marian did not try to convince Karin of her concerns any further, she continued interacting with Nourah through pets and treat-giving as well as continued voicing her concern about Nourah to other volunteers.

Considering a certain rule to be unnecessary for a particular dog in a particular situation is often a central element in the consideration of shelter workers to break rules within the shelter. Breaking the rules leads to types of interactions with extended possibilities, both for shelter worker and dog together, as well as for them individually. Moniek thought she had found a way in which to get Rolo to his kennel in a way that was more comfortable for both of them (Rolo does not like to be leashed and Moniek does not like to leash Rolo), but the second time she attempted this, Rolo used the extended freedom to check out the cat area, which made Moniek's task more difficult. The ways in which dogs would engage in rule-breaks were sometimes regarded as annoying, as Moniek perceived Rolo's behaviour. At other times, rule-breaks by dogs lead to extended possibilities for interaction with shelter workers, as well for changing the regulatory framework that structured their routine interactions. Sometimes shelter workers would engage in rule-breaks that were initiated by dogs. Volunteers however also risked being reprimanded by managerial staff members if they did so, which Marian encountered when she attempted to voice her concern about Nourah's physical wellbeing.

6.3.2. DEALING WITH DANGER

The established rules within the shelter aim to prevent incidents and are very much tied to notions of danger and unpredictability. Nevertheless, acting perfectly in accordance with the regulatory framework does not prevent individuals from encountering situations in which they feel unsafe or may even be physically harmed. Both shelter workers and dogs therefore have to occasionally deal with feelings of danger in their social interactions. For example, one morning I was walking with Herald and a new dog that had been found on the street earlier that week. Tucker is a German Shepherd mixed with another breed, because he was quite a bit larger and had a broader build than most German Shepherds. That morning, I heard from a managerial staff member and a volunteer that they think he was used for IPO (protection work), and that he was dumped because of hip problems. Herald and I walked with him with two leads. Herald asked me if I was comfortable walking Tucker, and I told him I was, but that I thought it was strange that you have no idea what dogs like Tucker have experienced, so that I am always a little on guard because you never know if there are certain words, movements, or situations that might trigger him. Some dogs have had negative experiences with their previous owners or other humans they have interacted with. Some have been neglected, abandoned, or abused. I then asked him if he sometimes feels uncomfortable with dogs in the shelter because of this reason. He responded:

> "You're right. Something you do might trigger them, make them act unpredictably. But the same is true for people."

We continued our walk, and at some point, our leads got entangled. Tucker was walking in front of us, and Herald raised his arm with his lead so that I would be able to pull my lead out from under it. When Tucker saw this movement on his right from the corner of his eye, he flinched, made himself small, tucked his tail between his legs and he made a sharp move to the left, away from Herald's arm. Herald's eyes widened; he slowly lowered his arm while he said, "That's not good". He kneeled down next to Tucker and extended his hand to him and said, "Hey boy, don't worry". Herald kneeling down and extending his hand communicated much more than he could convey in words to Tucker. By kneeling down and extending his hand, he attempted to show Tucker that he meant no harm, and he let it up to Tucker whether or not to choose to believe that: his hand was extended, but he did not reach to touch Tucker. It did not take long for Tucker to make his choice: he almost immediately took a step towards Herald, sniffed his hand, and very slightly nudged it before turning around and deciding to continue our walk. Tucker regained his posture and focused on the road ahead. He didn't make an effort to keep an eye on us or our movements. Herald did not make more efforts to let Tucker know he meant well. As we continued walking, Herald said to me:

> "That's really not good, I've never seen it like that before".
> In response, I told Herald a story about me and my dog: "A few years
> ago, I asked my dog if she wanted to come on a walk with me. She was

already very old by then and didn't see much anymore, but she still really enjoyed going on walks, so she got really exited when I asked. She wanted to circle around, but she didn't see the door on her left and smashed her head into it. She got so scared, she ran away from me and cowered in a corner. She thought I hit her, and for months afterwards, every time I would ask her if she wanted to go out for a walk, she would run away from me and hide in a corner again. I had no idea how to explain to her that I didn't hit her."

Herald: "I had it here with Benso. I wanted to leave his kennel after I put him back after a walk. I tried to back out of the kennel while pushing his head back in so that he wouldn't get out. I was almost out of the kennel, but I still had one foot inside. Benso got very excited and then he bumped his head into my foot at full speed. And then you just see him looking up at you like that."

He ended his story then and looked at me, as if he wanted to convey how Benso's gaze on him in that moment felt, or he wanted to see if I understood what he meant.

I: "You see them looking at you puzzled as if considering whether they should start doubting you. That's how it felt to me."

Herald: "Yes. It breaks your heart. It did, for me, that moment with Benso."

Herald's emotional response to his interaction with Tucker and Benso was very different. This interaction between Herald and Benso was one in which Herald felt like he was not able to create understanding with Benso and rebuild trust, like he did with Tucker.

When shelter workers and dogs deal with interactions in which they feel unsafe, attention and response thus appeared to be key in resolving these situations. Although Tucker and Herald succeeded in doing so, this was not the case in every interaction. While the regulatory framework can therefore not prevent individuals in the shelter from encountering situations in which they feel unsafe, it does provide something to fall back on when trust and common understandings are not so easily achieved between individuals themselves. The rules and procedures within the shelter provide a frame of reference through which shelter workers and dogs are able to interpret each others' actions. In this way, the regulatory framework can thus provide a certain level of safety and predictability for shelter workers as well as dogs. The regulatory framework has this important function within the interactions between shelter workers and Nourah. As I have mentioned, Nourah has had several bite incidents with shelter workers, mostly in situations where either the shelter worker or the situation was new for her. In these settings, Nourah is known to give very little warning or stress signals before she bites. She could for example lick her nose (which is considered a minor stress signal for dogs) one moment, and bite the person she is interacting with in the next.

For this reason, Karin asked me if I wanted to observe Nourah's body language when she wanted to train her to wear to muzzle on the concrete field. She told me that that morning, the muzzle training did not go so well because Nourah had snapped at her. Muzzle training is stressful for Nourah because she has had a number of negative experiences with the muzzle in the past, having to undergo painful veterinary procedures when wearing it. As a result, she would try to bite anyone who would attempt to put the muzzle on her. Karin was now trying to train her to accept the muzzle again by holding the muzzle in front of her head, putting a treat through it, and letting Nourah get the treat and retreat her head from the muzzle again. This time, the muzzle training went okay and it was ended after Nourah showed multiple stress signals (she yawned, licker her nose, and slightly lifted her front paw). After the training, I spoke to Karin who told me:

> "Nourah never learned any boundaries. These people she was with, they didn't teach her a single thing. She was allowed to do anything there; lay on the table, poop everywhere, you name it. And now, if she loses control, she gets aggressive. People here who think 'oh she is such a sweet dog' only walk with her. If she's familiar with you, she'll walk with you like the perfect dog. She might listen perfectly and be all good and sweet when you're just walking with her. She knows what to expect. But put her in a new situation and she doesn't have control, she get's insecure and she becomes aggressive. I don't trust her, not for 70%. She will attack, and she has bitten me before."

Karin expresses feeling unsafe when interacting with Nourah. Interestingly, as Karin describes, Nourah listens very well to commands, and when she knows what to expect from a situation with someone who she is familiar with, she "looks like the perfect dog", as Karin describes it. Shelter workers who are allowed to walk with Nourah are required to leash her in her outside kennel so that they do not risk coming across other people or dogs inside. When a shelter worker who she is familiar with comes to her kennel, they pay a lot of attention to each other. When a shelter worker shows her her lead, he/she demonstrate his/her intention for the interaction, namely, to go on a walk. Nourah enjoys going on walks, and so, she agrees to participate in this interaction.

Although I was never able to walk or interact with Nourah without the kennel bars separating us, we did manage to create a little bit of trust between us that meant I would not feel the need to avoid her kennel and she would not lash out at me when she saw me (most of the time). This level of trust between us enabled me to feed her. Although all dogs are in principle required to be in their outside kennel when the food in put inside, I have mentioned that this rule is regularly ignored by shelter workers with certain dogs. This rule-break would be extremely irresponsible in Nourah case because of the food aggression she displays. This means that if a shelter worker wants to feed Nourah, and Nourah wants to have her food, they need to establish an understanding of this collective goal and establish rules between them that make the

achievement of the goal safe for both. When I wanted to feed Nourah for the first time, she did not know what I was going to do when I came close to her kennel and she did not trust it, so she lashed out at me. I picked up a food bowl, showed it to her and said "Nourah, go outside". She immediately went outside and waited for me to close her hatch. I was then able to close the hatch, put the food inside, exit her kennel, and let her in again to eat. Nourah did not particularly trust me and would have to intention of doing anything I say, but she did want her food and when she understood I was intending to give that to her if she would go into her outside kennel, we were able to create a collective goal and found a way to achieve it that worked for both of us. Because her feeding is a routine practice that is heavily structured by the regulatory framework, she and the shelter workers know what to expect from the interaction.

When shelter workers and dogs deal with interactions in which they feel unsafe, attention, routine communication, and response thus appeared to be key in resolving these situations. Through such interactions, shelter workers and dogs both built and fell back on their collection of shared understandings, which served as a foundation for interpreting each others' behaviour and intentions as well as for coming up with ways to achieve (collective) goals. As I have illustrated above, sometimes individuals were not able to diffuse a situation in which they feel unsafe through their particular collection of shared understandings. In those cases, the regulatory framework that structures routine social interactions such as feeding and walking appears to function as an alternative collection of shared understandings that exists on a more collective level in the shelter. Because Nourah feels unsafe with certain shelter workers or in certain situations, and the same is true for shelter workers in interactions with her, this increases the need to establish an understanding of intentions and agree on rules to make the interaction feel safe for both. The regulatory framework that structures routine social interactions in a predictable way allows for shelter workers and Nourah to do so. In this way, the regulatory framework can thus provide a certain level of safety and predictability for shelter workers and dogs even interactions with lower levels of trust. In interactions between shelter workers and dogs with higher levels of familiarity and trust however, shelter workers were more likely to break rules within the regulatory framework because they believed to know the particular dog well enough to know that their rule break was safe.

6.3.3. GAMES, PLAY & TRICKERY

Play interactions form another context in which shelter workers and dogs navigate the regulatory framework of the shelter. Play interactions themselves are not established as a task or goal by the regulatory framework as, for example, cleaning, feeding, and walking are. For this reason, there are also not so many rules guiding play interactions, and the goal and terms of the interactions are therefore created by the participants themselves, within the limits and structures of the regulatory framework.

6.3.3.1. THE FIELDS

On the concrete and sand fields, there different objects such as picnic tables, rubber tires, dog houses, and small dog pools (on warm days). There are also different toys scattered over the fields such as balls and ropes. The space of the fields is therefore physically constructed as a playground, which is also how it is often used. A shelter worker can take a dog to one of the fields and when the dog is taken off the lead, shelter worker and dog can decide what they want to do in that space, together or individually.

One afternoon, Moniek and I went on the sand field with Daisy, a female Beauceron who was caught and brought to the shelter after having wandered around in the countryside for a couple of months. Daisy was the only 'long-stayer' who was eventually adopted during the time of this research. Because she had been in the shelter for a while, and Moniek was a volunteer who came relatively regularly (two times a week), they knew each other quite well. Spending time on the field with a dog is considered a luxury as it is not a formal task described by the regulatory framework and there is often not enough time for a volunteer left to engage in such activities beyond those presented as formal tasks. For Moniek and I (or any two other volunteers) to be on the field together with a dog was therefore a rare occurrence. But since this afternoon all dogs had just been out, and I was still a relatively new volunteer, Moniek and I both joined Daisy on the field.

> From the moment Moniek took the lead of Daisy, Daisy jumped into a play bow, looking Moniek in the eyes. Moniek clapped her hands and made, what I perceived as, the human version of a play bow; jumping up slightly, and when her feet touched the ground again it made a loud sound as if she really stamped her feet into the ground. Her body made a movement that started with her hips, very subtly from left to right to left, then to her shoulders after which she was leaning forward slightly. After that movement, her body froze shortly while she was looking at Daisy. Their bodies were both tense and still while they were looking into each others' eyes for a moment. Then Moniek made a fast movement as if she was going to run towards Daisy but stopped after a few steps. Daisy turned around and very quickly ran across the field after which she turned around and ran back to Moniek. Without slowing down, she turned her body sideways and slammed it into Moniek's. She turned to stand in front of Moniek and made a play bow again. Then she came up to Moniek and bit her in her arm. Moniek petted Daisy on her side and Daisy stopped biting and walked away to focus on something else in the field.

Behaviours such as freezing, followed up by fast unexpected movements, loud short sharp sounds (like Moniek clapping in her hands), bumping into the other, fixating on the other, and biting might in other settings be regarded as intrusive by both Moniek and Daisy, but in this setting, they had a different meaning. Within play, animals use behaviours that are usually part

of other social settings such as fighting, mating, and hunting (Bekoff & Pierce, 2009). The meaning of such behaviours changes within play interactions. Behaviours that are normally regarded as rude, aggressive, or intrusive, can be fair game in play interactions. Dogs use the play bow as invite to play as well as in combination with behaviours that might be interpreted as particularly aggressive (in most social contexts) and might therefore be otherwise mistaken for aggression without the communication about playful intent (Bauer & Smuts, 2007). Daisy's and Moniek's bodies were sometimes stiff and tense, but this was alternated by relaxed poses and fluid movements by which they also communicated friendly and playful intent. Tense and unexpected movements were always short, after which the individual would quickly look at the other again to check for differences in such body language. In this way, Daisy and Moniek continually negotiated agreements about their intent to play and about the rules of the game.

After their short break, play was resumed again, this time initiated by Moniek:

> While Daisy was sniffing at a rubber tire a few meters away from Moniek, Moniek started running away from Daisy. Daisy immediately looked up and ran after her. She caught up to her and bumped her side into Moniek again. Then she turned around and started running away, after which Moniek pretended to run after her. Daisy came running back and started biting Moniek's arm. Moniek moved her arms away in a fast movement and then kept them still again. When Daisy bit them again she did the same. Then she gave Daisy two pats on her side, stood up straighter and turned to me. Daisy then walked back to the rubber tire again.

Moniek's and Daisy's play was initiated first by Daisy and later by Moniek. It started only after the other accepted the invitation. The first time, Daisy invited Moniek to play through her play bow, and Moniek accepted her invitation by showing her playful intent by pretending to chase her. Daisy understood this, as she then ran away from Moniek. The second time when Moniek initiated the play, she did not pretend to chase Daisy again, but instead ran away from her. They reversed their chasing and running away roles throughout their play session. Moniek was less energetic in her chasing and running away than Daisy, but when Moniek was not chasing or running away anymore, Daisy adjusted the game to play-fighting by bumping into Moniek and biting her arms. Play was ended after Moniek returned to 'usual' social behaviour by slowly petting her or patting her on the side and changing her body posture.

This level of trust and attention is crucial, not just because the game is over when one party is not into it anymore, but also because play interactions may escalate into possibly dangerous situations. Those situations have occurred during play interactions in the shelter as well. There have been multiple situations in which dogs have bitten people on the field in interactions that started out as play. Shelter workers explain this as the dogs getting too many stimuli during play and therefore becoming aggressive. Other reasons could include; one individual being

perceived as deliberately breaking the rules of the game, or miscommunication, in which certain behaviours were not intended or interpreted as play.

On the same day that I had walked with Tucker and Herald in the morning, Tucker was put on the sand field, and I asked Lieke (a managerial staff member) if I could join Tucker on the sand field and if that would be safe. She responded: "Uhhh, yeah. That should be fine, he seems friendly." Tucker had just come in that week, so the managerial staff did not have much information on him yet and as far as I knew, no one had been on the field with Tucker yet. I considered it for a moment and decided I would try to play with him for a little bit on the field and see how he would react.

> When I entered the field, he got very exited and started jumping up at me. I did not immediately feel comfortable because he was quite rough, and he had not made a play bow during any part of the interaction. While it is usual play behaviour for dogs to alternate focus between the play mate and the environment, Tucker was continuously alternating between jumping up at me and biting my arms and running to the exit of the field. The fact that he had not made any play bows, and he was alternating between me and the exit, made me doubt if his behaviour was play, and whether he felt comfortable on the field with me. I tried to make my body posture calm, friendly, and non-threatening by not looking him in the eyes, speaking to him in a calm and stone, and positioning my body side-ways to him (which is less confrontational). Even though I was not reciprocating his rough behaviour and was showing signs not to be comfortable with that, like turning my back when he would jump up at me or bite my arms, he did not change his behaviour. When I took a treat out of my pocket and he saw it in my hand, he jumped up and snaped at it. My concern about not really knowing him and not being sure our intentions and interpretations were very much aligned, made me feel uncomfortable in our interaction. Since I did not know how Tucker felt, what his intentions were and how he was interpreting mine, I was forced to take my own feeling of unsafety seriously. I threw the treat on the ground and while he was searching for it, I exited the field.

From the short time I knew Tucker before being on the field with him, I knew him as being a very calm and friendly dog, never jumping up at you, never staring you in the eyes. While such behaviours that might otherwise be regarded as unpolite, intrusive or even aggressive, can have a different meaning in play interactions (like they did in the interaction between Moniek and Daisy), intent and interpretation of such behaviours has to be aligned in order for it to have that meaning. Moniek and Daisy had a collection of shared understandings that they built through their repeated interactions with each other, and which served as their foundation to express their own and interpret each other's behaviour. This served the basis to built trust and find means of

communicating effectively, which enabled their play interactions. Tucker and I did not have a sufficient collection of shared understandings, neither on our relational level nor on a more collective level. This collective level is relevant because individuals do not build their relational shared understandings from scratch. Rather, through previous routine social interactions with other individuals, both humans and dogs could for instance already have become familiar with appropriate (interspecies) ways of playing. Nevertheless, Tucker and I did not seem have a collective frame of reference through which we could evaluate the situation and each other's behaviour. If we were both interested in this, Tucker and I would therefore first have to get to know each other more and build a collection of shared understandings. We were not quite there yet, and we would try again another time.

6.3.3.2. TRICKERIES

Play interactions are most clearly noticed at, but not limited to, the fields. Other interactions within the shelter are more structured by the regulatory framework. Although the rules of the regulatory framework are aimed at the shelter workers, dogs can make it difficult for them to act in accordance with them, as I have described to be an important factor in rule-breaks by shelter workers. I have described this in the context of the feeding rounds, in which shelter workers attempt to get the dog in their outdoor kennel in order to put the food inside. Since merely asking a dog to go outside is usually insufficient, this proved to be quite a challenge at times for shelter workers. The long-stayers in the shelter are considered to understand what shelter workers expect from them when they ask them to go outside. This appears to be true, since during feeding times this request is answered more willingly by those dogs than at other times during the day. Sometimes, it then also helps to show the food bowl to the dog. Shelter worker and dog then sometimes create a common goal: the dog wants to be fed and the shelter worker wants to feed the dog. When a dog does not abide by the request and a volunteer still wants to follow the rules, he/she will have to come up with more creative solutions. Sometimes volunteers ask each other for help and while one volunteer calls the dog on the outside, the other closes the hatches on the inside. At other times, a volunteer may choose to go inside the kennel and throw treats through the hatch to the outside kennel, which is also not always effective. One morning, when I was cleaning the long corridor with Mirthe, a volunteer of around my age, Mirthe was attempting to get Daisy to go to her inside kennel so that we could clean her outside kennel.

> Standing in the long corridor, Mirthe and I were able to see Daisy in her outside kennel through her opened hatch. Mirthe called Daisy's name and said, "come here". She saw Daisy looking at her from her outside kennel and thereby knew that Daisy had heard her but was not planning on coming inside. Mirthe then went into Daisy's inside kennel and left some treats just before the opening of the hatch and then left her kennel again. Daisy walked closer to the hatch, looked at the treats, and then went to lie down. Mirthe laughed and said: "You little rascal", after which she

left two more treats inside Daisy's kennel, a bit further from the hatch opening. She then left her kennel again and pretended to walk away. Dasiy stood in front of the hatch opening and looked at the treats with her ears lifted, showing clear interests in the treats. Then she looked further into the hallway to see if she could still see Mirthe around. Then, apparently having made her decision, she made a whine sound and sat down. Mirthe then laughed and suggested we started cleaning the other outside kennels first since Daisy did not fall for her trap.

Such attempts to 'trick' the dog to get him/her from their inside- to their outside kennel or the other way around are common in the shelter. If the dog does not do this when asked, the most effective and least time-consuming option is to get a hunting lead and move the dog from one kennel to the other while the hatch is closed. This option is however least preferred by volunteers, as they often comment that it takes too much time or that they "cannot be bothered to do that", as Moniek once stated. Interestingly, volunteers spent much more time than the above option would take, on creative ways of getting the dog to go to the other kennel. The attempt to trick the dog often seems to be perceived as a fun challenge by the volunteer, as was illustrated by the interaction between Mirthe and Daisy. Mirthe perceived the situation as humorous, as was clear by her way of speaking to Daisy and her chuckling and laughing especially after seeing how Daisy reacted to her attempts to get her inside. Mirthe also perceived Daisy as knowing what she wanted from her, but as being mischievous by refusing to do so, as she was also calling her a "little rascal" and said she did not fall for her trap. Sometimes, especially when volunteers are in a hurry, they do not find such situations amusing but rather find it frustrating. In those cases, volunteers almost never engage in such 'trickery games', but instead get the hunting lead or decide to just put the food down while the dog is in their inside kennel (and thereby breaking the rules).

Certain long-stayers, who are considered to understand what volunteers ask from them when they are asked to go outside or inside, are generally less likely to abide by the request. It seems that when they engage in such 'trickery games', they are much more adept at it than other dogs. They are less easily fooled and often manage to enjoy the treats which are used by volunteers to get the dog to move without having to switch kennels. Both volunteer and dog seem to consciously participate in this game for reasons beyond their obvious participating (i.e., for the volunteer to get the dog to switch and for the dog to stay in his/her current kennel). The dogs seem to be less determined to stay in their current kennel when the interaction is over, when for example the volunteer 'acknowledges' the dog's win, like Mirthe did in a way when she suggested to start cleaning other kennels when Daisy had not fallen for her trap. Mirthe seemed to realize that, after the game was over, Daisy would be less determined to stay in her outside kennel and eventually move inside on her own, which also happened. Volunteers have easier and quicker ways to get dogs to switch kennels, yet they sometimes engage in this 'trickery

game' with the dog and acknowledge when the dog has bested them. Respect and humour are key in these games.

Sometimes, a volunteer very quickly closes the hatch when a dog switches their kennel when he/she was not aware of the presence of the volunteer. Askar is one of the dogs who is very adept at these trickery games. He is a Bully XL who most volunteers are not able and allowed to walk with. For that reason, moving him to his outdoor kennel with a hunting line is not an option for most shelter workers. Shelter workers therefore engage in these 'trickery games' quite often with Asker and he is rarely bested by them. One morning, Herald was tasked with cleaning Askar's kennel, and when Askar walked into his outside kennel, Herald saw his chance and quickly closed the hatch when Askar switched kennels, so that he would be able to clean his inside kennel.

> After Herald had closed the hatch, Askar was barking loudly and scratching at the hatch. Herald looked at the hatch and then to me with a worried look and said: "He doesn't agree with this I think, being tricked like that. I think he doesn't like it."

Herald seemed to refer to the fact he had not played fairly because Askar was taken by surprise and that as a result, he was now objecting to the situation. An interaction is only a game when both sides are consciously participating in it, interpreting the others' behaviour as part of the game. Trickery may be considered fair play within such games, for that is the point of the 'trickery games', but it was interpreted differently by Herald and Askar (assumed by Herald) now that he used it outside of an established game. Although the situation made it easier for Herald to finish his tasks without losing too much time, he clearly did not perceive it as amusing or as a victory (for there was also no game to begin with). Their interaction was trickery without a game, and it was therefore not one of respect and humour.

I have explored rule-breaking, dealing with danger, and play as different contexts in which shelter workers and dogs navigated the regulatory framework of the shelter. Through their routine social interactions within the regulatory framework, shelter workers and dogs co-created and built on collections of shared understandings. The regulatory framework of the shelter existed as a form of a collective collection of shared understandings. The relational (i.e., between an individual shelter worker and dog) and collective collections of shared understandings informed one another and thereby did not exist separate from each other in the shelter. Relational collections of shared understandings were always co-created within the structures of the regulatory framework. The regulatory framework was in turn occasionally influenced by certain relational collections of shared understandings, resulting in for example described changes in feeding routines. In situations in which there were minimal relational collections of shared understandings, the regulatory framework provided a certain level of safety and predictability, primarily within routine interactions set as main tasks (such as feeding, walking, and cleaning). In its aim to ensure safety however, the regulatory framework

was perceived as both insufficient and exaggerated at times. It was not able to prevent situations in which individuals felt unsafe and which, if not diffused between the individuals, might lead to (bite) incidents. In contrast, within interactions between shelter workers and dogs with higher levels of familiarity and trust, however, collections of shared understandings between them could be at odds with the regulatory framework and this occasionally led to rule-breaks. For example, shelter workers regularly broke the rules because they believed to know the particular dog well enough to know that their rule break was safe. Possibilities for mutual response grew as collections of shared understandings grew. Collections of shared understandings therefore both enabled *and* were built by mutual response between shelter workers and dogs. The different contexts in which shelter workers and dogs had to navigate the regulatory framework enabled and demanded mutual response between them and left a lot of room for awkwardness, miscommunication, fun, trust, surprise, creativity, and danger.

6.4. BECOMING-WITH

The previous section explored how shelter workers and dogs navigate the regulatory framework within their routine social interactions. I have illustrated that they do not necessarily always act in accordance with the regulatory framework, since interactions were also guided by collections of shared understandings that may or may not correspond to the regulatory framework. This section discusses how the ways in which shelter workers and dogs navigate the regulatory framework influences how their identities are shaped within their routine social interactions. First, I will discuss how particular interactions between shelter workers and dogs resisted notions of 'otherness'. Thereafter, I will reflect on the identity constructions according to colour-coding, with a specific focus on Nourah as a red colour-coded dog.

6.4.1. RESISTING OTHERNESS

I have argued that certain general rules are regularly broken by volunteers. This often happens without any real fear for their own safety or reprimand by managerial staff. Managerial staff routinely ignores such rule breaks, suggesting they do not see any real danger in it either. A general rule break, which a volunteer estimates as harmless, is often tolerated and pretended to have gone unnoticed, as long as it does not lead to incidents. In case it does, it is considered as the volunteer's fault and responsibility because the managerial staff has always said that it was not allowed. Shelter workers thus risk both their own safety as well as their reputation within the shelter when they decide to break a rule. Carelessness on behalf of the volunteer leads to reputation loss for them. If a rule-break results in an incident, it is considered carelessness on behalf of the volunteer at expense of the dog's reputation and future, since (especially serious) incidents get noted down and the dog is more difficult to get placed as a result. The stakes in rule-breaking are therefore high, and when shelter workers do so, they are generally thus very confident that their rule-break is safe. This is a crucial point, because the regulatory framework tells shelter workers to always be on guard because dogs can behave unpredictably. In section

6.2. I have explained how the notion that dogs communicate in a fundamentally different way than humans is strongly tied to this. Nevertheless, when shelter workers and dogs become familiar with each other through their routine social interactions, this sometimes leads to rule-breaks as shelter workers are confident they know the individual dog well enough to trust their rule-break is safe. This level of familiarity and trust thus appears to be a crucial element in rule-breaks, for shelter workers regard the rule to be exaggerated and unnecessary for their interaction with that dog at that moment. Thereby, they are resisting the notion conveyed by the regulatory framework that any dog may always act unpredictably.

In situations in which individuals deal with feelings of danger, shelter workers and dogs often also resist this notion. Herald expressed that anyone, human and dog alike, may react unpredictably to a certain trigger because of their previous experiences. He thereby implied that this is not fundamentally different with dogs, and he therefore challenged the perception of dogs as being unpredictable Others based on their species membership. When Tucker did show fear when Herald raised his arm to disentangle the leads, Herald focussed on rebuilding trust. When Herald attempted to convey his intentions and offered to re-establish the trust, he left it up to Tucker to choose to accept it or not. Tucker's nudge to Herald's hand seemed to mean that he did, since he then turned his back to hum so that they could continue their walk. The attempt to re-establish trust was quick but there seemed to be no doubt to either Herald or Tucker that it succeeded as they both felt comfortable to refocus their attention to other matters. Interestingly, it was this refocussing of attention to the road ahead of them that was the most telling of their trust, rather than the focus on each other before that. Sanders (2003) describes mutual direction of attention as a central element that indicates and builds close (interspecies) bonds. Their interaction made me wonder what the "speaking dog" that Inge referred to means. Did Herald speak dog? Did Tucker speak human? Or did they speak something else between each other all together in which these categories of human and dog were not so relevant? What ever they spoke, they understood each other. They thereby resisted notions of otherness that imply that species membership is the most crucial criteria with regard to communication.

Shelter workers and dogs resisted the notion of otherness within their play interactions as well. Play interactions between shelter workers and dogs were not possible without mutual understanding. Moniek and Daisy did not only have to invite each other to play, but the other had to accept the invitation before play could begin. Playing thus means knowing that the other is playing also (Alger & Alger, 1997). Play furthermore had to be mutually agreed upon as well as mutually enjoyed. Shelter workers and dogs were thus only able to engage in play interactions together when both agreed *and* enjoyed to play. As Haraway (2003) notes: "the human must actually enjoy playing in doggishly appropriate ways, or they will be found out" (p.45). Play interactions therefore demanded from shelter workers not only attention for the dog, but also that they bring themselves into the interaction. In other words, they demanded from the shelter workers not to be merely 'in it' *for* the dogs. They had to be in it *with* the dogs. They had to take seriously and communicate their own feelings, for example when they would

feel unsafe in an interaction with a dog as I did with Tucker on the sand field. Within play interactions, being merely 'in it' for the dog is not an option.

Shelter workers and dogs were 'in it' with each other and adjusted their behaviour accordingly within play interactions. Sander (2003) argues that play "requires participants to evaluate the situation, define the perspective of the other, and – in the context of mutually understood rules – make decisions about how to act in concert" (p. 407). Shelter worker and dog therefore had to speak something together, whether dog or human or something else. Communication and understanding were not optional. Moniek and Daisy spoke this language well together. Through their actions, they communicated about the interpretation of the situation and each other's behaviour and set the rules of the game accordingly. Daisy adjusted the focus of the game according to Moniek's lower levels of agility. Taking the role of the other and adjusting behaviour accordingly is key in order to sustain play interactions. About this, Sander (2003) notes that players must learn to adapt their efforts in order to sustain play interactions, as "humans are more deceitful, and animals are more agile for example" (p.414). Interactions between shelter workers and dogs in the shelter show that these qualities are not so much species-dependent, however. I described how dogs regularly bested shelter workers in the 'trickery games'. Askar frequently did for example, and he was also probably the least agile individual within the shelter, which is why getting him to move from his inside to his outside kennel (or the other way around) proved to be such a challenge. Both in the play interaction on the fields as well as in 'trickery games', physical and mental differences were mainly considered relevant in terms of *how* to play, not in terms of the possibilities to engage in play. Most importantly, these possibilities were not hindered by the kinds of being human or dog that the play partners belonged to.

Shelter workers and dogs resisted notions of otherness through their rule-breaks, the ways in which they dealt with feelings of unsafety, and through their play interactions. In different ways, these interactions demanded and enabled mutual response between shelter workers and dogs. In doing so, shelter workers and dogs co-created collections of shared understandings. Through this process, shelter workers more and more were 'in it' *with* the dogs, rather than merely *for* them. In these moments, they were not there to be pitied, cared, or worked for, but to play, communicate, and cooperate with. This broke through simplistic 'us' (humans) 'them' (dogs) constructions, as shelter workers and dogs shaped a new interspecies 'us' through these interactions. In doing so, shelter workers and dogs resisted and challenged simplistic and essentialist identity constructions such as, for example, dogs as unpredictable Others and victims of an unfair past. Dogs were less defined by otherness and by their often-unfortunate pasts. The more the collections of shared understandings were in deepened, the more possibilities arose for mutual response, co-creating meaning, and ways of expressing and interpreting behaviour. Shelter workers and dogs therefore engaged in ways of becoming-with each other, even though these outcomes seemed to be ever less certain, since the outcomes were less simplistic and never final.

6.4.2. BECOMING THE RED DOG

Engaging in interactions with Nourah that enable and demand response proved to be dangerous for shelter workers. Nourah was colour-coded red because of a sense of danger involved for shelter workers who interacted with her. Her colour-coding reveals how her identity, and those of dogs in the shelter more broadly, are strongly situated within their relationships with shelter workers and wider cultural-legal frameworks of how humans 'keep' companion animals. The construction of dogs' identity is according to a certain colour that marks their 'difficulty' for shelter workers, reveals the ways in which the colour-coding does not simply refer to a dog's identity, but a combined human-dog identity. If dog and shelter workers find a way to communicate well together, to build a collection of shared understandings which serves as the foundation for interpreting behaviour and finding ways to achieve collective goals, the interaction between them is smooth and the dog is not 'difficult' to handle for the shelter worker. Such a dog, recall for example Sterra, would then be colour-coded blue, marking not just the dog, but the interaction, in fact the relationship, between dog and shelter workers. So, what then, does the red colour-coding say about the interactions and relationship between Nourah and the shelter workers?

When I first met Nourah, she was still staying in one of the kennels in the P.O. area (she later moved to the guest house). If I entered the area with someone she was familiar with, she would stay calm and look at me suspiciously, but when I would look her in the eyes or enter the area on my own, she would immediately fall out to me. Her behaviour affected me to the extent that I would avoid the P.O. area as much as possible. I have never been easily scared of dogs, but the way in which she falls out to people is something I had never seen before. Interestingly, it is not just her size or the volume of her barks that do the trick, because there are dogs in the shelter that are equally big and bark equally loud, if not louder. When she fell out to me one of the first times, I remember thinking "If someone would accidently forget to close her kennel properly, and she would be able to get out, I would be done for". Nourah communicated her intentions very clearly to me in that period. She did not trust me and had no interest in getting to know me or letting me anywhere near her personal space (which starts about 20 meters before her kennel). About Nourah's behaviour towards new volunteers which leads to some volunteers avoiding her kennel entirely, Inge told me:

> "It's effective because it's so intimidating. She doesn't trust new people, so she pushes them away. It's not good, her behaviour, but it's tolerated because people are afraid of her. But she should learn that it isn't okay to behave like that, and it shouldn't be tolerated."

Behaving like that, her 'doing' of an aggressive dog, got her exactly what she aimed for: to keep people at a distance. She did this by lashing out to, or even biting people and strongly protecting her kennel and her food. Shelter workers attempted to change her behaviour, because her current one was 'not okay'. Nourah had been in the shelter for over a year, and she was still

not up for adoption because of it. Nourah's colour-coding signified the danger she felt and the danger she presented to humans around her. The colour-coding also represented her status as an unadoptable dog. This reflected the extent to which dogs' lives are depended on their unequal power relationships with humans. Her identity as a red colour-coded dog signified the problematic category of being a companion animal that is not suited to be a companion to humans. The ways in which shelter workers wanted her to behave were as much part of her becomings as how she did behave. In other words, her current behaviour was considered 'not okay' by shelter workers, because it was not how a dog *should* behave in order to be able to have a 'dog' appropriate role in society and to therefore be adoptable, that which shelter workers ultimately wished for her. The friction that this created, the effort and devotion from the shelter workers interacting with her, but also their powerlessness in that, were all part of the human-dog red colour-coded identity. Nourah's behaviour and identity were often placed within this context of powerlessness, in which she was seen as a victim of both her previous owners as well as her DNA. Shelter workers blamed her previous owners for not having given her what she needed (i.e., boundaries and structure), and they also noted that:

> Lieke (managerial staff): "She got the worst part of the German Shepherd combined with the worst part of the Rottweiler. Who even thinks of mixing these two? Yeah, what a great dog comes out of that."

The mentioned role of Nourah's previous owners indicate how dogs' behaviour are at times considered to be a combination between their breed and the influence of their owners. Nourah was considered to not act 'dog-appropriately', and shelter workers made sense of this in the context of her previous owners who had not acted 'owner-appropriately'. This reveals even more the extent to which dogs' identity are connected to their relationships with humans. A 'dog-appropriate' role in society is with a good and appropriate owner, through which the dog learns 'dog-appropriate' behaviour.

The shelter workers who interacted with Nourah cared deeply for her, and were really 'in it' for her, but the goal to eventually rehome her was not hers. Nourah challenged the notion that shelter workers were 'in it' for her and were acting on her behalf. Her perception of the shelter workers mattered too in terms of their collective becomings: she was unconvinced that any intention of a shelter worker that she did not immediately understand would be likely to be in her benefit. Since she almost immediately resorted to biting in such situations, she also seemed unconvinced that showing her insecurity or discomfort with a certain situation or person in a different way would get her a desired outcome. I wondered if, perhaps Nourah was convinced that shelter workers "spoke human" anyways and that they would always remain unpredictable for her, which made her to always stay on guard.

Regardless, shelter workers and Nourah struggled to build a collection of shared understandings to serve as a foundation for interpreting each other's actions in a way that would create trust and make them feel safe, especially in new situations. Shelter workers and Nourah were able to

establish certain ways of interacting and cooperating in which they could both feel safe. This was not through trust however, but rather through routines and clearly communicated intentions. The muzzle training was furthermore emblematic for the extent to which Nourah's and shelter workers' goals could diverge from each other. The muzzle would ensure the safety of the people who would work with her. But through this, Nourah would then lose her biggest influence and control she had on the world and the people around her. Although the affection and care shelter workers therefore had for Nourah were part of their becomings, so were the power dynamics involved that gave Nourah no choice in her living situation and her future. Nourah was eventually euthanized four weeks after I had left the shelter as volunteer and researcher. Managerial staff communicated through the group chat that after veterinary examination, her hips turned out to be completely worn out and that she was experiencing severe pain as a result. Her ashes were scattered, and she was mourned deeply by shelter workers.

I have illustrated how through rule-breaks, ways of dealing with feelings of unsafety, and play interactions, shelter workers and dogs were able to shape a new interspecies 'us' and thereby challenged certain identity constructions of dogs as, for example, unpredictable Others. Dogs were therefore not merely there to be pitied, cared, or worked for, but also to play, communicate, and cooperate with. I have also discussed how collections of shared understandings were essential for this, and that these could sometimes be at odds with the regulatory framework (which in a sense, is a collective collection of shared understandings). Shelter workers and Nourah struggled to built relational collections of shared understandings, which was illustrated by the importance of the regulatory framework in ensuring safety and cooperation between them. This important role of the regulatory framework in doing so also influenced how Nourah's identity was shaped within the shelter. She was considered a victim of her DNA and previous errant owners. Her identity, signified by her red colour-coding, was defined by her past, her otherness, and her status as an unadoptable dog. This therefore revealed how the colour-codings within the shelter dignified a collective, rather than just a dog's individual, becoming.

Response in the WhatsApp group after a managerial staff member announced Nourah's death:

"Run free sweet Nourah"

6. DISCUSSION

The findings of this research relate to broader discussions about human-pet relationships, as well as human-nonhuman relations more generally. Joy (2011) illustrates that animal species are largely classified according to cultural norms. Hence, we see that cats and dogs are regarded 'pets', while mice and cockroaches are labelled 'pests', and pigs, cows and chickens 'food'. In some sense, human-pet relationships could be said to challenge the rigid Human-Animal divides. Humans and dogs usually share their homes, and in this intimate atmosphere humans often find many similarities between themselves and their pets (Alger & Alger, 1997). In contrast to farmed animals, dogs are generally perceived as unique individuals by their caregivers and are given names. And, perhaps most significantly, nonhuman animals labelled as pets are generally not considered killable or edible (Haraway, 2008). Fudge (2002) argues that this is because "the pet can be – and usually is – loved as an individual creature, distinct from notions of species or any other category. A pet is a pet first, an animal second." (p.32). One might perhaps argue then, that humans' relationships with their pets might serve as a foundation for more ethical ways of relating to nonhuman animals in a more general sense. It is therefore worthwhile to consider what light the findings of this research can shine on what the labelling of animals as pets has for their lives and their relationships with humans as well as what it can teach us about the possibilities of establishing fruitful and ethical ways of relating to other animals.

7.1. ON LOVE & LABOUR

This shelter is a place which reflects (the consequences of) wider cultural-legal frameworks of how humans 'keep' pets and label them as such. Because of the status of dogs as pets, they are at risk of abandonment when their owners' convenience takes priority, when their affection fades, or when the dog fails to deliver on their expectations (Haraway, 2008). Animal shelters, which house these dogs and ultimately aim to rehome them, exist as a consequence. This research has shed light on how social relations and identities that are shaped within the shelter are strongly situated within the larger the cultural-legal framework of how humans 'keep' dogs. The red colour-coding of Nourah for example reflected the consequences of not complying to a certain idea of how dogs should behave and what their role in society should be. As a result, the red colour-coded dog is labelled as a dangerous, unadoptable dog, a companion animal not suited to be a companion (to humans). This reflects the ways in which dogs' lives and identities are dependent on their relationships with humans and humans' categorization thereof. The latter are furthermore unequal power relationships which dictate to a large extent what dogs' role in society should be and how they should behave as an appropriate 'canine citizen'. Haraway (2008) argues that "being a pet seems to me to be a demanding job, requiring self-control and canine emotional and cognitive skills matching those of good working dogs". The status of dogs as pets puts them at risk of abandonment when they fail to meet the criteria as such. In the case

of the dogs in the shelter, their unique in-between status as pets-in-waiting (Taylor, 2007), puts them at risk of a lifetime in a shelter environment or in some cases being put down when they do not confirm to these criteria.

Public discussions about whether human-pet relationships are good or ethical are often centred around perceptions of love (Weaver, 2013). I have illustrated in this research that shelter workers disagree with many of the ways in which members of the general public 'keep', or do not keep (i.e., abandon), their dogs. Shelter workers often disapprove of people's reasons for adopting or abandoning a dog, as well as their treatment of dogs more generally. These valuations of human-dog relations by shelter workers and their evaluation of possible new homes for the dogs were also very much framed around perceptions of love. Shelter workers perceived the dogs in the shelter as not having received the love and prioritization they deserve. Unwanted behaviour on the part of the dogs was often made sense of in the context of their previous errant owners. The conceptualisation of the dogs in the shelter as *good animals* was therefore strongly linked with the perception of their previous owners as *bad owners*. This conceptualisation of the previous owners by shelter workers in turn instructs how their own identity is performed within these relations: they would make sure to never do the same and protect the dogs in their care for potential new *bad owners*. People looking to adopt a dog could be rejected by shelter workers if they would for example be considered to look for a dog based on the wrong reasons. The latter would include any reason besides wanting to offer the dog a loving home. Taylor (2004) similarly found in her study that possible candidates for adopting a dog would be asked if they had had a dog before and if so, what happened to the dog. If they would get emotional because they had recently lost a dog, that was perceived as a good sign because "they had loved their previous animal enough" (p.328).

This induces reflections on what ethical relationships between humans and other animals should be based on. A certain perception of love and freedom appears to be a central in this for shelter workers, who perceived a home where the dog is loved and not expected much from in terms of work-related activities the best place for a dog. The notion of freedom therefore refers to a freedom from human instrumentalization and exploitation. Meijer (2019) argues however that it is important to note that freedom does not have one form, and it may mean something else to each individual. Since humans' and other animals' lives are materially, historically, and discursively intertwined, it is furthermore not enough to focus on ending oppressive relationships. Rather, she argues, we also have to focus on finding new ways of interacting. I have argued that for shelter workers, love is central to ethical ways of interacting. Weaver (2013) however reflects critically on the role of love in the relationships and becomings of dogs and humans. He argues that love is never easy and is not always innocent or liberatory: "Indeed, uneasy and noninnocent loves are central to the becomings that emerge from human and nonhuman animal encounters" (p.703). He refers to the role of love in the life of a 'good canine citizen' as love-oriented labour. Haraway (2008) reflects on this too and argues that humans often seek unconditional love in their relationships with their pet dogs, which she perceives as

a problematic fantasy, fundamental to the vulnerable status of nonhuman animals as pets in society. Love is often not reciprocated in the ways lovers desire, with all the far-reaching consequences for those labelled as pets (Haraway, 2003). Haraway (2003) argues that in contrast, while some working dogs are loved and others are not, their value and their life do not depend on their owner's love for them or their owner's perception that the dog loves them. She argues that a good working relationship is based on trust and respect, not love. A relationship with unequal power dynamics (whether interspecies or not) that is based mainly on perceptions of love therefore risks putting the value and life of, in this case the dog, in a vulnerable position. For that reason, Haraway (2008) argues that love can kill, unconditionally.

For this reason, authors such as Haraway (2008), Donaldson and Kymlicka (2015), and Meijer (2019) argue that ethical (future) relationships with other animals should not be guided purely by love and pity, but also by joy, play, and perhaps even work. Taylor (2007) found, similarly as in my research, that when people were looking to adopt a dog or cat (partly) for reasons such as guarding, hunting mice, or any other reason that resembled work, they were refused by shelter workers as such reasons were considered a bad motivation to adopt a dog or cat. Studies exploring animal welfare work in other context, such as sanctuaries that house previously farmed animals, conveyed similar findings. Donaldson and Kymlicka (2015) argue that in the attempt to resist current human-animal relationships based on exploitation, animal welfare workers in farm animal sanctuaries were wary of any activities that resembled work for nonhuman animals. Nevertheless, Donaldson and Kymlicka (2015) propose that cooperation, work, and activity can be essential elements of nonhuman flourishing that may open up a lot of possibilities for future relationships and ways of being (or rather, becoming) in interspecies communities. It would for example offer possibilities for nonhuman animals to find meaning and purpose which are not directly related to their relationships with humans. Donaldson and Kymlicka (2015) argue that being active, developing skills, and contributing to (interspecies) communities may be meaningful for nonhuman animals similarly as it is for humans. Providing opportunities for nonhuman animals to do so therefore does not necessarily need to be exploitative. Excluding nonhuman animals from such participation and contribution may even be considered its own form of disrespect (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2015), and maintains the vulnerable status of nonhuman animals that they have as pets.

In their commitment to work for the dogs in the shelter, shelter workers attempted to protect the dogs in the shelter from harm, instrumentalization, and neglect. Dogs in the shelter occupied a strange in-between status in the wider society as *pets-in-waiting*, or, in red coloured-coded dogs' case, *unadoptable pets*. Through their devotion, affection, and care for the dogs, shelter workers made a statement about how the dogs' lives mattered irrespective of their often-troubled relationships and interactions with humans. The way in which shelter workers furthermore mourned Nourah after her death also made a statement about how her life mattered and had meaning beyond being labelled as a red colour-coded dog. Donovan (1996) argues that mourning an animal in a system where he/she is largely abstracted and ungrieved is an

intellectual, emotional, and political undertaking of acknowledgement and protest. Although shelter workers therefore spoke out against the consequences of dogs' vulnerable status as pets, they did not radically challenge some of the fundamental issues underlying that in that way. Rather, they even perpetuated the notion of dogs as 'pets to be loved' in their ultimate aim to find suitable, and most importantly, loving, homes for them.

7.2. CHOOSING & BUILDING 'US'

In this research, I have also illustrated interactions between shelter workers and dogs in which they were able to challenge some of these fundamental issues underlying the vulnerable status of dogs as pets. Shelter workers and dogs resisted notions of otherness through their rule-breaks, the ways in which they dealt with feelings of unsafety, and through their play interactions. In different ways, these interactions demanded and enabled mutual response between shelter workers and dogs. In doing so, shelter workers and dogs co-created collections of shared understandings. The ways in which they cooperated, communicated, and played *with* the dogs, showed that their relationships had more potential and possibilities beyond merely working *for* them. In these ways, the dogs in the shelter were members of an interspecies community who were not merely pitied, mourned, or loved. They also co-created meaning and social relationships that were also built on trust, respect, and cooperation. This broke through simplistic 'us' (humans) 'them' (dogs) constructions, as shelter workers and dogs shaped a new interspecies 'us' through these interactions.

Meijer (2019) argues that because interspecies play is a way of resisting notions of otherness, it is a site of political resistance in which the participants challenge the constructed human-animal divide. Play, she argues, resists *otherness* as it is built on notions of fairness and trust that can only be understood in interspecies contexts. Meijer (2019) explains how play is a form of meta-communication that socially minded actors engage in. This meta-communication refers to communication about communication of which humour, play and greetings are examples. The reflection of play as a form of meta-communication illustrates more clearly how shelter workers and dogs co-created meaning within these interactions based on notions of fairness and trust. Bekoff and Pierce (2009) describe play as "a voluntary activity requiring that participants understand and abide by the rules. It rests on foundations of fairness, cooperation, and trust, and it can break down when individuals cheat" (p.457). Because certain expressions are used in a certain way and, of importance, interpreted in that way, they are assigned new meaning within play settings. In play, individuals thus need to continually negotiate agreements about their intent to play and about what the rules of the game are (Bekoff & Pierce, 2009). Bekoff and Pierce (2009) explain that dogs have social expectations since they show surprise if the interaction does not go as they had expected. In such situations, only meta-communication enables the partners to keep play going. The rules of the game have to do with fairness: learning

to take turns and self-handicap if needed in order to make play fair and enjoyable for both participants (Bauer & Smuts, 2007).

I have demonstrated this role of play within my research. Additionally, I have illustrated how ways of dealing with danger and rule-breakings similarly resisted notions of otherness as they were based on interspecies conceptions of trust and communication. Acknowledging others in a relationship or society as different in some regards, but as not fundamentally Other, is essential in finding ways to live, work, and play with them. It is perhaps the first step in building fruitful and ethical interspecies relationships and communities, in which collections of shared understandings serve as foundations for interpreting each others' perspectives and behaviour and for finding means to achieve (collective) goals. Such collections of shared understandings do not pre-exist as foundations of these relationships or communities, but rather, are built over time through routine social interactions that enable and demand mutual response. What Haraway (2008) calls 'getting on together' therefore seems to be less about 'speaking human' or 'speaking dog', and more about establishing ways of communicating that have not so much to do with being 'natural' to either, but rather, emerge through their interaction into something that is co-created by and understandable for both. In fact, I would argue that ways of communicating and living with others (whether within or between species) is always shaped within interactions and involves in the first place wanting and learning to do so despite the differences that exist.

The first question would therefore be: do we want to engage in social interactions together? And if so, how can we find mutually understandable ways to communicate our preferences for the social life and relationships we would like to have and negotiate the terms? While this means taking differences seriously and acknowledging that we might have different answers to these questions, it also means considering all beings that are part of these discussions as 'we', regardless of these differences. This therefore also means reducing the importance of species-membership more generally and critical re-imaginations of what is means to be human. Perhaps dogs should therefore not be regarded as in the first place as pets (Fudge, 2002), but rather, in the first place as members of shared communities. If they want to participate in such communities, that is. Perhaps Nourah would have chosen not to engage in (intimate) social interactions with humans if she would have gotten the choice. Individuals might therefore have different preferences and make different choices.

This in turn gives rise to difficult moral questions about how we treat nonhuman animals both within and outside of our shared communities. How can we engage with those who wish to live their lives without close human interactions and interventions? Such questions relate to both unprecedented human-induced species losses (Ceballos, et al., 2015) as well as the numbers of domestic animals being killed for (food) production purposes (Gillespie, 2018). Despite the fact that there are more animal protection and advocacy organisations than ever, the circumstances for nonhuman animals continue to worsen, as indicated by the extinction of wildlife species and intensification of factory farming (Kopnina, 2017). Donaldson and Kymlicka (2011) propose

other ways of interacting with nonhuman animals and to for example consider groups of wild animals as sovereign communities. They argue that this is important because humans often regard areas where no humans are living as 'empty spaces' and as such do not recognize the presence of wild animals in such areas. This often leads to nonhuman animals being killed or driven away to other areas in which they are not able to survive or flourish and might get into conflict with other human or nonhuman animals already living there. These discussions include reflections on what 'wildness' entails and what our relationship to it is, especially as our notion of humanity (and associated concepts such as civilization) changes. This is particularly relevant since many nonhuman animals challenge the border between domestication and wildness, such as pigeons, mice, but also feral cats and stray dogs (Meijer, 2019). How such questions and potential answers can be appropriately dealt with should be considered both within academia as well as in practice. My research has made a contribution to this endeavour and argued that creating a multispecies 'us' is essential for ways of working within animal welfare and relating and becoming within interspecies communities. Although the shelter is a relatively small-scale interspecies community with still a lot of unequal power dynamics present, the interactions between shelter workers and dogs in which they co-created collections of shared understandings can serve as a foundation to re-imagine what interspecies relationships and ways of becoming are possible.

7. CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to explore how shelter workers and dogs shape identities through their routine social interactions in which they navigate the regulatory framework of the shelter. First, I have outlined some of the general and dog-specific rules that are in place in the shelter. The regulatory framework sets a number of tasks for shelter workers and structures how these tasks should be carried out. This translates into a number of general as well as dog-specific rules, which purpose may range from ensuring safety (for shelter workers or dogs), hygiene, or wellbeing of the dogs. The colour-coding system of the dogs mainly indicates the ease or difficulty that shelter workers experience in carrying out the tasks according to the regulatory framework in the interaction with a certain dog.

In order to understand how the regulatory framework influences identities in the shelter, I then explored how the regulatory framework structures and guides routine social interactions between shelter workers and dogs. Employing Butler's (1988) concept of performativity, I explored how the regulatory framework produced the beings that it regulated in certain ways. The main aim of the regulatory framework is to prevent incidents, and as such, is strongly tied to notions of danger and safety. The regulatory framework instructs shelter workers to *always* be on guard with the dogs they interact with, and as such, it labels unpredictability (as well as danger) as an innate quality in the bodies of dogs. Possible aggressive or other unwanted behaviour on the part of the dog was often made sense of in the context of their previous *bad owners,* who had failed to prioritize the dogs' interests and meet their responsibility to them. The conceptualisation of the dogs in the shelter as *good animals* was therefore strongly linked with the perception of their previous owners as *bad owners*. I have argued that shelter workers' notion of *bad owners* was strongly linked to perceptions of love and commitment that owners have for their dog. This also influenced how shelter workers' identity was constructed within the shelter, because they were determined to never do the same. Shelter workers shared a deep commitment to their work and to be 'in it' for the dogs and act on their behalf. This included protected them from potential new bad owners.

Next, I explored rule-breaking, dealing with danger, and play as different contexts in which shelter workers and dogs had to navigate the regulatory framework of the shelter. Through this, they built collections of shared understandings which served as foundations for interpreting each others' behaviour and perspectives and for finding ways to achieve (collective) goals. At times, these collections of shared understandings were at odds with the regulatory framework. I furthermore explained the latter to be a form of collective collections of shared understandings in the shelter. The relational and collective collections of shared understandings informed one another and thereby did not exist separate from each other in the shelter. The regulatory framework was not simply a fixed set of rules imposed on shelter workers and dogs, but rather, a contingent framework influenced by human-dog interactions and their collections of shared understandings. Especially within situations in which there were minimal collections of shared understandings, the regulatory framework provided a certain level of safety and predictability.

In its aim to ensure safety however, the regulatory framework was often perceived as insufficient as well as exaggerated at times. It was not able to prevent situations in which individuals felt unsafe and which, if not diffused between the individuals, might lead to (bite) incidents. At other times, particular rules were perceived as unnecessary or irrelevant in certain situations which occasionally led to rule-breaks, especially within interactions between shelter workers and dogs who were very familiar with each other.

Finally, I discussed the influence of the routine social interactions in which shelter workers and dogs navigated the regulatory framework on identities. I argued that through rule-breaks, ways of dealing with feelings of unsafety, and play, shelter workers and dogs were able to resist notions of otherness. Through these interactions, shelter workers and dogs co-created collections of shared understandings. Possibilities for mutual response grew as collections of shared understandings grew. Collections of shared understandings therefore both enabled *and* were built by mutual response between shelter workers and dogs. The different contexts in which shelter workers and dogs had to navigate the regulatory framework left a lot of room for awkwardness, miscommunication, fun, trust, surprise, creativity, and danger. Through this process, shelter workers were 'in it' *with* the dogs, rather than merely *for* them. This broke through simplistic 'us' (humans) 'them' (dogs) constructions, as shelter workers and dogs shaped a new interspecies 'us' through these interactions. In doing so, shelter workers and dogs resisted and challenged simplistic and essentialist identity constructions such as, for example, dogs as unpredictable Others and victims of an unfair past.

Shelter workers and Nourah struggled to build such collections of shared understandings, which was illustrated by the importance of the regulatory framework in ensuring safety and cooperation between them. Nourah's red colour-coding signified the consequences when a human-dog relationship is not built on trust and shared understandings. The colour-coding system marks the dogs' 'difficulty' for shelter workers. Hence, the colour-coding therefore did not simply refer to a dog's identity, but a combined human-dog identity as emerging through their routine social interactions. Nourah's red colour-coding furthermore reflected the consequences of not complying to a certain idea of how dogs should behave and what their role in society should be. As a result, the red colour-coded dog was labelled as a dangerous, unadoptable dog, a companion animal not suited to be a companion. The becomings of shelter workers and Nourah were therefore situated within larger cultural legal systems of how humans 'keep' and regulate human-dog interactions. Shelter workers and Nourah both struggled with their combined becomings, of which care, powerlessness, love, misunderstanding, and devotion were all integral parts.

It was partly through this struggle that shelter workers and Nourah challenged the consequences of how dogs' lives and identities are dependent on their relationships with humans. Shelter workers' care and grief for Nourah made a statement about how her life, as well as those of dogs like her, mattered and had meaning beyond humans' troubled relationship with them. Although shelter workers therefore spoke out against the consequences of dogs' vulnerable

status as pets through their care and devotion, this did not radically challenge some of the fundamental issues underlying that. In some ways they even perpetuated the notion of dogs as 'pets to be loved' in their ultimate aim to find suitable, and most importantly, loving, homes for them. Instead, it were the ways in which shelter workers engaged in interactions with dogs in which they were not just there to be pitied, loved, mourned, and worked *for*, but also to be played and cooperated *with*. In doing so, they thus also challenged some of the fundamental issues underlying the vulnerable status of dogs as pets. I have argued that this may serve as foundations to re-imagine other interspecies relationships and communities built on shared understandings, trust, respect, play, and perhaps forms of work.

This research has therefore reflected on how taking the possibilities for new forms of relationships and shared communities seriously means moving beyond thinking about and for other animals, to thinking and working *with* them. Fundamental to this is the attempt to understand not just love, but also fairness, trust, communication, friendship, personhood, agency, and mindedness in interspecies contexts. Research from a variety of disciplines have started to recognize the importance of nonhuman animals in everyday social life and challenged notions of assumed human uniqueness regarding such concepts (e.g., Haraway, 2008; Alger & Alger, 2003; Taylor, 2007; Birke et al., 2004; Kohn, 2013; Olin, 2003, Meijer, 2019). The binary divisions between human and animal, culture and nature, and civilization and wildness are increasingly investigated and criticized within research. This is opening up new opportunities for research on social relationships and emergent identities therein. My research has contributed to this and reflected on some of the theoretical and ethical questions that arose out of it.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX A

Ground map of the shelter (drawn on a whiteboard in the canteen)
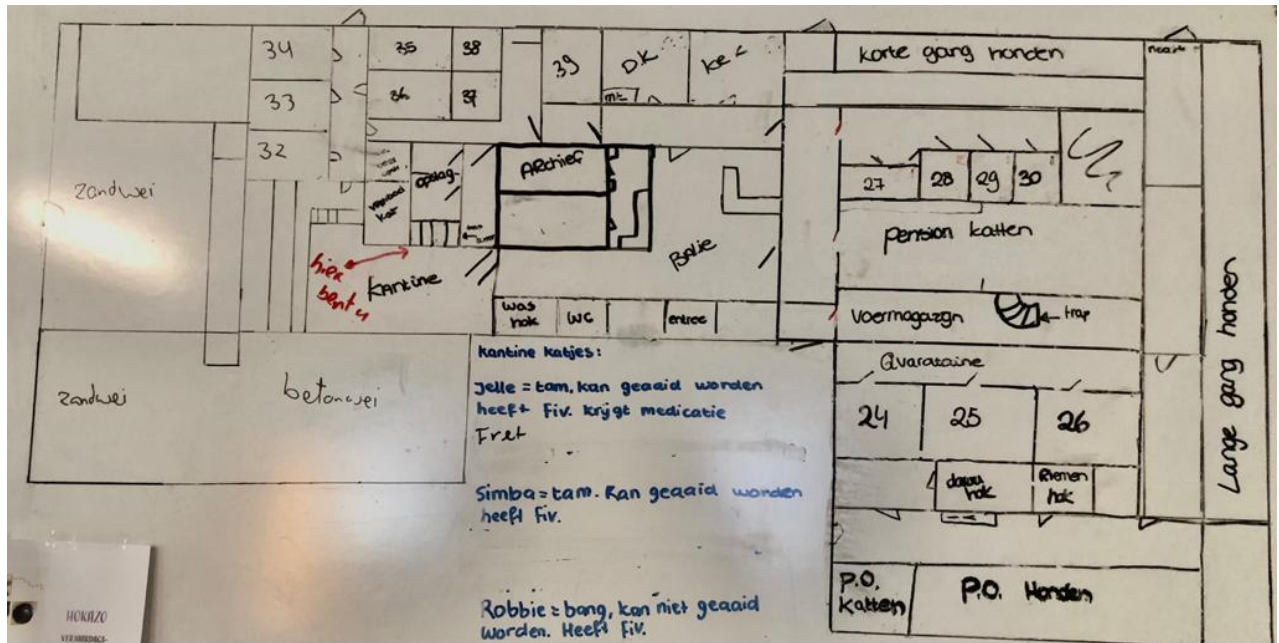
Ground map of the shelter (as it is drawn on a whiteboard in the canteen)
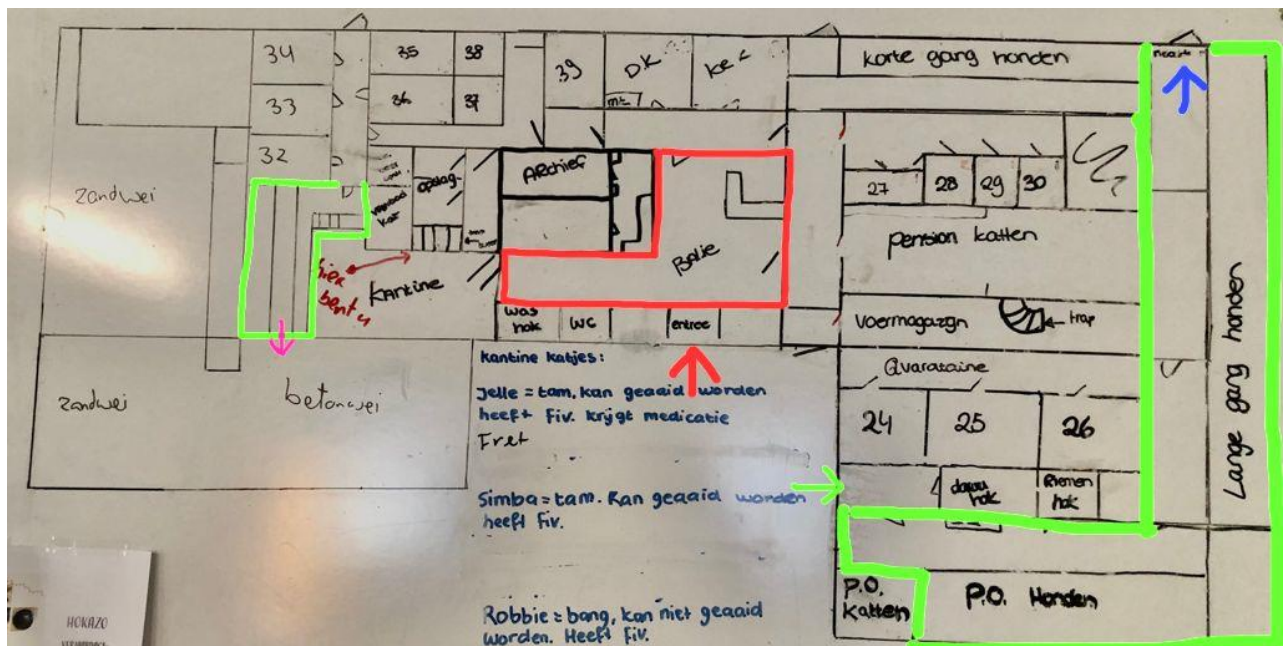
Ground map of the shelter with added indications

ANNEX B

(Rules sent over email to dog volunteers by managerial staff in Dutch)

Regels hondenvrijwilligers

• Werktijden

In de ochtend beginnen de vrijwilligers tussen 08.45uur en uiterlijk 09.00uur nadat beheer heeft geopend en ingedeeld heeft (zondag tussen 09.15u en uiterlijk 09.30 uur nadat beheer ingedeeld heeft). Om 16.30 uur zijn de honden gevoerd en zitten ze terug in de kennel, zodat beheer kan gaan afsluiten (zondag om 16.00 uur).

• Aan- en afmelden

Bij aankomst meld je altijd eerst bij beheer dat je er bent, vóór je naar de honden gaat. Als je naar huis gaat, altijd afmelden bij beheer.

• Aanspreekpunt

Op het bord in de ontvangsthal kun je zien wie er de betreffende dag aanspreekpunt is voor de honden. Deze persoon loopt ook regelmatig rond in de hondengang, zodat je vragen kunt stellen als deze er zijn.

• Taakverdeling Hond in hondengang

In de hondengang hangt boven de wasbak een whiteboard. Deze wordt dagelijks door het beheer – aanspreekpunt hond - in de ochtend aan de hand van de familie planner en aanwezigheid ingevuld. Daarom is het van belang dat je deze planner goed invult.

Nadat beheer, na opening van het pand, de honden taakverdeling ingedeeld heeft kun je aan de slag.

• Kleurencodes honden

Blauw: Informeer bij beheer naar de aandachtspunten, redelijk makkelijk uit te laten hond.

Zwart: Alleen vrijwilligers die door beheer of een ervaren vrijwilliger (aangewezen door beheer) ingewerkt zijn, mogen deze hond uitlaten. Deze vrijwilligers staan per hond genoteerd op een lijst bij beheer.

Rood: Deze hond mag alleen uit de kennel gehaald worden door beheer (of aangewezen personen door beheer!). Bij deze hond mag je de kennel niet in. Als de aangewezen persoon de kennel betreedt om met de hond te wandelen of om de hond op de weide te zetten, **moet** dit élke keer met beheer overlegd worden.

Aandachtspunt: Alleen beheer bepaalt wie met welke hond mag lopen of op de weide mag.

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- Uitlaatbord

Als je met een hond gaat lopen of een hond op de wei zet schrijf je dit op het bord.

- "uit" = als je gaat wandelen
- "bw" = Betonwei
- "zw" = Zandwei

Je schrijft dit op vóórdat je de hond uit de kennel haalt. Het is niet de bedoeling om dit op te schrijven terwijl je de hond bij je hebt. Je weet immers nooit wat er door de deur komt of wat er om de hoek verschijnt.

Als je terugkomt van een wandeling zet je de tijd dat je terug bent met de hond erbij op het bord. Ook dit doe je pas als je de hond al teruggeplaatst hebt in de kennel.

Als je een hond op de wei zet, zet je wel meteen de tijd erbij zodat iedereen weet hoelang de hond al op de wei staat.

AANVULLING uitlaatbord (mei 2021):

Aan het uitlaatbord zijn magneten toegevoegd. Dit werkt als volgt:

- Zwarte magneet = 10 minuten gewandeld
- Blauwe magneet = 30 min of meer gewandeld
- Rode magneet = 60 min of meer gewandeld
- Groene magneet = 10 minuten gespeeld of met aandacht op de wei

Wanneer een hond zonder aandacht op de wei gezet heeft, hoeft hier geen magneet achter.

- Hond in en uit de kennel zetten/halen

Als je bij een hond de kennel in gaat, is het belangrijk om niet te veel opwinding te veroorzaken. Zorg dat je IN de kennel staat en de deur dicht hebt. (Dus niet aanlijnen in de opening van de kennel.) Belangrijk is dat je wacht tot de hond rustig is of het liefst zit. Dan pas lijn je de hond aan.

Zorg dat de hond goed is aangelijnd en ga zelf als eerste uit de kennel, dan pas de hond en neem hem dan via de kortste route mee naar buiten. De hond loopt altijd aan de muurkant, zodat hij niet te dicht bij de andere honden komt. Zorg dat je de lijn **altijd** kort houdt, zowel in de gangen als op het terrein. Bij voorkeur ga je altijd zelf eerst door een deur en dan pas de hond. Zodat de hond weet dat jij degene bent die leidt tijdens de wandeling.

Als je de hond terug hebt gezet en de kennel uitgaat, ga dan altijd achteruit de kennel uit. Zo kun je de hond goed in de gaten houden en voorkom je dat hij er mee uit glipt.

- Voeren van de honden

De honden moeten **altijd** in de buitenkennel zitten als ze gevoerd worden (hoe lief of klein ze ook zijn, honden kunnen altijd onvoorspelbaar reageren). Op het bord dat aan de kennel hangt, staat precies wat ze mogen eten. Informatie op de kennelbordjes wordt uitsluitend door beheer of in overleg met beheer aangepast!

- Op de weide zetten en binnenhalen

In de ochtend en in de middag is er één iemand verantwoordelijk voor het wisselen van de honden op de weides. Dit mag met een jachtlijntje gedaan worden. Met beheer wordt overlegd wie verantwoordelijk is voor het wisselen van de honden.

Let goed op de tijden van de zandweides. De honden mogen op de zandweide van 10.00-12.00 uur en van 15.00-16.00 uur.

- Wandelen met de honden

Na de inwerkperiode mag je wandelen met de honden. Houd er wel rekening mee dat de honden zo'n 22 uur per dag in een kennel zitten. Laat de hond dan ook lekker snuffelen als hij even mee mag.

De honden hebben meer aan 1 of 2 stevige wandelingen, waarbij ze lekker hun energie kwijt kunnen, dan aan meerdere keren korte stukjes lopen (uiteraard zijn ochtend en laatste rondjes voor plassen/poepen oké).

- Trainen met de honden

Omdat wij het belangrijk vinden dat honden de juiste training en eenduidige commando's krijgen. Vragen wij om niet met de honden te trainen.

Wanneer er wel met de hond getraind wordt, word je door beheer benaderd om dit te doen en krijg je uitleg hoe je mag trainen met de betreffende hond.

- Alle deuren moeten dicht blijven

Zorg dat de tussendeuren in de hondengang dicht blijven. De deur bij de voercontainer (waardoor je naar de buitenkennels gaat) (*aangegeven door blauwe pijl in Annex A*), moet altijd meteen dicht gedaan worden. Ook de deuren van het pension moeten meteen gesloten worden. De buitendeur van het pension (*aangegeven door roze pijl in Annex A*) mag absoluut niet open blijven staan! De kans op ongelukken (de verkeerde honden die elkaar treffen) is dan te groot.

- Rustuurtje

Tussen 12.30-13.30 uur is er een rustuurtje voor de honden. Dit wil zeggen dat alle honden binnen zijn, de lampen uit en luiken en deuren gesloten. De honden krijgen de hele dag door zo veel prikkels, een uurtje rust is dan erg fijn voor ze.

Temperatuur protocol

Let op goed op de temperaturen als je met een hond gaat wandelen of wanneer je een hond op de wei zet. Zie de schema's hieronder, welke je als leidraad kunt gebruiken.

hoe heet is te heet

Temp	🐕	🐕	🐕	⚠️
16°C	1	1	1	❶ geen risico's, veel plezier buiten
18°C	1	1	2	❷ weinig risico, veel plezier buiten, maar let wel op
21°C	2	2	3	❸ mogelijk te warm, afhankelijk van je ras let op je hond buiten!
24°C	3	3	3	❹ gevaarlijk warm mogelijk, wees heel voorzichtig
26°C	3	3	4	❺ mogelijk levensbedreigend warm, blijf niet te lang buiten met je hond
29°C	4	4	5	
32°C	5	5	5	+1 indien te dik
35°C	5	5	5	+1 indien kortsnuit (brachiocephaal)
				+1 indien <6 maanden of op leeftijd
				-1 indien volledig in de schaduw
				-1 indien er vers water staat

origineel door PetPlan, www.gopetplan.com
The Tufts Animal Condition and Care (TACC)

dogzine.nl

Hoe lang mag je wandelen met je pup? (Tot 1 jaar)

Een puppy mag nog niet zo lang lopen. Als richtlijn houd je het aantal weken dat hij oud is in minuten. Dus met een pup van 8 weken mag je per keer 8 minuten wandelen. Dit doe je 5 tot 6 keer per dag. Zo voorkom je dat je te veel vergt van je kleine huisgenoot.

Langer wandelen

Vanaf 6 maanden tel je iedere maand 5 minuten bij de duur van een wandeling op. Wanneer je pup volgroeid is, kun je pas volop met hem wandelen. Een volwassen hond heeft tenminste 2 uur beweging per dag nodig, waarvan 1 grote wandeling van 45 minuten tot 1 uur.

wanneer is het te koud?

	🐾	🐾🐾	🐾🐾🐾
13°C	✓	✓	✓
10°C	✓	✓	✓
7°C	✕	✓	✓
4°C	✕	✕	✓
2°C	✕	✕	✕
-1°C	✕	✕	✕
-4°C	✕	✕	✕
-7°C	⊗	✕	✕
-9°C	⊗	✕	✕
-12°C	⊗	⊗	⊗
-15°C	⊗	⊗	⊗
-17°C	⊗	⊗	⊗
-20°C	⊗	⊗	⊗

✓ Geen risico

✕ risico op onderkoeling
Signalen: rillen, koude ledematen haren overeind

⊗ Risico op bevriezingsverschijnselen
Signalen: verkleuring van de huid van roze naar wit, moeite met ademhalen, lage lichaamstemperatuur

Vertoond uw hond bevriezingsverschijnselen?
- **verplaats** de hond naar een warme ruimte
- **warm** de hond op met dekens of een kruik
- **controleer** of de lichaamstemperatuur stijgt
- geef hem **suiker** en iets **warms** om te **drinken**
- **bel** met uw dierenarts voor meer advies

Let bij kou extra goed op:

- Puppy's:
Jonge honden zijn zeer kwetsbaar door een gebrek aan vet en vacht

- Oude honden
Kunnen hun lichaamstemperatuur minder goed reguleren

- Honden met zeer dunne vacht
Bij koud weer hebben zij er meer last van

- Kleine honden
Door hun kleine lichaam verliezen zij sneller warmte

- Lichte honden
Minder lichaamsvet betekend dat de hond het sneller koud krijgt

ANNEX C

(Rules sent over email to dog volunteers by managerial staff into English)

<u>Rules for dog volunteers</u>

• Working times

In the morning, volunteers start between 08:45 and at the latest 09:00 after management had opened up and divided tasks (on Sundays between 09:15 and at the latest 09:30 after management has divided tasks). At 16:30 the dogs have been fed and are back in their kennels so that management can close up (on Sundays at 16:00).

• Reporting to management

When you arrive, always report to management that you are there before you go to the dogs. When you go home, always sign out with management.

• contact person

On the whiteboard in the reception hall, you can see who the contact person for dog volunteers on that day is. This person also walks around the dog area regularly so you can ask questions if there are any.

• Division of tasks

There is a whiteboard above the sink in the dog area. This is filled in daily by the managerial staff – the contact person for dog volunteers for that day - in the morning on the basis of the family planner and presence. For this reason, it is important that you fill in the family planner correctly.

After management has divided the tasks, after opening the building, you can get started.

• Colour codes dogs

<u>Blue</u>: inform with management about things you should pay attention to, reasonably easy to walk with after the training period.

<u>Black</u>: only volunteers who have been trained by management or experienced volunteers (appointed by management) can walk this dog. These volunteers are registered per dog on a list.

<u>Red</u>: this dog can only be taken out of the kennel by management (or persons appointed by management!). You <u>cannot</u> enter the kennel of this dog. If the appointed person enters the kennel to walk this dog or put the dog on the field, this **<u>has</u>** to be discussed with management <u>each time</u>.

Point of attention: only management determines who is allowed to walk with which dog and who is allowed to be on the field with which dog.

- Walking board

If you go for a walk with a dog or put a dog on the field, write this on the board.

- "uit" = when you go for a walk
- "bw" = concrete field
- "zw" = sand field

You write this down before you take the dog out of the kennel. You're not supposed to write this down while you have the dog with you. After all, you never know what will come through the door or what will appear around the corner.

When you come back from a walk, write the time you came back with the dog on the board. You only do this once you have already placed the dog back in the kennel.

If you put a dog on the field, you immediately add the time so that everyone knows how long the dog has been on the meadow.

ADDITION walking board (May 2021):

Magnets have been added tot he whiteboard. This works as the following:

- Black magnet = 10 minutes of walking
- Blue magnet = 30 min or more of walking
- Red magnet = 60 min or more of walking
- Green magnet = 10 minutes played or paid attention to on the field

When a dog has been placed on the meadow without attention, there is no need for a magnet behind it.

- Putting / getting a dog in and out of the kennel

When entering the kennel of a dog, it is important not to cause too much excitement. Make sure you are IN the kennel and have closed the kennel door. (So do not leash in the opening of the kennel.) It is important that you wait until the dog is calm or preferably sits. Then you leash the dog.

Make sure the dog is leashed properly and get out of the kennel first, then take the dog outside via the shortest route. The dog always walks on the wall side, so he doesn't get too close to the other dogs. **Always** keep the line short, both in the hallways as well as on the property. Preferably you always go through a door first and then the dog. So that the dog knows that you are the one who is leading during the walk.

When you put the dog back and leave the kennel, always back out of the kennel facing the dog. This way you can you keep a close eye on the dog and prevent it from slipping out with it.

- Feeding the dogs

The dogs should **always** be in the outdoor kennel when they are fed (no matter how sweet or small they are dogs can always react unpredictably). It says on the sign hanging from the kennel exactly what they are allowed to eat. Information on the kennel signs is provided and adjusted solely by management or in consultation with management.

- Putting the dogs on the fields and getting them off

In the morning and in the afternoon, there is one person responsible for changing the dogs on the fields. This can be done with a hunting line. Who is responsible for this is decided upon in consultation with management.

Pay close attention to the times on which the dogs are allowed on the sand fields. The dogs are allowed on there from 10:00 until 12:00 and from 15:00 until 16:00.

- Walking the dogs

After the training period, you can walk the dogs. Keep in mind that the dogs are in a kennel for about 22 hours a day. Allow the dog to sniff here and there when he comes along on a walk.

The dogs benefit more from 1 or 2 brisk walks, where they can lose their energy, than from several short walks (of course morning and last rounds before peeing/pooing are okay of course).

- Training the dogs

Because we think it is important that dogs receive the right training and learn to understand unambiguous commands, we ask that you do not train with the dogs.

When the dog is trained, you will be approached by management to do this, and you will receive an explanation of how you can train with the dog in question.

- Keep all the doors closed

Make sure that the connecting doors in the dog corridor remain closed. The door at the feed container (through which you go to the outdoor kennels) (*which is indicated by the blue arrow in Annex A*) must always be closed immediately. The doors of the guest house must also be closed immediately. The outside door of the guest house (*which is indicated by the pink arrow in Annex A*) must absolutely not be left open! The risk of accidents (the wrong dogs meeting each other) is too great.

•   Rest hour

Between 12:30-13:30 is a rest hour for the dogs. This means that all dogs are inside, the lights off and shutters and doors closed. The dogs get so many stimuli throughout the day, an hour of rest is very nice for them.

Temperature protocol

Pay close attention to the temperatures when you go for a walk with a dog or when you put a dog on the field. See the diagrams below, which you can use as a guide.

hoe heet is te heet

°C	🐕	🐕	🐕	⚠
16°C	1	1	1	❶ geen risico's, veel plezier buiten
18°C	1	1	2	❷ weinig risico, veel plezier buiten, maar let wel op
21°C	2	2	3	❸ mogelijk te warm, afhankelijk van je ras let op je hond buiten!
24°C	3	3	3	❹ gevaarlijk warm mogelijk, wees heel voorzichtig
26°C	3	3	4	❺ mogelijk levensbedreigend warm, blijf niet te lang buiten met je hond
29°C	4	4	5	
32°C	5	5	5	+1 indien te dik
35°C	5	5	5	+1 indien kortsnuit (brachiocephaal)
				+1 indien <6 maanden of op leeftijd
				-1 indien volledig in de schaduw
				-1 indien er vers water staat

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How long can you walk with your puppy? (Up to 1 year)

A puppy should not be allowed to walk that long. As a guideline, keep the number of weeks it is old in minutes. So with an 8-week-old puppy you can walk for 8 minutes at a time. You do this 5 to 6 times a day. This prevents you from demanding too much from your little roommate.

Longer walks

From 6 months onwards you add 5 minutes every month to the duration of a walk. Only when your puppy is fully grown, you can walk with him fully. An adult dog needs at least 2 hours of exercise per day, including 1 long walk of 45 minutes to 1 hour.

wanneer is het te koud?

	🐾	🐾	🐾
13°C	✓	✓	✓
10°C	✓	✓	✓
7°C	✗	✓	✓
4°C	✗	✗	✓
2°C	✗	✗	✗
-1°C	✗	✗	✗
-4°C	✗	✗	✗
-7°C	⊗	✗	✗
-9°C	⊗	✗	✗
-12°C	⊗	⊗	⊗
-15°C	⊗	⊗	⊗
-17°C	⊗	⊗	⊗
-20°C	⊗	⊗	⊗

✓ **Geen risico**

✗ **risico op onderkoeling**
Signalen: rillen, koude ledematen haren overeind

⊗ **Risico op bevriezingsverschijnselen**
Signalen: verkleuring van de huid van roze naar wit, moeite met ademhalen, lage lichaamstemperatuur

Vertoond uw hond bevriezingsverschijnselen?
- **verplaats** de hond naar een warme ruimte
- **warm** de hond op met dekens of een kruik
- **controleer** of de lichaamstemperatuur stijgt
- geef hem **suiker** en iets **warms** om te **drinken**
- **bel** met uw dierenarts voor meer advies

Let bij kou extra goed op:

- **Puppy's:**
Jonge honden zijn zeer kwetsbaar door een gebrek aan vet en vacht

- **Oude honden**
Kunnen hun lichaamstempratuur minder goed reguleren

- **Honden met zeer dunne vacht**
Bij koud weer hebben zij er meer last van

- **Kleine honden**
Door hun kleine lichaam verliezen zij sneller warmte

- **Lichte honden**
Minder lichaamsvet betekend dat de hond het sneller koud krijgt

ANNEX D

(Cleaning protocol sent over email to dog volunteers by managerial staff in Dutch)

Schoonmaakprotocol honden

<u>Voorbereiding</u>

1. In principe zijn de luiken open als het beheer geopend heeft. Sluit deze als de hond in het buitenverblijf is.
2. Als de honden met buitenverblijf niet uit zichzelf naar buiten gaan, laat dan één persoon buiten langs de kennels lopen, zodat de honden naar buiten gaan en degene binnen de luiken kan sluiten.
3. Zet een hond zonder buitenverblijf op de wei. (Let altijd op de 'kleur' van de hond en overleg altijd met beheer).
4. Nooit 2 honden op 1 wei zetten.
5. Let op: wanneer je een hond op een wei zet. Want je kunt niet zomaar met iedere hond langs een wei lopen waar al een hond op staat. En voor de veiligheid van de honden en jezelf plaatst je eerst de hond op de zandwei en dan op de betonwei. En bij het eraf halen, eerst de hond van de betonwei en dan pas de zandwei.
6. Pak de benodigde materialen uit het riemenhok (vuilniszak met poepemmer, poepschepjes, trekker, schrobber, emmer, allesreiniger).

Blauw	Hond waar je mee mag wandelen na kort overleg met beheer
Zwart	Hond waar je op ingewerkt dient te worden i.o. met beheer
Rood	Hond waar alleen beheer mee mag wandelen of aangewezen personen die specifiek op de betreffende hond zijn ingewerkt

Schoonmaken kennels zonder buitenverblijf

7. Maak het hok schoon van de honden zonder buitenverblijf:
   - Schep de poep uit het hok.
   - Gooi de waterbak leeg en zet hem in de gang.
   - Gooi de voerbak leeg in een vuilniszak en zet hem in de gang.
   - Haal de vieze deken(s) uit het hok.
   - Laat de mand in het hok staan als deze vies is.
   - Gooi de vieze deken(s) in de was (washok).
   - Vul een emmer met een scheut allesreiniger en water.
   - Gooi een halve emmer sop in het verblijf en eventueel meer als het hok erg vies is.
   - Schrob vloer, britsplaat, mand en muren schoon.
   - Zet de britsplaat tegen de muur om te drogen en de mand in de gang op de kop.
   - Trek het hok droog met een trekker (richting goot)
   - Maak het hok (alleen binnen) droog met een handdoek om de trekker.
   - Zet de britsplaat weer goed en haal er ook nog even de trekker overheen.
   - Maak ook de britsplaat nog even goed droog met een handdoek.
   - Droog de mand af met een handdoek en leg de deken terug in de mand of haal een schone deken in het hok bij de korte gang.
   - Let op dat je de dekens in de mand niet te hoog opstapelt, honden liggen graag in de mand i.v.m. beschutting, i.p.v. op de mand.
   - Gooi de handdoek in de was (washok bij de keuken).
   - Maak de roosters en emmertjes van de putjes schoon door ze om te spoelen in een emmer met water en chloor. Maak daarna de roosters ook goed droog.
8. Haal de hond van de wei en zet de volgende hond zonder buitenkennel op de wei.
9. Herhaal stap 6 en 7 tot alle honden zonder buitenverblijf op de wei geweest zijn en schone hokken hebben.

Schoonmaken kennels lange gang

10. Maak alle hokken in de lange gang schoon zoals bij stap 6 en 7 beschreven.
11. Probeer tussendoor telkens om de 10-20 minuten een andere hond op de betonwei te zetten en vanaf 10 uur ook op de zandweides.
12. Haal alle voer- en waterbakken op en was ze apart af – bij het keukenblok in het honden pension - met (warm) water en afwasmiddel. *Let op: 1. i.v.m. hygiëne geen sopje maken in de voerbakken. 2. Gebruik een washandjes voor de voerbakken, en de daarvoor bedoelde afwasborstels voor de poepscheppen.*
13. Droog alle bakken af met een washandje.
14. Zet in de schoongemaakte hokken een waterbak het dichtst bij de deur.
15. Vul met een gieter met vers water en vul de waterbakken.

LET OP

Als je de honden gaat voeren is het van belang dat we alle honden behandelen alsof ze voernijd hebben. Dit is i.v.m. je eigen veiligheid, omdat een hond altijd onvoorspelbaar kan reageren. Dus de hond wordt in zijn buitenkennel gedaan, het luikje wordt goed dicht gedaan en vastgezet. Let op dat sommige honden het luikje zelf open kunnen krijgen. Dan pas zet je de bak met voer in de kennel. Bij honden zonder buiten kennel doe je dit altijd met 2 personen. 1 persoon gaat met de hond wandelen of zet deze op de wei. De ander maakt het hok schoon en plaatst de water- en voerbak.

Wanneer een hond geen buitenkennel heeft voer je deze op onderstaande methode, (wanneer hier nog nat voer aan toegevoegd dient te worden vraag je even of aanspreekpunt Hond van beheer je helpt);

IEDERE MAANDAG

Alle kennels waar honden in verblijven (inclusief muren die betegeld zijn) met de hogedrukreiniger schoonmaken. Wanneer een hogedrukreiniger niet werkt bij het type muur kan het ook met een schrobber. Je maakt dan eerst schoon met een allesreiniger en water en daarna herhaal je nog een keer hetzelfde, maar dan met alleen chloor. (Omdat chloor goed ontsmet).

16. Ga met voerton en voerbakken de hokken af en geef de honden de op het hok aangegeven hoeveelheid voer. Let op: er zijn uitzonderingen waarbij een hond 'eigen' of 'speciale' brokken heeft, deze staan dan bij de kennel van de betreffende hond.
17. Zet de voerbak in de houder het verst van de deur. *Let op: pas voeren als de hond uit of op de wei is geweest.*
18. Controleer of alle kenneldeurtjes goed dicht zijn.
19. Trek de luiken open en sluit ze als de hond binnen is.
20. Zet de blauwe kraantjes bij de waterleiding aan het begin en eind van de lange gang om zodat je buiten water hebt.
21. Ga met poepemmer, poepschep, trekker, schrobber, emmer en allesreiniger naar de buitenverblijven.
22. Schep de poep uit de verblijven.
23. Haal eventuele speeltjes uit het hok en leg deze op het looppad voor het hok waar ze bij horen.
24. Vul een emmer met een scheut allesreiniger en water.
25. Gooi een laagje water met sop in het verblijf en eventueel meer als het hok erg vies is.
26. Ontsmet de muren iedere maandag. Ook wanneer dit nodig is.
27. Reinig iedere maandag de plastic flappen bij de luiken.
28. Trek het hok droog met een trekker (richting goot).
29. Leg de speeltjes weer terug in het juiste hok.
30. Vergeet niet alle kenneldeurtjes goed dicht te doen.
31. Veeg de goot schoon met een schrobber, schep bladeren en andere troep eruit en gooi dit in de poepemmer.
32. Doe de luiken weer open, zodat de honden naar buiten en binnen kunnen.
33. Maak het gangpad schoon en droog op dezelfde manier als een hok.
34. Veeg ook binnen de gootjes schoon met een schrobber, schep met de poepschep het vuil van de putjes af en gooi dit in de poepemmer.
35. Maak de roosters en emmertjes van de putjes schoon door ze om te spoelen in een emmer met water.

Schoonmaken kennels hondenpension

36. Maak in het hondenpension op dezelfde manier schoon als in de lange gang (stap 1 t/m 32).

Schoonmaken hondenweides

37. Schep de poep van de weitjes, en gooi een emmer sop over de poep- en plasplekken, schrob deze dan ook goed en trek ze droog met de trekker. Zowel de gezamenlijke, als de weitjes van de honden die een eigen 'weitje' hebben. Wanneer er sprake is van een eigen wei, zorg er dan voor dat je de hond eerst in de binnen kennel zet.
38. Zorg dagelijks dat er vers water op de beton weides staat.

39. Zorg ervoor dat je regelmatig de betonwei en buitenkennel aan de zijde van de parkeerplaats schoonspuit met een hogedrukreiniger.

Afronding

40. Gooi de vuilniszak van de poepemmer in de vuilniscontainer welke binnen het hek staat.
41. Maak de poepschepjes schoon door ze in een bak met water en chloor te zetten, gebruik voor het schoonmaken de daarvoor bestemde afwasborstel voor de poepscheppen, droog ze af met een aparte handdoek en ruim alle spullen weer netjes op in het riemenhok. Gooi de handdoek meteen in de was.
42. Zorg dat je alles netjes achterlaat. Check even of alles afgewassen is en of je de was naar het washok gebracht hebt.

Middag protocol

43. Met de afsluitronde van de dag mogen alle waterbakken van de honden gevuld worden met een gieter.
44. Controleer of alle kennels schoon en droog zijn. Ruim poep of plas op en trek wanneer nodig de kennels droog en leg een droog kleed neer.
45. Nogmaals: nooit voeren als de hond in de kennel zit. Zorg dat deze in de buitenkennel zit of op de buitenwei staat.

Belangrijk:

➔ **Tussen 12.30uur en 13.30uur zijn de luiken van de honden dicht, lampen uit, deuren dicht en hebben ze een 'rustmoment'.**
➔ **Meld eventuele bijzonderheden (afwijkend gedrag, afwijkende ontlasting, etc.) altijd bij de beheerder!**
➔ **Wanneer een hond Giardia heeft of een andere ziekte waarbij hygiëne erg belangrijk is, dan zijn er speciale schoonmaakprotocollen van kracht. Vraag dit na bij beheer. Dit staat ook op de kennel aangegeven.**

ANNEX E

(Cleaning protocol sent over email to dog volunteers by managerial staff translated into English)

Cleaning protocol dogs

<u>Preparation</u>

1. In principle, the shutters are open when the management has opened. Close this if the dog is in it the outside kennel.
2. If the dog does not go out on their own, let one person go outside and walk past the kennels so that the dog goes outside, and the person inside can close the hatch.
3. Put a dog without an outdoor area on the field. (Always pay attention to the "colour" of the dog and always consult with management).
4. Never put 2 dogs on 1 field.
5. Note when you put a dog on a field, you cannot just walk past another field with another dog. For you own and the dog's safety, first put a dog on the zw and then the bw. pass one with every dog.
6. Take the necessary materials from the belt shed (garbage bag with poo bucket, poop scoops, squeegee, scrubber, bucket, all-purpose cleaner).

Blue	Dog you can walk with after a short consultation with management
Black	Dog that you need to be trained to walk with in in consultation with management
Red	Dog that only managerial staff can walk with or designated persons who have specifically trained to work with the dog in question

<u>Cleaning kennels without outdoor kennel</u>

7. Clean the dogs' kennels without outdoor kennels:
- Scoop the poop out.
- Empty the water bowl and put it in the hallway.
- Empty the food bowl in a garbage bag and put it in the hallway.
- Remove the dirty blanket(s) from the loft.
- Leave the dog bed in the cage if it is dirty.
- Throw the dirty blanket(s) in the laundry (laundry room).
- Fill a bucket with a splash of all-purpose cleaner and warm water.
- Throw in half a bucket of soapy water and possibly more if the kennel is very dirty.
- Scrub the floor, brit sheet, basket, and walls.
- Place the britsplaat against the wall to dry and the dog bed in the hallway upside down.
- Dry the kennel with a tractor (in the direction of the gutter)
- Dry the kennel (indoor only) with a towel around the tractor.
- Put the britsplaat upright again and also dry with the tractor. Also dry the brits plate thoroughly with a towel.
- Dry the dog bed with a towel and put the blanket back in it or get a clean blanket in the kennels near the short hallway.
- Throw the towel in the laundry (laundry room near the kitchen).
- Clean the grids and buckets of the wells by rinsing them in a bucket with water and chlorine. Then dry the grids well.
- Remove the dog from the pasture and place the next dog without an outside kennel on the pasture.
- Repeat the step until all dogs without an outdoor enclosure have been out on the pasture and have clean kennels.

8. Remove the dog from the field and place the next dog without an outside kennel on the pasture.
9. Repeat the step until all dogs without an outdoor enclosure have been out on the pasture and have clean kennels.

<u>Cleaning the long corridor</u>

10. Clean all kennels in the long corridor as described in step 6 and 7.
11. Every 10-20 minutes try to put a different dog on the concrete field and from 10:00 onwards also on the sand fields.
12. Collect al food and water bowl and wash them separately – at the kitchen unit in the guest house – with (warm) water and dish soap. *Please note: 1. For hygiene reasons do not wash different bowls with the same water.*

2. Use washing clothes for the food bowls and the designated brushes for the poop scoops.

13. Dry all bowls with a washcloth
14. Place the water bowls closest to the kennel door in the clean kennels.
15. Fill the water bowls with fresh water with a watering can.

WATCH OUT

If you are going to feed the dogs, it is important that we treat all dogs as if they have food aggression. This is for your own safety because a dog can always react unpredictably. So, the dog is put in his outdoor kennel, the hatch is properly closed and secured. be aware that some dogs can open the hatch themselves. Only then do you put the bowl with food in the kennel. With dogs without an outdoor kennel, you always do this with 2 people. 1 person walks the dog or puts it on the field. The other cleans the kennel and places the water and food bowl.

If a dog does not have an outdoor kennel, you feed them using the method below (if wet food needs to be added to this, ask the contact person for dog volunteers to help you).

EVERY MONDAY

Clean all of the dogs' kennels (including tiled walls) with the pressure washer. If a high-pressure cleaner does not work with the type of wall, it can also be done with a scrubber. You first clean with an all-purpose cleaner and water and then you repeat the same thing again, but with only chlorine. (Because chlorine disinfects well).

16. Go with the feed barrel and food bowls to the kennels and give the dogs the amount of food indicated on the kennel. Note: there are exceptions where a dog has "own" or "special" food. In that case, the food of that dog is at his or her kennel.
17. Place the food bowl in the holder farthest from the door. *Note: only feed when the dog is out or on the field*.
18. Check that all kennel doors are properly closed.
19. Open and close the shutters when the dog is inside.
20. Turn the blue taps at the water pipe at the beginning and end of the long corridor so that have water outside.
21. Take a poo bucket, poo scoop, squeegee, scrubber, bucket, and all-purpose cleaner to the outdoor kennels.
22. Scoop the poo out of the kennels.
23. Remove any toys from the kennels and place them on the walkway in front of the kennel to which they belong.
24. Fill a bucket with a splash of all-purpose cleaner and water.
25. Throw a layer of soapy water into the kennel and potentially more if it is very dirty.
26. Disinfect the walls every Monday and when necessary.
27. Clean the plastic flaps by the hatches every Monday.
28. Pull the enclosure dry with a squeegee (towards the gutter).
29. Put the toys back in the correct kennel.
30. Do not forget to close all kennel doors properly.
31. Wipe the gutter with a scrubber, scoop out leaves and other debris and throw it in the poo bucket.
32. Open the hatches again so that the dogs can go out and in.
33. Clean and dry the aisle in the same way as a kennel.
34. Also wipe inside the gutters with a scrubber, scoop the dirt off the drain wells and throw this in the poo bucket.
35. Clean the grids and drains by rinsing them in a bucket of water

Cleaning kennels guest house

36. Clean kennels in guest house in the same way as the long corridor (step 1 until 32). Maak in het hondenpension op dezelfde manier schoon als in de lange gang (stap 1 t/m 32).

Cleaning dog fields

37. Scoop the poo off the fields and throw a bucket of water and soap over the poo and pee spots, scrub these well and pull them dry with the squeegee. Both the joint and the fields of the dogs that have their own

"field". When a dog has its own field, take care that you put the dog in the indoor kennel first.

38. Make sure there is fresh water on the concrete fields every day.
39. Make sure you regularly clean the concrete field and outside kennel on the side of the parking lot with a high-pressure cleaner.

Wrapping up

40. Throw the garbage bag from the poo bucket into the garbage container outside the gate.
41. Clean the poop scoops by placing them in a container with water and chlorine bleach, use the appropriate washing-up brush for the poo scoops, dry them with a separate towel and tidy up all things neatly in the belt shed. Discard the towel right away in the laundry room.
42. Make sure you leave everything tidy. Check whether everything is washed and whether you have brought the laundry to the laundry room.

Afternoon protocol

43. At the end of the day, all water bowls of the dogs can be filled up with the watering can.
44. Check that all kennels are clean and dry. Clean up poo or pee and pull the kennels dry and put down a dry rug.
45. Again: never feed when the dog is in the kennel. Make sure it is in the outdoor kennel or on the field outside.

Important:

➔ **Between 12:30 and 13:30 the shutters of the dogs' kennels are closed, lights are off, doors are closed, and they have a 'moment of rest'.**
➔ **Always report any details (abnormal behaviour, abnormal stools, etc.) to the contact person for dog volunteers!**
➔ **When a dog has Giardia or another illness where hygiene is very important, special cleaning protocols are in place. Please check with management. This is also indicated on the kennel.**