

Policing Networks: The mobilisation of actors in the relations between the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) Tampa Bay and Pinellas County institutions, Florida, USA

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Key words: **Policing, Actor-Network Theory, human-animal relationships, SPCA, USA, animal cops**

Abstract:

This thesis explores the network of private and public policing in Pinellas County, Florida, USA. With a focus on the SPCA Tampa Bay and Pinellas County Animal Services, the two main animal shelters and 'animal cops' in the area, and the local police forces. By focusing on the policing network's fluid and complex connections and relationships with the local policing agencies the network's actors become visible. By using the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as methodology and theory, moving through its four pillars of identification, framing, enrollment, and mobilisation, we gain a better understanding of the network and its actors. The ANT calls for a nondualistic approach, contrary to a dualistic one, proving that actors and organisations are not isolated units, but a collective. The thesis suggests a solution to the problem of individuality amongst the policing agents and the citizens' inclusion of animals in society by opening up for a blurring of the lines separating them. Hence, this approach makes it possible to see nonhumans as actors in this public and private policing network. By providing a foundation for seeing policing as networks whilst it also to open up for a better understanding of the nodes and actors connected to the network, such as citizens, animals, and local policing agencies. The argument that nonhuman actors has a mobilising effect on the policing network is brought forward by leaving behind the human-animal dichotomy and rather follow the tendency of applying personhood and human emotions to animals, including them in the human sphere.

Dedicated to the dogs in my life:

Donna - my best friend

Poppy - my tripod foster puppy

Biggon - may you rest in peace

-

For a safe and happy future for us all; two-, three- and four-legged friends

Introduction

There has been a change in the attitude toward human-animal relationships in societies in general, and also within the academic spheres, which is linked to the emerging of new assemblages of nodal policing (Shearing 2005), or policing networks as I will refer to them as. Through a specialisation of law enforcing tasks and privatisation of policing agencies, the traditional way of seeing policing mainly as a state authority assignment has been challenged. New ways of controlling citizens and keeping people safe have evolved, from the traditional military, the police, and departments enforcing national and local regulations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United Nations (UN) and the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) as international military partnerships for securing worldwide peace (NATO 2010)(NATO-ISAF 2010)(UN 2015), to separate nodes of specialised entities within the act of policing. The 'new policing networks' can be seen as, for example, the private security police in South Africa (Minnaar 2005), private armies in South America (Shannon 2000), body guards, private companies responsible for the security control at airports, shopping centers, and gated communities, and public and private 'animal cops'. This development of the specialised policing forces can on the surface seem to have taken two directions; success or failure. Newer anthropological debates have introduced the understanding of these processes as more complex and fluid, simulating something more of a web or a network, than a two-way track to success or failure, and rather towards interdependency.

Animal cops¹ can be seen as part of this web unfolding with the new paradigm of public-private policing assemblages. In Pinellas County, Florida, USA, there is evidence that the separate police forces, both the local police forces and the animal cops, not only work closely together when necessary, but also complement each other all through their tasks. In particular, we can see that the animal cops, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Tampa Bay (hereafter SPCA) and Pinellas County Animal Services (Animal Services subsequently), take on the tasks to save and help the animals and their owners, hence avoiding that people break the law concerning animal welfare or move on to crimes against humans (see MacDonald triad for more information (MacDonald 1967)). A focus on the work of the two main local animal shelters in Pinellas County and the local police forces led to the main subject of the thesis, namely the mobilisation of the networks between private and public policing actors, the SPCA recognised as the former and Animal Services and the local police forces as the latter. The network containing the two animal shelters and the local police is mobilised in both formal and informal ways between the different actors involved in this network. Thus, the main research question is;

How are the actors within the networks of private and public policing mobilised through the connections between them?

This particular policing network offers some challenging new ways of looking at networks and partnerships. Traditionally, they have been studied in dualistic ways, such as public and private agencies. This approach is neither wrong nor useless, but I suggest we move away from the two-dimensional track and towards a nondualistic approach. A nondualistic method encourages a fluid and complex understanding of

¹ 'Cops' is the informal nickname for police.

the collaborations, partnerships and nodes found between and within the policing entities. By focusing on the animal cops the relationship between humans and animals become visible, and we must take into account how this affects the policing network. To move towards the nondualistic approach I will apply the Actor-Network Theory (ANT henceforth). Through the employment of the ANT I will make visible the network encompassing the SPCA, Animal Services and the local police forces. This will let us see the new paradigm of private-public policing networks as exactly that; networks. Furthermore, relating this to the animal cops and the human-animal relationships introduce us to new actors within the network, both human and nonhuman. This approach help solve the problem of a dualistic view of the processes, which is missing the intertwined details and fluid connections between more than just two actors and/or agencies within the policing network.

This thesis comprises of five chapters. The first chapter begins by identifying the main actors and their relations to each other and to the community. Then some of the challenges faced by the policing network's actors and agencies are framed. In chapter two I show the framing and enrollment of the actors and how some of the formal difficulties are approached. Following in chapter three, the enrollment of the actors is shown through examples highlighting how the interdependency and complementary actions the network of private and public policing actors assemble. My purpose is to show the fluidity of the links and the dynamics of mobilisation in which all the participants in the network are involved. ANT's methodology shows that to understand these elements of the animal policing in Pinellas County, we have to step away from a dualistic perspective on the human-animal relationships. Acknowledging all the actors in the network implies to include animals as having their own mobilising effect in the web. In the final chapter tendencies and processes blurring the line between nature and society and how we see human-animal relations are highlighted. This shows how we in reality already accept the nondualistic approach. The conclusion will show the importance and effect of human and nonhuman actors within the networks of private and public policing.

Theory:

Applying the Actor-Network Theory to Policing Networks

The analysis draws on the empirical findings to understand the fluid and interconnected policing network in Pinellas County, and the nondualistic approach is suggested as a better tool for the exploration of networks consisting of different policing nodes and human-nonhuman relationships. In the context of this policing network the two are intertwined and interdependent, which I will show in the ethnographic part.

Currently, the police is defined as an organisation that works as both a reactive organisation, by offering "immediate intervention" to emergency calls, and as a preventive organisation, keeping society and its citizens safe through the patrolling of the streets, enforcing the law (Reiss Jr. 1971:69). According to Peter K. Manning's *The study of Policing* the act of policing is defined as "a legitimate, bureaucratically articulated organization that holds out fatal force in control of political order" (2005:24). Policing has always been a part of modern society, either through the state, societies, communities and groups, individuals on both a local and national level. Although historically policing was found amongst individuals, groups and societies on a local and national level, today it is found on an international and global stage primarily due to technological developments and the effectivisation of globalisation and networks.

The topic of policing has been heavily debated in both the academic sphere and in the public media. The discussion has mainly focused on private security in South Africa (see Minnaar (2005), Minnaar and Ngoveni (2004), and Shearing (2001) for more information), but it has expanded to include other areas. The topic has also gained several names, such as security networks (Dupont 2004), nodal security (Shearing 2005), crime control partnerships and interagency partnerships (Brewer 2013), and plural- and networked-policing (Loader 2000). Although different, they all point in the same direction of "a new paradigm of policing" as Shearing (Nodal Security 2005:57) argues. The new paradigm of policing, namely the policing network as I will refer to it as, consisting of private and public policing agencies with their tasks divided or outsourced between different public and private agencies, is what my research points towards. I will show several examples from my fieldwork of situations and cases where the blurred lines between private and public policing agencies are beneficial to solving problems.

Benoît Dupont argues that the privatisation of policing and security could spring from the financial crisis in the 1970's when the state made an effort to rationalise its activities (2004:77). In other words, the state out-sourced certain elements of its policing because of financial constraints. The recent financial crisis has arguably had an effect on the contemporary proliferation of private policing and security, which led to the out-sourcing creating what Dupont calls security networks; "a set of institutional, organisational, communal or individual agents or nodes that are interconnected in order to authorise and/or provide security to the benefit of internal or external stakeholders" (Dupont 2004:78). The concept of security networks has then been used as a new form of governance. The privatisation of former state systems and responsibilities (Dupont 2004:77-78) has enabled the development of "private actors [to become] free to cooperate and compete with public entities"

(Dupont 2004:77). In tying the security networks to the out-sourcing of emergency relief to animal shelters, such as the SPCA, we find 'local security networks'. These local security networks "...can be defined as initiatives that seek to harness the public and private resources available in local communities in order to overcome complex crime problems that find their origins deteriorating social conditions" (Dupont 2004:79).

The shift in understanding policing networks as exactly that, networks of policing, is based on the emergence of "new nodes of policing" (Shearing 2005:58). The new nodes, or specialised policing forces, has come together and formed policing assemblages. The specialisations and networks set in motion "new mentalities, new institutional arrangements, and new technologies" (Shearing 2005:58). This means, as mentioned above, that they do not exist as independent and isolated policing agents, but as Shearing argues; they "...can be and often are networked" (Shearing 2005:58). Understanding and viewing policing networks as connected and interconnected nodes of policing specialisation has helped change the traditional styles and practices of policing.

The focus of the thesis is the involvement of policing assemblages in animal protection, namely the SPCA and Animal Services. By analysing the mobilisation of actors within the networks of private and public policing with a nondualistic approach, the traditional dualisms can be avoided, such as the human-nonhuman relationship as elements in the process of network forming, and rather towards a "nondualistic form of thinking" (Murdoch 1997:733). Therefore, as stated above, the research methodology and theory are based on the ANT by Latour (The Pasteurisation of France 1988[1984]), Callon (Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St. Brieuc Bay 1986), and Law (Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics 2009), to look at the networks as a whole, consisting of actors as human, and nonhuman (Murdoch 1997).

To show this I will use the idea of personhood based on Braverman's idea of agency and personhood given to animals by their owners (Braverman 2013), the granting of certain legal rights in society as found in *Personhood and Rights* by Daniel N. Hoffman (1986:95-96) and the current debates found in Alan Yuhas' article *Chimpanzees granted petition to hear 'legal persons' status in court* (Yuhas 2015), which argues for legal rights for nonhumans based on their ability to suffer and to have emotions. This intertwined use of definitions and application of personhood unlocks the possibility for accepting animals as parts of society, which, furthermore, can be used to see the animals as actors. In this context the network also includes the animal cops and the animals, which creates a new dimension of analysing the policing network. Animals and humans are both part of the network, hence the nondualistic approach is useful.

It is not only the ANT that is pushing for a movement between humans and nonhuman as actors in networks, but also within ecological anthropology, human-environmental discourse, and human-animal relations (see Bellamy 2008 and Cassidy 2012). According to Kirksey and Helmreich (2010:545) even "...plants, fungi, and microbes once confined in anthropological accounts to the realm of *zoe* or 'bare life' - that which is killable - have started to appear alongside humans in the realm of *bios*, with legibly biographical and political lives". There are not only biographical and

political lives that are created under these circumstances, but the limit of what actors are is being challenged. Some of these current debates are blurring the lines between what is human and nonhuman, and creating, as Cassidy argues, an absence of the "absolute distinction between humans and animals, and the concomitant possibility that animals may become humans and vice versa..." (2012:26). Applying Cassidy's argument to the ANT means that we can understand that instead of the focus on the human-animal dichotomy, or rather the vanishing of it, is the phenomenon of all becoming actors. The argument is thus, that being an actor is not exclusively human. By including nonhumans as actors I will not begin on the debate for or against agency within the nonhuman actors, but rather use the term actor to define humans and nonhumans as both having a mobilising effect, active or passive, on the networks of private and public policing within the SPCA and Animal Services.

Fieldwork Location

I conducted fieldwork amongst the SPCA and Animal Services in Pinellas County, Florida, USA. Pinellas County is situated on the center west coast of Florida on a peninsula along the Gulf of Mexico. Because of its climate and geographical position the county offers a favorable habitat for a large diversity of different species, such as alligators, sea birds, dolphins, coyotes, cats, and dogs to mention a few. The area consists of 24 incorporated municipalities and cities policed by city police departments, the unincorporated areas are controlled by Pinellas County Sheriff's Office (hereafter Sheriff's Office) (Pinellas County 2015c), while state owned areas are patrolled by the Florida Highway Patrol (Florida Department of Highway Safety and Motor Vehicles 2008), locally known as the State Troopers. Although the area is split between different law enforcing agencies, the SPCA and Animal Services provide full coverage of animal services of both incorporated and unincorporated areas in Pinellas County. The research was carried out at the SPCA and Animal Services from 11th August 2014 until 20th January 2015. At the SPCA I volunteered as a dog walker and I went on ride-alongs with the humane officers (animal cop) and I volunteered as a control officer (animal cop) at Animal Services throughout my stay. The research was aimed at the animal cops at both shelters, local police officers involved in the cases, and the employees and volunteers having an effect on the policing network.

Research Methods

Through volunteering and ride-alongs with the officers I used traditional anthropological and ethnographic methods to collect data. I used participant observation actively, and switched between observation and participation depending on the occasion and the situation. During the ride-alongs I gathered information through informal interviews and conversations. I was also invited to participate in the All Staff meetings, Return-To-Owner work force meetings, and I was given access to the archives, and used document analysis to know more about the organisation statements, aims, recruitment policies, and internal organisation structures.

I was aware of the possible challenges in combining research and volunteering, but by working as a volunteer I was going to gain easier access to many different parts and actors within the animal shelter- and policing networks by using both methods. By volunteering, I gained trust from the people I worked with, this gave me access to

more information than if I had been an outsider undertaking formal interviews. Through actively volunteering I was treated as a local volunteer while at the same time as I was trained in writing reports, educate and communicate with the possible offenders and complainants, and I participated in two seminars on *Animal Encounters* with Pinellas County Sheriff's Office (K9 Deputy Anthony Larusso, 27.10.2014, Largo). Formal interviews turned out to be less fruitful due to a certain resistance among people working with the formal interview setting. I reverted then, with success, to techniques of informal interviews and conversations to collect facts, background stories, and experiences.

Research methodology

As mentioned above, the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is a methodology and a theory that aims at tracing and finding detailed and fluid patterns of relations between actors and agencies by studying "the links between unstable and shifting frames of reference" instead of keeping one frame stable (Latour 2005:23). I chose to work with the ANT because I am not looking at the organisations as self-contained places but as bundles of relationships. It is only in this way we can understand the policing entities and their practices related to animal protection in this context. The relationships go across the independent organisations and form a network; hence my analysis is network centered rather than organisation centered. The ANT is based on four main pillars to identify, engage, and enroll actors, namely the framing, the recruitment, the established anchoring of actors, and the mobilisation (Murdoch 1997:734-740) and it works on the premise that networks arise in a relational process found in the four pillars. Although based on the four pillars it is important to keep in mind the fluid and unstable construction of the network. The ANT gives room for ruptures and redirections, and even new directions. Hence, the dynamics in the analysis itself, as every pillar can be challenged by the actual involvement of the actor, the networks and processes can develop or redirect, and the possibility for ending a direction in the network uncovers. Because I used the ANT I was able to see and understand the collaboration and organisation of the network. Not only did it reveal the intertwined and fluid connections, but by using the ANT in relation to the study of the mobilisation of actors within policing agencies and organisations it opened up for ANT's second claim, namely to move beyond the traditional dualism found in classical anthropological debates (Durkheim and Mauss 1963) between, society and nature, or humans and nonhumans in this case. This led to an understanding of how the nodes and connections are framed, enrolled and mobilised, and changes our focus to non-human actors as well as the human. The ANT solves the problem of a too simplistic dualistic approach by giving us a better understanding of what happens when policing is done by the interlocking of public and private policing networks and, in this context, by adding to our understanding of who, what and how the network is mobilised.

Identifying the Main Actors and Policing Assemblages

Researching the policing network of Pinellas County opened up a web of relations between both private and public policing agencies working to solve complex problems of crime. To maneuver through the web of actors and agencies it was necessary to focus on the main ones, namely the SPCA, Animal Services and the concerned local police forces. The main agencies were easy to locate and define because of their prominent positions as a public governmental shelter and a non-governmental, non-profit, private animal shelter, and the local law enforcing agencies.

Firstly, we have the SPCA functioning as the main private animal shelter in the area being responsible for all sick or injured animals, both wild and domesticated. The organisation works closely with Animal Services and the local police forces, but also with the local community, local government organisations, and private drug and alcoholic rehabilitation organisations. The shelter is an open admission shelter, which means they do not turn away any owned animals. In a conversation with Nora Hawkins, the former managing director at the SPCA, on my first day explained that other shelters might go for the 'no-kill shelter' approach or the 'limited admission shelters', which limits their intake abilities (Nora Hawkins, 12.08.2014, Largo). This leaves the SPCA vulnerable to critique and attacks from people whom are against the way they have chosen to run the shelter, whilst other people are in full support of the work they do for the animals and the community. In conversations with Hayley McManus and Brent Bardell about their work with people completing their community service sentence at the shelter and the SPCA's collaboration with the county jail, it was clear that offering such a service to the community had created some challenges and there were only "a handful of good hires" (Hayley McManus, Brent Bardell, 06.10.2014, Largo). On the other hand, the SPCA also has a collaboration with a private rehab center, the WestCare Foundation, who sends some of their patients to walk dogs and help at the shelter once a week (WestCare Foundation 2015). In conversations over lunch and during interviews some of the volunteers from the WestCare Foundation stated they "love it!" They saw the work at the SPCA with the animals as a way of giving something back to society, "an altruistic act", as Sean put it (WestCare, 08.01.2015, Largo). Evidently, the community as a whole had opposing views of the SPCA. It comes as no surprise that the people accused of mistreating their animals will see the SPCA as taking something that is theirs away from them and therefore do not like the organisation. This has led to the humane officers and their 'vans' being nicknamed 'the Van of Terror', the 'dog killers', or the 'animal cops' (Cheryl Huston, 14.08.2014, Palm Harbor). At the same time other people were more prone to see to what extent the humane officers were willing to give extra chances and support to people in need of education or resources for their animals.

Secondly, Animals Services are facing many of the same challenges as the SPCA, but with their authority to write citations (the same as giving a ticket to someone for breaking the law) they are less liked amongst the possible offenders. Animal Services is also the only agency handling animal bites (a bite inflicted by an animal). Dog bites, nuisance and dangerous dog complaints are normally neighbourhood quarrels, but when they turn out to be serious many people believe Animal Services will take away their animal and euthanize it. This is not true, but the lack of knowledge

amongst the citizens of the procedure surrounding a dog bite, to be precise; a ten day quarantine period to make sure the animal is still alive to eliminate the potential for rabies for the bite victim. This led to several occasions where the owner of a bite dog would call us "Dog killer", "evil people", and in some cases even "dog racists" (Gary Brown, 29.09.2014, St. Petersburg). Animal Services work hard at trying to spread knowledge and to educate the community to avoid these situations of misunderstandings, by handing out flyers and have information available online (Pinellas County Animal Services 2015a). Many of the complaints about bite animals, nuisance, and dangerous animals received by Animal Services are often the result of unresolved neighbourhood quarrels, which is an aspect I will return to.

Lastly, we find the local police authorities. As police in the USA they are victims, in general, of contrasting opinions from the communities. Quite early on in my research I was made aware of some of the challenges the SPCA and Animal Services were facing when working with local police forces. In the past, the Saint Petersburg Police Department was responsible for all dog calls in their area. In the recent years this was handed over to Animal Services mainly for two reasons; firstly, that many dogs were shot by the police and this created not just a bad reputation for how they handled dog cases, but also because local people and communities lost faith in their police officers in general, the latter is related to human-animal relationships which I will come back to. Secondly, the local police did not have enough resources to prioritise dog calls (Jason Anderson, 04.10.2014, Tarpon Springs). I found reluctance amongst the officers at the SPCA and Animal Services to get local police officers to a scene with an aggressive dog based on their assumption that if they did not know the officer they were afraid they would make the decision to shoot the dog. Many of the animal cops had previous experiences with some police officers, and through a humane focus on the animals in these situations a factor of trust was established. These relationships thus turned into informal ones, and the officers had their 'favourite' law enforcement contacts (Cheryl Huston, 14.08.2014, Largo). There were not only reluctance to collaborate on the animal cop side, but some officers at the police agencies had the impression the animal cops rarely had time to pick up an animal from the police (Police Officer, 26.09.2014, Tarpon Springs Police Department). Although there was some reluctance towards close collaboration, I both witnessed and participated in several encounters between the different policing agencies and actors where the policing networks were enrolled and mobilised.

Framing of Private - Public Policing Networks

Policing in the USA is based on a multifaceted allocation of authority and regulation for the law enforcers on federal-, state- and county-level. There is a geographical and jurisdictional difference between police departments, Sheriff's offices, and the State Troopers. The differences lie in the geographical area patrolled (see Figure 1. p.13) and the jurisdictions. In Pinellas County the State Troopers patrol the state owned highways, the highways operated by the state as compared to the county. In Pinellas County the Troopers patrol "the Interstate 275 from Howard Franklin Bridge to the Sunshine Skyway Bridge" and big parts of the U.S. 19 (Florida Highway Patrol 2010). Pinellas County Sheriff's Office (subsequently Sheriff's Office) patrols and regulates the unincorporated areas (see the light blue areas on the map (Figure 1, p.13)), which means the areas not under any local municipality, i.e. not within a city or village limit, and twelve contracted municipalities (Burns, et al. 2003:189). There are 24 incorporated municipalities in Pinellas County, with the remaining 12 patrolled and controlled by local Police Departments (P.D. hereafter), namely Tarpon Springs P.D., Largo P.D., Treasure Island P.D., Kenneth City P.D., Pinellas Park P.D., Belleair P.D., Clearwater P.D., Gulfport P.D., St. Petersburg P.D., Belleair Beach P.D., St. Pete Beach P.D., and Redington Shores P.D. (Burns, et al. 2003:189) (Pinellas County 2015b). This shows the delicate sharing and dividing of geographical areas and jurisdictions shared between the public policing agencies.

"Officer Brown at Animal Services tried to explain the policing system of Pinellas County to me. "For example," he said, "we had a case of a dog running at large at a very busy junction earlier this summer. At the intersection of 54th Ave S, US 19, and Interstate 275 we had to get assistance from both the Troopers and St. Pete P.D. [the St. Pete Police Department] to stop or redirect the traffic so it would be safe for us to do our job amongst the traffic and try to catch the dog. We needed both of them because the US 19 and the I 275 are controlled by the Troopers, while SPPD controls 54th Ave S.. It was a very hot day and we were worried the dog would get a heatstroke. Unfortunately, the dog was impossible to catch; it escaped into the water and swam in panic. It drowned from exhaustion just out of our reach." (Gary Brown, 13.10.2014, Clearwater)

As the example shows, Pinellas County consists of several law enforcing actors with a complex distribution of the jurisdiction of the public spaces as a result of the superimposing systems of federal, state and county law in the USA. This separation leads to a complex network of the different policing actors involved in the cases. Florida state and Pinellas County law enforcement agencies consists of the Florida Highway Patrol (State wide highway patrol (also known as the Troopers)), Pinellas County Sheriff's Office controlling the unincorporated areas in Pinellas County, and local police departments found in the incorporated municipalities, such as St. Petersburg, Largo, and Clearwater to mention a few of the cities. The formal separation of the controlled areas creates confusion at times and can require the involvement of several policing agencies and actors. This can lead to time-consuming situations. However, an informal and relaxed attitude and a shared goal of saving lives amongst the officers seem to ease the situations and processes.

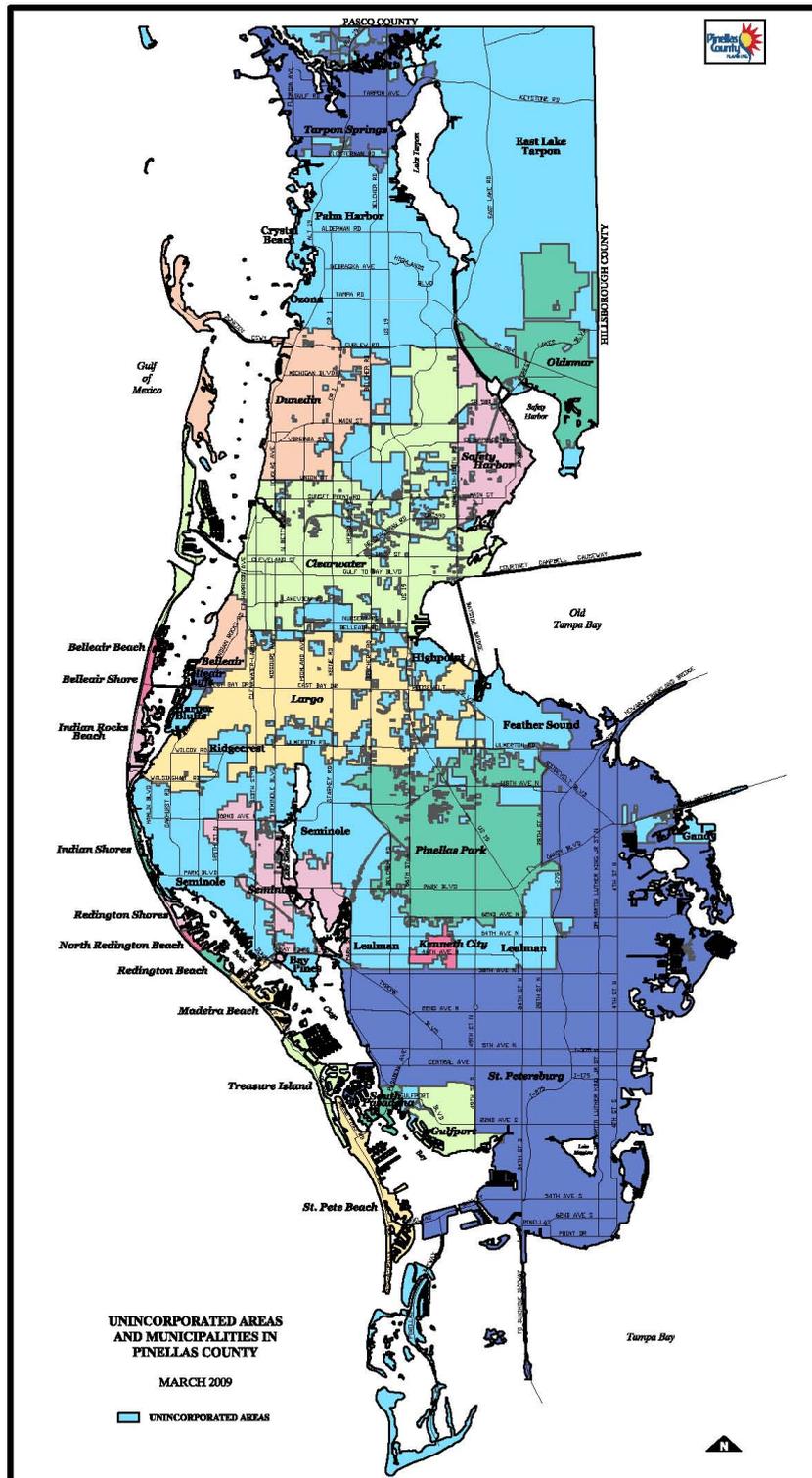


Figure 1, map of unincorporated areas (patrolled by Pinellas County Sheriff's Office) in light blue and incorporated municipalities in other colours (patrolled by local police departments) (Pinellas County 2015b).

Although the area is split between different public law enforcing agencies, the SPCA and Animal Services provide full coverage of animal services of both incorporated and unincorporated areas in Pinellas County. The three main differences between the SPCA and Animal Services are, firstly that Animal Services is a public government shelter, while the SPCA is a private non-profit organisation. Secondly, Animal

Services and their control officers have law enforcing authority and can therefore write citations. Thirdly, Animal Services only handle dogs and cats, while the SPCA handles sick or injured stray dogs and cats, emergency transportation of owned animals, and wildlife aid and transport (SPCA Tampa Bay 2012a). The main reason why the SPCA handle such a wide variety of animals and animals in different situations is based in the relationship they have with Animal Services. The most popular pets in the county are dogs and cats, and with such a high number of them abandoned, neglected, and trapped, Animal Services does not have many extra resources to facilitate for the remaining animals. The SPCA complements Animal Services by helping most of the remaining animals. The two agencies also exchange animals in cases where one shelter is functioning at maximum capacity.

How does the collaboration between Animals Services and the SPCA connect to the local police forces? During the first 'Animal Encounters' seminar I attended at Animal Services with the Sheriff's Office, K9 deputy Anthony Larusso said;

"Every serial killer has been an animal abuser"
(K9 Deputy Anthony Larusso, 27.10.2014, Largo)

This phenomenon is limited to the study and theory by the forensic psychiatrist J. M. MacDonald, namely the MacDonald Triad (MacDonald 1967)². The triad suggests three characteristics found in childhood behaviour to be warning signs of future homicidal tendencies, bed-wetting, pyromania, and animal cruelty (Hellman and Blackman 1966). It is this phenomenon that makes the police forces take the relationship with the animal cops seriously. Police agencies rarely have the resources needed to investigate animal cruelty nor the resources (time, financial resources, and employees) to patrol for animal cruelty. The police have to prioritise urgent matters concerning mainly human crimes and emergency matters. This left the animals vulnerable to cruelty and neglect while possible future serial killers (according to the MacDonald Triad) would potentially not get caught until it was too late. Hence, the animal cops were seen as complementing the police force and help in preventative crime control.

² The MacDonald Triad is highly criticised, found misleading, and scrutinised, but still the theory stands as a preventative argument for the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office.

Enrollment of the policing network

The same situation can be found within the animal cops, namely the lack of time and resources. Control and humane officers at Animal Service and the SPCA rarely have time, nor the resources, to patrol areas for possible breaches of animal welfare. It would also be very difficult to observe the breaching of the law for the reason that many of the violations takes place within the home of offenders or at their private property which is strictly regulated by American law. This combination makes the policing officers depend on the relation and communication with the public, the neighbours, and the community, while at the same time the policing agencies are interdependent on each other.

The animal cops' everyday experiences were far from the most dramatic ones, for example the finding of dog fighting happened rarely (as rarely as every two or three years) and calls for animal cruelty cases were seldom true and rather a result of neighbourhood quarrels. As mentioned above, it means that when neighbourhood quarrels do not come to an agreement many people complain about their neighbour's pet/s to get revenge or to force them out of the community or neighbourhood. Several of my informants, Officer Brown, Officer Huston, Officer Bartram, Officer Levi and Officer Hambidge, reported that they resolve many neighbourhood arguments through assisting, sometimes instead of, law enforcing agencies (Gary Brown, 29.09.2014, St. Petersburg).

On a ride-along with Officer Brown at Animal Services we got a call about a dog bite from the St. Pete P.D.. When we arrived at the address the St. Pete P.D. deputy quickly filled us in on the case. The dog of the older woman on the right bit the white woman's daughter. The bite victim had already gone to school and the school nurse was called to report back with proof of the dog bite to the officers. Officer Brown said to me before we approached the victim's mother; "We're walking into a hornet's nest here". After walking back and forth explaining the dog bite quarantine procedures and checking the dog, it became apparent that the dog bite was not the main issue. The two neighbours had been arguing over trees crossing over to their property, and noise and neglect complaints towards the victim's mother's dog. We checked Rocky, the dog belonging to the victim's mother and he seemed perfectly fine (Gary Brown, 29.09.2014, St. Petersburg). Although this turned out to be a genuine dog bite case in the end (evidence of the bite was provided through the help of a school nurse), it still is a classic example of how people use their neighbours' animals to create or continue conflict. In many cases the work of the animal cops helped solve neighbourhood quarrels, which benefitted the local police forces and cleared their callboards for some of the lower priority calls. Furthermore, this creates a positive view of the animal cops amongst the local police forces, which helps create positive connections within the policing network and it creates social value, both for the policing agencies and the community. The social value can be seen to have an effect on what actors are mobilised and how they are mobilised.

The callboard showed a priority 1, code 4 and 24, in red, the codes for 'run immediately' and 'police call'. The Clearwater Police Department needed an Animal Services Officer's assistance. At the scene the police

found two standard poodles protecting their dead owner's body. She was lying peacefully outside her doorstep; it was almost like she was sleeping. She was facing down with one arm tucked under her head, the other stretched out in front of her. She was covered with a white sheet, but I could still see her hand, the contours of her body, and her brown and grey hair. There was one black standard poodle lying next to her when we arrived. The police had already caught the white one. Officer Brown used his control stick to catch the black poodle, who he was then able to pull away from the body and under the porch fence. Once the dogs were caught they were no longer acting protective of the body and followed us as best as they could although, evidently, being blind and possibly deaf. (Gary Brown, 13.10.2014, Clearwater)

The example above shows the interdependency between the Clearwater Police Department (subsequently Clearwater P.D.) and Animal Services. The officers at Animal Services are specially trained to handle aggressively behaving animals and have the equipment, knowledge and skills needed to handle such a situation with as little stress as possible put on the animals. Clearwater P.D. managed to catch one dog, but the other was feeling threatened and was acting too protective over its owner's body for it to be safe for the police officers to catch it in a safe fashion. Even if the police had caught the last dog the Animal Services would still have to be involved in the case, because the animals are handed over to them until a relative decides to take over the ownership of the dogs or they are put up for adoption.

Another encounter I witnessed and participated in was with the Tarpon Springs Police Department (TSPD consecutively) and the SPCA. I was on a ride along with the TSPD and while I was having a conversation with Sergeant Scott Brockew one of the female deputies reported she had caught a dog at large (moving outside private property without being contained) and was bringing it to the station. The other deputies were complaining about having the dog at the station for several reasons, mainly for the reason that it would have to be in a kennel outdoors the whole night because it was after opening hours at Animal Services (they would not pick it up until the next morning), because one of the deputy's wife would want him to bring it home, and because it was one extra thing to look after and care for. This relates back to the reluctance found amongst police officers to collaborate with the animal cops. It is based on their understanding of the formal agreements and possible lack of personal relations with the animal cops, as I mentioned above. A situation similar to this can often end without a mobilisation of the network because of the lack of enrollment of the actors. If that is repeatedly the case, the network might be in danger of suffer a rupture, as mentioned above. When formal agreements fail to function in the network, the help of informal relations between the actors can challenge the process of the formal agreements and redirect the network enrollment. I told them to call the SPCA because they still had an officer at work and they would most likely pick it up. The SPCA picked up the dog later that evening, and the Sergeant and deputies were happy and grateful for my advice and the fact the dog was no longer their responsibility. (Scott Brockew, 26.09.2014, Tarpon Springs Police Department). This was one of the few times I observed and participated in the collaboration between the SPCA and local police forces. Following my observations on the occurrence of police calls during the time of my fieldwork I noticed that Animal Services work with the police more frequent than the SPCA, mainly for the reason that they are the public government shelter in the area.

These examples and situations point to the complementary positions of the different policing agencies I previously stated as a reason for the foundation of the policing network. The policing network thus seems to be enrolled through both formal and informal measures. Although, when Officer Roger Hambidge at Animal Services asked me "Have you realised that most of the networks you are looking at are based on personal relations between the officers?" (Roger Hambidge, 10.01.2015, Largo). This was later confirmed in an email exchange with Nora Hawkins where she stated that;

"an informal network has played a critical role for cases handled by the SPCA in both timely response and desired outcomes (charges, arrests), i.e., when a[n animal cop] calls on someone they have worked with previously to good effect. [...] I have seen this play out to desired result many times. Conversely I have seen less than desired results when more formal channels are used." (Nora Hawkins, 05.05.2015, email correspondence).

I became aware of the truth behind this. Although, the networks and relations I had been researching for six months were often endorsed through formal arrangements and documents, the phenomenon of using private connections and informal relations to solve a situation or case seemed to be the preferred method of enrollment, particularly between Animal Services and the SPCA. One such illustration is in the latter case where I used my position as a volunteer and observer to connect the separate actors together.

The formal measures of the networks may indicate that they are formed through initiatives based on what can be seen as a sort of supply and demand, or the mutual or individual need for a skill or service. While these networks of relations do not necessarily appear simultaneously or are of equal needs and desires, they add to the research on the networks of private and public policing. In other words, by acting as complimentary actors and agents to each other's tasks the policing network expands and is at the same time becoming a multi-layered web of relations and actions. It would be easy to link this enrollment of actors and agents to be based mainly on communication between the officers, the community and its citizens, but with the ANT we can add another dimension to the network by looking at the actors as both human and nonhuman. Although the policing agencies rely on the communication with the public to inform them of situations and problems they need to solve, it can be the action or reaction of an actor, human or nonhuman, that mobilises the actors and the policing network.

Mobilisation of Actors

In this chapter I want to use two examples from the field with a focus on both human and nonhuman actors to demonstrate the mobilising effect of the actors. Following the examples I will combine the successful framing of the animal cops and their special skills and knowledge with animals, and the enrollment of it. Furthermore, the examples show the police forces standing back at the scene to let the animal cops do their job and take care of the animals involved, which highlights the foundation of the network based on specialised skills and interdependency.

In the example with the two poodles and the dead woman's body used above to illustrate the relation and complementing activities of the private-public policing networks, we find several actors, both human and nonhuman. At the beginning it is the body that is an actor, it is something that needs to be removed. The police, who are also actors, need to solve the problem of the dead body, which is normally to take it away. In this case, the police was unable to go through with the normal procedures and had to call for assistance from Animal Services. The two dogs protecting their owner's body became two actors, two new problems that need to be solved. The two dogs started the mobilisation of the policing network in the area. The moment after the dogs are caught they are no longer mediating actors in the part of the network of the Clearwater P.D., but rather intermediaries. As *mediators*, the dogs transformed, translated, distorted, and modified the meaning of the elements they were supposed to carry, which were seen in the change from normal police handling of this type of cases to the one that unfolded (Latour 2005:39). In the network of Animal Services the dogs are intermediaries that help uphold a network of humans and nonhumans based on the everyday services of the shelter while the Clearwater P.D. officers function as mediating actors in this case. When the dogs are under the care of Animal Services they function as stable *intermediaries* that "transports meaning or force without transformation: defining its inputs is enough to define its outputs" (Latour 2005:38).

Officer Huston had been called out to a police call. There had been a dogfight and a dog was shot dead. When she returned to the shelter she waived at Rob and I for help. She drove the van around the back of the shelter. We followed. She had brought back a big, black dog. He was dead. He was the unlucky one of the two dogs, he was the one who was shot dead by his owner after he and the other dog got into a fight. We helped her get the dog out of the van, onto a rolling table, and then trying to make the stiff and heavy dog fit into the green bag (the symbol for special cremation (SPCA Tampa Bay 2012b)). "There were about ten police cars at the scene", Cheryl told me. They were there because a weapon had been involved. (Cheryl Huston, 05.01.2015, Largo)

The first actors, the first two actors to start the mobilisation of the whole network, were the two dogs fighting. They created a problem. We do not know which one of the dogs started the fight, but that is irrelevant for the network we are looking at. We are looking at how the active actors in the network were enrolled and furthermore, mobilised. When the dogs began fighting they enrolled and mobilised the owner to become a mediator in the fight. The owner ended the fight by shooting one of the dogs, and in doing so he mobilised several other actors. Following this, the owner with the gun was seen as a potential threat and the local police force was called. Their

duty and aim to control the situation led to the enrollment of the SPCA officer. Officer Huston's experience and expertise was needed to help save the injured dog and to help get rid of the body of the dead dog. She drove the hurt dog to the emergency veterinary hospital and brought the dead dog back to the SPCA shelter. Officer Huston was mobilised because the owner, local police force, and the dogs had set in motion a whole network of reactions and had an effect on the mobilisations of different actors. The vignette above shows the dog as an actor, moving from a mediating one to an intermediary. The vignette demonstrates two things, firstly, dog, the nonhumans, as having a mobilising effect on the policing network. Secondly, when the owner decided to have the dog cremated in a private pet cremation he illustrated a move in the human-animal relationships. The green bag pointed out in the vignette symbolises private pet cremation, which means the ashes will be returned to the owner. Not only does this example demonstrate an expansion of the policing network into the everyday organisation of the animal shelter, but it also shows a tendency of including animals in the human sphere. The option at the SPCA to have your pets' ashes returned is one way of showing how humans include nonhumans in rituals previously thought of as purely human.

Human-animal relationships

A key dimension in this thesis is the human-animal relationship. It is used to illustrate the importance of an animal police as part of the policing network in Pinellas County, and as one explanation to why nonhuman actors have a mobilising effect on the policing assemblages. Traditionally, this relationship has been described using dualistic approaches. This study however shows that a strict dualistic approach does not explain well the processes and network-building dynamics described in this thesis. I would therefore argue that a non-dualistic approach is more relevant. In this chapter, I will explain the Actor-Network Theory's nondualistic approach (Murdoch 1997), namely the challenging of the traditional nature-society dichotomy, by relating the cremation of one's pet to some current popular debates on what it means to be human and nonhuman in today's society.

The current issues visible in the media today concerns animal rights, what separates humans from nonhumans, and who has rights. One of these issues are the ongoing fight against Sea World and their captivity and use of Orcas, or Killer Whales, for the amusement of humans, following *Blackfish*, the documentary about the Orcas and their trainers at Sea World San Diego, and the furor it caused in international media (Cowperthwaite, Despres and Zimmermann 2013). Other current issues are the death of a polar bear at the Buenos Aires City Zoo in 2012 (Buenos Aires Herald 2012), and the ongoing lawsuit to free Tommy, the chimpanzee, from a life in a trailer with only TV as company (Saner 2013). The ongoing debates seem to have two common aims; first, to gain a stronger ground for animal rights, and secondly, to change the way we understand and relate to animals. Furthermore, the Guardian and National Geographic have recently written articles blurring the lines between nature and society or humans and animals, by interchangeably applying the same rhetoric for both. The latter, a short time ago, had an article about the book *A Wolf named Romeo*, and how the wolf won hearts in an Alaska suburb and to what extent the local people accepted and invited a wild animal into their sphere and lives (Worrall 2015), or two articles found in the former journal, *Police follow leads as dog 'takes control of tractor' and drives it on to motorway* (Khomami 2015) and *Chimpanzees granted 'legal persons' status to defend their rights in US court* (Yuhás 2015). The articles and documentary show human action and agency, personhood and emotions attached to the animals by humans, thereby fuelling the tendency to move away from a strict separation between human and nonhuman. This movement can also be found in scholarly debates as I mentioned above, for example, the *zoe* and *bios*, the 'bare life' and the human realm controversy (Kirksey and Helmreich 2010:45), which are challenging the limits of what separates humans from nonhumans.

To blur the lines between humans and animals is to move away from the anthropocentric belief held by many scientists and academics today (Latour 1998:229-230). This thesis stresses the changes in our awareness of the human-animal relationships, but is by no means arguing against anthropocentrism. Nevertheless, widening our understanding of how animals affect our lives and how we relate to them leaves us with the possibility to see animals as mobilising actors. Consequently, this can be seen as accepting that nature has a deciding effect on our lives in a relatively similar way as other (human) actors have on us. Such an acceptance is easy to dismiss, but during my time in the field and by talking to people about their animals I listened to the stories of people and their animals and the actions of the animals mobilising the human were highlighted, or in other words made the human

act or react. Although, it is hard to find convincing evidence of animals as mobilising actors in academic writing today, the way we act with animals and talk to or about our pets seem to emphasise the change in human-animal relations this thesis points toward.

Through my numerous conversations with employees, volunteers, and possible offenders and compliants, in the field, the animals were most of the time described by the use of human traits and by explaining an animal with a personality and personhood. It is not only in conversations that the human traits applied to the animals are visible, but on the web page of both SPCA and Animal Services the dogs and cats, and the other animals on the SPCA's web page, are described with human-like personalities (SPCA Tampa Bay 2012c). Furthermore, a vocabulary normally used to describe human emotions, actions and reactions is used by the officers and the people to analyse and explain an animal's behaviour. Their behaviour can reassemble humans, and our vocabulary is limited to this. Hence, an animal's behaviour is explained through such rhetoric and their behaviour analysed accordingly, which leaves the officers better equipped to handle nervous, injured, or aggressive animals.

During the seminar on *Animal Encounters* by the Sheriff's Office the deputies were introduced to 'anthropomorphism' ("an interpretation of what is not human or personal in terms of human or personal characteristics" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2015)). When K9 deputy Anthony Larusso explained this to the other deputies he demonstrated with photos and videos of dogs showing different body language and expressions. The expressions varied from happy and relaxed, to shy and nervous, to aggressive, and they matched with the description of the same emotions found in humans. The phenomenon of educating deputies at the Sheriff's Office about dogs and anthropomorphism in animals' behaviours emphasises two things in particular, firstly, that knowledge of animal behaviour is important within the policing network in Pinellas County to complete certain calls. Secondly, it marks the acceptance and incorporation of human emotions and characteristics on to animals into the public, formal, and governmental spheres. This can be analysed as a move towards acceptance of animals as mobilising actors within the policing network. This is based on the fact that the Sheriff's Office saw the need to incorporate animal behaviour into the education of their officers. This proves the importance of nonhumans in the policing network in Pinellas County. (K9 Deputy Anthony Larusso, 27.10.2014, Largo)

Conclusions

In this thesis, I have examined the question: How are the actors within the networks of private and public policing mobilised through the connections between them? This question has been addressed by studying the mobilising effect of actors in the private-public policing network in Pinellas County. Through the use of the ANT as a methodology and a theory I have defined its four pillars through the use of empirical examples. By focusing on identification, framing, enrollment, and mobilisation of the actors I structured the argument accordingly. The policing network revealed the multifaceted and intertwined exchange of knowledge, information, and skills, and collaboration of the actors needed to create and recreate a trusting relationship of networks that generates public value.

Through the study of the public-private policing network in Pinellas County I have added empirical evidence, from the network of the SPCA, Animal Services, and local police forces, to show the importance, functionality, and the value of the networks and the extent of how they are interdependent and complement each other. All actors and agencies involved help executing tasks outside the other actors' and agencies' resource limits or areas of expertise. They function together as crime fighting policing agents, while at the same time the network is built on preventive actions to solve problems of increasing crime.

Through the framing and enrollment of the actors in the policing network it became visible that the subjects of the public-private policing network consist of several agencies working independently and intertwined within the network. The actors and agencies are all interlinked at some level, by personal interest, work related relations or officially through formal agreements, which blur the line between the public or private spheres. The act of policing is today moving between and within the public-private sphere to gain more knowledge, resources, information, skills, trust, and success (in form of a decrease in criminality).

In the fourth chapter, namely the mobilising actors within the public-private policing networks, I have shown the mobilising effect of the actors in the network, with a particular focus on animals as mobilising actors. Through their actions or reactions to a certain event, the SPCA, Animal Services or local police forces were called to a scene and a network of policing assemblages was created.

By looking at the mobilising actors, the nonhumans appear alongside humans as having a mobilising effect on the policing network. This led to a revision of the nature-society dichotomy that can be seen as the central dogma of Western scholarship and in traditional anthropological literature. We have witnessed a shift in the understanding and view of animal rights and the animals' position in society, the home and in relation to humans. This inclusion of animals, or nature, within our own sphere, society, blurs the original clear line between the two previously thought separate spheres. Following these tendencies we begin to see how animals have a mobilising effect on our lives, policies, and actions/reactions.

This thesis contributes with empirical evidence to the growing debate on actors, while at the same time showing the functionality and significance of eliminating, or at least excluding the use of, the strict dualistic view of public-private policing and of the nature-society debate. Further research should and will be able to look at other

networks applying a similar approach as in this thesis and using this as a point of departure to locate and understand the different actors and their mobilising effect and furthermore, their importance, within networks. I believe this can be useful at an international as well as at a local level to further the production of knowledge, skills, preventative crime control, and trust. This thesis shows that the use of a strict dualistic view on collaboration and partnerships leaves out important details, actors and fluid connections that shape the outcome of such networks as illustrated in this thesis. A non-dualistic approach fits better with the empirical examples studied in this thesis.

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8.0 General summary

This thesis has suggested a new way of understanding and viewing the policing network in Pinellas County, Florida, USA. This network consists of local police forces and the two main animal shelters in the area, namely the Society for Prevention of Animal Cruelty Tampa Bay (SPCA) and Pinellas County Animal Services and their 'animal cops'. I have pushed for an understanding and viewing of the policing network as nondualistic, in other words; instead of looking at isolated and individual organisations and agencies we need to look at them as interconnected, fluid and complex parts of a whole network consisting of many parts. By using examples from the field I identified and defined the main actors in the policing network. The thesis takes into account all types of policing, not only policing commonly known as the police organisation. Hence, the SPCA and Animal Services are treated as an 'animal police' (animal cops) with policing properties. I used examples to demonstrate the interdependency and complementary properties and tasks faced by the officers in the policing network. This visualised the formal and informal relations between the actors, the SPCA, Animal Services and the local police forces. Furthermore, the examples showed how the network is set in motion and how it functions in reality.

Through the analysis of the policing network it became apparent that, in this context, there were not only humans that put the network into motion. Based on the illustrations it became evident that animals were actors as well. Their actions and reactions led to the mobilisation of the network, where either the animal cops and/or the police were motivated to react to the call or situation. Treating animals as actors can seem unconvincing, but by looking at the way we relate to animals in society today it is easy to see the position we are giving them. By adding emotions, personhood and rights to animals, we apply our rhetoric and behaviour to highlight their entrance and position within society, as opposed to one within nature. This means that by inviting nature into society, or animals into the human realm, we are leaving behind the traditional human-animal dualism, and in this context policing animals as well as humans.