



## The Links between Pets and Intimate Partner Violence



**The FREDA Centre**  
for Research on Violence  
Against Women and Children

Prepared by Vanja Zdjelar for the SFU FREDA Centre

September 2018

Paws for Hope Animal Foundation provides care for pets in need, education for the community and support for the animal welfare sector. Our work supporting people and pets is premised upon two guiding principles. First, the bond between people and pets is significant and has tremendous emotional and mental health benefits for people and second, the animal welfare sector is better served when pets are able to remain at home with their family and out of the shelter system. In our work with our social services, advocates, animal welfare and academic partners, we recognize that there is a significant gap in support for individuals in abusive situations who have pets, and this gap frequently results in individuals remaining with their abuser often to their and their pet's peril.

The research documented in this review demonstrates the scope of the issue and confirms that there is a lack of services—a gap that Paws for Hope Animal Foundation intends to fill. This Literature Review serves as an important resource for us as we work to create a crisis foster care program specifically to support the pets of individuals wanting to leave abusive situations.

We are very grateful to Dr. Margaret Jackson, Director of SFU's FREDA Centre, for providing the funding to support this review, and to Vanja Zdjelar, SFU Criminology graduate student, for conducting this extensive review.



September 2018

# The Links between Pets and Intimate Partner Violence

Prepared by Vanja Zdjelar for the SFU FREDA Centre

September 2018

## Summary of the Literature Review

It is well accepted that companion animals, or pets, and their human companion share a special bond. These bonds are strong and, in many cases, pets are seen as part of the family with pets often providing comfort, friendship, and unconditional love to their human owners. This bond proves to be especially important for individuals experiencing intimate partner violence<sup>1</sup>. While in these cases, pets can play an emotional support role to victims<sup>2</sup>. In addition, where there is IPV, animal abuse, and animal maltreatment often co-occur.

Victims of Intimate partner violence face many barriers to leaving abusive situations, but additional barriers exist for those with pets. Many victims will delay leaving an abusive situation because they do not want to leave their pets behind. They may fear for the pet's safety, worrying that their partner is going to harm or neglect the pet while they are away. The lack of services available to victims with pets further complicates the matter. As a result, the victim may have to choose between leaving the pet behind or surrendering the pet to an animal shelter. In some cases, victims are able to take advantage of foster care program or access temporary shelter care. In rarer cases, animals are allowed to stay with the women in the shelter. This well documented link between intimate partner violence and animal abuse, shows that more and better services are needed for victims and their pets.

---

<sup>1</sup> Intimate partner violence is a term used to describe violence and abuse between individuals in an intimate relationship. However, the writers acknowledge that other terms also exist, including domestic violence, domestic abuse, spousal abuse, and spousal violence. While each of the previous terms have specific meanings, the writers wish to stay broad in scope and encompass all types of intimate relationships and all types of violence by using the phrase 'intimate partner violence'.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on IPV includes both the language of victim and survivor. While victim is the language most commonly used in the literature, the authors wish to acknowledge that individuals may identify with one term more than the other. For the purposes of this report, the authors will use the term 'victim'.

## The Link between Pets and Intimate Partner Violence

### Family Bonds

Strong bonds between humans and their animal companions are well documented (Adams, 1995; Ascione et al., 2007; Collins et al., 2018; Faver & Strand, 2003; Fitzgerald, 2007; Flynn, 2000b; Hageman et al., 2018; Hardesty, Khaw, Ridgway, Weber, & Miles, 2013; Newberry, 2017). For many people, the bond is akin to that of family (Ascione et al., 2007; Collins et al., 2018; Fitzgerald, 2007; Hageman et al., 2018; Hardesty et al., 2013). The role of pets has extended far beyond simple pet ownership and instead many pets provide comfort and emotional support in addition to general companionship (Fitzgerald, 2007; Flynn, 2000a, 2000b; Hardesty et al., 2013; Wuerch, Giesbrecht, Price, Knutson, & Wach, 2017). It is already known that those suffering from severe mental health trauma such as post traumatic stress disorder may have a service animal to help them manage their health.

In a similar way, pets provide comfort in other types of difficult situations, including intimate partner violence. Fitzgerald (2007) found that in her sample of women who were abused by their partners, women reported saying that pets helped them cope with the abuse by keeping them grounded; “kept them going” (Fitzgerald, 2007). Pets provided unconditional love and loyalty, something that was missing from their relationship with their partner (Fitzgerald, 2007). In some instances, the pet tried to protect them during an abusive incident (Fitzgerald, 2007). This unconditional love and support helped women cope with the trauma and led some of the women to delay leaving the abuse (Fitzgerald, 2007). In addition to this, women delayed leaving the abusive situation as they did not want to leave the pet with the abuser for fear of their pet’s safety (Fitzgerald, 2007). Fitzgerald’s (2007) results are consistent in the literature as those with pets generally delay leaving abusive situations when a pet is because they fear for the pet’s safety (Allen, Gallagher, & Jones, 2006; Ascione, 1997; Ascione, Weber, & Wood, 1997; Barrett, Fitzgerald, Stevenson, & Cheung, 2017; Carslile-Frank, Frank, & Nielsen, 2004; Collins et al., 2018; Faver & Strand, 2003, 2007; Flynn, 2000a; Hageman et al., 2018; Hardesty et al., 2013; Newberry, 2017; Simmons & Lehmann, 2007).

## Co-occurring Violence

Human victims fear for their pet's safety, is not unfounded; studies show that where there is intimate partner violence there is often animal abuse, sometimes referred to as animal maltreatment, more generally (Allen et al., 2006; Ascione, 1997; Ascione et al., 1997; Barrett et al., 2017; De Gue & DiLillo, 2009; Flynn, 2000a, 2000b; Hardesty et al., 2013; Hartman, Hageman, Williams, & Ascione, 2018; Moonslave, Ferreira, & Garcia, 2017; Newberry, 2017; Riggs, Taylor, Fraser, Donovan, & Signal, 2018; Simmons & Lehmann, 2007; Strand & Faver, 2005; Volant, Johnson, Gullone, & Coleman, 2008). In fact, one of the first studies done showed that in a sample of women in domestic violence shelters from the US, 71% of women reported that their abuser threatened to harm or did harm their pet (Ascione, 1997). This statistic is similar to a more recent study by Collins et al. (2018) found that 75% of their participants reported a threat to harm the pet, while 66% reported actual harm. In addition, 35% of women reported that the abuser threatened to kill the pet, while 11% actually did (Collins et al., 2018). In the literature, the percentage of women who report animal abuse is anywhere between 25% (Simmons & Lehmann, 2007) and 86% (Strand & Faver, 2005). Canadian researchers have found similar results. In their sample of women with pets receiving shelter support, 89% of reported animal maltreatment (Barrett et al., 2017). In the Canadian context, threats to kill the pet were most common, followed by intimidation of the pet, physical violence, neglect (Barrett et al., 2017). Killing of the pet occurred in 14.5 percent of cases.

While these statistics give us a glimpse into the extent of the problem, it is important to understand that these numbers are not representative of the problem fully. Two main critiques exist for this body of literature. First, most of the work is qualitative in nature, and while qualitative work provides important in-depth analysis, larger samples are needed in order to fully understand the issue. Lastly, and perhaps more importantly, researchers generally use samples of women living in some form of domestic violence shelters. As a result, we only know of the rates of animal abuse for women who have accessed support and are missing a potentially large number of women who do not seek help. Differences may exist between human victims that are able to access help and leave the abusive situation than those who are not able to leave.

These differences can have important implications. Barrett et al. (2017) explored the differences between women in intimate partner violence shelters who reported animal abuse and those who did not. In their study, they found significant difference between groups; Barrett et al. (2017) conclude that “women whose pets were more frequently and severely abused reported greater levels of physical, sexual, and psychological abuse directed at them by their partners than those who reported little or no maltreatment of their pets by their partner” (pp. 21-22). Simmons and Lehmann (2007) also found that those who abuse pets are considered more controlling and more dangerous. They often use a wider range of violence than those that do not abuse pets (Simmons & Lehmann, 2007).

In these situations, pets also experience a wide range of violence and maltreatment, however, the most common forms include physical abuse and the threat of physical abuse (Allen et al., 2006; Flynn, 2000a). In some cases, pets are neglected (Allen et al., 2006; Barrett et al., 2017; Collins et al., 2018; Flynn, 2000a) by their abusers who either do not provide food and water or who ignore taking care of medical needs. In some cases, the animal is harmed initially and then never taken to the vet. The lack of medical attention could be a result of the abuser not allowing the human victim to take the animal to the vet or the human victim may not take them because of the fear of repercussions (Collins et al., 2018). The human victim also simply may not be able to take the animal to the vet due to a lack of finances which are often controlled by the abuser.

While some of the main reasons an abuser may harm a pet is to control or bring harm to the human victim, the abuser may simply be punishing the pet for unwanted behaviour (Collins et al., 2018; McDonald et al., 2015; Newberry, 2017). For example, a dog may be abused because of excessive barking; a cat may be abused because of excessive scratching at furniture. The punishment could be in various forms. Such punishment may be physical and can include hitting and kicking the animal and swinging the animal by its tail (Allen et al., 2006; Barrett et al., 2017). On the extreme end of physical violence, pets have been shot, choked, stabbed, and dismembered (Adams, 1995).

In addition to this, abusers may also use psychological abuse against the pet (Barrett et al., 2017; Collins et al., 2018; Flynn, 2000a). This includes attempts at intimidating the pet by scaring them (Barrett et al., 2017), running at the pet or yelling at the pet (Flynn, 2000a). Like with humans, this type of psychological abuse can cause pets to have anxiety. In pets, anxiety can often lead to undesirable behaviour which can then be punished by the abuser. For example, many dogs will urinate when scared, so a dog being intimidated may urinate in an unwanted location. Alternatively, a dog that is subjected to abuse may become more aggressive toward people in the home (De Viney et al., 1983 as cited in Becker & French, 2004), in attempts to protect itself. However, the rise in aggression can further agitate the abuser.

Although harming the pet to control the pet's actions occurs, more common is the use of violence or threat of violence against the pet as a way to control or punish the human victim (Adams, 1995; Allen et al., 2006; Collins et al., 2018; Hardesty et al., 2013; McDonald et al., 2015; Newberry, 2017; Simmons & Lehmann, 2007). For example, one woman sought help at a shelter and while there found out that her abusive partner killed their dog, in order to punish her for leaving (Allen et al., 2006). Another woman was quoted saying "When I threatened to leave after he almost broke my jaw, he tied some string around my dog's neck until the dog couldn't breathe, and wouldn't let my dog go until I promised I would stay" (Newberry, 2017, p. 276). For victims who were unable to leave, the pet was punished for any minor infraction of the abuser's "rules." One of the women in Newberry's (2017) sample reported that the dog was punished because she returned home late from work.

Adams (1995) seminal work on animal abuse and battered women focuses on the harm to pets as a type of psychological abuse for the human victim. She states that:

What is so anguishing to the human victim about the injury of an animal is that it is a threat or actual destruction of a cherished relationship in which the animal has been seen as an individual. Thus it both inflicts psychological trauma on the woman and imposes a change in a valued relationship. (Adams, 1995, p. 59)

At the root of this trauma is the need for control and power (Adams, 1995). Adams writes about nine specific reasons for abusers to harm animals: The first is to demonstrate their power by harming the animal, this allows the human victim to see the abuser's "potential" to harm

(Adams, 1995). Second is the harm of animals in order to reach submission; this is a way to control actions and behaviours of the human victim (Adams, 1995). Similarly, violence against a pet may be an attempt to retaliate against actions already taken by the human victim. Adams (1995) refers to this as an expression of anger to self determined actions. In the same vein, an abuser may harm an animal in order to prevent a woman from leaving the abusive situation (Adams, 1995). Once again this is an attempt to control the woman's behaviour, a common tactic in all forms of intimate partner violence. As suggested before, the abuser could be harming the pet in order to maintain or perpetuate the feelings of terror in the human victim (Adams, 1995), and through that, control behaviour. Another specific reason for abuse may be to isolate the victim from meaningful relationships; while isolation is a common abuse tactic, the pet may be one of the last meaningful relationships that exist in the victim's life (Adams, 1995). Killing the pet effectively isolates the woman further (Adams, 1995). Another way to cause isolation is by forcing the human victim to engage in the abuse of the animal with them (Adams, 1995). Involvement in the abuse causes further psychological trauma to the human victim and changes the existing human animal relationship and bond, isolating them from the animal (Adams, 1995). Lastly, an abuser may simply enjoy harming the pet, and can see it as a way for themselves to confirm their own power (Adams, 1995).

### A Lack of Resources

The lack of resources available to victims leaving their abusers with their pets, contributes to this delay. In some cases, victims leave their pets with their abusers (Barrett et al., 2017). In these cases, women often report feeling guilty for leaving the animals (Ascione et al., 2007). Some women reported that they considered returning to the partner and abusive situation in order to be reunited with their pet (Barrett et al., 2017). In one case, a woman reported returning to the abuser because her children missed their family pet (Allen et al., 2006). When there are children involved human victims may have a harder time separating the children and the pet (Allen et al., 2006). In other cases, women report sneaking into the home to care for the animal while the abuser was out (Fitzgerald, 2007).

Although the link between intimate partner violence and animal abuse is clear, there are few resources available for those seeking to leave their abusive partner with their pets. The most common types of services include placing the animal in an emergency animal shelter or veterinary care, or placing the animal in foster care (Stevenson, Fitzgerald, & Barrett, 2018). Less common is in the ability to access a shelter with the pet (Stevenson et al., 2018). Most shelters do not have the resources to provide pet care in their facilities (Krienert, Walsh, Matthews, & McConkey, 2012; Stevenson et al., 2018; Wuerch et al., 2017). Shelters most commonly cite a lack of space (Krienert et al., 2012; Wuerch et al., 2017) and a lack of funding (Stevenson et al., 2018) as the main barriers. In addition, some shelters report concerns about allergies and noise, as their facilities have no way of separating those with animals and those without (Stevenson et al., 2018). Similarly, shelters raise the issue of safety and liability. Shelters may also have restrictions regarding the size of the animal and the amount of time the animal can spend in a shelter. In addition, some animals would be more difficult to provide a space for than others. While dogs may be easily cared for, cats would be difficult to home in a shelter.

Programs offering temporary care and rehoming are also not without limitations. First, although foster care programs are most common, they require separating the human victim and their animal companion. In addition, many foster programs lack resources therefore it may be difficult to find temporary homes for certain animals. Bigger dogs for example, may be difficult to situate. Second, most foster care of animal shelter care options is short term (Wuerch et al., 2017). In this case the human victim is risking loss of ownership and a loss of a companion.

Where there are no resources available, or where there is a lack of knowledge about resources, victims may even have to surrender their pet to their local shelter or humane society. Doing so can be an isolating experience, leaving both the human and pet traumatized. The isolation and loneliness is not only a factor for the women but also for the pet who has likely formed a bond with their human companion. At a time when human victims need support, isolating individuals from their pets may contribute to further trauma.

## Implications

Overall, there is a lack of services available to victims and pets and thus more programs are needed (Allen et al., 2006; Ascione et al., 2007; Barrett et al., 2017; Becker & French, 2004; Faver & Strand, 2003; Flynn, 2000a, 2000b; Hardesty et al., 2013; McPhedran, 2008; Newberry, 2017; Wuerch et al., 2017). Ideally, shelters should provide care within their facilities. This would allow pets and owners to be kept together, rather than breaking the special bond or relationship they share. Authors also call for more holistic approaches. For example, various agencies should work together in order to best serve the victim.

Veterinarians are encouraged to be cognizant of the link between pet abuse and intimate partner violence (Allen et al., 2006; Hardesty et al., 2013; Moonslave et al., 2017). Veterinarians should be trained to identify intimate partner violence and to help put the human victim in contact with supports (Allen et al., 2006; Hardesty et al., 2013; Moonslave et al., 2017). In general, there is some evidence from Ireland which suggests there is little training on the issue of the co-occurrence of animal abuse and intimate partner violence (Allen et al., 2006).

Veterinarians should be made aware of this link and the programs available for victims and their pets. (Hardesty et al., 2013). However, while in Hardesty et al.'s (2013) study, the majority of their sample suggested that the veterinarian should have a role in addressing suspicions of intimate partner violence, some women reported that they would feel embarrassed if they were asked directly. These women suggested that instead of directly addressing the concerns, pamphlets should be available for women about the link and the programs available (Hardesty et al., 2013). In this case, the veterinarian is encouraged to take an active role rather than a bystander role.

Although increased education is always encouraged, generally service providers such as shelter workers are already aware of the link between intimate partner violence and pet abuse (Krienert et al., 2012). Studies have shown however, that service providers are not consistent about asking about pets in intake interviews (Ascione et al., 1997; Faver & Strand, 2003; Flynn, 2000b; Hageman et al., 2018; Krienert et al., 2012; Newberry, 2017; Stevenson et al., 2018). Krienert et al. (2012) found that in their sample, 50% (n= 5,767) of the shelter staff reported

that they did not ask about pets in the intake interviews. This may be simply because shelters do not have the resources to support the pet (Hageman et al., 2018) or shelter staff may not be aware of external resources or alternative programs that could help these women. Therefore, greater awareness of existing programs in the community would help service workers.

General education is also necessary. As seen with veterinarians, individuals not directly involved in supporting victims of intimate partner violence, are unaware of the link between animal abuse and intimate partner violence. Greater education could also help those in the general public from becoming bystanders by providing them with information about existing programs to which they can refer victims (Newberry, 2017). In addition, many human victims report not being aware of existing programs (Ascione et al., 2007; Flynn, 2000a, 2000b; Hardesty et al., 2013; Newberry, 2017; Volant et al., 2008); increased promotion of these programs may help women access services and leave abusive situations faster.

Overall, the literature points to the need for programs and resources for victims of intimate partner violence and their pets. Animal companions are an important part of victims' lives. In many cases, leaving a pet behind is akin to leaving a family member in danger. A lack of resources forces the human victim to choose between their own wellbeing and that of their pets. In best case scenarios pets are temporarily rehomed while the human victim seeks refuge in a shelter. However, separating human victims from their animal companions can cause further trauma to both human and pet. Although temporary care programs exist, there is a need for more permanent solutions that take into account the unique bond between animal and human.

## References

- Adams, C. (1995). Woman battering and Harm to Animals. In C. Adams & J. Donovan (Eds.), *Animals and Women*. Durham and London Duke University Press.
- Allen, M., Gallagher, B., & Jones, B. (2006). Domestic violence and the abuse of pets: Researching the link and its implications in Ireland. *Practice*, 18(3), 167-181. doi:10.1080/09503150600904060
- Ascione, F. R. (1997). Battered Women's Reports of Their Partners' and Their Children's Cruelty to Animals. *Journal of Emotional Abuse*, 1(1), 119-133. doi:10.1300/J135v01n01\_06
- Ascione, F. R., Weber, C. V., Thompson, T. M., Heath, J., Maruyama, M., & Hayashi, K. (2007). Battered Pets and Domestic Violence: Animal Abuse Reported by Women Experiencing Intimate Violence and by Nonabused Women. *Violence Against Women*, 13(4), 354-373. doi:10.1177/1077801207299201
- Ascione, F. R., Weber, C. V., & Wood, D. S. (1997). The Abuse of Animals and Domestic Violence: A National Survey of Shelters for Women who are Battered. *Society and Animals*, 5(3).
- Barrett, B. J., Fitzgerald, A., Stevenson, R., & Cheung, C. H. (2017). Animal Maltreatment as a Risk Marker of More Frequent and Severe Forms of Intimate Partner Violence. *J Interpers Violence*, 886260517719542. doi:10.1177/0886260517719542
- Becker, F., & French, L. (2004). Making the links: child abuse, animal cruelty and domestic violence. *Child Abuse Review*, 13(6), 399-414. doi:10.1002/car.878
- Carlsile-Frank, P., Frank, J. M., & Nielsen, L. (2004). Selective Battering of the Family Pet. *Anthrozoös*, 17(1), 26-42. doi:10.2752/089279304786991864
- Collins, E. A., Cody, A. M., McDonald, S. E., Nicotera, N., Ascione, F. R., & Williams, J. H. (2018). A Template Analysis of Intimate Partner Violence Survivors' Experiences of Animal Maltreatment: Implications for Safety Planning and Intervention. *Violence Against Women*, 24(4), 452-476. doi:10.1177/1077801217697266
- De Gue, S., & DiLillo, D. (2009). Is Animal Cruelty a "Red Flag" for Family Violence? Investigating Co-Occuring Violence Toward Children, Partners, and Pets. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 24(6), 1036-1056. doi:10.1177/0886260508319362
- Faver, C. A., & Strand, E. B. (2003). Domestic Violence and Animal Cruelty. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 39(2), 237-253. doi:10.1080/10437797.2003.10779134
- Faver, C. A., & Strand, E. B. (2007). Fear, Guilt, and Grief: Harm to Pets and the Emotional Abuse of Women. *Journal of Emotional Abuse*, 7(1), 51-70. doi:10.1300/J135v07n01\_04
- Fitzgerald, A. J. (2007). "They Gave Me a Reason to Live": The Protective Effects of Companion Animals on the Suicidality of Abused Women. *Humanity & Society*, 31, 355-378.
- Flynn, C. P. (2000a). Battered Women and Their Animal Companions: Symbolic Interaction Between Human and Nonhuman Animals. *Society and Animals*, 8(2), 99-127.

- Flynn, C. P. (2000b). Woman's Best Friend: The Role of Companion Animals in the Lives of Battered Women. *Violence Against Women, 6*(2), 162-177.
- Hageman, T. O. N., Langenderfer-Magruder, L., Greene, T., Williams, J. H., St. Mary, J., McDonald, S. E., & Ascione, F. R. (2018). Intimate Partner Violence Survivors and Pets: Exploring Practitioners' Experiences in Addressing Client Needs. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services, 99*(2), 134-145. doi:10.1177/1044389418767836
- Hardesty, J. L., Khaw, L., Ridgway, M. D., Weber, C., & Miles, T. (2013). Coercive control and abused women's decisions about their pets when seeking shelter. *J Interpers Violence, 28*(13), 2617-2639. doi:10.1177/0886260513487994
- Hartman, C. A., Hageman, T., Williams, J. H., & Ascione, F. R. (2018). Intimate Partner Violence and Animal Abuse in an Immigrant-Rich Sample of Mother-Child Dyads Recruited From Domestic Violence Programs. *J Interpers Violence, 33*(6), 1030-1047. doi:10.1177/0886260515614281
- Krienert, J. L., Walsh, J. A., Matthews, K., & McConkey, K. (2012). Examining the Nexus Between Domestic Violence and Animal Abuse in a National Sample of Service Providers. *Violence and Victims, 27*(2), 280-296. doi:10.1891/0886-6708.27.2.280
- McDonald, S. E., Collins, E. A., Nicotera, N., Hageman, T. O., Ascione, F. R., Williams, J. H., & Graham-Bermann, S. A. (2015). Children's experiences of companion animal maltreatment in households characterized by intimate partner violence. *Child Abuse Negl, 50*, 116-127. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.10.005
- McPhedran, S. (2008). Animal Abuse, Family Violence, and Child Wellbeing: A Review. *Journal of Family Violence, 24*(1), 41-52. doi:10.1007/s10896-008-9206-3
- Moonslave, S., Ferreira, F., & Garcia, R. (2017). The connection between animal abuse and interpersonal violence: A review from the veterinary perspective. *Research in Veterinary Science, 114*, 18-26.
- Newberry, M. (2017). Pets in danger: Exploring the link between domestic violence and animal abuse. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 34*, 273-281. doi:10.1016/j.avb.2016.11.007
- Riggs, D. W., Taylor, N., Fraser, H., Donovan, C., & Signal, T. (2018). The Link Between Domestic Violence and Abuse and Animal Cruelty in the Intimate Relationships of People of Diverse Genders and/or Sexualities: A Binational Study. *J Interpers Violence, 33*(6), 886-907. doi:10.1177/0886260518771681
- Simmons, C. A., & Lehmann, P. (2007). Exploring the Link Between Pet Abuse and Controlling Behaviors in Violent Relationships. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 22*(9), 1211-1222. doi:10.1177/0886260507303734
- Stevenson, R., Fitzgerald, A., & Barrett, B. J. (2018). Keeping Pets Safe in the Context of Intimate Partner Violence. *Affilia, 33*(2), 236-252. doi:10.1177/0886109917747613

- Strand, E. B., & Faver, C. A. (2005). Battered Women's Concern for Their Pets: A Closer Look. *Journal of Family Social Work, 9*(4), 39-58. doi:10.1300/J039v09n04\_04
- Volant, A. M., Johnson, J. A., Gullone, E., & Coleman, G. J. (2008). The Relationship Between Domestic Violence and Animal Abuse An Australian Study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 23*(9), 1277-1295. doi:10.1177/0886260508314309
- Wuerch, M. A., Giesbrecht, C. J., Price, J. A. B., Knutson, T., & Wach, F. (2017). Examining the Relationship Between Intimate Partner Violence and Concern for Animal Care and Safekeeping. *J Interpers Violence, 886260517700618*. doi:10.1177/0886260517700618