

1 **Factors influencing the prevalence of animal cruelty during adolescence**

2 Connor, M.<sup>1</sup>, Currie, C.<sup>2</sup>, Lawrence, A.<sup>1</sup>

3 1. Animal Behaviour and Welfare, Scotland's Rural College (SRUC), W Mains Rd, Edinburgh,  
4 Scotland, UK

5 2. Child and Adolescent Health Research Unit (CAHRU), School of Medicine, University of St  
6 Andrews, St Andrews, Fife, Scotland, UK

## Introduction

Human maltreatment of non-human animals is a serious ethical and social problem. Maltreatment of animals is often complex and of varying degrees of severity. Various definitions of animal cruelty, maltreatment or abuse (hereafter referred to as animal cruelty) exist in the literature. Ascione (1993) defined animal cruelty as “socially unacceptable behavior that intentionally causes unnecessary pain, suffering, or distress to and/or death of an animal” (228). This definition provides an indication of the complexity that animal cruelty behaviour presents. Animal cruelty has been described to be a multidimensional construct including amongst other aspects severity, duration, frequency and empathy (Ascione, Thompson, & Black, 1997; McPhedran, 2009b). Vermeulen distinguished between two dimensions; physical and mental animal cruelty. Physical animal cruelty and neglect can inflict pain, injuries and in very serious cases death of the animal whereas responses to mental cruelty might be less obvious but have the potential to cause negative emotional states (e.g. anxiety) and physiological stress resulting in overt behavioural expressions at a later date. Defining animal cruelty presents a difficulty for researchers due to varying perceptions for example age, gender, and culture of people e.g. participants’ definitions of animal cruelty and researchers’ definitions may be completely different and therefore validity of responses may be questionable (Pagani, Robustelli, & Ascione, 2010). Furthermore, contrasting socially and culturally sanctioned (harmful) activities, resulting from differing attitudes towards different species are difficult to account for when defining animal cruelty (Becker, 2001). Consequently, creating a global definition of animal cruelty is challenging.

Cruelty towards animals has been suggested to be indicative of later interpersonal violence McPhedran (2009a) towards humans due to its deep historical and philosophical roots (Lea & Stock)2007. Associations between childhood animal cruelty and interpersonal violence have been empirically investigated with criminal adults (Kellert & Felthous, 1985) or described in case studies (see (Ascione, 1993) for review). Furthermore, a link between childhood animal cruelty and a spectrum of violent and anti-social behaviour has been described (McPhedran, 2009a). It has been argued that cruelty towards animals may be one of the first symptoms of conduct disorder appearing in children (Ascione & Lockwood, 2001). Several family risk factors have been associated with childhood animal cruelty and adult violence. These risk factors include physical abuse within the family, sexual abuse, paternal

38 alcoholism and absence, and general exposure to domestic violence (Duncan & Miller, 2002).  
39 Not only experiencing family violence but also witnessing violence is considered to be a risk  
40 factor for disruptive children to be cruel to animals (Duncan, Thomas, & Miller, 2005). Child  
41 and adolescents' animal cruelty incidences have been reported in different studies (Flynn,  
42 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Miller & Knutson, 1997). The reported proportion of participants  
43 engaging in animal cruelty acts varied a lot, however. Investigating a general adolescent  
44 sample resulted in between 12% to 50% of participants engaging in animal cruelty; 12% (Lucia  
45 & Killias, 2011), 21 % (Gullone & Robertson, 2008), 50% (Baldry, 2003). Investigated student  
46 samples ranged from 5% to 70% of participants engaging in animal cruelty; 4.3% (DeGue &  
47 DiLillo, 2009)), 18% (Flynn, 1999a), 73% (Henry, 2004), 30% (Henry & Sanders, 2007). Half of  
48 the criminal participants engaged in animal cruelty acts during their childhood or adolescence  
49 (Hensley & Tallichet, 2009). It has been reported that boys were more often engaged in  
50 cruelty acts than girls (Baldry, 2003, 2004; DeGue & DiLillo, 2009; Flynn, 1999a, 1999b;  
51 Gullone & Robertson, 2008; Henry, 2004; Lucia & Killias, 2011) with older boys committing  
52 animal cruelty more often than younger boys (Baldry, 2003). No consensus could be reached  
53 on whether being cruel to animals is a group activity (Arluke, 2002) or whether adolescents  
54 act out alone (DeGue & DiLillo, 2009; Lucia & Killias, 2011).

55 Cruelty acts are often directed towards companion animals such as dogs and cats  
56 (DeGue & DiLillo, 2009; Lucia & Killias, 2011; Miller & Knutson, 1997) but also towards small  
57 animals such as rodents, birds and reptiles (Flynn, 1999a, 1999b) . Motivations for childhood  
58 animal abuse include peer pressure, sexual gratification, and post-traumatic play (Ascione et  
59 al., 1997). It can also be used as a vehicle for emotional abuse in the sense of hurting others  
60 by hurting animals (Ascione et al., 1997). Further motivations are to control an animal, to  
61 retaliate against an animal, to satisfy prejudice against a species or breed, to express  
62 aggression through an act of animal cruelty, to enhance one's own aggressiveness, to shock  
63 people for amusement, to retaliate against another person, to displace hostility from a person  
64 to an animal, and to act out non-specific sadism (Kellert & Felthous, 1985).

65 The presented links need to be taken seriously on both human and animal welfare  
66 levels (Taylor & Signal, 2005). Interest in preventing animal cruelty is now turning into an  
67 assessment of the feasibility of interagency cooperative models, whereby family and  
68 children's services and animal welfare organisations investigate both human and animal  
69 cruelty (Taylor & Signal, 2005).

70 Studies investigating animal cruelty employ a variety of different measures in different  
71 samples. Baldry (2004) for example measured animal cruelty using the P.E.T. - Physical and  
72 Emotional Tormenting Against Animals Scale (Baldry, 2004). This 9-item scale measures  
73 indirect or witnessed animal abuse as well as direct abuse by the respondent. It provides  
74 information about the prevalence and intensity of different types of violence against animals  
75 but no information about the animal involved (Baldry, 2004). The 'Boat inventory on Animal  
76 related Experiences' has been used in a number of studies (DeGue & DiLillo, 2009; Flynn,  
77 1999a; Henry & Sanders, 2007; Miller & Knutson, 1997). This measure assesses pet ownership  
78 and animal cruelty in a qualitative design where respondents have to describe their  
79 experiences with their pets or other animals. The 'Cruelty to Animals Inventory' developed by  
80 Daads and colleagues (2004) evaluates whether and how many times participants have hurt  
81 or have been cruel to an animal. It also includes the assessment of the type of animal involved.  
82 A study investigating college students provided their participants' with a predefined list of  
83 cruelty acts of which they could choose the acts they committed (Henry & Sanders, 2007).  
84 This list included drowning, hitting or kicking, shooting, choking, burning or having had sex  
85 with an animal (Henry & Sanders, 2007). Furthermore, single survey items such as asking  
86 people whether they have been cruel to animals were employed in a number of studies  
87 (Flynn, 1999a, 1999b; Hensley & Tallichet, 2005a, 2005b, 2008, 2009; Hensley, Tallichet, &  
88 Singer, 2006; Tallichet & Hensley, 2004, 2005, 2009; Tallichet, Hensley, & Singer, 2005).  
89 Measures used to date have collectively a number of potential short-comings that leave  
90 participants uncertain over questions such as: (a) The type of abuse should participants  
91 consider as constituting physical and mental abuse; (b) The degree of severity which is  
92 considered to be cruel; (c) The types of animals included in the researchers' cruelty definition  
93 and whether the term animals is restricted to vertebrates? The last question may play a  
94 central role as many invertebrate but also some vertebrate species are regarded as 'pests'  
95 posing a perceived danger or nuisance to humans.

## 96 **Rationale of the present study**

97 The combined information of existing research reveals that animal cruelty is prevalent  
98 in society with an onset during childhood, that there are links between animal cruelty and  
99 other forms of interpersonal violence and that both animal and human welfare are  
100 compromised. However, the majority of studies have used a retrospective approach to assess

101 animal cruelty with either students (Flynn, 1999a, 1999b; Henry, 2004), or criminals (Miller &  
102 Knutson, 1997; Simons, Wurtele, & Durham, 2008; Tallichet & Hensley, 2004). Only a few  
103 studies have used non-clinical populations to investigate animal cruelty in adolescents and  
104 these studies have applied different measures with varying cruelty definitions (Baldry, 2003,  
105 2004; Gullone & Robertson, 2008; Lucia & Killias, 2011). Furthermore, the applied cruelty  
106 measures do not define the target animals to be considered and do not distinguish between  
107 physical and mental cruelty. Therefore, the information available cannot be generalised and  
108 may not be transferable to non-clinical populations. **The present study addresses these gaps**  
109 **in the existing literature by: (1) investigating the prevalence of animal cruelty in a non-**  
110 **clinical population of adolescents providing a detailed definition of animal cruelty and a**  
111 **detailed description of the animals to be considered. Furthermore, different types of animal**  
112 **cruelty were assessed over a pre-defined time frame (only comprising adolescent years)**  
113 **including accidental cruelty, deliberate cruelty and neglect. (2) The present study also**  
114 **investigates potential predictors of animal cruelty in a non-clinical sample including socio-**  
115 **demographic variables such as pet-ownership, gender and family affluence, and the**  
116 **prevalence of anti-social behaviour in combination with the perceived acceptability of**  
117 **animal cruelty in society.**

118

119

## Methods

### Questionnaire

121 In order to account for schools varying opportunities to access online surveys a paper  
122 pencil and an identical online questionnaire were created. For a paper-pencil version Snap  
123 Surveys software was used and Bristol Online Surveys (BOS) software was used to create an  
124 identical online version of the survey questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to be  
125 completed during one teaching unit (maximum 45mins). **The questionnaire was**  
126 **administered during class time and teachers were free to choose during which class the**  
127 **questionnaire was administered. However, teachers choose classes where all students**  
128 **participated in the study.** Ethical consent for the questionnaire was gained from the  
129 University of St. Andrews Medical School. Prior to sampling schools, local authority consent  
130 was gained. The online questionnaire was sent out to schools.

131

132

## 133 Recruitment

134 In order to access Scottish schools all 32 local authorities<sup>i</sup> were approached and  
135 further ethical approval was sought. As a result 11 (34%) local authorities granted their  
136 approval; some of them provided the schools to approach whereas others did not. Therefore,  
137 head teachers of schools provided were approached and for the other local authorities we  
138 approached the last alphabetical secondary school. Head teachers received an invitation  
139 email and if no reply was received within 4 weeks an additional invitation letter was sent to  
140 the respective schools. Furthermore, schools were also contacted via phone to arrange the  
141 research. Schools were offered both the online version providing a link to the questionnaire  
142 and the paper pencil version. Furthermore, 75 private schools in Scotland were approached  
143 of which 21 read the invitation and one school agreed to participate in the study. Since the  
144 response rate was very low we additionally recruited via snowball sampling and a Biology  
145 teachers' network. Recruitment of schools in England and Wales did not require approval  
146 from local authorities and schools were therefore contacted directly. Similarly we approached  
147 the last alphabetical secondary school of each county. The response rate was also very low,  
148 the online questionnaire was completed by all English (n = 143) and Welsh (n = 7) participants  
149 completed the survey. All schools were offered free animal welfare education material and/or  
150 a visit by an animal welfare scientist to give a talk. Due to the variety of sampling approaches  
151 it is not possible to calculate a response rate. There were no gender or age differences  
152 between the two questionnaire dissemination strategies and consequently all participants  
153 were analysed as a single sample. The questionnaire was completed during school hours  
154 independently of which version adolescents received.

155

## 156 Measures

157 The questionnaire explored several constructs related to perceptions of animals but  
158 only measures relevant to animal cruelty will be presented here. At the beginning of the  
159 questionnaire adolescents were asked socio-demographic questions such as age, gender, pet  
160 ownership and self-reported living area (town, village or farm were coded as rural and city  
161 and sub-burb were coded as urban). Pet ownership was assessed using an adapted version of  
162 the Boat Inventory (Boat, 1999)

163 Adolescent's social economic status was assessed using the Family Affluence Scale  
164 (FAS), which was developed for an international study on school-aged children's health

165 (Batista-Foguet, Fortiana, Currie, & Villalbi, 2004). This scale assessed adolescents' social-  
166 economic status utilising material markers such as number of computers, cars and holidays.

167 In order to investigate self-reported animal cruelty behaviour, items concerning  
168 deliberate cruelty but also accidental cruelty and neglect were created (based on Daad, 2004).  
169 In total 11 items (Table 1) were used to assess animal cruelty in terms of accidental cruelty  
170 (e.g. frightening an animal accidentally), deliberate cruelty (e.g. hurting an animal on purpose)  
171 and neglect (e.g. forgetting to feed an animal). Cruelty acts were assessed over the last twelve  
172 months offering the answer categories never, 1-2 times, 2-5 times and more than 5 times.  
173 The question clearly stated that only cruelty acts against mammals (e.g. pets, farm and wild  
174 animals), birds, reptiles (e.g. lizards, snakes), amphibians (e.g. frogs) and fish should be taken  
175 into account. It further stated that acts towards insects (e.g. flies, bees, mosquitos) or  
176 molluscs (e.g. slugs and snails) should not be recorded when answering the question. These  
177 items were then used to create another set of items to investigate adolescents' perceptions  
178 of the acceptability of animal cruelty (Table 2). In total 12 items were used to evaluate  
179 acceptability of animal cruelty. Participants were asked to rate the acceptability of animal  
180 cruelty on a 6 point likert scale ranging from 1 = not at all acceptable to 6 = very acceptable.

181 Problem (anti-social) behaviour was assessed using adapted items from (Loeber,  
182 Farrington, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Van Kammen, 1998). Items were rephrased to make them  
183 applicable to a British context after pre-testing the questionnaire (for example movie was  
184 replaced with film. Furthermore, dichotomous answering categories (yes/no) were changed  
185 into how many times in the past 12 months problem behaviours have occurred offering the  
186 options never, 1-2 times, 3-4 times, 5-6 times and more often. In total 9 items were used to  
187 form the problem behaviour measure: In the last 12 months how often have you done the  
188 following things? (a) cut classes or stayed away from school without permission (b) taken a  
189 car or other vehicle without owner's permission, just to drive around (c) been drunk in a public  
190 place (d) broke in or tried to break into a building just for fun or to look around (e) thrown  
191 objects such as rocks or bottles at people to hurt or scare them (f) sneaked into a movie,  
192 ballgame or something like that without paying (g) steal money or take something that did  
193 not belong to you (h) beat up someone or fought someone physically because they made you  
194 angry (i) purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to you.

195 Development of the questionnaire was assisted by DEFRA (Department for  
196 Environment, Food and Rural Affairs in the UK), animal welfare charities and organisations

197 and secondary school children and teachers who helped evaluate applicability and content  
198 validity. The questionnaire was approved by the ethics committee of the University of St.  
199 Andrews and was pre-tested with 87 secondary school children.

200 At any point during the development and also during the data collection phase,  
201 children were free to decide whether they wanted to take part or not. Children could exit the  
202 questionnaire at any time or leave questions blank in the paper pencil version without  
203 consequences. Missing values in the data set were not replaced and therefore the number of  
204 respondents varies in the analysis.

205

## 206 **Data analysis**

207 Paper pencil questionnaires were scanned using the SnapSurvey Software, data  
208 obtained online were extracted from BOS and merged with the paper pencil data in SPSS 22.  
209 Data were analysed using the statistical package SPSS 22. Descriptive statistics were used to  
210 provide sample descriptions. Differences in count data were analysed using  $\chi^2$  statistics.  
211 Reliability of the measures applied was analysed using Cronbach's alpha. Exploratory factor  
212 analysis with principle components as extraction method was used to investigate the  
213 underlying structure of adolescents' animal cruelty behaviour. Mean differences were  
214 analysed using t-test statistics or Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), effect sizes were calculated  
215 using means and standard deviations and are presented as Cohen's d. A general linear model  
216 with repeated measures was used to evaluate differences between the cruelty components.  
217 A multiple regression analysis using the enter method was applied to investigate predictors  
218 of deliberate animal cruelty.

219

220

## **Results**

### 221 **Participants**

222 A total of 979 adolescents participated in the survey questionnaire of which 83.6% (N  
223 = 764) lived in Scotland, 15.6% ( $n = 143$ ) lived in England and 0.8% ( $n = 7$ ) lived in Wales. Due  
224 to the unequal group sizes no country comparisons were conducted and the whole sample  
225 was analysed together. Forty-three per cent ( $n = 419$ ) of the participants were male, 51% ( $n$   
226 = 497) of the participants were female and six per cent (N = 63) did not report their gender.  
227 The mean age for all participants was 15.1 years (SD = 1.57). Boys were on average 15 years  
228 old (SD<sub>boys</sub> = 1.51) and girls were on average 15.2 years (SD<sub>girls</sub> = 1.61) old. Fifty five per cent

229 ( $n = 539$ ) of adolescents stated they lived in urban areas and 32% ( $N = 306$ ) indicated they live  
230 in rural areas; 14% ( $n = 134$ ) of adolescents didn't report where they lived. When comparing  
231 valid answers with the census data of Scotland the rural urban distribution of 12 to 17 year  
232 olds only slightly varies from the Scottish average (urban sample = 63.6%, urban census =  
233 66.75, rural sample = 36.6%, rural census = 33.3%).

234 Most adolescents ( $n = 832$ , 91.6%) reported that they had lived with a pet in the past,  
235 and 73.9% ( $n = 666$ ) of the adolescents said they currently live with a pet which is comparable  
236 with other data published on pet ownership in the UK (Marsa-Sambola et al., 2016; Murray,  
237 Browne, Roberts, Whitmarsh, & Gruffydd-Jones, 2010). Seventy-four percent of boys ( $n = 303$ )  
238 and girls ( $n = 359$ ) reported having a pet. Similarly, 71% ( $n = 372$ ) of urban adolescents  
239 reported having a pet whilst 80% ( $n = 245$ ) of rural adolescents reported having a pet ( $\chi^2 =$   
240 15.2,  $p = .001$ ).

241 The most common pets were fish ( $n = 405$ ), followed by dogs ( $n = 368$ ), hamsters and  
242 guinea pigs ( $n = 341$ ), and cats ( $n = 240$ ). Girls had significantly more hamsters and guinea pigs  
243 ( $\chi^2 = 12.72$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and rabbits ( $\chi^2 = 4.74$ ,  $p = .030$ ) than boys. There were no gender  
244 differences regarding the other animals (dogs, cats, birds, fish, horse, mice, wild animals and  
245 reptiles) that adolescents reported living with.

246 There were differences between rural and urban adolescents regarding pets living in  
247 the house and the type of pet they would have in their family. Rural adolescents had  
248 significantly more cats than urban adolescents ( $\chi^2 = 8.48$ ,  $p = .014$ ). Furthermore, rural  
249 adolescents reported living less with birds ( $\chi^2 = 8.46$ ,  $p = .015$ ), fish ( $\chi^2 = 26.36$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and  
250 mice ( $\chi^2 = 14.39$ ,  $p < .001$ ). However, rural adolescent families reported living significantly  
251 more with horses ( $\chi^2 = 24.08$ ,  $p < .001$ ), wild animals ( $\chi^2 = 13.26$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and other animals  
252 ( $\chi^2 = 32.4$ ,  $p < .001$ ) such as sheep and cows.

253 A composite score was calculated for family affluence, which divides adolescents into  
254 three groups; low, medium and high affluence. There was almost an equal distribution with  
255 29.2% ( $N = 286$ ) of the adolescents reporting low family affluence, 36.3% ( $N = 355$ ) reporting  
256 medium family affluence and 34.5% (338) of adolescents reporting high family affluence.

257

258

259

## 260 **Animal cruelty**

261 In total 11 items were used to measure self-reported animal cruelty. Analysis shows a  
262 good reliability Cronbach's  $\alpha = .793$ . Adolescents in this sample generally report low levels of  
263 animal cruelty ( $M = 1.32, SD = 0.35, n = 837$ ). The underlying structure of adolescents' animal  
264 cruelty behaviour was investigated using exploratory factor analysis (Table 2), and results  
265 reveal that adolescents show different types of cruelty towards animals. An item content  
266 analysis indicates that items containing words such as 'on purpose' load together; these  
267 components were subsequently labelled as *deliberate cruelty* (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .682, N = 5$ ).  
268 Items containing 'accidental' loaded on a second factor and were labelled *accidental cruelty*  
269 ( $M = 1.32, SD = 0.35, n = 837$ ). The third component comprised items relating to forgetting to  
270 feed or water a pet and were labelled *neglect* (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .639, N = 3$ ). These three  
271 components account for 56.7% of the variance. Adolescents reported that they had been  
272 engaged in accidental animal cruelty more often ( $M = 1.58, SD = 0.57, n = 837$ ) than in  
273 deliberate cruelty ( $M = 1.24, SD = 0.41, n = 837, t = 18.506, df = 836, p < .001$ ) and neglect ( $M$   
274  $= 1.18, SD = 0.37, n = 833, t = -20.423, df = 832, p < .001$ ). In order to test that these differences  
275 are independent from the large sample size Cohen's  $d$  was calculated as a measure of effect  
276 size. Cohen's  $d$  for the accidental vs. deliberate cruelty was 0.674 and for the accidental  
277 cruelty vs. neglect was 0.818. Both effect sizes suggest strong effects. 54.4% ( $n = 455$ ) of  
278 adolescents reported to have never been engaged in deliberate cruelty acts (this analysis only  
279 takes adolescents into account who answered all cruelty questions).

280 A small but significant difference resulted comparing reported neglect between boys  
281 and girls; boys reported higher levels of neglect than girls  $p = .024$  (a detailed analysis of all  
282 comparisons can be found in Table 3). Effect size for this difference is small  $d = .154$ .  
283 Differences in reported neglect were also present between pet owners and non-pet owners  
284  $p < .000$ , with the effect size of  $d = .436$  suggesting a medium strong effect. Those differences  
285 remain when analysing pet ownership in dependence of gender, living area and age group  
286 (Table 3). Furthermore, a small difference ( $p = .033, d = .197$ ) in reported neglect was found  
287 analysing for family affluence with adolescents reporting medium family affluence stating  
288 higher levels of neglect than adolescent's reporting high family affluence (Table 3). No  
289 differences were observed comparing different age groups or urban and rural adolescents.

290 Self-reported accidental cruelty differed among boys and girls  $p < .000$ , between 12-  
291 13 year olds and >16 year olds  $p = .017$ , rural and urban adolescents  $p = .014$ , and between  
292 pet owners and non-pet owners  $p = .000$ . Effect sizes range from small to medium strong  
293 effects (Table 3). Girls, older adolescents, urban and non-pet owning adolescents reported  
294 lower levels of accidental cruelty than boys, younger adolescents, rural and pet-owning  
295 adolescents. Small gender differences are shown between urban boys and girls ( $t(420.4) =$   
296  $2.49$ ,  $p = .013$ ,  $d = .219$ ) but not between rural boys and girls. Differences between pet and  
297 non-pet owners are constant and can also be shown when analysing the age groups  
298 separately (12-13 year olds:  $t(294) = 2.38$ ,  $p = .018$ ,  $d = .336$ , 14-15 year olds:  $t(349) = 2.22$ ,  $p$   
299  $= .027$ ,  $d = .258$ , >16 year olds:  $t(105.8) = 4.02$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $d = .652$ ). Furthermore, similar  
300 differences were found when analysing rural and urban adolescents separately (urban:  $t(485)$   
301  $= 3.33$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $d = .339$ , rural:  $t(273) = 2.14$ ,  $p = .034$ ,  $d = .347$ ).

302 Self-reported deliberate cruelty differs between boys and girls ( $p < .000$ ) with boys  
303 reporting higher levels than girls and between rural and urban adolescents ( $p = .012$ ) with rural  
304 adolescents reporting higher levels than urban adolescents (Table 3). Gender differences are  
305 also prominent when investigating rural and urban adolescents separately for both living  
306 areas (urban:  $t(316.3) = 4.79$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $d = .448$ , rural:  $t(199.7) = 3.07$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $d = .364$ ).  
307 Furthermore, gender differences were also observed in 12-13 year olds and 14-15 year olds  
308 (12-13 year olds:  $t(243.7) = 2.42$ ,  $p = .016$ ,  $d = .280$ , 14-15 year olds:  $t(261) = 4.53$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $d$   
309  $= .487$ ) but not in adolescents older than 16 years. Small differences were observed  
310 comparing adolescents of varying family affluence (Table 3). Adolescents of medium family  
311 affluence reported higher levels of deliberate cruelty than adolescents of low family affluence  
312 ( $p = .005$ ).

313

### 314 **Acceptability of animal cruelty**

315 The 12 items assessing acceptability of animal cruelty showed a good overall reliability  
316 (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .849$ ,  $N = 12$ ). Results show that four components can be extracted accounting  
317 for 73.1% of the variance (Table 2). Similarly to cruelty behaviour an item content analysis  
318 was used to label the factors. Component 1 represents items concerning neglect (Cronbach's  
319  $\alpha = .727$ ,  $N = 2$ ,  $M = 1.88$ ,  $SD = .90$ ), component 2 comprises items about deliberate mental  
320 cruelty (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .768$ ,  $N = 3$ ,  $M = 1.49$ ,  $SD = .75$ ), component 3 items about accidental

321 cruelty (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .936$ ,  $N = 3$ ,  $M = 2.26$ ,  $SD = 1.21$ ), and component 4 includes items  
322 about deliberate physical cruelty (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .736$ ,  $N = 2$ ,  $M = 1.15$ ,  $SD = .53$ ). PCA loadings  
323 suggest that the item 'kill an animal' loads on the factor labelled deliberate physical cruelty  
324 (Table 2), however reliability analysis suggest removing the item to increase reliability from  
325 Cronbach's  $\alpha = .549$  to Cronbach's  $\alpha = .736$ . Consequently the item was removed for further  
326 analysis. A general linear model with repeated measures was used to evaluate  
327 differences between the cruelty components. Results show that the acceptability of different  
328 types of animal cruelty is different ( $F(1.93/1589.94) = 368.18$ ,  $p = .000$ ). Pairwise comparisons  
329 reveal differences between all pairs were  $p < .000$ . Deliberate physical animal cruelty ( $M =$   
330  $1.15$ ,  $SE = 0.02$ ) is the least accepted type of cruelty, followed by deliberate psychological  
331 cruelty ( $M = 1.49$ ,  $SE = 0.03$ ), neglect ( $M = 1.79$ ,  $SE = 0.03$ ) and accidental cruelty respectively  
332 ( $M = 2.16$ ,  $SE = 0.04$ ). Gender differences were found for the acceptability of neglect ( $t(737.4)$   
333  $= 2.04$ ,  $p = .042$ ,  $d = .143$ ), deliberate physical cruelty ( $t(261) = 4.53$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $d = .487$ ) and  
334 accidental cruelty ( $t(503.9) = 3.76$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $d = .296$ ) with boys finding all three types of cruelty  
335 more acceptable than girls (Table 5). However, effect sizes indicate small differences.  
336 Differences in acceptability of deliberate physical ( $F(2) = 4.86$ ,  $p = .008$ ) and psychological  
337 animal cruelty ( $F(2) = 7.63$ ,  $p = .000$ ) could also be observed comparing the different age  
338 groups (Table 5). Post-hoc tests reveal differences between 14-15 year olds and >16 year olds  
339 with the younger ages showing greater acceptability than the older adolescents. Effect sizes  
340 indicate medium strong to strong effects. Differences in socio-economic status were only  
341 present for the acceptability of psychological cruelty. However, the effect size  $d = .232$  is  
342 small.

343 Furthermore, anti-social behaviour was evaluated; reliability of the scale used to  
344 measure anti-social behaviour was high Cronbach's  $\alpha = .903$ ,  $N = 9$  and a mean score was  
345 created the lower the score the less adolescents reported anti-social behaviour. In general  
346 boys ( $M = 1.33$ ,  $SD = .70$ ,  $n = 312$ ) show higher levels of anti-social behaviour ( $t(420.8) = 4.87$ ,  
347  $p < .001$ ,  $d = .363$ ) than girls ( $M = 1.13$ ,  $SD = .34$ ,  $n = 414$ ). A medium strong correlation exists  
348 between antisocial behaviour and deliberate animal cruelty  $r = .334$ ,  $p < .001$ . There was no  
349 significant correlation between antisocial behaviour and neglect.

350

## 351 **Predicting deliberate animal cruelty**

352 A multiple regression analysis (Table 6) was used to investigate predictors of  
353 deliberate animal cruelty. Predictor variables were acceptability of different types of animal  
354 cruelty, anti-social behaviour and demographic variables including, gender, pet ownership  
355 and family affluence. All predictor variables explain a significant amount of the variance in  
356 deliberate animal cruelty ( $F(10,648) = 45.4, p < .001, R^2 = .41 R^2_{adjusted} = .40$ ). Inspection of  
357 tolerance levels show low levels of multicollinearity (observed levels of tolerance are between  
358 .370 and .958). The analysis shows that the acceptability of both physical and psychological  
359 deliberate cruelty are strong predictors for deliberate animal cruelty (Table 6). Furthermore,  
360 anti-social behaviour and adolescent's living place are also part of the model and explain a  
361 small but significant amount of the variance.

## 362 **Discussion**

363 The present study explored the prevalence of animal cruelty in a non-clinical sample  
364 of adolescents. It used a new approach to assessing animal cruelty that distinguished between  
365 deliberate and non-deliberate animal cruelty, and where adolescents received information  
366 about what type of animals to include when **reporting** cruelty acts. Furthermore, the study  
367 included a timeframe of the last 12 months to assess cruelty acts enabling adolescence to  
368 provide more accurate assessments of their behaviours. Assessing animal cruelty  
369 retrospectively without providing a time frame may bias the accuracy of the recall especially  
370 when experiences rely on judgement and interpretation (Hardt & Rutter, 2004). Providing a  
371 specific time frame, which does not reach too far into the past, takes account of recall bias  
372 and provides a more accurate evaluation of the behaviour.

373 For this study only vertebrate animals were included since the UK Animal Welfare Act from  
374 2006 only protects vertebrate species due to a lack of evidence on sentience in  
375 invertebrates (see <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/45/notes/contents>; although  
376 note that UK animal experimentation legislation does provide protection for cephalopods;  
377 see <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/consolidated-version-of-aspa-1986>). This  
378 may differ between countries and needs to be taken into account when evaluating animal  
379 cruelty. When analysing all cruelty acts together, results show low levels of reported animal  
380 cruelty in general ( $M = 1.32, SD = 0.35$ ). However, exploratory factor analysis revealed three

381 types of animal cruelty: accidental animal cruelty, neglect and deliberate animal cruelty  
382 confirming our initial distinction between deliberate and non-deliberate cruelty acts.  
383 Examples of deliberate animal cruelty include ‘hurting an animal on purpose’ and for  
384 deliberate mental animal cruelty ‘annoying or frightening an animal on purpose’. Half of the  
385 adolescents (n = 300) reported to have been engaged in deliberate animal cruelty within the  
386 last twelve months on at least one or two occasions. These numbers seem to be consistent  
387 with previous findings (Flynn, 2001; Gullone & Robertson, 2008). Nonetheless, it has to be  
388 noted that currently no existing measure of animal cruelty includes a timeframe for cruelty  
389 acts unlike the present study which used a time frame of 12 months. Since it is not specified  
390 in the literature as to when these animal cruelty acts were conducted and how often  
391 animals have been perpetrated during participants’ childhood it is difficult to compare the  
392 findings of the present study with previous work. Furthermore, adolescents also reported to  
393 have been involved in accidental animal cruelty more often than in deliberate cruelty or  
394 neglect. This result shows the necessity to differentiate between cruelty acts, as accidental  
395 animal cruelty may bias prevalence of animal cruelty acts especially in samples with a high  
396 number of pet-owners. Pet-owners show significantly higher accidental animal cruelty and  
397 neglect than non-pet-owners. A simple explanation for this is that the chances of  
398 accidentally harming an animal are higher when owning a pet compared to not owning a  
399 pet. It has to be noted that both pet owners and no-pet-owners answered the questions  
400 regarding neglect. Participants had the option to choose never (which is coded as 1). The  
401 mean for non-pet owners shows that non-pet owners most often chose never (1) (M = 1.07,  
402 SD = 0.29). We don’t specify as to whether participants should think of their own pet (which  
403 they don’t have in this case). We only analysed current pet-ownership so it could well be  
404 that current non-pet owners have had a pet in the last 12 months but not at the time when  
405 the questionnaire was conducted or they were looking after someone else’s pet, so they  
406 could potentially have been involved in neglect. Since rural adolescents reported to own  
407 pets more often than urban adolescents, rural adolescents also reported higher accidental  
408 cruelty acts. It has to be noted that younger adolescents show higher levels of accidental  
409 cruelty than older ones despite not differing in pet ownership. This indicates that  
410 adolescents may learn to be more careful with pets due to gaining more responsibility and  
411 knowledge which has been shown to occur in other studies (Covert, Whiren, Keith, &  
412 Nelson, 1985). The present study reveals gender differences with medium strong effect

413 sizes, with boys reporting higher levels of deliberate animal cruelty than girls. Studies  
414 investigating non-clinical samples retrospectively also found boys admitting more cruelty  
415 acts than girls (Becker, Stuewig, Herrera, & McCloskey, 2004; Flynn, 1999a).

416 To evaluate the acceptability of animal cruelty, items were created on the basis of  
417 items used to measure the prevalence of animal cruelty. Therefore, items didn't describe  
418 specific cruelty acts nor include different levels of severity. Exploratory factor analysis  
419 suggests a four factor solution; acceptability of neglect, acceptability of accidental cruelty,  
420 acceptability of deliberate physical and acceptability of deliberate mental animal cruelty.  
421 Results show that deliberate physical cruelty is the least accepted form of animal cruelty  
422 followed by deliberate mental animal cruelty, neglect and accidental cruelty respectively. It  
423 has to be noted that neglect was assessed using items such as 'forgetting to feed an animal'  
424 or 'leaving an animal alone with enough food and water for a few days'. These are rather mild  
425 forms of neglect and may bias the acceptability of neglect, which can potentially have severe  
426 negative outcomes for the animals involved. When evaluating the acceptance of animal  
427 cruelty adolescents clearly distinguish between deliberate physical and mental cruelty, with  
428 physical cruelty evaluated as the least acceptable form of animal cruelty. Whilst factor scores  
429 indicated the inclusion of the item 'kill an animal' into deliberate physical cruelty, reliability  
430 analysis suggested removing that item. As the purpose of killing was not stated within the  
431 item it may have been difficult for the participants to judge the acceptability of killing an  
432 animal. Some participants could evaluate killing an animal for food in general or more  
433 specifically in a humane way as being acceptable. Other participants may have considered  
434 killing an animal for fun or out of curiosity and regard such actions as unacceptable. If an item  
435 on killing animals is to be included in future research the purpose of killing should be clearly  
436 stated.

437 The present study found weak but significant gender differences for the acceptability  
438 of deliberate physical cruelty, acceptability of neglect and acceptability of accidental cruelty  
439 but not for the acceptance of deliberate mental cruelty. Male adolescents in general had  
440 higher levels of acceptability for all types of cruelty acts than females. Studies have shown  
441 that attitudes towards the treatment of animals differ between males and females (Herzog,  
442 2007). However, the studies reviewed by Herzog (2007) mostly concern attitudes towards  
443 animal experimentation and not the acceptability of animal cruelty. Nonetheless, the authors

444 conclude that women generally show more concern for the welfare of animals than men and  
445 that women are more sympathetic to the treatment of animals than men (Herzog, 2007). It  
446 has also been shown that girls show higher levels of attachment to their pets than boys  
447 (Marsa-Sambola et al., 2016) and women are more empathetic towards animals (Paul, 2000).

448 Predictors of deliberate animal cruelty were evaluated and results show that  
449 participants' acceptability of deliberate cruelty, both physical and mental, are highly  
450 predictive for committing deliberate cruelty. Furthermore, whether participants live in rural  
451 or urban areas and their reported anti-social behaviour are small but significant contributors  
452 to committing deliberate cruelty. Measured predictor variables account for about 41% of the  
453 explained variance in a non-clinical sample. It has been empirically shown that childhood  
454 animal cruelty has an association with interpersonal violence (Kellert & Felthous, 1985). A  
455 medium strong correlation was found between deliberate cruelty and anti-social behaviour  
456 supporting the hypothesis that animal cruelty is more common in children with anti-social  
457 personality traits (Gleyzer, Felthous, & Holzer, 2002). The measure used to assess anti-social  
458 behaviour comprises different aspects but only includes one item, which measures violence.  
459 A measure specifically addressing interpersonal violence may have resulted in stronger  
460 correlations. In order to explain the remaining amount of variance family risk factors and  
461 witnessing violence can be taken into account (Duncan et al., 2005). However, it is difficult to  
462 include those family risk factors when investigating a non-clinical sample of adolescence  
463 recruited through schools since this could cause distress in affected adolescents. Therefore,  
464 the present study did not employ a measure of family risk factors.

465 In conclusion the present study shows for the first time the importance of  
466 distinguishing between different types of cruelty acts when studying cruelty to animals in  
467 adolescents. Furthermore, the study demonstrates the importance of defining what types of  
468 animals are included in the definition and the time scale over which cruelty acts have been  
469 committed in order for a more accurate picture of cruelty to be developed. Adolescents  
470 perceive deliberate and non-deliberate act of animal cruelty differently. Acceptance of non-  
471 deliberate cruelty acts is higher, as is the prevalence of these acts. Accidental animal cruelty  
472 acts are mostly reported by younger pet owning adolescents indicating a need for prevention  
473 interventions to this age group. The acceptability of cruelty acts plays a significant role in  
474 predicting animal cruelty, together with anti-social behaviours and place of living. However it

475 has to be noted that this study has been conducted in a classroom setting and even though  
476 complete anonymity was insured participants may have not felt completely comfortable  
477 expressing themselves. This may have resulted in weaker differences between male and  
478 female participants than in other studies where no authority person was present. Sensitive  
479 topics such as studying cruelty towards animals may result in participants answering in  
480 accordance to what they perceive as most acceptable in society (Fisher, 1993).

481

482

483

## References

- 484 Arluke, A. (2002). Animal abuse as dirty play. *Symbolic Interaction*, 25(4), 405-430.
- 485 Ascione, F. R. (1993). Children who are cruel to animals: A review of research and implications for  
486 developmental psychopathology. *Anthrozoos: A Multidisciplinary Journal of The Interactions*  
487 *of People & Animals*, 6(4), 226-247.
- 488 Ascione, F. R., & Lockwood, R. (2001). Cruelty to animals: Changing psychological, social, and legislative  
489 perspectives. *The state of the animals*, 39-54.
- 490 Ascione, F. R., Thompson, T. M., & Black, T. (1997). Childhood cruelty to animals: Assessing cruelty  
491 dimensions and motivations. *Anthrozoos: A Multidisciplinary Journal of The Interactions of*  
492 *People & Animals*, 10(4), 170-177.
- 493 Baldry, A. C. (2003). Animal abuse and exposure to interparental violence in Italian youth. *Journal of*  
494 *Interpersonal Violence*, 18(3), 258-281.
- 495 Baldry, A. C. (2004). The development of the PET Scale for the measurement of physical and emotional  
496 tormenting against animals in adolescents. *Society and Animals*, 12(1), 1-17.
- 497 Batista-Foguet, J. M., Fortiana, J., Currie, C., & Villalbii, J. R. S.-e. i. i. s. f. c. b. c. (2004). Socio-economic  
498 indexes in surveys for comparisons between countries. *Social Indicators Research*, 67(3), 315-  
499 332.
- 500 Becker, F. (2001). *The links between child abuse and animal abuse*: NSPCC London.
- 501 Becker, K. D., Stuewig, J., Herrera, V. M., & McCloskey, L. A. (2004). A study of firesetting and animal  
502 cruelty in children: Family influences and adolescent outcomes. *Journal of the American*  
503 *Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 43(7), 905-912.
- 504 Boat, B. W. (1999). Abuse of children and abuse of animals: Using the links to in-form child assessment  
505 and protection. . In I. F. A. P. Arkow (Ed.), *Child abuse, domestic violence, and animal abuse:*  
506 *Linking the circles of compassion for prevention and interventio* (pp. 83-100). West Lafayette:  
507 Purdue University Press.
- 508 Covert, A. M., Whiren, A. P., Keith, J., & Nelson, C. (1985). Pets, Early Adolescents, and Families  
509 *Marriage & Family Review*, 8(3-4), 95-108.
- 510 Dadds, M. R., Whiting, C., Bunn, P., Fraser, J. A., Charlson, J. H., & Pirola-Merlo, A. (2004).  
511 Measurement of Cruelty in Children: The Cruelty to Animals Inventory. *Journal of Abnormal*  
512 *Child Psychology*, 32(3), 321-334. doi:10.1023/B:JACP.0000026145.69556.d9#page-1
- 513 DeGue, S., & DiLillo, D. (2009). Is animal cruelty a "red flag" for family violence? Investigating co-  
514 occurring violence toward children, partners, and pets. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*,  
515 24(6), 1036-1056.
- 516 Duncan, A., & Miller, C. (2002). The impact of an abusive family context on childhood animal cruelty  
517 and adult violence. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 7(4), 365-383.
- 518 Duncan, A., Thomas, J. C., & Miller, C. (2005). Significance of family risk factors in development of  
519 childhood animal cruelty in adolescent boys with conduct problems. *Journal of Family*  
520 *Violence*, 20(4), 235-239.
- 521 Flynn, C. P. (1999a). Animal abuse in childhood and later support for interpersonal violence in families.  
522 *Society & Animals: Journal of Human-Animal Studies*, 7(2), 161-172.  
523 doi:10.1163/156853099X00059
- 524 Flynn, C. P. (1999b). Exploring the link between corporal punishment and children's cruelty to animals.  
525 *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 61, 971-981.
- 526 Flynn, C. P. (2000). Why family professionals can no longer ignore violence toward animals. *Family*  
527 *Relations*, 49(1), 87-95.
- 528 Flynn, C. P. (2001). Acknowledging the " Zoological connection": A sociological analysis of animal  
529 cruelty. *Society and Animals*, 9(1), 71-87.
- 530 Gleyzer, R., Felthous, A. R., & Holzer, C. E. (2002). Animal cruelty and psychiatric disorders. *Journal of*  
531 *the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law Online*, 30(2), 257-265.

- 532 Gullone, E., & Robertson, N. (2008). The relationship between bullying and animal abuse behaviors in  
 533 adolescents: The importance of witnessing animal abuse. *Journal of Applied Developmental*  
 534 *Psychology, 29*(5), 371-379. doi:10.1016/j.appdev.2008.06.004
- 535 Hardt, J., & Rutter, M. (2004). Validity of adult retrospective reports of adverse childhood experiences:  
 536 review of the evidence. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 45*(2), 260-273.  
 537 doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2004.00218.x
- 538 Henry, B. C. (2004). The relationship between animal cruelty, delinquency, and attitudes toward the  
 539 treatment of animals. *Society and Animals, 12*(3), 185-207.
- 540 Henry, B. C., & Sanders, C. E. (2007). Bullying and animal abuse: is there a connection? *Society and*  
 541 *animals, 15*(2), 107-126.
- 542 Hensley, C., & Tallichet, S. E. (2005a). Animal cruelty motivations: assessing demographic and  
 543 situational influences. *J Interpers Violence, 20*(11), 1429-1443.  
 544 doi:10.1177/0886260505278714
- 545 Hensley, C., & Tallichet, S. E. (2005b). Learning to be cruel?: Exploring the onset and frequency of  
 546 animal cruelty. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 49*(1),  
 547 37-47.
- 548 Hensley, C., & Tallichet, S. E. (2008). The Effect of Inmates' Self-Reported Childhood and Adolescent  
 549 Animal Cruelty Motivations on the Number of Convictions for Adult Violent Interpersonal  
 550 Crimes. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 52*(2), 175-  
 551 184.
- 552 Hensley, C., & Tallichet, S. E. (2009). Childhood and adolescent animal cruelty methods and their  
 553 possible link to adult violent crimes. *Journal of interpersonal violence, 24*(1), 147-158.
- 554 Hensley, C., Tallichet, S. E., & Singer, S. D. (2006). Exploring the possible link between childhood and  
 555 adolescent bestiality and interpersonal violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 21*(7), 910-  
 556 923.
- 557 Herzog, H. A. (2007). Gender differences in human-animal interactions: A review. *Anthrozoos: A*  
 558 *Multidisciplinary Journal of The Interactions of People & Animals, 20*(1), 7-21.
- 559 Kellert, S. R., & Felthous, A. R. (1985). Childhood cruelty toward animals among criminals and  
 560 noncriminals. *Human Relations.*
- 561 Lea, S. G., & Stock, B. (2007). Animal Abuse: Hardening children's heart. *Proteus, 1*(1), 37-43.
- 562 Loeber, R., Farrington, D. P., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., & Van Kammen, W. B. (1998). *Antisocial behavior*  
 563 *and mental health problems: Explanatory factors in childhood and adolescence.*
- 564 Lucia, S., & Killias, M. (2011). Is animal cruelty a marker of interpersonal violence and delinquency?  
 565 Results of a Swiss National Self-Report study. *Psychology of Violence, 1*(2), 93.
- 566 Marsa-Sambola, F., Muldoon, J., Williams, J., Lawrence, A., Connor, M., & Currie, C. (2016). The Short  
 567 Attachment to Pets Scale (SAPS) for Children and Young People: Development, Psychometric  
 568 Qualities and Demographic and Health Associations. *Child Indicators Research, 9*(1), 111-131.  
 569 doi:10.1007/s12187-015-9303-9
- 570 McPhedran, S. (2009a). Animal Abuse, Family Violence, and Child Wellbeing: A Review. *Journal of*  
 571 *Family Violence, 24*(1), 41-52. doi:10.1007/s10896-008-9206-3
- 572 McPhedran, S. (2009b). A review of the evidence for associations between empathy, violence, and  
 573 animal cruelty. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 14*(1), 1-4. doi:10.1016/j.avb.2008.07.005
- 574 Miller, K. S., & Knutson, J. F. (1997). Reports of severe physical punishment and exposure to animal  
 575 cruelty by inmates convicted of felonies and by university students. *Child Abuse & Neglect,*  
 576 *21*(1), 59-82.
- 577 Murray, J. K., Browne, W. J., Roberts, M. A., Whitmarsh, A., & Gruffydd-Jones, T. J. (2010). Number  
 578 and ownership profiles of cats and dogs in the UK. *Vet Rec, 166*(6), 163-168.  
 579 doi:10.1136/vr.b4712
- 580 Pagani, C., Robustelli, F., & Ascione, F. R. (2010). Investigating animal abuse: Some theoretical and  
 581 methodological issues. *Anthrozoos: A Multidisciplinary Journal of The Interactions of People &*  
 582 *Animals, 23*(3), 259-276.

- 583 Paul, E. S. (2000). Empathy with animals and with humans: Are they linked? *Anthrozoos: A*  
584 *Multidisciplinary Journal of The Interactions of People & Animals*, 13(4), 194-202.
- 585 Simons, D. A., Wurtele, S. K., & Durham, R. L. (2008). Developmental experiences of child sexual  
586 abusers and rapists. *Child Abuse Negl*, 32(5), 549-560. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2007.03.027
- 587 Tallichet, S. E., & Hensley, C. (2004). Exploring the link between recurrent acts of childhood and  
588 adolescent animal cruelty and subsequent violent crime. *Criminal Justice Review*, 29(2), 304-  
589 316.
- 590 Tallichet, S. E., & Hensley, C. (2005). Rural and urban differences in the commission of animal cruelty.  
591 *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 49(6), 711-726.
- 592 Tallichet, S. E., & Hensley, C. (2009). The Social and Emotional Context of Childhood and Adolescent  
593 Animal Cruelty Is There a Link to Adult Interpersonal Crimes? *International Journal of Offender*  
594 *Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 53(5), 596-606.
- 595 Tallichet, S. E., Hensley, C., & Singer, S. D. (2005). Unraveling the methods of childhood and adolescent  
596 cruelty to nonhuman animals. *Society and Animals*, 13(2), 91-108.
- 597 Taylor, N., & Signal, T. D. (2005). Empathy and attitudes to animals. *Anthrozoos: A Multidisciplinary*  
598 *Journal of The Interactions of People & Animals*, 18(1), 18-27.

599

600

---

<sup>i</sup> Local authorities in Scotland encompass all school districts within the authority.