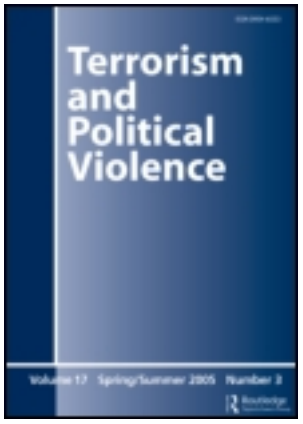

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Terrorist and Non-Terrorist Criminal Attacks by Radical Environmental and Animal Rights Groups in the United States, 1970-2007

Jennifer Varriale Carson [a], Gary LaFree [b] & Laura Dugan [b]

[a] Department of Criminal Justice, University of Central Missouri, Warrensburg, Missouri, USA

[b] Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA

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JENNIFER VARRIALE CARSON

Department of Criminal Justice, University of Central Missouri, Warrensburg, Missouri, USA

GARY LAFREE AND LAURA DUGAN

Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA

Despite concerns about the growing threat posed by domestic radical environmental and animal rights groups to the United States, there has been little systematic quantitative evidence depicting the characteristics of their attacks over time. In this paper we analyze data on 1,069 criminal incidents perpetrated by environmental and animal rights extremists from 1970 to 2007. Based on the Global Terrorism Database's definition of terrorism, we classified 17 percent of these incidents as terrorist. To supplement the analysis, we also conducted interviews with a non-random sample of twenty-five activists who self-identified as part of the environmental or animal rights movements. We find that overall, the attacks staged by radical environmental and animal rights groups thus far have been overwhelmingly aimed at causing property damage rather than injuring or killing humans. Further, results from our interviews suggest that activists appear to weigh carefully the costs and benefits of illegal protest. Despite the fact that attacks by environmental and animal rights groups have thus far been almost universally nonviolent, concerns linger in the future.

Keywords domestic terrorism, eco-terrorism, environmental and animal rights extremists, national security, radical environmentalism

Jennifer Varriale Carson is affiliated with the Department of Criminal Justice, University of Central Missouri. Gary LaFree is the director of the START Center, and is affiliated with the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Maryland. Laura Dugan is affiliated with the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Maryland.

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Address correspondence to Jennifer Varriale Carson, Department of Criminal Justice, University of Central Missouri, 301-C Humphreys, Warrensburg, MO 64093, USA. E-mail: jcarson@ucmo.edu

Despite substantial popular and policy interest in radical environmental and animal rights groups in the United States, few researchers have systematically examined the frequency and severity of attacks by these groups. This is surprising given the claims that members of such groups pose an important domestic terrorist threat to the security of the United States. For instance, John Lewis, the Deputy Assistant Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in 2005, stated that "one of today's most serious domestic terrorism threats come from special interest extremist movements such as the Animal Liberation Front, the Earth Liberation Front, and Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty campaign."[1] Similarly, FBI Director Robert Mueller has more recently noted that, "Animal rights extremism and eco-terrorism continue to pose a threat."[2]

In a survey conducted by Simone, Freilich, and Chermak in 2008, approximately 75% of U.S. state police agencies reported that radical environmental and animal rights groups exist in their state and pose a major security threat, second only to that of Islamic jihadists.[3] Further, in 2009 animal rights activist Daniel Andreas (who is suspected of two nonlethal bombings) was added to the FBI's Most Wanted Terrorists List.[4] Also in 2009, James Lee—who held hostages at the corporate headquarters of the Discovery Channel in Silver Spring, Maryland before being killed by the police—was described by some news outlets as an environmental militant.[5] Given the substantial interest generated by these events and the potential risk environmental and animal rights extremists pose to the security of the U.S., our main purpose in this paper is to analyze newly collected data to determine the extent and severity of the attacks that are attributed to these groups.

Scholars have also addressed the threat of radical environmental and animal rights groups, although much of this attention has focused on the appropriateness of terminology, particularly in regards to the use of the term "eco-terrorism."[6] Critics like Steven Vanderheiden and Randall Amster have argued that classifying these cases as terrorism is misleading because supporters of environmental and animal rights extremists do not seek to injure or kill humans.[7] Similarly, Donald Liddick argues that it is incorrect to characterize incidents perpetrated by environmental and animal rights groups as terrorism because the vast majority involve minor property damage and do not target people.[8] Vanderheiden prefers the term "ecotage," which he defines as "the economic sabotage of inanimate objects thought to be complicit in environmental destruction," and contends that conflating these acts with terrorism ignores an important moral distinction.[9] By contrast, Gary Perlstein claims that by not considering members of these groups as terrorists, we are erroneously treating them as pranksters and underestimating the true threat that they pose.[10]

Our understanding of the criminal activities perpetrated by environmental and animal rights extremists has thus far been limited because valid empirical data simply have not existed. Yet, the persistent claims of serious threat associated with these groups by federal law enforcement and certain researchers make it especially important that we empirically assess presumed hazards and how they might have evolved over time. John Wigle notes that collecting data on the characteristics surrounding incidents perpetrated by radical eco-groups is an important step to develop more effective policing measures and recommends that the effort should be "directed at gathering discrete date, time, and location characteristics of any data collected."[11]

In accordance with these suggestions, we have assembled an Eco-Incidents Database (EID) that includes criminal incidents perpetrated by members of radical

environmental and animal rights groups in the United States from 1970 to 2007. We include *illegal activity in the United States from 1970 through 2007 that was principally motivated to protest the destruction or degradation of the environment, the mistreatment of animals, or both.* The EID was first constructed by selecting the relevant terrorist cases from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), which defines terrorism as "the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence to attain a political, economic, religious or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation."[12] We then searched the open source literature for other sources of incidents for relevant non-terrorist criminal incidents, eventually supplementing the GTD with incidents from ten other open source databases on animal rights and environmental extremism. In all, we collected data on 1,069 criminal and terrorist incidents committed by individuals or members of radical eco-groups from the years 1970 through 2007. We describe the characteristics of these incidents and examine trends in the characteristics of attacks over time.

We complement the analysis of these data with a set of open-ended interviews with a nonrandom sample of animal rights and environmental activists in order to get a sense of how noncriminal members of the movement weighed the costs and benefits of engaging in illegal activities to support their activism. We are especially interested in the attitudes of these activists to threatened sanctions and to their evaluations of the costs and benefits of illegal activity in support of environmental and animal rights causes.

Environmental and Animal Rights Philosophies

Many ecological and animal rights activists adhere to the ideas of Arne Naess, a Norwegian philosopher, who referred to a strong support for protecting the natural environment as "deep ecology." The primary tenet of this philosophy is biocentrism, or the belief that everything in nature is of equal value. Consequently, biocentrism promotes the protection of not just living things, but also inanimate objects like rocks and rivers. Perhaps the most alarming aspect of deep ecology is what Sean Eagan refers to as restoration ecology, or the idea that we should roll back civilization and return to an earlier state that is wilder and more primitive.[13] The implied threat in such a philosophy is that the world might be a better place with a few billion less people.

Nonetheless, very few interpret the canons of deep ecology in this apocalyptic way. In fact, Naess himself was a follower of Gandhian principles that promoted nonviolent resistance. Overall, the philosophies of deep ecology and biocentrism directly promote a peaceful coexistence with nature and indirectly support legitimate avenues to obtain these goals. In practice, there is a divide in the environmental and animal rights movements between groups that promote such legitimate avenues (e.g., Greenpeace) and those that opt for more criminal, sometimes violent strategies (e.g., Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty). The movement known as "green anarchy" is typical of the more radical wing.

Green anarchy opposes modern industrialized development and practices, and contends that society was better off before the advent of industry and farming.[14] Often linked to the green anarchy philosophy is an anti-capitalism sentiment that justifies more radical strategies, including the destruction of property. The Anti-Defamation League cites a letter published in the newsletter *Green Anarchy*, that reads, "When someone picks up a bomb instead of a pen, is when my spirits really soar."[15] As Gary Ackerman notes, this broader focus encourages green anarchists

to act outside the legal system and discourages adherents from compromising on fundamental beliefs and goals.[16]

However, Taylor cautions that green anarchy should be considered a distinct ideology from what groups like Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) subscribe to as the former focuses more on the battle against industrial civilization; thus, there are clear intellectual boundaries between the environmental, animal rights, and anarchist ideologies.[17] In response, Ackerman argues, "there are several indicators of relational bridges between these movements across which fragments of ideology, tactics, and occasionally cooperation can flow . . . so while these groups may not constitute a single entity, they are at the very least close cousins."[18] These complex characteristics are well represented by three of the most important and best known extremist environmental and animal rights groups: ALF, ELF, and Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC).

ALF, ELF, and SHAC

Eagan argues that there are three main elements that all environmental and animal rights groups share: an uncompromising position, status as a grass roots organization (without any clear chain of command or any pay/benefits), and resources directed toward direct action rather than aimed at lobbying and nonviolent protest.[19] ALF, ELF, and SHAC all share these characteristics. While all three originated in Great Britain, the nature of their origins differs. ALF splintered from the less radical Hunt Saboteurs Association (HSA) in 1976. ELF was established in 1992 by former Earth First! members. Both organizations were created in response to a more militant movement embracing criminal strategies. SHAC was formed in 1998 after a documentary aired about the research organization Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS), demonstrating the mistreatment of animals under its supervision.

ALF's primary objective is "to effectively allocate resources (time and money) to end the 'property status' of nonhuman animals" (Animal Liberation Front, under "ALF Mission Statement").[20] ALF is influenced by a number of theorists, most notably Peter Singer and his work advocating for the equality of animals.[21] ALF encourages direct action in order to accomplish this mission, primarily through rescuing animals and/or damaging the property of individuals and companies whom they perceive to be animal exploiters.

ELF, which has very similar ideals to ALF, also promotes the destruction of the assets of those who, in the judgment of ELF members, threaten the environment.[22] However, as Ackerman notes, radical environmentalists like ELF are more broadly focused on the entire ecosystem, while animal rights extremists are concerned more narrowly with sentient beings.[23] ELF publicizes acts of environmental destruction through various tactics. Perhaps most influential to the development and strategies of ELF is Edward Abbey, whose 1985 book on "monkeywrenching"[24] has become a symbolic guidebook to environmental and animal rights extremists through its description of four individuals who sabotaged a number of sites in the southwestern United States. The primary difference between Earth First! and ELF is that the latter focuses more than the former on direct action.

Although created in Great Britain around 1999, SHAC only became criminally active in the U.S. in 2001 and scaled up its efforts after Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS) moved its headquarters to New Jersey in 2002. SHAC has targeted businesses or organizations that support HLS, including Stephens Incorporated, one of their

main financial backers. After a series of protests including some posted on a website titled "StephensKills," the financial organization sold its shares of HLS. The protests, along with two bombings of HLS facilities in California, were perceived by many SHAC members as major victories. SHAC has continued to use extremely aggressive tactics including death threats and harassment directed toward people connected to Huntingdon Life Sciences and its business partners.[25] However, the U.S. contingent of this group will likely be limited by the recent conviction of six of its prominent members.[26]

All three of these organizations lack a true hierarchical structure, operating as individuals or clusters of individuals who work separately, without one central leader.[27] This "leaderless resistance" or "lone wolf" strategy allows members of these groups to maintain a certain amount of anonymity, enhancing their chances of avoiding detection; this has become a clear and deliberate tactic for this movement. Ackerman argues that their cell-like structure explains why relatively few members have been arrested and convicted.[28] Further, perpetrators who operate through autonomous cells are less constrained by geographic boundaries and are very difficult to infiltrate and subvert. This structure allows activists to become members of the movement simply by carrying out uncoordinated illegal actions on the movement's behalf. Moreover, this lack of a hierarchical organization provides little opportunity for a central administration to reduce the impact of more extreme cell members.

Background to the Current Study

Overall, there has been little empirical work that systematically documents the illegal activities of environmental and animal rights extremists. Despite the energetic academic debate on how to conceptualize these acts and the important qualitative case studies detailing a primarily nonviolent movement,[29] little effort thus far has been made to quantify the assumptions upon which many of these opinions are based. An important exception is a joint report published in 1993 by the Departments of Justice and Agriculture that descriptively assesses the criminal activities of groups that targeted animal enterprises from 1977 to June 30, 1993.[30] This report, while limited in scope, drew important conclusions, such as, "the high incidence of minor vandalism suggests that most extremist animal rights-related acts continue to be small scale and fairly haphazard"[31] and a more cautionary statement concluding that, "extremists associated with the animal rights cause demonstrated an increased willingness to engage in more militant and costly activities."[32] The authors cite a total of 313 incidents committed primarily by ALF-affiliated entities, with a peak of activity in 1987.

Another empirical assessment of this type of criminal activity was made in a 2008 report by the Department of Homeland Security, which expands the scope from that of the 1993 report to cover acts motivated by both environmental and animal rights ideologies from 1981 to 2005.[33] The authors note that "ecoterrorists have perpetrated more illegal acts commonly associated with terrorism on U.S. soil than any other known group"[34] and that "the economic cost of these acts exceeds $100 million dollars and is likely to grow in the future."[35] The report documents the majority of attacks as vandalism (45 percent) and cites a peak in activity causing more than 10,000 dollars of damage at the end of their collection effort (2003–2005).

While these research contributions are vital to accurately assess the threat of the environmental and animal rights extremist movement, each has limitations that raise

concern about the strength of their conclusions. Both reports are vague on their sources, which makes it difficult to ascertain the reliability of the data. The 1993 report cites interviews with targeted companies and with law enforcement, while the 2008 report lists its sources as communiqués, media reports, and law enforcement, without offering more specificity. Further, both reports are limited in their scope; the 1993 report only includes acts against animal enterprises, while the 2008 report only focuses on incidents after 1981. Our main goal in this project is to respond to these limitations by presenting an empirical database that includes both terrorist and non-terrorist criminal acts by radical and environmental organizations and individuals in the United States since 1970. As noted, we include any illegal activity in the U.S. from 1970 through 2007 that was principally motivated to protest the destruction or degradation of the environment, the mistreatment of animals, or both.

Data and Methods

We began this analysis by compiling a comprehensive set of data that documents incidents by radical environmental and animal rights groups. Sources used to compile the Eco-Incidents Database (EID) are shown in Table 1. Construction of the EID began by extracting relevant cases from two primary sources: (a) the Foundation for Biomedical Research for criminal cases and (b) the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) for all terrorism cases. Below we describe these sources in detail and explain the process that was used to extract and assess incidents for inclusion. As a guide, we sought to include all illegal activity whose main motivation was related to the environment, animal rights, or both concerns, occurring in the United States between 1970 and 2007. We used the GTD definition to determine whether individual cases should also be classified as terrorist attacks.[36]

Table 1. Eco-incidents database

Source	Years	Number of U.S. incidents
Foundation for Biomedical Research	1981–2007	474
Global Terrorism Database	1970–2007	187
National Alliance for Animals	1983–2007	479
Fur Commission	1980–2007	271
Arnold (1997)	1958–1996	215
Department of Homeland Security Report (2008)	1984–2007	156
Hewitt (2005)	1984–2004	119
Leader and Probst (2003)	1996–2001	100
Southern Poverty Law Center	1984–2002	97
Seattle Post-Intelligencer (2001)	1996–2001	49
Anti-Defamation League	2004–2007	38
Department of Agriculture/Department of Justice Report (1993)	1984–1992	21

Foundation for Biomedical Research Chronology

As shown in Table 1, we included nearly 500 cases from the Foundation for Biomedical Research (FBR). The FBR has collected information on terrorist and criminal activities conducted by members of radical eco-groups in the United States since 1981. The data are publicly available on the FBR website[37] and are compiled primarily through U.S. media sources, which the foundation checks regularly for incidents perpetrated in the name of environmental or animal rights groups. The FBR data also includes information from group communiqués. We verified all incidents from the FBR using open sources and recoded the cases to comply with GTD coding. In order to avoid duplicate cases, we compared the major characteristics of each case (especially date, location, and perpetrator) with those in the GTD and removed cases found in both.

Global Terrorism Database

The Global Terrorism Database (GTD) is currently the most comprehensive unclassified open-source database that includes both domestic and international terrorist attacks. As noted above, terrorism in the GTD is defined as "the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence to attain a political, economic, religious or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation."[38] The GTD records information on over 80,000 domestic and international incidents for the years 1970 to 2007. We identified potential cases from the GTD by first including cases attributed to relevant groups, such as ELF and ALF, and then searching comments and summary fields in the database for key terms (e.g., animal, ecology, earth, and environment) for those attacks not attached to a group (about 23 percent). These procedures resulted in 187 relevant GTD attacks from 1970 to 2007.

Supplemental Sources

After we assembled a set of incidents from the FBR and the GTD, the most comprehensive and reliable data sources available on this phenomenon, we next examined the ten additional data sets listed in Table 1. Each supplemental source has a somewhat different purpose and format for their data, but were all used to fill in any possible gaps from the first two sources. The National Animal Interest Alliance[39] and the Fur Commission[40] post chronologies on their websites. The former organization promotes animal welfare as opposed to animal rights, with a focus on the legal protection of animals. The Fur Commission is intrinsically more biased, serving as an important lobby for mink farms. Ron Arnold's 1997 book includes over 200 additional events and comes from a perspective aimed at preventing the attacks of radical environmental and animal rights groups.[41] Given the biases of these and other sources, we were careful to check for secondary sources, but acknowledge that not all cases were available in the news media.[42] However, it is safe to say that most of the cases missing from our database are likely to be relatively minor criminal offenses. Table 1 shows the total number of cases added to the EID from each source.

The 2008 Department of Homeland Security Report listed 156 cases.[43] Christopher Hewitt's 2003 book, an important academic contribution to chronicling acts of terrorism and political violence, documents 119 eco-related events.[44] Data

were also extrapolated from Leader and Probst's 2005 article[45] and from the Southern Poverty Law Center, a nonprofit organization primarily focused on civil rights education and activism. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* chronology is from an article published in 2001.[46] Finally, the Anti-Defamation League,[47] a nonprofit organization also concerned with racism and anti-Semitism in particular, and the 1993 Department of Agriculture/Department of Justice report[48] contributed a handful of incidents. In the end, we checked over 2,200 incidents from twelve sources for inclusion in the EID resulting in 1,069 unique incidents after removing duplicates (based on fields like date, perpetrator, and incident summary).

Interview Data

In order to get a sense of how environmental and animal rights activists felt about criminal attacks made on behalf of their movements, we also conducted twenty-five interviews in a large northeastern city. Our only criterion for selection was that interviewees had participated in some type of environmental or animal rights motivated activism (e.g., lobbying, demonstrations, and protests). The activists were initially recruited from meet-up.com (an online resource utilized by environmental and animal activist groups, among others) and through related organizational websites. From there, a snowball sample was used to recruit additional activists. We asked the first set of informants to recommend other informants and continued this process with new recruits until the final set of interviews was obtained (determined once saturation of responses occurred). Finding an initial informant was difficult as many activists were concerned that by describing their participation even in legal environmental and animal rights activity they would be vulnerable to adverse consequences.[49] Despite this, 92 percent of those who replied to our initial requests for interviews followed through by completing them.

We followed Andrea Fontana and James Frey's (1994) suggestions for gaining access and trust by using language that projects a sense of understanding through presentation (e.g., dressing causally, knowing the vernacular of the movement) and by establishing rapport.[50] However, the extremist fringe of the environmental and animal rights movement remains a difficult group in which to gain entry. Consequently, we acknowledge that the conclusions drawn from this nonrandom sample cannot be generalized either to the movement as a whole or to its more extreme elements. Nevertheless, 8 of the 25 participants we interviewed (32 percent) admitted to having a criminal record associated with their participation in movement activities. Most of these offenses were relatively minor misdemeanors such as trespassing, although one participant was arrested for larceny.

In general, while the sample was fairly balanced across movements and by gender, it was predominately young (mostly between the ages of 18–25, but as old as 65), highly educated (nearly all respondents were in college or held a bachelor's degree), and white. About 60 percent of the sample was affiliated with mainstream environmental or animal rights organizations,[51] while the others participated in activities, but were not formally attached to a specific group. Without information on the demographics of the movements as a whole, we are unable to draw conclusions about the nature of the selection bias within this sample.

We conducted face-to-face semi-structured interviews that encouraged discussion. The introductory questions were based on Donald Liddick's questionnaire[52] (see Appendix 1 for the introductory questions). The remaining questions were

designed to be general enough to encourage discussion, leaving room for follow-up or clarifying questions. All interviews were taped and transcribed for analysis.

Results

Figure 1 shows total attacks by environmental and animal rights groups in the United States from 1970 to 2007. We see that during the 1970s, incidents were relatively rare; they began to increase in the early 1980s, reaching a peak of 39 incidents in 1989. After a slight decline in 1989, incidents began to increase again in the early 1990s, reaching over 50 incidents for the first time in 1997, over 90 in 2000, and finally peaking in 2001 with 159 events. Thus, from 1991 to 2001, total incidents increased by 90 percent. After the peak in 2001, the number of incidents witnessed an aggregate drop of 79 percent through 2007.

In general, the results suggest an exponential increase in incidents from 1970 to 2001 and substantial declines thereafter. However, we should hasten to add that our coverage of events in the 1970s was likely not as extensive as it was after 1980. Of the twelve databases used to construct the EID, only two (GTD and Arnold's) included events prior to 1980. While we tried to identify missing cases from this period, it is undoubtedly the case that some of these incidents, particularly those that were less serious, were not recorded in the archives and databases we consulted. However, we expect that the cases that we missed from this time period are relatively minor compared to those representing the 1970s in the EID.

Thus, even with missing cases, these data suggest that the alarm raised by federal and state law enforcement may have been over-stated. Only one incident out of more than 1,000 resulted in a death. On February 8, 1990, Dr. Hyram Kitchen, the Dean of the Veterinary School of the University of Tennessee, was shot and killed in his driveway. While nobody has claimed responsibility, one month before this incident animal rights groups made several threats to kill one veterinary dean per month for 12 months. The homicide drew nationwide publicity as police issued an alert to all university officials after the attack. Despite the apparent link between the action described in the threats and the murder, without clear evidence federal law enforcement are reluctant to conclude that a radical animal rights group was responsible for the murder.

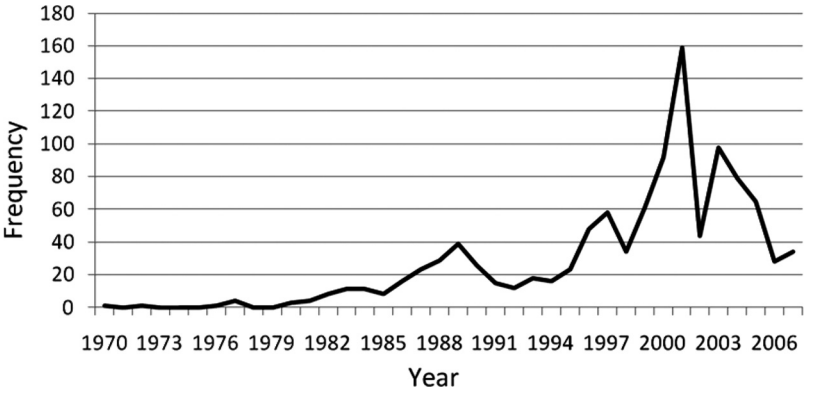

Figure 1. Total incidents perpetrated by radical environmental and animal rights groups, 1970–2007.

While these groups rarely kill, they also seek to avoid injury to people in other ways. Thus, not only are fatalities rare but so too are events by environmental and animal right extremists that cause any injury. In total, only ten incidents resulted in any injury, and nine of those resulted in only one person injured. The most noteworthy of these incidents occurred on May 8, 1987, when George Alexander, a logger, was severely injured by a tree-spike. In fact, this event was the impetus for the tree-spiking clause added to the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988. Judy Bari, who went on to be a prominent leader of Earth First!, noted in the *Albion Monitor* that, "When George Alexander was nearly decapitated working a shift at the Cloverdale mill, I was just getting interested in Earth First! and it kind of backed me off, because of this tree-spiking thing."[53] Bari was later behind a larger nonviolent movement that publicly denounced tree-spiking as a tactic through a partnership with loggers.

Despite this tendency to avoid harm, about 17 percent of the events in the EID are considered to be terrorism based on the GTD's definition. The key distinction between non-terrorist criminal incidents and terrorist attacks is that the latter include violence against property that leads to permanent damage. Thus, the terrorist attacks in the EID included everything from the destruction of power lines to the setting of an animal-testing facility on fire. Most of the events classified as terrorism in the EID took the form of a facility or infrastructure attacks (78 percent), where the target was primarily businesses (69 percent). This description of the terrorist attacks in the EID demonstrates why radical eco-groups are rarely associated with traditional conceptualizations of violence. Members of these groups in the United States principally turn to tactics that damage the physical structure of targeted businesses rather than harming the people working for such businesses.

As Tables 2 and 3 demonstrate, neither attack type nor target type varies considerably by ideology, especially in regards to the preferred method of facility attack against a business. Types of these incidents include the release of two dolphins from the University of Hawaii in 1977 and a fire that was set to the veterinary medicine research building at the University of California-Davis in 1987. However, the majority of armed assaults (63 percent) are environmentally-motivated incidents.

Table 2. Movement type by attack type

	Animal $n = 600$	Environment $n = 391$	Both $n = 28$	Unknown $n = 49$	Total $n = 1069$
Assassination	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00
	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.28
Armed assault	15.00	28.00	0.00	1.00	44.00
	2.50	7.16	0.00	2.00	4.12
Bombing/explosion	29.00	18.00	0.00	8.00	55.00
	4.83	4.16	0.00	16.00	5.14
Facility attack	531.00	337.00	26.00	39.00	933.00
	88.50	86.19	92.86	78.00	87.28
Unarmed assault	19.00	7.00	2.00	2.00	30.00
	3.17	1.79	7.14	4.00	2.81
Unknown	3.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	4.00
	0.50	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.37

Table 3. Target type by movement type

	Animal $n = 600$	Environment $n = 391$	Both $n = 28$	Unknown $n = 50$	Total $n = 1069$
Business	431.00	308.00	16.00	22.00	777.00
	71.83	78.77	57.14	44.00	72.68
Government	19.00	23.00	6.00	6.00	54.00
	3.17	5.88	21.43	12.00	5.05
Police	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	3.00
	0.00	0.51	0.00	2.00	0.28
Airport/airlines	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	0.00	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.09
Diplomatic	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	0.17	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.19
Educational institution	78.00	15.00	2.00	6.00	101.00
	13.00	3.84	7.14	12.00	9.45
Food/water supply	3.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	7.00
	0.50	1.02	0.00	0.00	0.65
Media	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	0.00	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.09
Maritime	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	0.17	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.19
NGO	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00
	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.28
Private citizens	43.00	20.00	1.00	8.00	72.00
	7.17	5.12	3.57	16.00	6.74
Telecommunication	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	0.17	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.19
Transportation	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	0.00	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.09
Utilities	1.00	10.00	1.00	2.00	14.00
	0.17	2.56	3.57	4.00	1.31
Unknown	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.09
Other	18.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	28.00
	13.00	0.77	7.14	10.00	2.62

Unarmed assaults are typically the work of radical animal rights groups, as are the bulk of educational institution attacks.

In Figure 2, we present the trend in total incidents partitioned by non-terrorist criminal incidents and terrorist attacks, demonstrating that the two trends are clearly related ($r = 0.85$, $p = .00$). However, criminal events are much more common than terrorist attacks, occurring more than three times as often. Figure 2 shows that criminal events increased throughout the 1980s, peaking at 32 events in 1989. They then rapidly increase in the mid to late 1990s, reaching a series peak of 128 events in 2001, and then fall off dramatically. The majority of these types of incidents take the form of small acts of vandalism or animal releases.

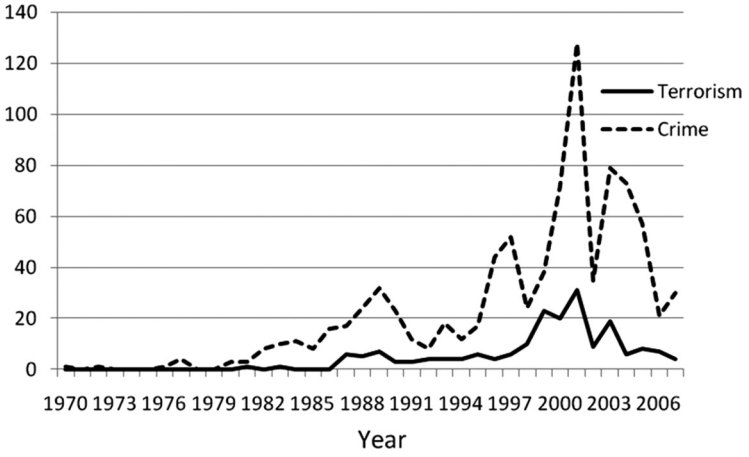

Figure 2. Terrorist attacks and non-terrorist crime perpetrated by radical environmental and animal rights groups, 1970–2007.

According to Figure 2, environmental and animal rights terrorist attacks increased throughout the 1980s and 1990s, reaching a series peak of 31 attacks in 2001. Some key examples of attacks in that year were the torching of 11 homes under construction in the Phoenix area and the arson of offices belonging to a tree research project, causing an estimated 5.4 million dollars in damages. Following the peak in 2001, environmental and animal rights terrorist attacks drop and then peak again in 2003, with an overall dramatic decrease to only 4 attacks in 2007.

In Figure 3, we track total environmental and animal rights cases (both terrorist and criminal) that targeted specific people; a minority of cases (about 19 percent of total attacks). Included here are events where the offenders glued the locks and smashed the windows of a researcher in Utah, damaged an Oregon primate researcher's car, and threatened to bomb a UCLA researcher's home. Beginning in the mid-1990s, the frequency of radical environmental and animal rights attacks that targeted people increased steadily before reaching a high point in 2005. It then fell

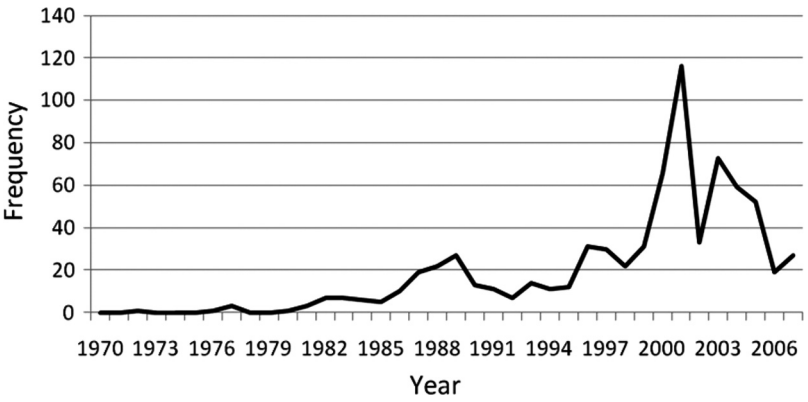

Figure 3. Incidents perpetrated by radical environmental and animal rights groups that target people, 1970–2007.

Table 4. Whether people are targeted by crime type

	Non-terrorist crime $n = 882$	Terrorism $n = 187$	Total $n = 1069$
Person targeted	176.00	27.00	203.00
	19.95	14.44	18.99
Other target type	706.00	160.00	866.00
	80.05	85.56	81.01

off by about 58 percent to the end of the series in 2007. These results suggest that over time, a larger proportion of radical eco-cases are targeting people. In fact, during the 2005 peak, almost half of the incidents targeted people as opposed to 8.6 percent during the 1997 peak.

Table 4 shows incidents that target people disaggregated by crime type. Interestingly, most of the incidents, regardless of crime type, target something other than a specific person. Criminal incidents are slightly more likely to target people than terrorist incidents (19.9 percent versus 14.4 percent, $p = .00$). Examples of criminal events that target specific people include the stealing and misuse of credit cards, the spray painting of slogans, and even the throwing of tofu pies in the faces of various targets that groups felt were responsible for either the destruction of the environment or the harming of animals. However, there have also been more serious terrorist attacks targeting people, including the 1988 thwarted bombing originally intended for U.S. Surgical's President, Leon Hirsch.

In Table 5, we compare the type of movement to whether persons were targeted in the attacks. In general, a minority of attacks specifically target people (18.9 percent). However, compared to environmental extremists, radical animal rights groups are more than five times more likely to target people (26.3 percent versus 5.4 percent, $p = .00$). These types of events include threatening and throwing rocks at an animal researcher in Massachusetts, harassing McDonald's customers and employees in Virginia, and burning an effigy of a University of California professor outside his home.

In Figure 4 we show trends for all incidents perpetrated by radical environmental and animal rights groups that involve property damage, a variable determined by whether any physical destruction resulted from the incident. In general, the property damage trends look similar to the overall trends described above. We see general

Table 5. Whether people are targeted by movement type

	Animal $n = 600$	Environment $n = 391$	Both $n = 28$	Unknown $n = 50$	Total $n = 1069$
Person targeted	158.00	21.00	3.00	21.00	203.00
	26.33	5.37	10.71	42.00	18.99
Other target type	442.00	370.00	25.00	29.00	866.00
	73.67	94.63	89.29	58.00	81.01

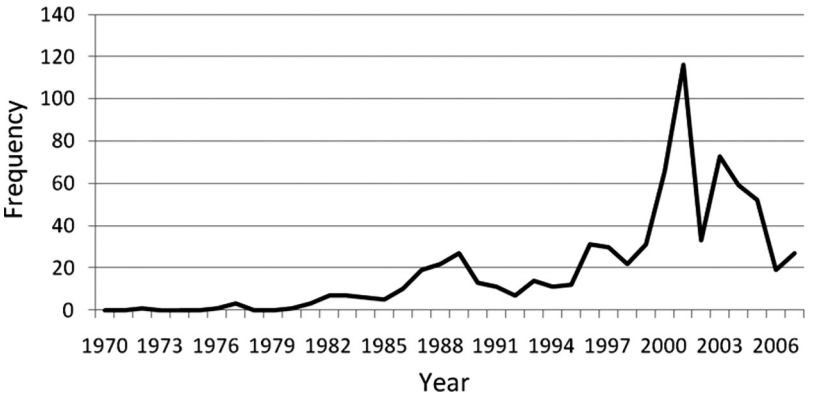

Figure 4. Incidents perpetrated by radical environmental and animal rights groups that involve property damage, 1970–2007.

increases throughout the 1980s, with a steep rise peaking at 116 incidents in 2001 and decreasing thereafter.

In Table 6 we show the percentage of cases involving property damage for the terrorist and non-terrorist cases, demonstrating that a majority of both types resulted in damage (79.1 versus 67 percent respectively). Not surprising given our definition of terrorism, compared to criminal incidents, these attacks more often involve damage. More than 69 percent of events in the EID involved some sort of damage, although the extent of this damage is not reliably recorded. Only 23 percent of the incidents involving damage listed a specific monetary amount. Of the incidents where a damage amount was given, the average loss was $814,993 with a total of over $194 million. The EID incident associated with the most damage is the ELF arson of a condominium complex in San Diego, resulting in an estimated loss of $50 million. Events like this one may explain why so much attention has been paid to these groups by federal and local law enforcement; that is, while these extremists appear not to be a major violent threat, in some cases they have been responsible for major property damage. Most often, incidents that did not involve damage but were considered terrorism were attacks that targeted people, like the aforementioned killing of Dean Kitchen.

In Table 7 we show total property damage by type of movement. The majority (62.5 percent) of animal rights events caused damage. Nevertheless, a greater percentage of environmentally-motivated incidents involved damage—nearly 80 percent. Notable animal rights-related damage incidents include the 1.5 million destruction of a National Food Corporation's egg farm in Virginia and the break-in

Table 6. Property damage by crime type

	Non-terrorist crime $n = 882$	Terrorism $n = 187$	Total $n = 1069$
Damage	591.00	148.00	739.00
	67.01	79.14	69.13
No damage	291.00	39.00	330.00
	32.99	20.86	30.87

Table 7. Property damage by movement type

	Animal $n = 600$	Environment $n = 391$	Both $n = 28$	Unknown $n = 50$	Total $n = 1069$
Damage	379.00	311.00	20.00	29.00	739.00
	63.17	79.54	71.43	58.00	69.13
No damage	221.00	80.00	8.00	21.00	330.00
	36.83	20.46	28.57	42.00	30.87

and stealing of several animals from two research labs at the University of Minnesota causing an estimated 2 million dollars in damage. However, the most significant of damage incidents is that of the aforementioned environmentally-motivated attack on a San Diego condominium complex.

In Figure 5 we contrast trends for environmental and animal rights incidents. The overall patterns are related, as indicated by the correlation between the two ($r = 0.66$; $p = .00$). Trends for environmental and animal rights incidents followed each other fairly closely until the mid-1990s. Total environmental cases rose steeply in 1997, reaching a series peak of 102 incidents in 2001. Driving this peak are several incidents that involve significant destruction to construction sites like the smashing of several windows of a PNC bank in Louisville, Kentucky resulting in an estimated $800,000 in damages. Animal rights incidents remain at relatively high levels from 1996 through 2005 and then fall off steeply in 2006. Popular tactics during this time period range from releasing animals to setting fire to various targets, including one attack that completely destroyed a McDonald's restaurant in Utah.

In Table 8 we show the types of weapons used in these crimes by whether they were designated as terrorist or non-terrorist. In general, there was relatively little evidence of weapons use in these cases; only around 22 percent of the cases are associated with a weapon. The majority of terrorist attacks involved an incendiary (26.7 percent). However, the other popular weapon of choice was the sabotaging of equipment (for example, the pouring of sugar in a gas tank of a bulldozer), which

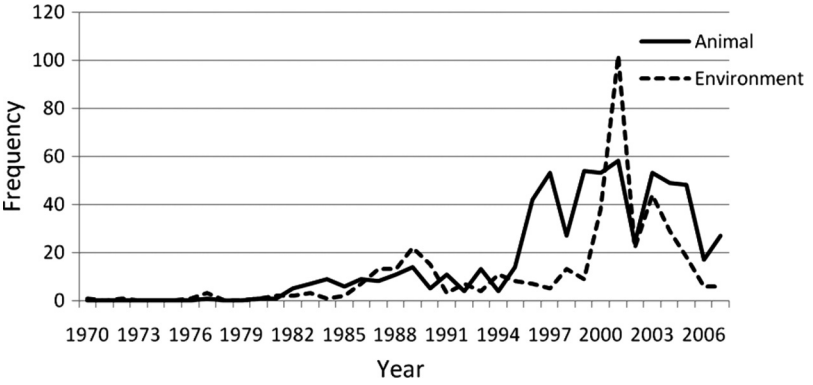

Figure 5. Incidents perpetrated by radical environmental and animal rights groups by ideology, 1997–2007.

Table 8. Weapon type by crime type

	Non-terrorist crime $n = 882$	Terrorism $n = 187$	Total $n = 1069$
Biological/chemical	10.00	3.00	13.00
	1.13	1.60	1.22
Firearms	4.00	0.00	4.00
	0.45	0.00	0.37
Explosives/bombs/dynamite	17.00	13.00	30.00
	1.93	6.95	2.81
Fake weapons	7.00	2.00	9.00
	0.79	1.07	0.84
Incendiary	23.00	50.00	73.00
	2.61	26.74	6.83
Melee	4.00	14.00	18.00
	0.45	7.49	1.68
Sabotage equipment	60.00	6.00	66.00
	6.80	3.21	6.17
Other	14.00	0.00	14.00
	1.59	0.00	1.31
Unknown	4.00	4.00	8.00
	0.40	2.14	0.70
No weapon	739.00	95.00	834.00
	83.79	50.80	78.02

constituted 6.8 percent of non-terrorist criminal incidents. Thirteen attacks involved the use of a biological or chemical weapon. The most serious of these incidents, and the ones most often classified by the GTD as terrorist, involved the pouring of various acids (including muriatic and sulfuric) on researcher's equipment.

In Table 9 we show weapon type by movement. Overall, radical animal rights groups are less likely to use weapons than their environmental counterparts (82.8 percent versus 72.1 percent of incidents respectively did not involve a weapon). When weapons are used, radical environmental groups seem to differentially prefer the sabotaging of equipment (15.3 percent of their incidents), while their animal rights counterparts favor incendiaries (5.8 percent of their events). A weapon unique to radical environmental groups, the use of tree-spikes, was primarily utilized after the Alexander incident, despite the aforementioned renunciation by Bari and others.

Discussion

Perhaps the single most striking conclusion from our descriptive analysis of the EID is that thus far, environmental and animal rights terrorist attacks and crimes in the United States have been aimed overwhelmingly at property damage rather than causing injury or death to humans. Over time, the total number of terrorist and criminal incidents perpetrated by environmental and animal rights groups has

Table 9. Weapon type by movement type

	Animal $n=600$	Environment $n=391$	Both $n=28$	Unknown $n=50$	Total $n=1069$
Biological/chemical	10.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	13.00
	1.67	0.51	0.00	2.00	1.22
Firearms	3.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	4.00
	0.50	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.37
Explosives/bombs/dynamite	17.00	8.00	0.00	5.00	30.00
	2.83	2.05	0.00	10.00	2.81
Fake weapons	6.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	9.00
	1.00	0.26	0.00	4.00	0.84
Incendiary	35.00	29.00	2.00	7.00	73.00
	5.83	7.42	7.14	14.00	6.83
Melee	16.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	18.00
	2.67	0.51	0.00	0.00	1.68
Sabotage equipment	4.00	60.00	0.00	2.00	66.00
	0.67	15.35	0.00	4.00	6.17
Other	10.00	3.00	1.00	0.00	14.00
	1.67	0.77	3.57	0.00	1.31
Unknown	2.00	3.00	0.00	3.00	8.00
	0.33	0.77	0.00	0.06	0.75
No weapon	497.00	282.00	25.00	30.00	834.00
	82.83	72.12	89.29	60.00	78.02

increased substantially, especially since the late 1970s. However, the steady decrease in total and disaggregated incidents from various peaks in the early part of this century, save those that target people, suggests that attack levels have been declining in recent years.

Despite the argument that there is considerable overlap between radical environmental and animal rights groups,[54] our data suggest important differences in the characteristics of the attacks attributed to these two groups. Incidents perpetrated in the name of animal rights are more likely to target people. While environmental extremists are marginally more likely to use a weapon, in general their choices (e.g., sabotaging equipment) have less potential for lethality, but are more likely to cause property damage than the weapons choices of animal rights groups. However, as with the aggregate trends, events motivated by both ideologies have recently decreased.

In order to gain some understanding about what has motivated these aggregate patterns and to see whether activists were sensitive to considerations regarding traditional sanctions, we questioned activists about their motivations. When asked whether they would participate in illegal behavior, many respondents expressed concern about the law, and several activists said that they would refrain from illegal actions. In the case of many of our subjects, being arrested was a cost that outweighed any benefits that could possibly be achieved from illegal conduct (e.g., an ecosystem is not developed [benefit] because someone pours sugar in the gas tank

of a bulldozer [illegal act], but is arrested [cost]). When asked about federal legislation like the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act of 2006, two participants responded:

> I value my freedom too much. I am concerned about legal sanctions. (Participant 008)

> I'm sure that's affected me in a lot of ways. I'm not sure that piece of legislation, but laws. (Participant 013)

In fact, certain activists talked about avoiding those who would risk incarceration to get a point across:

> If someone is radical we like to distance ourselves from that. (Organization withheld) members wear going to jail as a badge of honor. But none of us want to go to jail. (Participant 001)

Many participants also explained that legal sanctions could adversely affect their future. In other words, they were deterred beyond the immediate consequence of getting arrested or going to jail. Perceived future costs include the effect of having a criminal record on future opportunities and in their verbal accounts, those costs outweighed any benefits to illegal activity:

> It just never has been an option for me (getting arrested). It would produce an inability for me to get a job . . . affect things further down the line. I don't like fur, but I'm never going to chain myself to a fur companies' door. (Participant 001)

> [Acts of vandalism] would probably be on your record and I would be in trouble with my parents. You might not be able to get certain types of jobs if they saw that you were arrested. (Participant 003)

> I just don't want to protest and risk arrest, because that may mean risking medical school. I have to take my future into consideration. (Participant 006)

> The only reason I would really be scared of an action against me would be that it might prevent me from things later in life like applying to a job (Participant 011).

The activists in our sample often said that there were other legitimate avenues to achieving their goals and that illegal activity was often unnecessary. Several respondents noted that the benefits of noncriminal activity outweighed its criminal counterpart in many situations—even those situations that seemed hopeless or at times, insensitive to legal dissent:

> Lobbying makes an impression and our leaders realize that issues might not affect us now, but in the future. In law we can counter. Ultimately, the voice and education of the youth can change minds. (Participant 006)

> Sometimes it [lobbying, petitioning] feels ineffective, but we have to do it. It will help make things better now. It is successful when you talk to people in a respectful, knowledgeable way and present them with what you know and feel about over an issue. (Participant 008)

> I do not believe in bombing everybody. I do not believe in going out and doing all of these really radical, violent things. We get little bits and pieces of what we want [from lobbying]; it is the most effective [activity] that I participate in. (Participant 012)

Interestingly, some activists also said that they would not do anything illegal themselves, but in a way, admired those that did:

> Sometimes I think that what they [radical animal rights groups] are doing is sort of good; they throw paint on ships and do other things to try to get the whales to go away. As long as they aren't doing anything to harm or [anything] super illegal then I guess they are okay. (Participant 003)

> And to me, I almost commend the activists because they're standing up for what they believe in, even though it's criminal. Maybe that goes against what I said earlier, but they are standing up for what they believe in. (Participant 015)

In summary, it appears that legal sanctions are an important consideration for the environmental and animal rights activists in this sample when they decide whether to engage in illegal activity. Both sanctions from such laws and the expected penalties associated with them (especially regarding future employment) were costs that outweighed any benefits of criminal activity. In fact, many activists anticipated that sanctions would affect their future in a negative way and consequently were deterred. Participants also spoke to the benefits that could be achieved from noncriminal actions; for example, lobbying was often cited as an effective way to get problems solved.

Many activists also verbalized similar themes to those that are described in previous research publications[55] regarding the role that especially brutal incidents played in the decline of related terrorism—specifically, the idea that a major criminal act, and especially a major terrorist act, could delegitimize the movement and be counterproductive to its goals. Being associated with highly destructive or violent acts was perceived as a cost that far outweighed any benefit achieved from illegal conduct:

> I remember when I started organizing this, a lot of students were like "We should camp out there, we should build a tree house, we should get a lot of people, we should raise hell." And we had to step back and be like I don't think that is going to work. I think that is going to embarrass us and we could actually be penalized for that and I think we would take the risk of looking stupid and not looking strategic, not like we thought this out. (Participant 004)

> Violence is too extreme; it really does threaten any hope to have a trustful relationship and to come to a common ground on something. (Participant 005)

> Threatening someone is not going to make them more conscious. It is going to make it appear like you are crazy. (Participant 006)

> We are not going to work against the cause; it is not strategic. (Participant 007)

> I feel like it (force) discredits the movement as a whole. I believe that in order to be effective there has to be education and diplomacy. (Participant 009)

> I haven't really gotten much of a feel of how environmental terrorism has really helped the cause. It just seems like they have been hurting the cause by garnering negative media attention to the movement. (Participant 011)

Interestingly, attacks motivated by other ideologies like the Oklahoma City bombing or September 11th did not have an influence on our sample's viewpoint toward terrorism as a tactic. However, this may have been a measurement error due the age composition of the sample (many participants were between the ages of 18-25 and therefore did not have great recollection of these events). The older participants acknowledged the effect of these events on their perception of terrorism, but not on their individual-level decision-making:

> Sure, it (September 11, 2001) changed how aware I was of terrorism, but not what I thought about it. (Participant 021)

> It didn't make me think about terrorism differently. Just about what we're doing as a country to bring such acts on. (Participant 023)

As a whole, our sample put the legitimacy of the environmental and animal rights movement above the short-term benefits any criminal action could accomplish. Many participants felt that it was more important to accomplish goals through legal avenues, rather than criminal ones, as the latter would only hurt their objective in the long run by making them appear to be crazy, dangerous, or both.

Almost every activist in our sample described an internal moral compass as important to guiding their decision-making, although these beliefs were wholly unrelated to any tie-in to deep ecology or biocentrism.[56] In fact, personal assessments of whether the act was morally wrong was as important, and sometimes more important, than possible legal sanctions. In other words, moral inhibitions[57] seemed to be very important in respondents' calculations of the costs and benefits in participating in criminal acts associated with environmental or animal rights causes:

> I guess I'm saying that it's the fact that it (illegal activity) goes against my values . . . that's the big thing. (Participant 002)

> It is morally wrong to exert excessive force or harm to make a point. You have to try to make others understand, but leave and move on when you meet people who don't get it (Participant 006).

> There is a moral boundary that I . . . that tells me what is going too far and what is not going too far. I'm just pre-destined to participate in behavior that is legal and morally right. (Participant 011)

Several participants also described illegal behavior, especially forceful and violent behavior, as being hypocritical when juxtaposed to their overall message of valuing human life:

> Ninety-nine point nine percent of people in the groups are pacifists or hippies . . . or are into the metaphysical, mind-body-spirit thing . . . and have jobs where they are working for something they believe in. (Participant 001)

> Animal rights is such a fundamentally nonviolent movement or it should be . . . the thing is, it is all based on 'you don't need to be violent towards other creatures' and if you don't need to be, then it's wrong as far as I am concerned. So using violence . . . using violence is just . . . inconsistent. (Participant 002)

> I would never get violent. I would never push someone. I don't want to hurt anyone in the process. Like hateful letters are hurtful. You have to practice what you preach. (Participant 004)

> We believe in principles of nonviolence; in nonviolent direct action. We follow the teachings of Martin Luther King. We can prevent something from happening. We also follow Quaker principles of bearing witness and passive resistance. You have to be there in the zone of exposure and insist on being involved. (Participant 007)

> I believe in nonviolent action. We should be peaceful and be guided by our ethics. (Participant 008)

As a whole, the environmental and animal rights activists in our nonrandom sample seemed to be guided in part by concerns about the moral implications of criminal behavior. To some participants, these inhibitions were more important than possible legal consequences, while others had difficulty ranking one above the other and argued for the importance of both in decision-making.

Conclusions

Researchers and policy makers have long been challenged by data limitations in studies of radical environmental and animal rights groups. We contribute to the research in this area by providing information and analysis from a systematic database on both terrorist and non-terrorist criminal activities of these organizations over time. We also interviewed a nonrandom convenience sample of individuals that

self-identified as part of the environmental or animal rights movements. Our research suggests that while the amount of illegal activity attributed to these movements in the United States has increased dramatically since the 1970s, the overwhelming majority of this activity has been nonviolent. On the other hand, incidents with property damage have increased substantially since the 1970s and have declined less than other types of criminal acts since the peak years at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It is quite possible that the recent rise in youth protests may even exacerbate these trends. Taken together, members of radical environmental and animal rights groups have so far been overwhelmingly more of a threat to property than to persons.

Although our interviews were with a nonrandom sample of activists, they support the contention that many members of these movements consider traditional sanctions, and especially the possible ramifications of these sanctions, in their movement-related decision-making. Respondents also emphasized the importance of gaining benefits from legal activities, such as lobbying. In addition, many participants referred to the role that illegal conduct—and especially terrorist conduct—may have on decreasing the legitimacy of the environmental and/or animal rights movement. It would seem that overall, support for the radical fringe that advocates the targeting of people and/or violent tactics is limited based on this concern for legitimacy, which is consistent with our empirical findings. The concept of moral inhibitions was also a common theme in our respondents; most participants argued that illegal activity was morally wrong to them. Thus, criminal and especially terrorist activity was often perceived as an immoral alternative. In some cases, respondents told us that their moral evaluations of illegal acts were more important than the potential legal consequences, but many responses indicated themes consistent with both conceptualizations. This again may add to the explanation behind our empirical findings, where property damage is typical of incidents perpetrated by radical eco-groups and violence is atypical.

We should emphasize important limitations of the current study. Despite our best efforts, it is likely that the EID is missing many of the less serious incidents (like the spray-painting of a wall with the letters "ALF" or a mink release). In addition, some parts of the data were taken from certain organizations that may have specialized biases. The Foundation for Biomedical Research, the entity where the most incidents were extracted from, had a major role in the passing of the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act of 2006. Also, our qualitative sample was limited by access issues and was not randomly generated, perhaps leading to bias in our conclusions regarding rationality in decision-making. Nonetheless, and despite these limitations, we believe that we have created the most objective set of data on this phenomenon currently available.

Future research would benefit from a focus on the role of countermeasures in combating this activity. For instance, it may be that local law enforcement might be the best line of defense against terrorism; it would be valuable to examine the impact of local measures taken against members of radical environmental and animal rights groups. For instance, has additional security at a company like Huntingdon Life Sciences deterred attacks? Or, how effective have local police departments been at catching members of radical eco-groups before an attack because of pre-incident behaviors like the purchasing of bomb-making equipment? Thus far attacks staged by radical environmental and animal rights groups have resulted in very few deaths or injuries. The unanswered question is whether this almost universally nonviolent movement will remain so in the future.

Notes

1. John E. Lewis, "Congressional Testimony before Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works," May 18, 2005, http://www2.fbi.gov/congress/congress05/lewis051805.htm (Paragraph 2).

2. Robert S. Mueller, "Statement before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence," January 11, 2007, http://www.fbi.gov/news/testimony/global-threats-to-the-u.s.-and-the-fbis-response. (See the section, "The Threat Posed by Domestic Terrorist Groups").

3. Joseph Simone, Joshua Freilich, and Steven Chermak, *Surveying State Police Agencies about Domestic Terrorism and Far-Right Extremists*, [Research Brief] (College Park, MD: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2008).

4. Terry Frieden, "Animal Rights Activist on 'FBI's Most Wanted Terrorist List,'" April 21, 2009, http://articles.cnn.com/2009-04-21/justice/fbi.domestic.terror.suspect_1_animal-rights-activist-daniel-andreas-san-diego-bombing?_s=PM:CRIME.

5. Lauren Effron and Russell Goldman, "Environmental Militant Killed by Police at Discovery Channel Headquarters," *ABC News,* September 1, 2010, http://abcnews.go.com/US/gunman-enters-discovery-channel-headquarters-employees-evacuated/story?id=11535128.

6. As defined by the FBI, eco-terrorism is "the use or threatened use of violence of a criminal nature against innocent victims or property by an environmentally orientated sub national group for environmental-political reasons, aimed at an audience beyond the target, and often of a symbolic nature" (Jarboe 2002, para 6). James F. Jarboe, "The Threat of Eco-Terrorism," February 12, 2002, http://www.fbi.gov/news/testimony/the-threat-of-eco-terrorism.

7. Steven Vanderheiden, "Eco-terrorism or Justified Resistance? Radical Environmentalism and the 'War on Terror,'" *Politics and Society* 33, no. 3 (2005): 425–447; and Randall Amster, "Perspectives on Ecoterrorism: Catalysts, Conflations, and Casualties," *Contemporary Justice Review* 9, no. 3 (2006): 287–301.

8. Donald Liddick, *Ecoterrorism: Radical Environmental and Animal Liberation Movements* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006).

9. Vanderheiden, p. 432 (see note 7 above).

10. Gary Perlstein, "Comments on Ackerman," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15, no. 4 (2003): 171–172.

11. John Wigle, "A Systematic Approach to Precursor Behaviors," *Criminology and Public Policy* 8, no. 3 (August 2009): 612.

12. Gary LaFree and Laura Dugan, "Introducing the Global Terrorism Database," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19, no. 2 (2007): 184.

13. Sean Eagan, "From Spikes to Bombs: The Rise of Ecoterrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 19 (1996): 1–18.

14. Anti-Defamation League, "Ecoterrorism: Extremism in the Animal Rights and Environmentalist Movements," http://www.adl.org/learn/ext_us/Ecoterrorism.asp?LEARN_Cat=Extremism&LEARN_SubCat=Extremism_in_America&xpicked=4&item=eco#intro.

15. Ibid.

16. Gary Ackerman, "Beyond Arson? A Threat Assessment of the Earth Liberation Front," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15, no. 4 (2003): 143–170.

17. Bron Taylor, "Threat Assessments and Radical Environmentalism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15, no. 4 (2003): 173–182.

18. Ackerman, p. 188 (see note 16 above).

19. Eagan (see note 13 above).

20. Animal Liberation Front, "ALF Mission Statement," http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/mission_statement.htm.

21. Anti-Defamation League (see note 14 above).

22. Liddick (see note 8 above).

23. Ackerman (see note 16 above).

24. Edward Abbey, *The Monkeywrench Gang* (Salt Lake City, UT: Dream Garden Press, 1985).

25. Anti-Defamation League (see note 14 above).

26. CBS News, "Animal Rights Group Convicted in N.J.," *CBS News,* February 11, 2009, http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/03/02/national/main1364346.shtml.

27. A prominent exception is the "Family," an organized group of ALF and ELF members responsible for the largest federal case involving these groups.
28. Ackerman (see note 16 above).
29. For example, Ackerman (see note 16 above) and Taylor (see note 17 above).
30. U.S. Department of Justice and U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Report to Congress on the Extent of Domestic and International Terrorism in Animal Enterprises," *The Physiologist* 36, no. 6 (1993): 251.
31. Ibid., p. 256.
32. Ibid., p. 256.
33. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "Ecoterrorism: Environmental and Animal Rights Militants in the United States," May 17, 2008, http://humanewatch.org/images/uploads/2008_DHS_ecoterrorism_threat_assessment.pdf: 1-40.
34. Ibid., p. 1.
35. Ibid., p. 1.
36. LaFree and Dugan (see note 12 above) for more regarding criterion for inclusion in the GTD.
37. See http://www.fbresearch.org/ for information on data.
38. LaFree and Dugan (see note 12 above), p. 184.
39. See http://www.naiaonline.org/.
40. See http://www.furcommission.com/.
41. Ron Arnold, *The Violent Agenda to Save Nature: The World of the Unabomber* (New York: Free Enterprise Press, 1997).
42. We attempted to independently verify all non-terrorist criminal incidents through another open source. We were able to locate 56 percent of the cases in secondary unbiased media sources. An additional 30 cases had two sources, but neither could be considered an unbiased media source. In general, we were much more likely to find secondary sources to verify incidents involving substantial property damage than minor or no damage. In cases where we identified contradictory information from secondary news sources (e.g., different damage amount), we adopted information from the most recent source.
43. U.S. Department of Homeland Security (see note 33 above).
44. Christopher Hewitt, *Political Violence and Terrorism in Modern America: A Chronology* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).
45. Stefan Leader and Peter Probst, "The Earth Liberation Front and Environmental Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15, vol. 4 (2003): 37–58.
46. Scott Sunde and Paul Shukovsky, "Elusive Radicals Escalate Attacks in Nature's Name," June 17, 2001, http://www.seattlepi.com/default/article/Elusive-radicals-escalate-attacks-in-nature-s-name-1057490.php.
47. See http://www.adl.org.
48. U.S. Department of Justice and U.S. Department of Agriculture (see note 30 above).
49. For example, one participant told us that their activities primarily involved handing out vegan literature, yet the FBI had been to their house twice for questioning.
50. Andrea Fontana and James Frey, "Interviewing: The Art of Science," in *The Handbook of Qualitative Research,* ed. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), 361–376.
51. These withheld due to confidentiality reasons.
52. Liddick (see note 8 above).
53. Judi Bari, "The Attempted Murder of Judi Bari," accessed at http://www.albionmonitor.com/bari/jbint-14.html. (See Paragraph 4).
54. Gary Ackerman (see note 16 above).
55. See, for example, Joseph Wheatley and Clark McCauley, "Losing Your Audience: Desistance from Terrorism in Egypt after Luxor," *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 1, no. 3 (2008): 250–268.
56. The majority of participants discussed themes consistent with deep ecology, but were unfamiliar with this ideology when asked to identify it by name.
57. For greater detail on the concept of moral inhibitions, see Raymond Paternoster and Sally Simpson, "Sanction Threats and Appeals to Morality: Testing a Rational Choice Model of Corporate Crime," *Law and Society Review* 30, no. 3 (1996): 549–583.

Appendix 1. Consent Form Interview Questions

The procedures involve a one-hour interview. The following pre-selected questions will be asked:

1. How did you first get involved in the movement?
2. What kinds of activities do you participate in?
3. Do you ascribe to any particular environmental philosophy? Deep ecology? Biocentrism?
4. Do you believe that the damage that has been done to the environment is irreversible?
5. Do you think that lobbying is an effective strategy for solving problems? What about civil disobedience or nonviolent criminal acts? What, if any, benefits are there to these strategies?
6. Are you familiar with the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 that criminalized tree-spiking? Has this influenced your behavior in any way? Do laws or potential legal sanctions affect your behavior in any way?
7. What about the PATRIOT act and the redefinition of terrorism it suggested? How about the Animal Enterprise Protection Act of 1992 and the more recent Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act of 2006?
8. Did the Oklahoma City bombing and/or September 11th change your views on terrorism and/or the use of criminal activity as a tactic? Is terrorism a useful tactic?
9. Is harming a human ever justified? Threatening harm? Is violence a possible strategy in obtaining an environmental or animal rights goal?
10. Do you feel that with the release of Al Gore's documentary and the emergence of a more mainstream green movement that there is more hope today than before? Will this have a spillover effect with animal rights?