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THE SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION, PROSECUTION, AND PUNISHMENT OF AMERICAN ECOTERRORISTS

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes differences in conviction outcomes of ecoterrorists compared to left-wing and right-wing terrorists using a mixed-methods approach. I use quantitative analyses to investigate differences in conviction outcomes, such as trial conviction, plea bargain, and case dismissal or acquittal across different domestic terrorist groups. I use qualitative analyses to investigate summary symbols and framing techniques used across domestic terrorist groups. Similar ideological themes found across ecoterrorist groups and other non-terrorist groups, such as environmentalists, ecofeminists, and the American general public may help explain differences in outcomes. Findings suggest ecoterrorists tend to use discourse to explain their purpose and activities similar to discourses that are used by mainstream environmental groups. This contrasts with rhetorical patterns of right-wing and left-wing terrorists, which tend to bypass appeals to mainstream ideals. The use of environmentalist frames may give ecoterrorists an advantage in the criminal justice system by drawing more empathy from the general public.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Terrorism, and the ways in which American society understands and sanctions terrorists, are important topics of study in the field of sociology. In recent years, sociological research has investigated differences found between domestic and international terrorists in their treatment within the criminal justice system (Smith, Damphousse, Jackson, and Sellers 2002), as well as terrorists and non-terrorists (Bradley-Engen, Damphousse, and Smith 2009; Smith 1994; Smith and Damphousse 1996, 1998). However, less is known about subset comparisons within domestic terrorism. The first goal of this research is to understand whether or not ecoterrorists are different from left-wing and right-wing terrorist groups, and if so, determine whether or not these differences create lighter prosecution outcomes for ecoterrorists in the criminal justice system.

Another important goal within the field of sociology is to better understand cultural discourses (Benford and Snow 2000; Gamson et al. 1982) and summary symbols (Burns 1999) used within collective movements, especially when countercultures attempt to challenge or change the larger social order. However, less is known about the cultural discourses of terrorist groups and the ways in which they invoke summary symbols, such as symbols of freedom and justice, to explain their existence and motivation. The second goal of this study is to attempt to understand differences between ecoterrorist groups and left-wing and right-wing groups in an attempt to explain why ecoterrorists may experience lighter prosecution outcomes. Perhaps cultural discourses and their ability to connect with larger, less-deviant

collective movements, or mainstream culture, influence the ways in which Americans, especially those in charge of prosecuting terrorists, understand and respond to terrorism.

To accomplish these goals, I use a mixed-method approach. Not only do I use statistical analyses to understand differences in conviction outcomes between three types of domestic terrorist groups, but I also investigate the cultural discourses surrounding domestic terrorism incidents, arguing ecoterrorist discourse may give ecoterrorists an advantage in the criminal justice system due to their ability to connect with environmentalism discourse (and ecofeminism discourse, to a lesser extent) in the larger American culture. To expand the current literature on ecoterrorists, I provide new information about the prosecution of ecoterrorists compared to other terrorists using statistical analyses of coded data from court case documents. I examine demographic and prosecution data of ecoterrorist, left-wing terrorist, and right-wing terrorist groups collected by the American Terrorism Study, a large database with coded variables from FBI-labeled terrorist court cases from the early 1980s-2012. I also focus, to a lesser extent, on gender in domestic terrorist groups, examining the ways in which women vary across groups in number, as well as the ways in which each of the three domestic terrorists groups frames gender in their discourse. These data help determine whether or not ecoterrorists have certain characteristics that other types of domestic terrorists do not, as well as whether or not ecoterrorists receive lighter prosecution outcomes compared to other domestic terrorist groups.

The second goal of this research is determining how and why ecoterrorists are different when compared to left-wing and right-wing terrorist groups. All terrorist groups must meet the federal definition of terrorism in order to be labeled accordingly.

Terrorist cases are labeled as such by the FBI and government authorities; these agencies are responsible for determining the difference between non-terrorist and terrorist crimes. The FBI's definition of terrorism is "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."[1] Similarly, domestic terrorism occurs "primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the U.S.," whereas international terrorism occurs outside of the U.S., "…or transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the locale in which their perpetrators operate or seek asylum."[2] However, prosecution outcomes placed upon ecoterrorists may be less severe compared to other terrorist groups for a variety of reasons, such as having larger community and cultural support. In order to provide context and develop theory on culture and the environment, I use supplemental analyses with summaries of court case documents, news reports, websites, and personal accounts made by terrorists and/or people close to convicted terrorists to examine whether or not there are cultural or ideological advantages to the ecoterrorist movement compared to left-wing and right-wing terrorist movements.

I use Burns's (1999; 2009) research on culture and summary symbols and Snow and Benford's (1988) research on framing techniques developed during social movements to highlight and understand differences between domestic terrorists. These provide the theoretical foundation for explaining results. Due to the wealth of

[1] Terrorism in the United States: 1997, Washington, DC: US. Government Printing Office
[2] FBI: Definitions of Terrorism in the U.S. Code < http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/investigate/terrorism/terrorism-definition>

information gathered, I utilize a technique called "concept mapping," as a way to summarize the data according to important summary symbols, such as symbols of justice and freedom, used within the discourses of domestic terrorist groups, as well as the larger public. The concept map in this study gives us the ability to "visualize relationships between various concepts" in a simplified way in order to understand linkages between and across cultural discourses, as well as the use of summary symbols (Wheeldon 2009). I also investigate three major frames (diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational) used by ecoterrorists, left-wing terrorists, and right-wing terrorists (Snow and Benford 1988). Frame comparisons make connections between ecoterrorist discourse and environmentalist and ecofeminist discourses.

Part of the research is summarizing a wide variety of literature to determine whether or not the historical development of American environmentalist ideology impacts the ways in which the general public and members of the criminal justice system interpret and respond to acts of ecoterrorism compared to other acts of terrorism. To do this, I describe the development of environmentalism and ecofeminism in the United States, as well as the development of ecoterrorist groups. I also summarize the historical development of environmental organizations and policies developed to protect and/or conserve non-human entities in America. Finally, I address whether or not ecoterrorism may result from a lack of serious environmental concerns and multifaceted policies to address widespread environmental degradation in mainstream American society. In this discussion, I address the tension between environmentalist goals and capitalist goals in American ideology.

Despite the main focus of this research being on prosecution outcomes and the cultural contexts that influence them, this research may also shed light on some other

areas in sociology. The field of sociology has largely left the investigation of ecological developments to the physical sciences, despite the thriving subfield of environmental sociology (Goldblatt 1996). This research will add to the literature information about the relationship between nature and society, describing how environmentalists, ecofeminists, ecoterrorists, the general public, and the criminal justice system negotiate this relationship in culture, rhetoric, and practice. Research on framing techniques across these groups will provide in-depth knowledge of the ways in which group-membership influences the ways in which individuals understand the natural environment, as well as people's expectations of how humanity uses and maintains natural resources and non-human living beings. This will be the first study to examine cultural framing connections between ecoterrorists, environmentalists, and ecofeminists, and how framing techniques impact the larger culture.

Also, despite an increase in terrorism research during the past few decades, less is known about ecoterrorists, and many question whether or not the "terrorist" label is too harsh of a stigma to place upon these ecoterrorists (Turk 2004). The literature, however, has suggested ecoterrorists are unique from other types of terrorists due to their ideological goals, targets, and characteristics (Smith 1994). This study will help shed light on the ways in which ecoterrorists differ from other types of terrorists, both demographically and in their prosecution outcomes. This research will draw attention to ecoterrorists and other domestic terrorist groups. Instead of focusing on the more prevalent comparison of domestic versus international terrorists, findings will address terrorism specifically in the United States, which may benefit counterterrorism efforts.

To summarize, this research will add to the literature about prosecution trends of ecoterrorists compared to left-wing and right-wing terrorists, as well as provide cultural context to further examine and explain findings using the work of Burns (1999; 2009) and Snow and Benford (1988). It combines quantitative and qualitative analyses in order to understand the ways in which cultural framing and symbolism may influence the punishment process and the opinion of the general public. Findings will also fill a gap in the literature on ecoterrorism, a lesser studied form of terrorism. They will also add to our understanding of how gender may impact terrorism in terms of group membership and leadership roles.

Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to the research. Chapter 2 summarizes the study's theoretical framework, along with an explanation of cultural rhetoric, summary symbols, and framing, with which to answer the two main research questions. It also briefly summarizes the literatures of environmentalism (with an emphasis on ecofeminism) and terrorism (with an emphasis on ecoterrorism and prosecution trends) in the United States. Chapter 3 describes my research questions and hypotheses/predictions for findings. Chapter 4 outlines the project's mixed methods approach, data and variables used in research, as well as conceptual mapping and framing tools used during qualitative analyses. Chapter 5 summarizes the study's quantitative and qualitative findings. Chapter 6 provides a discussion and conclusion of the research and reports whether or not my predictions were supported. It also describes the contributions this research makes to the sociological literature and lists suggestions for future research relevant to domestic terrorism and ecoterrorism, specifically.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

One goal of this research is to understand how and why ecoterrorist groups may develop in contrast (or parallel) to both mainstream and environmentalist ideals of earth

stewardship and the treatment of animals within America. First, I review the theoretical literature on culture, rhetoric, and framing in order to develop an understanding of the ways in which environmental and ecoterrorism discourse develop and are interpreted by the larger society. Second, I examine how we as a society and as members of academia understand the relationship between human and non-human life forms, summarizing historical and cultural contexts of environmentalism and ecofeminism in America. Finally, the literature summarizes what is currently known about terrorism in America, highlighting the tendency for researchers to make international versus domestic terrorism comparisons rather than comparisons between domestic terrorist groups. All of the literatures inform the research questions, providing both historical and cultural contexts from which to understand the relationship between nature and society, terrorism, and ecoterrorism, specifically.

The review on culture and rhetoric provides symbolic context with which to understand interactions between individuals, and specifically, domestic terrorists and non-domestic terrorists. The negotiation of meanings found across domestic terrorist and mainstream American discourse allows us to understand the ways in which ideology is developed and maintained (or changed) within the larger culture. It may be possible that the rhetorical strategies used by ecoterrorists give them an advantage in the criminal justice system compared to other domestic terrorist groups due to their connections to environmentalism discourse, a non-criminal discourse. Environmentalism and ecofeminism are academic and social philosophies that provoke legally-tolerated social movements within American society. However, these philosophies may be viewed as deviant in the sense that mainstream American culture

may not always fully accept them or support philosophical goals. Ecoterrorism, on the other hand, is legally punishable by U.S. law; however, there may be disagreement within the American public and criminal justice system regarding punishment of ecoterrorist crimes. In the same way that environmentalists sometimes face negative backlash from the American public due to their deviance from mainstream capitalistic philosophy, even when they are not breaking any laws, ecoterrorists facing legal punishment may be perceived as less deviant or criminal due to their radicalized environmentalist and/or ecofeminist philosophies.

Culture, Summary Symbols, and Rhetoric

The ways in which people make value judgments are heavily influenced by the larger cultural backdrop. The American cultural backdrop is largely based upon Westernized, Judeo-Christian ideology (Archer 1988; Hitzhusen 2007; Wuthnow 1987). Similarly, the ways in which people develop meaning through symbolism attached to environmental processes also impact the ways in which they manipulate and use the environment (Brulle 2000; Burns 2009). Despite the lack of action taken in American institutions to stop and prevent widespread environmental degradation, concerns for the environment remain in the background of American consciousness, and the environmentalist movement is evident in the negotiation of meanings found in American culture.

Symbolism attached to environmentalist ideology can be found across other facets of American culture. In fact, the same symbols can be used and interpreted differently across a variety of subcultures. For example, Burns (1999) writes that a "summary symbol" encompasses a complex set of cultural values and is often used in

rhetorical practices (379). A summary symbol refers to "…a word or short phrase that implies an accompanying package of thoughts, values, emotions, or beliefs" (170). Examples of summary symbols include "rights," "fairness," "justice," and "intelligence," and people use them because they make it easier to discuss large and complex cultural phenomena (170-71). Summary symbols are also important in determining the ways in which society and culture are developed and maintained. Individuals use summary symbols not only in interactions with each other, but also in developing their own world views, providing a link between the individual and society (Burns 1999:171, Burns and LeMoyne 2001).

Discourse surrounding summary symbols is always situated within a larger cultural context (Burns 1999:168). From a symbolic perspective, the ways in which people communicate meanings are largely impacted by culture; however, rhetoric also creates changes within a culture, which means there is a dialectic relationship capable between rhetoric and culture that is capable of producing both cultural lag and cultural change. For those who want to evoke cultural change or maintain the status quo, they must be skilled "rhetors"; rhetors are those who use summary symbols effectively, establishing linkages between both objective and subjective stances on a particular phenomenon (168). For example, "effective appeals take place on the subjective level but the vocabulary and syntax of expression must conform to group standards—custom and, increasingly in rational/legal systems, codified standards" (171). Successful appeals both conform to mainstream cultural contexts and to individuals' own understandings of the subject.

Rhetoric is used to define and maintain boundaries, as well as to challenge them when cultural change is beneficial or desired by a society (Burns 1999:174). The government has produced a formal definition of ecoterrorism. However, in larger community and academic circles, the definition may be too narrowly defined or too broad, depending on situational circumstances. Arguably, the most effective forms of rhetoric that promote social change provide an alternative cultural community of discourse, or world view (Burns 1999). The strength of alternative communities may result in significant differences in treatment within the criminal justice system. In this case, domestic terrorists represent alternative cultural communities and have their own discourses; they negotiate meanings associated with summary symbols, such as freedom and justice, which are also used widely in the larger culture and criminal justice system. Ecoterrorists may be more skilled rhetors by borrowing discourse from the environmentalist movement to support their activities, and non-ecoterrorists may be able to empathize with ecoterrorists because of connections made between ecoterrorist and environmentalist (and to a lesser extent, ecofeminist) discourses. Ecoterrorist discourse may be interpreted by others as a radicalized form of environmentalist discourse and part of the progression of political and cultural change in favor or environmentalist ideals.

There are circumstances that give one interpretation of a summary symbol more power and significance than another (Burns 1999:180). In American society, justice is a powerful summary symbol, and when used within the criminal justice system and government, it holds more power than within alternative rhetoric discourses associated with different terrorist ideologies. However, if ecoterrorists receive lighter punishments

in the criminal justice system, this may indicate the transition of ecoterrorist crimes as being perceived as less-deviant or criminal than other domestic terrorist groups. By examining discourse across competing groups, we can understand how these groups compete for a sense of freedom (or liberty) to live the lives they want to live, as well as how they use various interpretations of summary symbols in order to gain power (through both symbolic and empirical means) and a sense of justice (through laws and morals).

Framing

Summary symbols are used in framing techniques across competing social groups during the negotiation of meanings in society. By studying framing techniques of domestic terrorist groups (and those featured in court documents and the media), we gain an understanding of how this negotiation takes place. Frames provide a specific avenue with which to study cultural rhetoric and discourse. Benford and Snow (2000) argue the research on social movements prior to the 1980s lacked a thorough understanding of "meaning work—the struggle over the production of mobilizing and countermobilizing ideas and meanings" (613). Meaning work is important to understand, because individual members of collective movements actively create and/or change meanings within a subculture and/or the larger culture. Using this symbolic interactionist lens to view social movements, researchers utilize "framing" as a method to conceptualize and analyze meaning work. Goffman (1974) originally coined the idea of framing, and it quickly became popular in subsequent studies. Not only is framing important for understanding collective movements, but it also provides a mode of

identity construction for both individuals within the movement and groups (Benford and Snow 2000).

Snow and Benford (1988) published one of the most highly cited studies on framing. In their article, they outline three types of frames: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational. Diagnostic frames outline the problem faced by members of the social movement and identify who is to blame for the problem. Diagnostic frames have also been labeled "injustice frames" (Gamson et al. 1982), because they provide a framework from which to blame an authority or higher power for unjust practices. Prognostic frames include potential solutions and strategies to resolving the problem. Finally, motivational frames provide members of the social movement with justification and reason to take action and resolve the problem. Deviant subcultures are important groups to study, as they may have deviant frames to explain attitudes and/or actions that are not mainstream. Domestic terrorist groups may use summary symbols differently in their framing techniques, which may impact their treatment within the larger culture.

Aside from the three types of frames, there are also framing processes that impact social movements (Benford and Snow 2000). Discursive processes are both oral and written communication between members of the social movement. Strategic processes attempt to achieve goals, such as gaining new members, acquiring access to power and resources, and carrying out a group task. Within these strategic processes are "frame alignment processes" (Snow et al. 1986), including "frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation" (Benford and Snow 2000: 624). Bridging is "the linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem" (264). Amplification

occurs when members of a social movement exaggerate or invigorate existing cultural values. Extension occurs when a frame "extends beyond its primary interests to include issues and concerns that are presumed to be of importance to potential adherents" (265). Finally, transformation of a frame means members of a social movement replace old cultural values with new ones. Skilled rhetors are adept at using these techniques; even deviant rhetors in domestic terrorist groups may be able to gain support by using framing techniques that connect across discourses in other non-deviant collective movements. Ecoterrorists may be better able to accomplish this by borrowing frames from the environmentalist movement.

Benford and Snow (2000) also argue that collective movements are often "contested processes" (265). Members of a group often face opposition in the form of "counterframing by movement opponents, bystanders, and the media; frame disputes within movements; and the dialectic between frames and events" (265). Counterframing occurs when oppositional groups challenge members of a social movement through attempts to undermine the values and beliefs of a social group. The media also plays a large role in the way meaning is negotiated in a culture. Disputes within movements occur when members of the movement disagree with each other about their goal or purpose. Finally, there is a "dialectic tension between collective action frames and collective action events" (627). This means that events that take place within social movements can change and/or moderate collective action frames; similarly, collective action frames influence what action events take place. Domestic terrorist ideology provides an interesting point of research in that their actions are criminal, but they are

also ideologically motivated. Understanding domestic terrorist discourse helps us understand points of contestation and counterframing.

There are certain factors that impact the strength of a social movement within a culture. These are: "political opportunity structure, cultural opportunities and constraints, and the targeted audiences" (Benford and Snow 2000: 628). The "political opportunity structure" can change due to changes in the "institutional and/or informal relations of a political system" (628). Culture can also limit or enhance social movements; as well as change as a consequence of social movements. If the culture is more receptive to certain domestic terrorist ideologies compared to others, domestic terrorists may be treated differentially. Finally, the targeted audiences for the social movement influence framing processes. For example, a targeted audience may include a wide range of people or a small subcultural group. This and other factors, such as demographic variables, may also impact the ways in which social movements mobilize and attempt to accomplish goals.

The literatures describing summary symbols and framing techniques are essentially two ways to understand the same processes: how we as humans share, process, and understand information. These processes shape people's decisions and life outcomes. Durkheim's (1964) ideas about the "collective consciousness," Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) concept of "habitus," Dawkins' (1976) work on "memes," and Ibarra and Kitsuse's work on "motifs" are just a few of the additional ways in which sociologists have attempted to explain how we as individuals, create and maintain larger systems of meanings that exist outside of us. Culture is an abstract concept that helps sociologists

and others to think about sociological and environmental phenomena in ways that are less overwhelming to our senses.

People make sense of the world through these condensed and more easily accessible modes of thinking. Additionally, cultural meanings are always negotiated via interaction (Mead 1967). They are also negotiated in a power-structure among actors with varying levels of influence. Those with more power, whether economic power or charismatic leadership (Weber 1958), shape the ways in which people develop their worldviews and behave accordingly. Thus, struggles over both physical and symbolic power are essentially struggles to either maintain or change the dominant understandings and meanings within a culture, assuming that individuals will interact based on those meanings. Studying domestic terrorism discourse and punishment within the larger culture gives insight into these struggles.

The Relationship between Nature and Society: A Sociological Perspective

In order to understand ecoterrorism discourse, we must first understand how sociologists have attempted to understand the relationship between nature and society and the cultural context surrounding this relationship. The field of sociology has largely failed to include non-humans in research in its study of society (Goldblatt 1996), meaning scholars have given less attention to the relationships between people, animals, plants, and other natural resources (i.e. land, minerals, air, and water).[3] However, one

[3] Some scholars researchers have attempted to develop conceptual models that explicitly take the environment into consideration when studying human societies. For example, Duncan (1961) uses the POET (human population, societal organization, the environment, and technology) model to understand the relationship between people and the environment, arguing social and environmental outcomes depend upon the relationships between these four components. Another model, called the IPAT (impact made by population, affluence, and technology) model, by Ehrlich and Holdren (1971),

theme remains clear in sociological environmental research: the use of natural resources, animals, and technology by humans must be understood within its historical, political, and cultural contexts.

The meanings associated with the interactions between humans and non-humans also change as the levels of production and consumption change throughout history. In the effort to be more efficient and productive, humans developed more advanced technology to the point where agribusiness requires fewer workers, as human laborers become replaced by machines (Ritzer 1993). In conjunction with these technological developments, discourses also arise to justify these phenomena in terms of economic benefits, as well as criticize these phenomena as harmful and destructive. This research attempts to gain attention to social problems associated with the environment, as well as the discourses surrounding environmental issues.

More contemporary environmental sociologists focus on explaining why and how the world continues to experience environmental degradation, despite increased awareness of the harmful impact people and technology have had on the environment.[4] Other contemporary theories address a variety of reasons that explain environmental

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argues that three main factors (population, affluence, and technology) predict the impact people make upon the natural environment. Similarly, Lenski (1966) outlines stages of societal development and how they impact the natural environment. He argues societies organize according to their access to natural resources, as well as the tools and technologies developed by manipulation of these natural resources. These macro-level theories attempt to explain the negotiation between human needs and environmental consumption in a more deliberate way than classical sociological theories.

[4] Perhaps this remains the dominant focus in the sociology of the environment, because efforts to combat environmental damage have been superficial (Ponting 1991). Europeans' colonization of the Western Hemisphere and the discovery of fossil fuels created a surge in human consumption and population growth that has exceeded the world's capability to produce natural resources (Catton 1980).

harm.[5] Similarly, researchers note causes of ecological destruction aside from population growth, technology, and institutional processes, such as economic growth, beliefs and attitudes, and economic and political institutions (Stern, Young, and Druckman 1992). For example, Beck (1995) emphasizes the fact that we must not only focus on the natural and physical sciences to study the environment, but also the social origins of environmental degradation, including culture and institutional processes that are responsible for the way people think about and treat the environment. Others urge social scientists to make ecological sustainability a primary concern in current research and develop theories and pragmatic solutions to address ecological problems (Dobkowski and Wallimann 1998).

Sociologists attempt to raise awareness about the ways in which cultural understandings may lead to environmental degradation. For example, people reap the benefits of industrialization, as well as the negative consequences, such as environmental pollution, ozone depletion, extinction of species, and overconsumption (Burns 2009). The widespread negative consequences are overwhelming to individuals, causing them to "zone out" or take an "ignorance-is-bliss" attitude about environmental issues. Similarly, cultural lag, a concept explaining how sometimes society cannot culturally "keep up" with increases in material production (Ogburn 1932), prevents societies from developing more efficient methods of production and consumption (Burns 2009:6; Burns and LeMoyne 2003). Despite increases in environmental awareness in the global context, capitalism continues to dominate American and

[5] For example, Dunlap (1992) argues there are three main spaces in the world: the places where people live, the places where people put waste, and the places where people harvest natural resources. Whenever those spaces overlap, people face problems of environmental degradation.

Western culture, prioritizing economic principles ahead of environmental protection (Burns 2009; Rudel and Roper 1997).

Although environmental degradation has increased over time, Americans typically regard economic interests as more important than environmental interests.[6] This may be a result of the ways in which environmental movements develop; for example, environmental movements are attached to political movements, either competing against or coinciding with other issues, such as the civil rights movement (Burns & LeMoyne, 2001). In the American case, environmental policy is not prioritized ahead of other issues of human rights and the economy, leading to superficial environmental policies. Additionally, Homer-Dixon (1999) connects issues of environmental awareness and other social problems, such as violence. If a social problem, such as race, gender, or class inequality, is also linked to the unequal distribution of environmental resources, then violence is more likely to occur. He predicts that societies will become more hostile as environmental scarcity is linked to other social problems. Therefore, to avoid violence, societies must anticipate violence and attempt to share environmental resources more fairly among its members. Ecoterrorism may be a reflection of increased violence due to an overlap in environmental degradations and other forms of inequality found within capitalist society.

This current research project informs the sociological literature on the environment for two reasons. First, it investigates ecoterrorism, a form of terrorism

[6] This paragraph is inspired by a book review of *Total Liberation: The Power and Promise of Animal Rights and the Radical Earth Movement* by David Naguib Pellow that I wrote in 2014 for the *Human Ecology Review*.

developed out of a desire to protect the environmental and animals. Ecoterrorist philosophy may be the result of Americans' lack of responsiveness (or only superficial responses) to environmental destruction. Ecoterrorism may also represent a need to change current American consumption practices. Finally, it investigates the ways in which American society (especially the criminal justice system) responds to ecoterrorism. Lighter punishment of ecoterrorists may reflect increasing concern about environmental issues in the American consciousness and an ability for others to empathize with their concerns. Secondly, this study, on a broader scale, focuses on the negotiation of power (including the ability to control natural resources, animals, and people) between social institutions and those individuals and groups (i.e. ecoterrorists) who challenge them, as well as the cultural and historical contexts that shape this negotiation.

American Environmental Ideology: A History

Not only is the sociological perspective important to this study in order to better understand ecoterrorism discourse, but also the larger cultural context of environmentalism in America. Environmentalism in America has developed in two general historical phases[7]. Scholars understand the first historical wave of environmentalist ideology as the result of larger processes of modernization and industrialization. Many of the modern inventions and modes of production developed during this time intended to make life's daily chores easier and healthier (Montrie

[7] I use these two historical phases of environmental thought in order to briefly summarize the environmental literature. I understand environmentalism in America has a more detailed history and recognize it cannot be reduced to these historical phases alone. For this paper, however, my intention is to synthesize the progression of environmentalist ideology as succinctly as possible.

2011). The Industrial Revolution in America led to a period of industrial growth, prosperity, improved conditions regarding education and health, and the realization of the American Dream for many citizens; the assumption that land and animals served to make human's lives better underlined these improvements (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997; Inglehart 1990, 1997).

Although American society achieved intended goals of reduced physical labor, surpluses of items, and the development of faster modes of transportation, the Industrial Revolution created widespread environmental problems related to modernization during the second half of the Industrial Revolution (Montrie 2011). This created a Jevons Paradox, which occurs when industrial and technological innovation aiming to improve human life and benefit the environment eventually creates more environmental problems (Polmieni et al. 2008). This historical period saw the destruction of many natural habitats, lack of proper sewage and garbage disposal, cramped living and working spaces made with toxic materials and inadequate ventilation, absence of regulations and policies placed upon businesses, pollution of streams, lakes, and oceans, and air pollution from factories and automobiles (Montrie 2011).

American citizens did not ignore the environmental degradation created by the Industrial Revolution, however, especially those most impacted by harmful chemicals and toxins created by factories and the cramped and unhealthy conditions created by unregulated businesses. In fact, the earliest developments of the environmental movement began before the Civil War by citizens concerned about protecting game from excessive hunting (Brulle 2000). Similarly, during the early twentieth century, many Americans called for the protection of the country's land and water. Gifford

Pinchot advocated for conservation, or the sustainable use of natural resources, and the development of the National Forestry Service (Brulle 2000:152).

The idea of conservation in America shares assumptions with European perceptions of God and nature. The belief is that people are blessed by God, but they also have a responsibility to steward the land. George Perkins Marsh started the conservation movement in the U.S. when he wrote *Man and Nature* (1894), which warned Americans that they should take responsibility for properly managing the country's resources if future generations are to prosper (McCormick 1989). The main tenets of conservation include: the idea that nature works like a machine, humans should use natural resources to their own benefit through careful and efficient means, and resources should be used to promote good for as many people as possible (Brulle 2000:146).

Similarly, John Muir fought for preservation practices (i.e. keeping resources pristine and unused), leading to the Organic Act of 1916 and the development of the National Park Service and Sierra Club (Worster 2008).The main tenets of preservation are: ecosystems are constantly evolving and improving in their natural state, the wilderness is a source of physical and spiritual prosperity, natural resources are more than their equivalent in money, and wilderness areas should be preserved (Brulle 2000:161; McCormick 1989; Oelschlaeger 1991; Nash 1967). President Theodore Roosevelt also authorized the first wildlife refuge, passed the Antiquities Act, and expanded the national forest system (Minteer and Pyne 2012:7). Throughout the nineteenth century, the working and middle class also advocated for the protection of natural resources in order to improve their leisure activities and overall health (Montrie

2000:75; Rome 2003:525). Environmental concerns during the twentieth century focused on the "…development of atomic energy, the chemical revolution in agriculture, the proliferation of synthetic materials, and the increased scale of power generation and resource extraction technology" (Rome 2003:526). These efforts developed in response to the high levels of industrialization and land development occurring at the time.

Despite the development of environmentally-friendly U.S. policy, many Americans protested conservation and preservation efforts during this period (Brulle 2000:120-23). After President Roosevelt designated lands as national forests and forest preserves, protesters convened at the Public Lands Convention in 1907. They argued land should be the state's property rather than federal property. Similarly, the National Public Domain League developed in order to counterattack conservation efforts and Gifford Pinchot. The Western Conservation League also formed to campaign for states' rights in land ownership. Additional collective action, such as the Stanfield Rebellion and the McCarran Protests objected to fees for grazing livestock on federal land.

The next major wave of environmentalism in America occurred during the 1960s, coinciding with other social movements such as the women's movement and the civil rights movement. The political and social context of the sixties created a rise in environmentalism, including "the revitalization of liberalism, the growing discontent of middle-class women, and the explosion of student radicalism and countercultural protest" (Rome 2003:527). Rachel Carson's (1962) book, *Silent Spring*, marked a turning point in American environmentalism when she identified connections between chemicals, specifically pesticides, and increased cancer and birth defects rates. Carson

met opposition, however, particularly by Robert White Stevens, a representative of the American Cyanamid Corporation, who argued her claims were false (Brulle 2000:123-24). However, research quickly proved Stevens wrong, and support for Carson increased.

As a result of environmental efforts and the impact of events in the 1960s and 1970s, including the chemical weapons used during the Vietnam War, many laws passed to improve environmental protection; for example, government officials banned the use of dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) in the U.S. (Turner 2002:474). As a result of increased environmental concern, the government also passed the Clean Air Act in 1963, the Wilderness Act in 1964, the Clean Water Act in 1972, and the Endangered Species Act in 1973 (Liddick 2006:15). During President Nixon's term, Congress passed the National Environmental Protection Act (1970), requiring project leaders using federal money to create an Environmental Assessment (EA) that addresses the general environmental impact (positive and negative) of the project (Stern, Blahna, and Cerveny 2009). These were some of the first pro-active laws passed regarding environmental protection, whereas previous laws reacted and developed only in response to an environmental disaster. Project leaders are now also required to develop an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) describing a project's social and environmental impact in more detail (Rohrman 2005). Coinciding with legal changes, the larger public also implemented the first Earth day, in order to raise environmental awareness (Liddick 2006:15).

More conservative decades followed liberalism and social change in the 1960s. The Sagebrush Rebellion, a collective movement to provide states with control over

federal land, included many protesters in the western U.S., such as miners and ranchers; these protestors sought control over these lands to support local interest, but had little success (Brulle 2000:125). President Reagan advocated pro-business policies and gave businesses more freedoms to use and exploit natural resources as part of economic development and job opportunities (Liddick 2006). During his presidency, environmental programs also faced budget cuts (Brulle 2000:126). This created anger and frustration among environmentalists, who responded with their own methods of protecting the environment. They printed magazines and pamphlets, such as *Ecotage*, to promote both peaceful and violent acts to destroy and shut down businesses currently exploiting the environment; *Ecotage* has been linked to environmentalist and ecoterrorist groups (Liddick 2006:18). However, despite increased concerns, the environmental movement stalled during this time, frustrating environmentalists, which explains why more radical environmentalist groups began to develop.

From the late 1980s through the 1990s, anti-environmental collective action broadened into the Wise-Use Movement (Brulle 2000:126). Members of this movement believed the federal government should not be able to impose regulations on property. Instead, they believed property should belong to the state or to private industries. This movement also utilized the manifest destiny discourse to support these policy goals. They urged political leaders to allow protected lands to be mined and utilized for "energy production" (Gottlieb 1989:6). Members of this movement included many residents of the western U.S., including ranchers, loggers, miners, real estate developers, fishermen, oil and gas employers, and farmers (Brick and Cawley 1996:7).

They also wrote extensively about the false claims of global warming, receiving backing and funding from many prominent business corporations (Brulle 2000:129-30).

The environmental movement experienced setbacks in the late 1990s. The Environmental Action group, who started Earth Day, terminated due to insufficient funds (Bendavid 1996). Additionally, the environmental movement in the 1980s maintained a white, middle to upper class membership (Dowie 1995). Environmental organizations became too bureaucratic and aligned too closely with pro-business leaders for many of their members, which led to a split between more radicalized groups who felt their needs were not met by the more mainstream, bureaucratized environmental groups (Gottlieb 1993). For example, Earth First! developed to fill the void left by mainstream environmental organizations. Later, some members of this group formed the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), an ecoterrorist group (Brulle 2000:270; Foreman 1991; Manes 1990). Due to the tension between organizations and the decline of large and highly respected groups, the environmental movement fragmented to the point where it lacked a solid purpose and stable community of followers, which is a problem environmentalists still face today (Bruner and Oelschlaeger 1994; Killingsworth and Palmer 1992; Taylor 1992).

A variety of discourses developed to explain and justify environmentalism in America. According to Brulle (2000:98), there are nine general discourses of the environmental movement: manifest destiny, wildlife management, conservation, preservation, reform environmentalism, deep ecology, environmental justice, ecofeminism, and ecotheology. Manifest destiny discourse states natural resources exist to serve humankind and to leave these resources in their natural state would be a waste

of potential human benefits. Wildlife management discourse argues humans should properly manage the wildlife in their communities, whether wildlife is over-abundant or scarce. Conservation discourse, as discussed previously, argues for the smart and efficient use of natural resources to benefit humankind. Preservation discourse urges the maintenance of plants and wildlife in their natural state, arguing land should not be developed by humans because it is beautiful untouched and necessary to ecological balance. Reform environmentalism discourse, the most popular discourse in contemporary society, focuses on health problems created by environmental degradation and the use of scientific research to improve human health. Deep ecology discourse argues humans should do as little harvesting of natural resources and changing of the environment as possible in order to increase wilderness. Environmental justice discourse argues that the entire social structure is exploitative and in order to resolve ecological problems, there must be widespread social reform. Ecofeminist discourse urges people to deconstruct the ideas of hierarchy and superiority between nature and society, humans and animals, and men and women in order to resolve ecological problems. Finally, ecotheology discourse argues God created the world, and the closer humans keep the environment to its original and divine plan, the better humans will be both physically and spiritually.

Brulle (2000) also summarizes information about environmental groups in the U.S., noting both their influence and affluence (102-114). Using IRS data, he reports approximately 10,000 environmental groups are documented, with groups concerned with preservation occupying approximately 60% of the total, followed by conservation groups (17%), groups concerned with pollution (7.2%), and other smaller groups (less

than 5% each), including population control and wildlife sanctuary organizations. Most of these organizations do not report having incomes; however, the combined income of all environmental groups is $2.7 billion dollars, and their total amount of assets is $5.8 billion. Again, nearly $2.0 billion of the annual income and $4.0 billion of the total assets belong to groups concerned with the preservation of natural resources. The combined total of members in these groups is approximately 41 million, with approximately 28,000 staff workers. Summarizing the data, he writes:

> First, the environmental movement is larger than either the civil rights movement or the peace movement in terms of number of organizations, income, and assets […] However, industrial interest groups have a consistent advantage over environmental groups, both in number of organizations and in number of persons employed by these organizations […] Second, in comparison to other nonprofit organizations, the environmental movement has a significant presence in the policy-making process […] Third, the level of contributions places environmental organizations at a very low level in comparison to almost all other types of nonprofit organizations [especially religious nonprofits]. P. 102-114

A number of studies address the state of environmental over-consumption that has occurred during and after industrialization (Cotgrove 1982; Faber 1998; Foster 1999; Jorgenson 2003, 2004; Jorgenson and Burns 2007; Lofdahl 2002; O'Conner 1987, 1994; Schnaiberg 1980; Schnaiberg and Gould 1994). Jaeger (1994) argues the specialization that occurs during societal modernization also diffuses individual accountability for the environment. In more technologically advanced societies, individuals are not held accountable for environmental degradation, because they occupy just one position in a long chain of events in production and consumption cycles that produce environmental harm. Due to the ideology of capitalism and the drive for consumption, government officials are less likely to address environmental concerns. Government officials are often associated with businesses and/or pro-business affiliates

and are more likely to address environmental harm after-the-fact rather than being proactive (Janicke 1990).

To summarize, the environmental movement in the U.S. has taken many forms over time, situationally adjusting to various political and social movements. Environmental movements seem to be more successful during progressive movements, coinciding with other pivotal movements (i.e. civil rights movement). Environmentalists using the frames of conservation and preservation seem to have the most support in terms of membership and finances. They also focus specifically on either using land wisely to benefit society or keeping land pristine and untouched. Discourses of environmentalist groups vary (i.e. environmental justice discourse vs. deep ecology discourse), which represents the fragmentation of the larger environmentalist movement. Ecoterrorist groups, such as ELF, appear to develop from groups that are dissatisfied with mainstream environmental discourse. Ecoterrorist groups radicalize and separate from mainstream environmental groups even further, showing a linear progression in radicalization of ideology. Given the literature, it is highly possible that environmental discourses may be used by ecoterrorist groups, which may help them appear less culpable for their criminal actions.

Ecofeminism

Scholars have also interpreted the environmentalist movement through a gendered lens. Feminist thought originated as a response to the treatment of women in society, and its sole purpose has been to expose and eliminate gender inequality. However, feminism was uniquely positioned within academia to develop environmental awareness by connecting environmental degradation to women's oppression. Francoise

d'Eaubonne coined ecofeminism in 1974; she argued male privilege put women and all other forms of life at risk of exploitation (Brulle 2000:223; Pierce, Nelson, and Warren 2002). Despite its more recent coining, ecofeminist thought existed during the late nineteenth century, especially surrounding topics such as public health, cleanliness, pollution, and social programs (Brulle 2000:223-34; Wolf 1994). Ellen Swallow Richards, for example, played a significant role in raising awareness of health disparities relating to the Consumer-Environment Movement, a movement that criticized improper food preparation, loose rules in the development of medicines, water sanitation problems, and household dirtiness; she also advocated for women to pursue careers in science (Brulle 2000:224; Clarke 1973; Gottlieb 1993; Richards 1912). During the late 1970s and early 1980s, ecofeminism gained momentum. This period saw the development of the first ecofeminist group, World Women in Defense of the Environment, later known as WorldWIDE (Brulle 2000:227). An increase in "antimilitarist, environmentalist feminisms" occurred during the 1980s and 1990s; those involved with these social and political movements sought to maintain peace among all groups, while also allowing for multiple voices, especially of oppressed populations, to exist in the public (McCann and Kim 2010:98).

In general, ecofeminist groups are smaller compared to other environmental organizations, averaging approximately 4,000 members and two staff members per group; little is known about their financial history (Brulle 2000:227). Ecofeminists are also more likely to respond to immediate, local concerns that impact their own communities, rather than contributing to a large collective movement toward acceptance in mainstream society (228). Brulle (2000) describes three types of ecofeminism:

cultural, biological, and socio-economic feminism. Cultural ecofeminism focuses on the ways in which patriarchy exploits and disadvantages women; often, patriarchal culture associates women with nature, suggesting they are wild and need to be tamed, controlled, and used for male benefit. Biological ecofeminism argues women, as mothers, "develop a psyche centered on empathy, identification, and fusion of the self with nature […] This psyche is opposed to the male identity, which is based on a distinction between the self and the other, including the self and nature. Nature then becomes an object to be controlled" (223). Finally, socio-economic ecofeminism assumes cultural notions of gender and inequality as prominently based upon men's and women's economic contributions to society; due to capitalism, women and the environment are exploited to men's advantage (Downey and Strife 2010; Merchant 1995).

Feminists see the binary division of biological sex as oppressive to women, leaving women frustrated within their gendered societal roles within patriarchal societies (bell hooks 1984, Connell 2005, Delphy 1993, Kreps 1972, de Beauvoir 1952, Hartmann 1981, and Wittig 1981). Because ecofeminism finds similarities between the exploitation of the environment and the oppression of women, components of environmentalist and ecofeminist ideology share the desire to live in a sustainable and "greener" environment and a non-capitalistic view of the world's resources in which animals, plants, and people are understood as more important than their equivalent in money (Feagin 2000; Merchant 1992; Oelschlaeger 1991; Warren 2000).

Being a victim of capitalism makes women more empathetic of animal neglect and abuse. For example, ecofeminists argue women who are regularly physically or

verbally abused are often treated like dogs, making them more likely to criticize animal abuse and those who condone it (Gaard 1993; Mellor 1992; Seager 1994). Similar to the focus on animal protection, ecofeminists want the whole earth to maintain a healthy environmental balance, so they also develop ways to protect land and water from toxins created by capitalistic companies (Adams and Donovan 1995). Environmentalist and ecofeminist ideologies also conceptualize the world as "Mother Earth," a loving source of life that should be protected from the negative consequences of male-dominated cultures (Taylor 2001).

Similarly, women find ways to bargain with patriarchy, establish organizations, and develop alternative ways to produce knowledge in order to combat their oppression (Kandiyoti 1988; The Combahee River Collective 1977). Donna Haraway (1988) writes, "Ecofeminists have perhaps been most insistent on some version of the world as active subject, not as resource to be mapped and appropriated in bourgeois, Marxist, or masculinist projects" (593). In their article, Pierce, Nelson, and Warren (2002) discuss some of the movements developed by ecofeminists. In one case, women gathered together to protest the construction of condominiums on endangered wetlands. Ecofeminists, along with other environmentalists, are also known by the larger public as "tree huggers" when they protest the exploitation of endangered forests. Another example describes the efforts made to expose environmental harm to Native American territories when companies dump trash and waste. Similarly, ecofeminists also address environmental pollution experienced by those living in impoverished communities that are located in society's least desirable spaces. This pollution increases chances of illness, especially cancer and asthma. They have also sought to help minorities who

suffer due to institutionalized segregation are more likely to inhabit these polluted and dangerous communities.

Ecofeminist literature informs the current research, because it illuminates the ways in which gender frames a person's life experiences and world view. Gender may play a role in the development of ecoterrorist groups. As the literature suggests, gender oppression also leads more women to empathize with minorities, oppressed populations, and those who suffer within capitalistic societies. If these feelings of oppression are strong enough, women may be more likely to join left-wing terrorist and ecoterrorist groups and less likely to join right-wing terrorist groups, due to shared ideological goals. Research on women in terrorist groups may shed light on gendered processes within groups, as well as the appeal of certain groups to specific populations.

Terrorism in General

Demographic trends, along with summaries and case studies of ecoterrorists and ecoterrorist groups, provide context to the investigation of my research questions. Dr. Brent Smith and Dr. Kelly Damphousse, along with members of the Terrorism Research Center (including Dr. Chris Shields and Paxton Roberts, M.A.), located at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville, report some of the most detailed information about ecoterrorists available. Dr. Brent Smith (2008) provides terrorism researchers with descriptive information about terrorist groups. Ecoterrorists make up approximately 10% of all terrorists. He reports that nearly 90% of all terrorists (including domestic and international) are men; however, there is a higher percentage of women on average involved in ecoterrorism (as well as leadership positions in ecoterrorist groups) compared to other terrorist groups. Ecoterrorists also show higher

educational attainment when compared to other terrorist groups. Gender and level of education inform my research questions because they are variables that may impact how domestic terrorists fair in the criminal justice system. This study will also replicate demographic statistics reported by Dr. Smith (2008) and other members of the Terrorism Research Center (TRC); however, results may differ because more information has been collected since 2008.

Prosecution and sentencing trends

The actors present in the court process are the same across terrorist and non-terrorist cases; for example, a judge overseas court procedures, the prosecutor collects information against a defendant, the defense attorney collects evidence to support the defendant, and the jury collectively decides whether or not to punish the defendant. However, prosecution and sentencing trends of terrorists convicted in the United States are unique compared to non-terrorist trends. Dyson (2011) provides some general information about court procedures associated with terrorist cases. First, political protests may occur outside of government buildings, which is very rare for non-terrorist cases. Second, terrorists may have defense attorneys that are sympathetic to their cause and "bring the political philosophy of their clients into court" (321). In fact, terrorists may view court processes as a chance to promote their political philosophy and criticize the American government. There is also the issue of jury nullification; this occurs when members of a jury refuse to apply the law in order to promote a social cause and/or they feel as if it would be immoral to punish the defendant (323).

Comparative research of terrorists and non-terrorists in America find that terrorists face harsher punishment in the criminal justice system. They are also less

likely to plead guilty (unless they are presented with a very favorable outcome), which tends to result in longer sentences (Dyson 2011; Smith 1994; Smith and Damphousse 1996). The greatest predictor variable of sentence length for terrorists and nonterrorists is political motivation; terrorists are officially labeled as such by the FBI based on their attempts to further their political goals, leading to harsher sentences (Smith and Damphousse 1996:313). Similarly, crime severity and going to trial are strong predictors of sentence length for both terrorists and nonterrorists. Terrorists tend to be more educated, older, more likely to be women compared to nonterrorists. However, demographic variables, such as gender, education, and age have little effect on the relationship between sentence length and political motivation for severe crimes. Race, on the other hand, has a significant, but notable, effect, with minorities receiving longer sentences than whites (Smith and Damphousse 1996).

Smith and Damphousse (1998) also investigate two theories to explain differences in prosecution outcomes between terrorists and nonterrorists. Structural-contextual theory argues that when different parts of the criminal justice system become more interdependent (i.e. during times of a high-profile terrorist case), prosecution outcomes will be easier to predict. The liberation hypothesis argues that as the severity of the crime increases, people involved in determining sentences feel less inclined to determine punishment themselves, rather relying on legal variables to determine sentences. They find support for both theoretical frameworks. The larger political environment (i.e., if criminal justice and political institutions use proactive prosecution strategies) can impact punishment outcomes, perhaps more so than the severity of the crime. The larger culture is important for determining whether or not institutions use

proactive or reactive strategies; for example, widely covered terrorist attacks heighten citizens' fear of terrorist attacks and may lead to proactive policy.

There are disparities in punishment between terrorists and nonterrorists, especially before the passage of the U.S. Sentencing Guidelines. The disparities decreased post-guidelines, with nonterrorists showing higher sentences for similar crimes (Bradley-Engen, Damphousse, and Smith 2009). The research also shows how the political climate impacts prosecution strategies and sentencing outcomes, especially after significant terrorist events like 9/11 and the Oklahoma City bombing (Bradley-Engen, Damphousse, and Smith 2009).

Smith et al. (2002) document prosecution and prosecution strategies of terrorists indicted in America from 1980-1998. The authors explain similarities and differences in prosecution and sentencing outcomes for domestic and international terrorists. Terrorist cases are more likely to go to trial in federal criminal court compared to non-terrorist cases. From 1980-1998, the percent of defendants who pled guilty rose from "85% in the 1980s to nearly 95% by 1995," while only 41.7% of terrorists pled guilty (322).

The authors also document major changes in plea bargaining strategies before and after the Federal Sentencing Guidelines. Before the guidelines, domestic terrorists were less likely to plead guilty than international terrorists (36.1% and 57.1%, respectively), and after the guidelines passed, they were more likely to plead guilty (49% and 32.8%, respectively) (323).

Smith et al. (2002) also find the politicization of terrorist trials and the negative stigma of "terrorist" placed upon defendants are more effective prosecution strategies during international terrorist cases compared to domestic cases (324). As a result,

"nearly three-fourths of the domestic terrorists indicted for seditious conspiracy have been acquitted of these charges, whereas over 85% of the international terrorists have been convicted" (325). Domestic terrorists are also less likely to receive 20 or more years in prison compared to international terrorists (7.3% and 44.9%, respectively) (329). Americans may be more receptive of convicting and giving harsher sentences to foreigners in terrorist cases than American citizens, raising further questions about how nationality and race/ethnicity might sway court decisions in terrorism-related cases, as well as how the courts respond to the politicization of cases, both in prosecution procedures and major media and news outlets in America.

Given what we know about domestic and international prosecution strategies and prosecution outcomes, I predict further analyses will continue to investigate comparisons between domestic and international terrorism, as well as international terrorism, specifically, because it remains highlighted in the post-9/11 American consciousness. Despite the current knowledge and attention to terrorism in an international context, more information is required to understand between-group differences of domestic terrorist groups. Domestic terrorists may widely vary in terms of ideology, planning and execution of terrorist plots, amount of damage caused by terrorist incidents, and prosecution outcomes. They may also vary across key demographic variables. Attention should continue to be made to terrorism "made in America," especially to ecoterrorism, as concerns about environmental protection and sustainability continue to influence debate on climate change, pollution, and global business. Finally, the larger political climate appears to create variations across prosecution outcomes. Investigating the larger cultural, social, and political

understandings of terrorism is necessary for understanding how terrorists are punished in the criminal justice system.

Ecoterrorism

Ecoterrorism research is greatly needed in the present day, and Dr. Brent Smith (1994) has advised Americans to prepare for increases in environmental terrorism (xiii). In order to understand ecoterrorist activity, we must first understand why terrorist acts occur. Ecoterrorism shares ideological goals with environmentalism and ecofeminism; however, terrorism occurs when a person or group of individuals want to change or impact "…some governmental or other human policy or course of action" and use violence (or threaten to use violence) to achieve their goals (Schwartz 1998:486). Terrorism is a socially-constructed concept used by a group of powerful people to label and punish social deviants; therefore, the "terrorist" label may be applied differently within certain political, social, and cultural contexts (Turk 2004). This means radical environmentalists and ecofeminists may be considered terrorists in certain circumstances and not in others, depending on the cultural context within which their actions are interpreted.

Ecoterrorism in America has been largely ignored in recent years compared to international terrorism, perhaps because the criminal justice system is more likely to convict environmental activists of crimes other than terrorism (Turk 2004:273). Amster (2006) makes an argument that ecoterrorism occurs when government officials and/or political lobbies ignore or attempt to extinguish earth and animal rights initiatives, which prompts deviant and often violent behavior from activists. Ecoterrorism could result, then, due to a lack of institutional and governmental avenues for expressing non-

capitalistic values and implementing new programs or governmental organizations in support of these values. Traditional protesting is meant to inspire change; if a change fails to occur and government and political leaders do not listen to protesters, then deviant protest in the form of violence or threats is more likely to occur.

There is not a large body of literature investigating ecoterrorist crimes, as it is a relatively new terrorist movement. Ecoterrorism started occurring (or started being labeled terrorism and documented as such) in the late 1980s, while other types of terrorism declined (Liddick 2006; Smith 1994). Ecoterrorism differs from other types of terrorism in that it has been labeled by the FBI as "special interest terrorism," with ecoterrorists having unique motives to "…change one aspect of the social or political arena through terrorism" compared to other terrorists charged in the U.S. (Smith 1994:26,125). Ecoterrorists a unique in that they do not see the exploitation of animals and natural resources as profitable and necessary; rather, they seek to protect all forms of life, believing that violence is often necessary to revolutionize the way American society treats and thinks about animals and the use of natural resources (Eagan 1996).

Ecoterrorist ideology contends that humans have hurt other forms of life in their quest to control and benefit from the environment and wildlife. Smith (1994) argues the two main concerns of ecoterrorists in America during the 1980s focused on the harmful impact of nuclear power plants and the selfish use of other forms of life by people (125). The FBI has also struggled to label ecoterrorist crimes as such initially due to lack of information about ecoterrorist organizations. For example, Earth First and ALF members committed terrorist crimes in 1986-1987, yet these crimes were not labeled as terrorism until 1988 (26). Similarly, the government did not link initial terrorist

incidents to ecoterrorist groups until there was a more defined pattern of sabotage and clearer proof of organized terrorist group activity (26). Finally, ecoterrorism has also been associated with leftist terrorism, further confusing the special interest nature of ecoterrorism (127).

Despite limited information and more recent development of ecoterrorist groups compared to other terrorist groups, Liddick (2006) argues ecoterrorism has made a huge impact on American life and resources, with the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Earth Liberation Front (ELF) organizations alone committing over 600 crimes and causing over 43 million dollars in damages since 1996. Ecoterrorists are involved in sinking whaling ships, spiking trees so that loggers are seriously injured or killed when they deforest an area, sending anthrax to government agencies, damaging dams and towers, and freeing animals from businesses (Eagan 1996). Members of ALF are known more for sabotaging university labs and equipment and releasing animals used by universities for research; ALF has also been politically linked to People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), a well-known and successful non-terrorist organization (Smith 1994:128).

Despite less information about ecoterrorist groups, scholars do know that some groups have gained widespread attention. The Evan Mecham Ecoterrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC) was an ecoterrorist group based in Arizona led by David Foreman, who also led the Earth First! environmental movement (125-6). Forman published *Ecodefense: A Field guide to Monkeywrenching*, in 1985, which described tactics to put spikes in trees to prevent logging practices. EMETIC targeted nuclear power plants, ski resorts, and uranium mines, and towers providing electricity to

communities (127). Research on another ecoterrorist group, called "The Family" or "The Book Club," finds this group is one of the longest-lasting terrorist groups in America (Smith and Damphousse 2009). Perhaps it is because their methods (arson and other incendiary devices) are hard to trace. They are a large cell of activists whose methods differ from other ecoterrorist groups. For example, they are more likely to spend a longer time researching their targets and planning their terrorist acts.

This information is important for this research, because ecoterrorism is the main topic of interest. Ecoterrorism is considered special interest terrorism and has been confused with non-terrorism crimes and has associations with non-terrorist organizations. Ecoterrorist crimes, such as arson, may also be more likely to be labeled non-terrorist, meaning information about all ecoterrorist activity (and all domestic terrorist cases, too) may be limited depending on what crimes the FBI has labeled terrorist. These crimes also seem harder to trace due to ecoterrorists' methods and group organization. All of these factors may result in differential treatment of ecoterrorists compared to other domestic terrorists.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

As shown in the literature review, ecoterrorists, environmentalists, and ecofeminists reject environmentally damaging consumption and production practices

and create new goals of a more environmentally-friendly and peaceful world. However, what largely separates environmentalists and ecofeminists from ecoterrorists is the means through which they attempt to achieve these new goals. While environmentalists and ecofeminists use legal and peaceful means of activism, political lobbying, and academic research, ecoterrorists use deviant and illegal means to promote social change. From a strain theory perspective (Merton 1957), ecoterrorists may be viewed as radical environmentalists or ecofeminists who resorted to rebellion after their efforts to use the proper legal channels failed. People may be less quick to punish ecoterrorists for this reason. From a conflict perspective (Marx and Engels 1848), ecoterrorists may also embody certain traits (i.e. race, gender, educational attainment) or ideologies (i.e. environmentalist or ecofeminist) that result in lighter punishments in the criminal justice system compared to other domestic terrorists. They may also be perceived as less culpable by members of the criminal justice system and the larger society due to the larger political and cultural contexts surrounding the terrorist events. In order to better understand differences between domestic terrorist groups and potential reasons as to why they may have differential treatment within the criminal justice system, we must understand the cultural contexts that lead to decision-making within the criminal justice system.

Research Questions

My central research question asks whether ecoterrorists are different from other terrorist groups (both demographically and pertaining to treatment within the criminal justice system), and if so, how and why are they different? In order to answer the first part of this question (are they different?), I review descriptive demographic statistics of

terrorist groups, replicating previous analyses conducted by members of the Terrorism Research Center (TRC) in order to account for new information coded into the American Terrorism Study database. To a lesser extent, I also examine whether there are differences between women in ecoterrorist groups compared to women in other types of terrorist groups, specifically focusing and whether their roles and activities are more prestigious and central to ecoterrorist activity than in other forms of terrorism. In order to determine additional demographic information of terrorist groups, I examine race/ethnicity, age, and education variables within and across ecoterrorist groups, as well as within and across other terrorist groups. Finally, I examine prosecution outcomes using chi square analysis and binary logistic regression in order to see if ecoterrorists have lighter prosecution outcomes than left-wing and right-wing terrorists.

In order to answer the second part of this question (if so, why?), I turn to content analysis of court documents, media reports, and media distributed by ecoterrorists, left-wing terrorists, and right-wing terrorists in an attempt to explain why terrorist groups may receive different punishment outcomes. I infer from the content analysis an explanation that terrorist groups may receive differential treatment within the criminal justice system due to differences in the cultural frames terrorist groups and those commentating on terrorist groups use to describe terrorist groups, the ways in which they describe their problems, the ways in which they wish to or attempt to resolve those problems, and how they attract and/or motivate members of terrorist groups to behave. Evidence of radicalized environmentalist and/or ecofeminist ideology in ecoterrorist discourse would support my prediction.

Supplemental analyses of media documents allow me to explore the ways in which summary symbols, such as freedom and justice, are used to describe the purposes and activities of terrorists. I observe the strategies that people who support or denounce ecoterrorists using symbolic affirmation of cultural summary symbols. This allows me to see how rhetoric is used to communicate different world views, or perspectives, about terrorist events. Ecoterrorists may invoke more feelings of empathy through their use of an environmental justice summary symbol that relates better to mainstream ideas of justice and freedom compared to summary symbols of justice used by left-wing and right-wing terrorist groups. It may also be a result of the connections found between the frames used by ecoterrorists and the environmental or ecofeminist movement that are not found among left-wing and right-wing terrorist frames. Finally, rhetoric relating to ecoterrorist activity versus other types of domestic terrorist activity may indicate a need to change the definition of terrorism.

Together, these analyses will provide potential answers to broader theoretical questions, such as: how does inequality impact the efficiency and fairness of social institutions? In this case, inequality found across domestic terrorist groups may be a result of ecoterrorists having certain traits or attributes, such as race, gender, or educational attainment, that produce lighter prosecution outcomes. This would inform the conflict perspective in the criminal justice system. Another broad question would be indicative of strain theory, asking: are otherwise law-abiding people forced to commit acts of deviance when their needs are not met? Are these people the ones at fault, even when larger social institutions fail them? It may be the case that ecoterrorists gain more empathy from others by describing themselves as radicalized environmentalists who

eventually resort terrorism due to the lack of attention they gained through formal, legal methods. Others may perceive ecoterrorists as less at fault for terrorist acts compared to left-wing and right-wing groups if ecoterrorists portray themselves as strained, radicalized environmentalists.

Hypotheses for Quantitative Analyses

1. Demographic trends for ecoterrorists will differ from left-wing and right-wing terrorists.

    1.1 Women will have stronger representation in ecoterrorist groups, due to links made between ecofeminist, environmentalist, and ecoterrorist ideology and research conducted by the Terrorism Research Center.

    1.2 Ecoterrorists are more likely to be more educated, assuming that college enrollment may lead to increased knowledge of environmentalist movements and interaction with members of radical environmental movements.

    1.3 Ecoterrorists will be racially similar to left-wing and right-wing terrorists, due to their domestic terrorist status and American population statistics.

    1.4 Ecoterrorists are more likely to be young compared to left-wing and right-wing terrorists, due to the previous hypothetical assumption that links environmental activism and college enrollment to higher involvements in ecoterrorism.

2. Prosecution outcomes will differ between ecoterrorists, left-wing, and right-wing terrorists.

    2.1 Left-wing and right-wing terrorists will be less likely to have dismissed/acquitted cases compared to ecoterrorists.

2.2 Left-wing and right-wing terrorists will be less likely to plead guilty compared to ecoterrorists.

2.3 Left-wing and right-wing terrorists will be more likely to have a trial conviction compared to ecoterrorists.

Predictions for Qualitative Analyses

1. Ecoterrorists, left-wing terrorists, and right-wing terrorists will attempt to invoke summary symbols, such as freedom and justice, in their diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames. However, the ways in which they invoke summary symbols in their frames will vary due ideological differences.

2. Ecoterrorists will be unique in comparison to left-wing and right-wing terrorists because they will use summary symbols in their frames in similar ways as environmentalists and ecofeminists.

CHAPTER 4: METHODS

Mixed Methods Research

Mixed methods research is well-suited for answering my research questions and is a highly useful tool for approaching a research topic from both a qualitative and

quantitative perspective (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). For example, my research questions both attempt to understand conviction outcomes of domestic terrorists. However, one question attempts to understand conviction patterns across domestic terrorist groups. This requires quantitative analyses; for example, the American Terrorism Study database provides statistics on conviction outcomes for ecoterrorists, left-wing terrorists, and right-wing terrorists. The second question asks why these outcomes may occur. This question is broader and examines the meanings attached to conviction patterns. Qualitative research is necessary to answer this question, as it investigates the negotiation of meanings attached to cultural rhetoric used by domestic terrorist groups and examines frames using an interpretive framework. Mixed methods research provides scholars with a broader understanding of the research topic, as well as validation of the findings, through the triangulation of research methods (Olsen 2004).

Data for Quantitative Analysis

I use the data collected during the American Terrorism Study (ATS), which provides demographic, group, and court case information about indicted terrorists, and the Prosecutorial Strategies and Defense (PADS) project, which investigates strategies used by the defense and prosecutor during terrorism court trials, to answer these research questions. The ATS and PADS project are currently housed at the Terrorism Research Center in Fulbright College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville, initially founded by Dr. Brent L. Smith and Dr. Kelly R. Damphousse in 1993. Other people working at the TRC include the current Research

Project Manager, Dr. Christopher Shields, and Research Associate and Geospatial Projects Manager, Paxton Roberts.[8]

The ATS began when the FBI's Terrorist Research and Analytical Center released a list of people indicted under its Counterterrorism Program, giving researchers opportunities to gather data of the persons indicted as terrorists. This and subsequent lists have been made available through the joint effort of the FBI, the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime, and the Senate Judiciary Committee. In 2004, the Department of Justice, the National Counterterrorism Center, the Executive Office of U.S. Attorneys, and U.S. Attorney's websites produced official lists of terrorism cases. TRC researchers have collected or partially collected court case files of every court case in the United States officially labeled a "terrorism" case by the FBI from 1980 to 2012.

Originally funded by the Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT), the ATS has also received funding from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and the Department of Justice (DOJ). Similarly, the PADS project was originally funded by the NIJ and has also received funding from the DOJ. Other institutions aiding in the ATS include the U.S. District Courts (Clerks of Courts), the Federal Regional Archives, Office of the United States

[8] I am formerly employed by the TRC as a graduate research assistant while earning my Master's Degree in Sociology at the University of Arkansas, working as a coder for the project, "Border Crossings and Terrorist Attacks in the United States: Lessons for Protecting against Dangerous Entrants," a multi-institutional research project headed by the Department of Homeland Security's National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Reponses to Terrorism (START) center. The faculty and staff at the TRC have met with me during the course of this research project, providing critical advice and expertise during my development of research questions and statistical analysis of the data.

Attorney General, Oklahoma City National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime, the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, the U.S. Sentencing Commission, the University of Alabama at Birmingham, and the University of Oklahoma.

Information collected by the TRC includes court case documents, such as indictments explaining the nature of the terrorist incident, background information collected by the courts about the terrorist group and ideology, media files from legitimate news sources used in court providing additional descriptive information, prosecution reports detailing the official punishment of terrorists, and more. TRC researchers have coded information from these court records into large SQL databases in order to conduct complex and detailed analyses of terrorism in America.

The ATS database holds information on approximately 989 individual terrorists (including terrorists not included in analyses, such as international terrorists) and 373 fully coded court cases. There are 67 ecoterrorists, 189 left-wing terrorists, and 272 right wing terrorists included in analyses, making a total of 528. There are 38 ecoterrorist cases, 38 left-wing terrorist cases, and 120 right-wing terrorist cases included in analyses, making a total of 196 court cases. These numbers are subject to change as ATS researchers collect and code more cases into the database. Some analyses may have missing data for these cases and individuals, due to the availability of information in collected court case documents on variables coded into database. For example, some of the court case documents have been sealed by the courts; as a result, there may be incomplete and/or missing data for some of the variables. Another

implication is that the total number of individuals included in analyses is lower than 528 due to missing data, and the logistic regression analyzes only 388 people.

The database is organized based on count data. For example, one court case may have many counts associated with the terrorist incident. This creates problems when trying to understand individual terrorists associated with single terrorist incidents, due to the replication of individual data when there is more than one count associated with his/her case. In order to reduce duplication of individual terrorist data, I limit my analyses to only the first count associated with the case, a strategy similar to those used in former publications produced by the TRC (Shields 2012; Smith et al. 2002).

Analyzing the first count in a court case has benefits and limitations. The most obvious benefit to this method is that we gain more accurate and valid information on individual terrorists while reducing the duplication of information (i.e. one individual may have 5 counts, and without limiting the count number, they are represented five times and are interpreted as five individuals instead of one). The second benefit is that counts are ordered in terms of severity, with the first count being the most severe; however, the dependent variables are all case results, meaning the prosecution outcome for the entire case is represented. The first counts are also more likely to be punished. For example, counts can be added and dropped during court processes. Counts listed later on the indictment may be dropped and/or not sentenced. Limiting analyses to the first count allows us to look at the most severe count, which is also the count that is more likely to determine prosecution outcomes. Finally, limiting the data to the first count helps eliminate inconsistencies with count severity. The first count is more important in understanding the severity of the crime, as it identifies the severest count

associated with the case. Less severe counts may create bias within the analyses, with less severe counts skewing the data on prosecution outcomes. For instance, a trial conviction based on two counts (the first being bombing a terrorist target and the second being material support to terrorism) is more likely to be better understood in terms of the more severe count.

One limitation, however, is that by limiting the count number, we lose information about less severe counts. One could argue that conclusions would be limited, because we treat individual terrorists with only one count on their indictment the same as individual terrorists that have many counts on their indictments. Future research may find differences between terrorists who have one count versus many counts (i.e. terrorists with many counts may have stronger ties to the terrorist group and/or may have more influential roles involving the terrorist incident). Another limitation is that using the first count only decreases the total amount of information in the database in analyses. There is an assumption in social science research that a larger population or sample size increases the strength of the analyses. Eliminating counts after the first count decreases totals in analyses.

Due to the strong emphasis on understanding individual terrorists in my research question, however, I feel that using first count only data is the best approach. The information lost by duplicating individuals when including all count data is detrimental to understanding prosecution outcomes of individuals. Losing additional count data is less risky than the risk of providing inaccurate information about individuals in different terrorist groups. However, the ATS database does have the ability to analyze using counts as the focus of the research question, instead of individuals. For example, future

research could determine whether or not prosecution outcomes depend on the number of counts each case has associated with it, as well as whether or not added or dropped counts during court processes impact prosecution outcomes. I hope to continue researching this topic and eventually compare individual-based and counts-based findings.

Listed is a brief description of the three categories of domestic terrorist groups included in analyses.[9] Researchers at the Terrorism Researcher Center code each terrorism case as a specific category of terrorism, and Dr. Smith (1994) also provides descriptive information on these categories. Ecoterrorist ideology supports animal rights and seeks to protect the world's natural resources. The majority of people in this group are members of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). Right-wing terrorist ideology believes in racial and religious superiority of certain populations and supports wealth inequality and capitalism. People within this category include, but are not limited to, members of the Ku Klux Klan, the Montana Freemen, the Aryan Circle, the Army of God, and the Arizona Patriots. Left-wing terrorist ideology supports equality of wealth and the hope for a truly egalitarian society. People in left-wing terrorist groups include, but are not limited to, members of Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN), Macheteros, Revolutionary Communist Military Command, and the United Freedom Front (UFF). These groups declined in the 1980s due to counterterrorism strategies (Smith 1994); however, court records provide information on these groups that are coded into the database. All of the

[9] Definitions of terrorism can be found at: http://www.fbi.gov/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states. I give a brief overview of these categories and group names associated with them.

groups mentioned are coded into the American Terrorism Study database, along with other groups. One limitation of this study is that the timeline of these groups vary (i.e. left-wing terrorist cases have declined and might therefore be aged compared to other domestic terrorism).

Description of Variables in quantitative analyses

The TRC offers a variety of variables to study prosecution strategies. Coders at the TRC read court case documents and code variables according to definitions held in the ATS codebook. Variables included in analyses include age, race, gender, educational attainment, type of domestic terrorist group, count severity, and case outcomes (trial conviction, guilty plea, and case dismissal/acquittal). For all variables, values listed as unknown (coded as -8) and not applicable (coded as -9) are treated as missing. The following describes each variable, how it was coded in the ATS database, and how I coded the variable for analyses. Differences in coding between the ATS and the current study are due to the information required to answer my research questions, as well as the lack of data (or small amount of data) for some of the categories within each variable.

Age is recorded in the database as the age at the time of indictment in years (example: 30 years). Race is coded in the database as 1 = white, 2 = black or African American, 3 = American Indian or Alaska Native, 4 = Asian, 5 = Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, and 6 = some other race. However, I for these analyses, I transform the race variable into white = 1 and non-white = 0 categories, with the non-white category including black/African American, American Indian/Alaska Native,

Asian, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and some other race. Gender is coded as male = 1 and female = 0.

Educational attainment is coded in the database as 1 = less than 8th grade, 2 = completed 8th grade, 3 = some high school, 4 = GED, 5 = high school diploma, 6 = some college or voc. School, 7 = assoc. degree or voc. school graduate, 8 = college graduate, and 9 = Post-graduate work. For these analyses, I transform the variable into less than high school = 1 (including less than 8th grade, completed 8th grade, and some high school), high school diploma or GED = 2 (including high school diploma and GED), some college or vocational school = 3, associate degree/vocational school graduate/college graduate = 4 (including associate degree or vocational school graduate and college graduate), and post-graduate work = 5. The terrorism group category is coded into the database as 1 = environmental, 2 = far-left, 3 = far-right, 4 = Islamic extremist, 5 = nationalist/separatist, 6 = single issue. I created a new variable for domestic terrorism category, where ecoterrorism (aka environmental terrorism) = 1, left-wing terrorism (aka far-left) = 2, right-wing terrorism (aka far-right) = 3, and all other values are treated as missing. However, I re-coded these values for statistical analyses so that terrorist ecoterrorist = 0 (the reference category), left-wing terrorist = 1, and right-wing terrorist = 2.

The count severity variable, however, is unaffected by the Federal Sentencing Guidelines (all cases before 11-1-88 have not been subjected to the Federal Sentencing Guidelines, whereas all cases after 11-1-88 are subjected to the guidelines) and is a strong control variable for this study. It is a variable that ranges from 1-29, with 1 representing the least severe crimes and 29 representing the most severe crimes. The

variable is crated using *The National Survey of Crime Severity* (Wolfgang et al. 1985) and the *Federal Criminal Code and Rules, 1993* (Federal Rules 1995). The categories for count severity with Federal A.O. code in parentheses are as follows: 1 = miscellaneous (9999); 2 = contempt (9921); 3 = firearms, possession (7820); 4 = embezzlement, false claims (4991); 5 = theft, U.S. property, conspiracy (3400); 6 = aiding escapee (7320); 7 = escape (7312); 8 = theft, transportation, conspiracy (3600); 9 = embezzlement, postal/wire (4700); 10 = racketeering, arson, conspiracy (7410); 11 = national defense (9790); 12 = theft, bank (3100); 13 = embezzlement, other (4999); 14 = auto theft (5100); 15 = drugs, distribution marijuana (6501); 16 = drugs, cocaine (6701); 17 = firearms, machine guns, conspiracy (7800); 18 = manslaughter (0300); 19 = robbery, conspiracy (1400); 20 = counterfeiting (5800); 21 = embezzlement, bankruptcy (4990); 22 = murder, 1st, conspiracy (0101); 23 = robbery, bank (1100); 24 = firearms (7830); 25 = explosives (9994); 26 = racketeering (7400); 27 = kidnapping, hostage (7611); 28 = murder, 1st (0100); 29 = treason, sedition (9754). The response categories are ordinal and need to be categorical for analyses. Instead of having 28 dummy variables created for analyses, I transform this variable into three categories: low (1-10), medium (11-20), and high (21-29) order to run it as a more meaningful categorical variable in analyses.[10]

Conviction outcomes are coded in the ATS database as the following case results reported in court records (the outcome of the entire case, not just the first count outcome): 0 = mistrial, but retried/awaiting retrial, 1 = trial conviction on one or more

[10] I did this upon advising from a dissertation committee member. However, the variable has been used as a continuous variable in analyses in former TRC publications (for example, see Bradley-Engen, Damphousse, and Smith 2009).

charges, 2 = pleaded guilty to one or more charges, 3 = case dismissed due to mistrial, 4 = case dismissed on government motion prior to trial, 5 = acquittal, 6 = transferred/ combined, 7 = awaiting trial, 8 = fugitive, 10 = extradited, 11 = extradited reversed, 12 = plead guilty but placed in the Witness Protection Program, 13 = awaiting extradition to US, 14 = died prior to trial, 15 = case dismissed for Civil rights violations, 16 = Nolle Prosequi (meaning the defendant will no longer be prosecuted), and 17 = case dismissed & defendant deported. I created a new variable to include trial conviction on one or more charges = 1, pleaded guilty to one or more charges (including pleaded guilty to one or more charges and plead guilty but placed in the Witness Protection Program) = 2, case dismissed/acquitted (including case dismissed due to mistrial, case dismissed on government motion prior to trial, acquittal, case dismissed for Civil rights violations, Nolle Prosequi, and case dismissed & defendant deported) = 3. All other values are treated as missing. From this new variable, I created dummies for trial conviction (1 = yes, 0 = plead guilty and case dismissed/acquitted), pled guilty (1 = pled guilty, 0 = trial conviction and case dismissed/acquitted), and case dismissed/acquitted (1 = case dismissed/acquitted, 0 = pled guilty and trial conviction). All other values are treated as missing. There are reasons why I decided to create a new variables with smaller categories. The first is due to the extremely low numbers in some of the categories, which led me to either declare them missing or combine categories. I later create another dummy variable to be used in logistic regression with 1=trial conviction or guilty plea and 0=dismissed/acquitted. This was created to understand the relationship between those who have a conviction of some sort versus those who do not have a conviction.

I justify combining case dismissed or acquitted due to small numbers across various dismissal/acquittal categories. Also, the combination makes sense for this study, because essentially, the defendant's charge(s) are dropped, either before going to trial or shortly after the indictment due to lack of evidence or if the defendant's constitutional rights have been violated (i.e. the defendant's guilt is never assessed), meaning the case has been dismissed, or the charges are dropped during the trial due to a jury finding a defendant not guilty or a judge decides to close the case due to lack of evidence, meaning the defendant has been acquitted. Either way, the defendant is not charged. Plea bargaining reflects the ability of the defendant to set up an agreement with the prosecutor to plead guilty to one or more charges in exchange for a concession from the prosecutor (i.e. shorter sentence, smaller fine, some charges are dropped). Trial conviction means that the defendant goes through trial and is convicted on one or more charges, which means the defendant either refuses or cannot establish a plea agreement and is not able to get his/her case dismissed or acquitted. Both plea bargaining and trial convictions result in a conviction outcome, rather than having a case acquitted or dismissed.

Statistical procedures

In order to analyze demographic information across terrorist groups, I ran frequencies on all of the variables included in the analysis. I also ran chi square tests across terrorist groups and categorical demographic/prosecution-specific variables and a t-test across terrorist groups and continuous demographic/prosecution-specific variables, in order to determine whether or not there are statistically significant differences between ecoterrorists and left-wing terrorists, specifically, and ecoterrorists

and right-wing terrorists, specifically. Chi square analysis is used to observe if there are group differences and compares at least two categorical variables; it does this by comparing the expected frequencies of the variables to the observed frequencies, with the null hypothesis being that there will be no significant difference between groups (the expected and observed frequencies will be the same) (Boslaugh 2012). Assumptions of chi-square analyses are that variables are not correlated and the sample size is relatively large (i.e. if 20% or more cells have less than 5 expected values, the sample size is too small) (Boslaugh 2012). Chi-square analysis is used to test groups differences for ecoterrorists and left-wing terrorists (also, for ecoterrorists and right-wing terrorists) for race, gender, education, count severity, trial conviction, pled guilty, and case dismissed/acquitted.

T-tests are used to observe if there are group differences for a dichotomous independent variable across one continuous dependent variable; it does this by determining if the means for each category within the independent variable are significantly different across the dependent variable, with the null hypothesis being that there will be no significant difference between means (the means will be the same) (Boslaugh 2012). An unpaired t-test is used to test group differences for ecoterrorists and left-wing terrorists (also, for ecoterrorists and right-wing terrorists) for the age variable; it assumes the dependent variable is normally distributed with equal variances across each group in the independent variable and that every observation of the dependent variable is independent from all other observations of the dependent variable (Boslaugh 2012). These statistical analyses help explain differences across prosecution outcomes, as well as focus on variables individually rather than controlling for all the

variables simultaneously in a more sophisticated statistical model. If any of the assumptions are violated during analysis, I will use corrective measures and discuss them in detail. For example, the Levine's test determines if there are equal variances across each group in the independent variable. If there are unequal variances, it automatically adjusts the data to allow for interpretation with unequal variances.

I use binary logistic regression in order to analyze domestic terrorists' treatment within the criminal justice system and their prosecution outcomes. Multiple regression uses a least-squares method to determine coefficients for the independent variables in the regression (Boslaugh 2012). For example, it computes coefficients that minimize the residuals for all cases. This method finds a model with the least amount of error on the prediction line. Logistic regression, on the other hand, uses maximum-likelihood method to determine the coefficients for the logistic regression (Boslaugh 2012). It produces a model based on the likelihood value (value of the parameter that makes the observed data most likely), with perfect model having likelihood value of zero.

Assumptions for logistic regression are different from ordinary least squares (OLS) regression (Boslaugh 2012). Unlike OLS regression, which analyses a continuous dependent variable, binary logistic regression is used when analyzing dichotomous, categorical dependent variables. The goal is to understand the probability that the predictor variables belong to one category of the dependent variable or the other (coded as 0 or 1). Logistic regression is used to predict the probability of an event occurring based upon a set of predictors. Maximum likelihood estimation assesses how well a set of independent predictor variables predicts a categorical dependent variable

by assessing the model's "goodness of fit," and reports the relative importance of each independent variable or any interaction effects.

Also unlike OLS, logistic regression cannot assume a linear relationship between independent predictor variables and the dependent variable (Boslaugh 2012). Logistic regression works well with both categorical and continuous predictor variables; for example, it does not require independent variables to be normally distributed or have a linear relationship. For categorical predictor variables, it automatically creates dummy variables comparison. Logistic regression also requires that variables must be mutually exclusive and exhaustive and an adequate sample size. A general rule of thumb is that there must be at least 50 cases for each predictor variable.

The logistic regression equation is $\text{logit}(p) = B0 + B1X1 + B2X2 + ... + BkXk$ (Boslaugh 2012). It is similar to a regression equation; however, we interpret results differently. B represents the log of odds (logits/b coefficients/slope values), or an estimate that tells us the log of odds change in the dependent variable for a one-unit increase in X, while controlling for other variables. The null hypothesis is that B1=0, or that the predictor variable is not related to the probability of occurrence. This means the hypothesis is that B1 does not equal 0, or that the predictor variable is related to the probability of occurrence. However, the log of odds are hard to interpret. For example, because the dependent variable is dichotomous, it is not helpful to interpret results similar to OLS regression results (i.e. for every one-unit increase in the predictor variable, the dependent variable log of odds increases or decreases so many units). Rather, the odds ratio reports the likelihood of something occurring for every unit increase in the predictor.

The Odds Ratio, or EXP (B), is calculated for each predictor variable using the exponential function (e^Bk) of the regression coefficients in the logistic regression equation (Boslaugh 2012). These values give researchers the ability to say the odds of an event occurring are so many times greater/lesser across values of the predictor variables. Significance is determined using the Likelihood Ratio Test (tests the Chi square difference), which essentially determines if the model including predictor variables (model chi square) is significantly different from the baseline model, which is the model that assumes the b coefficients of the predictor variables equal 0 (null model).

Binary logistic regression is well-suited for these statistical analyses. First, the dichotomous dependent variable to be studied in logistic regression analysis is pled guilty or trial conviction (1) and case dismissed or acquitted (0). Also, the independent predictor variables are both categorical and continuous. Listed are the predictor variables and the ways in which they are coded during the logistic regression analysis: count severity=low (0), medium (1), high (2); terrorist group=ecoterrorist (0), left-wing terrorist (1), and right-wing terrorist (2); gender=female (0), male (1); age=numerical age in years at the time of indictment (range=16-76). Due to missing cases in the education categories, the educational attainment level was left out of logistic regression analysis. However, in a separate analysis, the variable was not a significant predictor of prosecution outcomes.

Ecoterrorists are the reference category within the type of terrorist groups, reflecting the research question and focus of this research. The variables are mutually exclusive and exhaustive; every selection category is represented for every variable, and there are no opportunities to select more than one category within each variable. In each

logistic regression, the total number of cases used in analysis is 388. There are more than 50 cases available for analysis per predictor variable.

Variables used in the analysis are chosen due to their ability to answer my research questions. These variables also have less missing information, allowing for more valid results. Finally, one important factor to consider is that statistical analyses will be analyzing a population of terrorists and not a sample.

Qualitative Analyses for Theoretical Development

Findings will be organized by domestic terrorist group. Within each group, I will address the types of frames used and the ways in which those frames invoke summary symbols. The purpose of the analysis is to present a possible explanation for why domestic terrorist groups may differ and how those differences may impact public perception and sanctioning. The benefits for conducting these analyses are that they provide a context from which to better understand differences between domestic terrorist groups, a rich description of domestic terrorist group framing techniques, and more easily accessible descriptions of domestic terrorist groups available to a wide academic and policy-making audience, rather than inferring from statistics alone (Sallee and Flood 2012). Findings, although not objective or generalizable, could potentially help create more quantifiable variables in the future, perhaps within the Terrorism Research Center database (Hickson 2011).

Using Burns's (1999) theory on cultural rhetoric, I use qualitative, concept-mapping analyses to develop his theoretical argument. Throughout the punishment process, people often use appeals that take into account both subjective and objective stances about the meaning of terrorism in general and the culpability and reputation of

terrorists indicted as a result of a crime. Ecoterrorists may use summary symbols connected to the environmentalist movement, which has had a strong symbolic impact on American culture, to explain and justify their crimes.

Ecoterrorists may also appeal to the cultural value of the war-making mentality, which suggests that if a person's convictions are strong, he or she should act upon those convictions, despite negative sanctions (Amster 2006; Smith 1994; Sterba 1998). Examples include making war on enemy parties for a moral cause, competing to gain physical and symbolic territory, and developing a rhetoric that encompasses cultural values. Government agencies and the court system, on the other hand, provide a legal rhetoric that defines terrorism, terrorists, and the treatment of terrorists in the criminal justice system. This interactive process between ecoterrorists (and those who support ecoterrorists) and the government agencies that define and punish ecoterrorists is one of in-grouping and out-grouping, with both opposing groups fighting to gain access or ownership to valued material and nonmaterial culture (Burns 1999:172).

Using court case summaries and records, documents produced in support of ecoterrorism, and other media to understand the rhetorical practices taking place during the negotiation of meanings associated with ecoterrorism and map conceptual frameworks of domestic terrorist groups. I provide a list of websites below; these websites have been utilized by the ATS and/or my own internet research based on their ability to answer the research questions. Also below is a concept map of the summary symbols most important to my analysis. Liberty (the ability to do what you want to do) & freedom (protection from others who might prevent you from doing what you want to

do) are complementary summary symbols used to invoke both deviant and non-deviant attitudes, ideologies, and actions.

(*Insert Table 1. List of Websites used for Qualitative Analyses)*

(Insert Figure 1. Concept Mapping Diagram for Qualitative Analysis)

Using this concept map, I analyze the ways in which different groups (members of the criminal justice system, right-wing, left-wing, and ecoterrorist groups) attempt to gain control over resources, both material and non-material culture, and a sense of justice (either by changing or upholding existing morals and laws) in an effort to protect their sense of liberty and freedom. I also investigate the concept of justice, analyzing the ways in which different groups attempt to define what actions are justified and what actions are not justified according to a common appeal to human morality and the law. Justice is a summary symbol related to social control and the need for people to develop formal and informal sanctions for "wrong" or "deviant" behaviors. Each group has a different opinion of what actions and beliefs are "wrong" or "deviant," yet their strategies for developing ideology that promotes their group's freedom and liberty must promote justice for group members. Justice can be achieved through laws and morals.

Due to the vastness of the data related to the legal processes (i.e. the criminal justice system & court procedures), right-wing terrorist incidents, left-wing terrorist incidents, and ecoterrorist incidents, I synthesize the data, highlighting cases of interest in the ATS, as well as media documents produced about and by domestic terrorist groups. I analyze different forms of support (i.e. community support in the form of people or groups advocating for an indicted terrorist or support from a defined terrorist group through websites and other materials distributed by members of the terrorist

group) and the rhetoric used to explain terrorist activities and motives. I use the summary symbol of liberty/freedom as the primary summary symbol from which to interpret rhetoric. Additionally, I explore strategies groups use to acquire freedom and liberty (i.e. resource control and social control) used by competing groups. Finally, I analyze the material and non-material culture a group is seeking to gain or maintain access to, as well as attempts to withhold or challenge laws and morals found within American society. This will show in-grouping and out-grouping processes found among domestic terrorists and non-terrorists.

I will specifically address the ways in which ecoterrorists use environmentalist and/or ecofeminist discourse to explain and justify their existence. The ability for ecoterrorists to use summary symbols associated with non-criminal collective movements may impact their treatment within the criminal justice system. This may help to explain why ecoterrorists receive lighter sentences compared to left-wing and right-wing terrorists.

Framing

Using court case summaries/records and media reports, I also investigate the cultural rhetoric used to invoke summary symbols through the study of framing techniques used by domestic terrorist groups. These analyses investigate the ways in which ecoterrorist, left-wing terrorist, and right-wing terrorist groups develop, the ideology they develop (i.e. diagnostic and prognostic frames), how they justify acts of terrorism and recruit group members (i.e. motivational frames), the ways in which criminal justice officials communicate their motivations during court processes, and the ways in which the larger society interpret and explain domestic terrorism. These

processes will provide a potential answer to the question: why might ecoterrorists receive differential treatment in comparison to left-wing and right-wing terrorists? Below are tables 2-4, which define the frames, key words and themes used to identify the frames, and example texts representative of the frames according to type of terrorist group.

(Insert Table 2. Framing Guidelines for Qualitative Research for Ecoterrorists)
(Insert Table 3. Framing Guidelines for Qualitative Research for Left-wing Terrorists)
(Insert Table 4. Framing Guidelines for Qualitative Research for Right-wing Terrorists)

Sample

Sampling within qualitative research can often be very different than sampling within quantitative work, primarily because the goals of quantitative and qualitative research are different. Qualitative research provides thick and rich descriptions and less generalizations, and quantitative research provides more generalizations and less thick and rich descriptions (Patton 2002). According to Patton (2002), no sampling method used to gather data in qualitative analyses is perfect. Rather, "having weighed the evidence and considered the alternatives, evaluators and primary stakeholders make their sampling decisions, sometimes painfully, but always with the recognition that there are no perfect designs" (242). Continuing, he says, "the sampling strategy must be selected to fit the purpose of the study, the resources available, the questions being asked, and the constraints being faced" (242). The goal for a qualitative researcher is to be very detailed and transparent about his or her approach, the reasoning behind the approach, and the interpretation of findings (Rakow 2011). Here I explain the sampling process for these supplemental analyses.

During the construction of the research methodology for qualitative analyses, I planned to use stratified purposeful sampling, which is a sampling technique used to "illustrate characteristics of particular subgroups of interest" and "facilitate comparisons" (Patton 2002:244). The unit of analysis would be subgroups of domestic terrorism (i.e. ecoterrorist, left-wing terrorist, and right-wing terrorist groups). Due to time and energy constrictions, I planned to choose two terrorist organizations within each subgroup (i.e. for ecoterrorist, I would analyze the ALF and the ELF) and analyze court records across these groups from the American Terrorism Study. Court records would be coded according to themes discussed in the literature and theory reviews (i.e. summary symbols and types of frames). However, I found it difficult to find information related to these themes equally-distributed across groups using only court records, and the majority of the court records are forms with legal data (i.e. the indictment), with only a small group useful for the framing analysis. The ATS also had case summaries and news reports related to specific terrorist incidents, which proved to be helpful, but their collection process was neither systematic nor thorough enough to account for all three terrorist subgroups.

Therefore, I attempted to gather information about domestic terrorist groups through their official websites. Unlike sources for content analysis for many qualitative research projects, such as Austin's (2010) study of gender framing in publications from the public relations industry, terrorists have no official database of records to which to draw a sample. I had to search for individual websites in hopes to find the needed content. I found the ALF and ELF websites very information-rich; however, I found it difficult to find official homepages for left-wing and right-wing groups. The Animal

Liberation Front webpage is overwhelmingly more complex and information-rich than any other domestic terrorist webpage found during this study. It has a contact name (Ann Berlin) and e-mail address (annxtberlin@gmail.com), as well as a strong understanding of copyright laws. It also provides a disclaimer to viewers so that the website is protected as much as possible from government scrutiny. For example, at the bottom of each page within the site, there is a Fair Use Notice and Disclaimer. The Fair Use Notice and Disclaimer are:

> Fair Use Notice: This web site contains some copyrighted material whose use has not been authorized by the copyright owners. We believe that this not-for-profit, educational use on the Web constitutes a fair use of the copyrighted material (as provided for in section 107 of the US Copyright Law. If you wish to use this copyrighted material for purposes that go beyond fair use, you must obtain permission from the copyright owner. Fair Use notwithstanding we will immediately comply with any copyright owner who wants their material removed or modified, wants us to link to their web site, or wants us to add their nude photo.
>
> Disclaimer: The owner and operators of this web site do not engage in illegal activities, nor do they know any individuals who do. This web site is intended to inform the public about the Animal Liberation Front, and to provide balanced comments about the ALF's philosophy. There is little correlation between articles on this web site and their author's support of the ALF philosophy. We value all opinions. In our 15 years online, no rebuttal has been deleted (one rebuttal was edited only to remove the nasty things said about my relationship with my dog, Snack).[11]

They also provide a link to the Digital Millennium Copyright Act, listing official procedures for viewers:

> Our site abides by the federal Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA) by responding to notices of alleged infringement that comply with the DMCA and other applicable laws. As part of our response, we may remove or disable access to material residing on our site that is claimed to be infringing, in which case we will make a good-faith attempt to contact the person who submitted the affected material so that they may make a counter notification, also in accordance with the DMCA.

[11] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/FairUse-Disclaimer.html

> Before serving either a Notice of Infringing Material or Counter-Notification, you may wish to contact a lawyer to better understand your rights and obligations under the DMCA and other applicable laws. The following notice requirements are intended to comply with our rights and obligations under the DMCA and, in particular, section 512(c), and do not constitute legal advice.[12]

The abundance of information from this website may be due to the level of sophistication needed to protect the webpage legally. Due to the overwhelming amount of data on this website, I restrict my analyses to the "About ALF" and "Press Office" sections of the website.

Finally, I attempted to run internet searches for each subgroup name (i.e. ecoterrorist, left-wing terrorist, and right-wing terrorist) and terrorist organization name (i.e. ALF) for new reports and any other supplemental materials pertaining to domestic terrorist incidents for each group. However, I ran into the problem of saturation. Many news articles presented the same information about the incident, but the majority of the information tended to be more logistical and dry (unless there were excerpts from an interview with a defendant or prosecutor), rather than going in-depth on how the terrorists justified their actions or motivated themselves or other group members.

Finding too little information in each sampling attempt separately, I decided to conduct a criterion intensity sample. After closely reviewing the available materials, I carefully chose information-rich material from all the listed sources for each subgroup of domestic terrorism (ecoterrorism, left-wing terrorism, and right-wing terrorism) that "manifest the phenomenon of interest intensely, (but not extremely)," meaning these cases are a strong representation of the material found within each subcategory and not outlier, or extreme, cases (Patton 2002: 234). The material presented in qualitative

[12] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/DMCA.htm

findings are cases that strongly present the use of summary symbols and framing techniques within ecoterrorist, left-wing terrorist, and right-wing terrorist groups. Due to the inconsistencies found within the sampling material, however, these findings are strictly exploratory and descriptive and are not to be understood as the result of a more systematic sampling technique.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

Tables for Quantitative Analyses

Below is a table of descriptive statistics for variables included in analyses.

(Insert Table 5. Descriptive Statistics for Variables by Terrorist Group N=528)

Table 5 summarizes descriptive information for predictor variables (including demographic variables) and dependent variables for terrorists included in analyses (ecoterrorists, left-wing terrorists, and right-wing terrorists). The first column contains a list of predictor variables' names (age, race, gender, education, terrorist group, and count severity) and dependent variables' names (trial conviction, pled guilty, and dismissed/acquitted). The second through fourth columns represent descriptive information for each terrorist group. Finally, the fifth column provides descriptive information for ecoterrorists, left-wing terrorists, and right-wing terrorists combined.

The fifth column gives us an idea of the population of terrorists included in analyses. Of the available cases (N=491) for age, the average age is 37.18, with a standard deviation of 10.98. Of the available cases for race (N=522), 475 (91%) of them are White, while the remaining 47 (9%) are non-White. Of the available cases for gender (N=527), 452 (85.77%) of the terrorists are men, while the remaining 75 (14.23%) being women. Of the available cases for education (N=379), 57 (15%) have less than a high school degree, 99 (26.1%) have a high school degree or GED, 122 (32.2%) have some college or vocational schooling, 75 (19.8%) have a college, vocational school, or associate's degree, and 26 (6.9%) have post-college graduation experience. Of the three domestic terrorist groups represented (N=528), 67 (12.69%) of the terrorists are ecoterrorists, 189 (35.8%) are left-wing terrorists, and 272 (51.52%) are right-wing terrorists. Of the available cases for count severity (N=429), 89 (20.7%) are low severity, 106 (24.7%) are medium severity, and 234 (54.5%) are high severity.

Dependent variables in Table 5 include prosecution outcomes. Within the population of terrorists, 139 (28.43%) were convicted via trial, while the remaining 350 (71.57%) did not get convicted via trial (i.e. they were either acquitted/dismissed or reached a plea agreement). Additionally, 238 (48.67%) of the terrorists pled guilty, whereas the remaining 251 (51.33%) did not plead guilty (i.e. they either received a trial conviction or reached a plea agreement). Finally, 112 (22.9%) of the terrorists had their case dismissed or they were acquitted, whereas the remaining 377 (77.1%) were not dismissed or acquitted (i.e. they either reached a plea agreement or received a trial conviction). [13]

Looking at each terrorist group individually, we can see differences in demographic and outcome data. For example, ecoterrorists are younger on average (29.31) than left-wing (36.32) and right-wing (39.68) terrorists. They are also the only all-white group. Ecoterrorists also have a smaller percentage of men (64.2%) compared to left-wing (86.2%) and right-wing (90.8%) terrorists. They also are the only terrorist group to have 0% in the less than high school educational attainment category.

Ecoterrorists report their highest percentage in educational attainment within the some college or vocational school category (37.5%), followed by the college, vocational, or associate degree category (33.9%). Left-wing terrorists also have their highest percentage in educational attainment in the some college or vocational school category (33.1%), followed by the college, vocational, or associate degree category (19.8%). Although ecoterrorists and left-wing terrorists report similar findings for

[13] I also ran chi-square analyses and t-tests comparing ecoterrorists to left-wing and right-wing terrorists. Results show significant differences between ecoterrorists and other domestic terrorism groups in age, race, gender, education, count severity, and type of prosecution.

educational attainment, right-wing terrorists have their highest percentage in educational attainment in the high school graduate or GED category (36.1%), followed by the some college or vocational school category (30.2%). Right-wing terrorists appear to have lower levels of educational attainment.

In terms of count severity, ecoterrorists report their highest percentage in the medium category, whereas both left-wing terrorists (59.8%) and right-wing terrorists (57.7%) report their highest percentages in the high count severity category. For prosecution outcomes, only one ecoterrorist shows a trial conviction. Rather, they are more likely to plead guilty (59.4%) or have their cases dismissed or acquitted (39.1%). For left-wing terrorists, 43.2% of them plead guilty, 29.6% have a trial conviction, and 27.2% have their cases dismissed or acquitted. For right-wing terrorists, 49.4% of them plead guilty, 34.2% have a trial conviction, and 16.3% have their cases dismissed or acquitted.

Combining trial conviction and plea bargain allows us to see the percentage of terrorists who have a conviction of some sort versus those that have their charges dropped, either through case dismissal or acquittal. Looking at this conviction variable, 60.9% of ecoterrorists, 72.8% of left-wing terrorists, and 83.7% of right-wing terrorists have a conviction of some sort. Ecoterrorists report the lowest percentage of convictions.

I now turn to a series of logistic regressions that analyze binary dependent variables (conviction of any kind, plea bargain, case dismissed/acquitted, and trial conviction) using predictor variables (terrorist group, gender, education, count severity, and age).

(Insert Table 6. Logistic Regression for Pled Guilty N=291; No Trial Conviction or Guilty Plea=0; Trial Conviction or Guilty Plea =1 N=388)

I conducted a binary logistic regression analysis to predict whether or not there was a conviction (either by trial or by a guilty plea) for terrorists using age, sex, count severity, and type of terrorist group (ecoterrorist, left-wing terrorist, and right-wing terrorist) as predictors. Due to a high level of missing cases, educational attainment was removed from analyses. However, in a separate binary logistic analyses including educational attainment, none of the educational categories were significant. In Table 6, there are a total of 388 cases included in the analysis; other cases (140) had missing data and were not included. The reference categories for gender, count severity, and terrorist group are female, low count severity, and ecoterrorist, respectively. A test of the full model against a constant-only model was statistically significant, meaning the predictor variables as a set reliably distinguished between those who had and did not have a trial conviction (chi square = 22.471, p = .001, df = 6).

The Cox & Snell R-Square and Nagelkerke R-Square indicate an increase in explanatory power of the model with the predictor variables included by 5.6%-8.5%. Prediction success overall was 76% (98.3% for no trial conviction or guilty plea and 4.3% for trial conviction or guilty plea). The Wald criterion demonstrated that terrorist group as an overall variable (p=.000), and left-wing terrorist (p=.030) and right-wing terrorist (p=.000) made significant contributions to prediction. Odds ratios indicate left-wing terrorists are 2.257 times more likely to have a trial conviction or guilty plea compared to ecoterrorists, while controlling for predictor variables, and right-wing terrorists are 4.643 times more likely to have a trial conviction or guilty plea compared to ecoterrorists, while controlling for predictor variables. Thus, all quantitative analyses

show that prosecution outcomes differ by type of terrorist group. Now, I turn to qualitative analysis in an attempt to understand how and why these outcomes differ in terms of the symbolic representation of these terrorist groups.

Qualitative Findings for Ecoterrorist Cases

Ecoterrorist websites utilize injustice framing in order to define and describe the major problems facing the environment, animals, and humans due to capitalistic business practices in America. Under the "About ALF" section of the webpage is the "ALF Credo" listed below:

1. The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) carries out direct action against animal abuse in the form of rescuing animals and causing financial loss to animal exploiters, usually through the damage and destruction of property.
2. The ALF's short-term aim is to save as many animals as possible and directly disrupt the practice of animal abuse. Their long term aim is to end all animal suffering by forcing animal abuse companies out of business.
3. It is a nonviolent campaign, activists taking all precautions not to harm any animal (human or otherwise).
4. Because ALF actions may be against the law, activists work anonymously, either in small groups or individually, and do not have any centralized organization or coordination.
5. The Animal Liberation Front consists of small autonomous groups of people all over the world who carry out direct action according to the ALF guidelines. Any group of people who are vegetarians or vegans and who carry out actions according to ALF guidelines have the right to regard themselves as part of the ALF.[14]

Part of the Credo lists a diagnostic frame. For example, the second listing identifies animals as victims of abuse, and those inflicting this abuse are animal abuse companies. Other parts are prognostic frames. For example, the first and second listings explain how the ALF attempts to resolve the problem of animal abuse by using "direct action against animal abuse in the form of rescuing animals and causing financial loss to

[14] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/alf_credo.htm

animal exploiters, usually through the damage and destruction of property," and by "forcing animal abuse companies out of business." Another prognostic frame includes taking "precautions not to harm any animal (human or otherwise)." The other listings speak more to the organizational structure of the ALF, but could be interpreted as motivational frames in that all people who are a vegan or vegetarian and carry out ALF guidelines can consider themselves members of this movement, even if they are not officially recognized and in an organizational structure.

On the same "About ALF" page, guidelines for the ALF are posted. They are more specific prognostic frames detailing how to resolve the problem of animal cruelty. Listed below are the guidelines verbatim:

> 1. TO liberate animals from places of abuse, i.e. laboratories, factory farms, fur farms, etc, and place them in good homes where they may live out their natural lives, free from suffering.
> 2. TO inflict economic damage to those who profit from the misery and exploitation of animals.
> 3. TO reveal the horror and atrocities committed against animals behind locked doors, by performing non-violent direct actions and liberations.
> 4. TO take all necessary precautions against harming any animal, human and non-human.
> 5. To analyze the ramifications of any proposed action and never apply generalizations (e.g. all 'blank' are evil) when specific information is available.

The prognostic frames include summary symbols of liberation and justice, urging members to free "animals from places of abuse," take away economic freedom of animal abusers through "economic damage to those who profit from the misery and exploitation of animals," and to seek justice for animals currently suffering by revealing "the horror and atrocities committed against animals behind locked doors by non-violent direct actions and liberations." The last two guidelines urge members to be mindful of all living beings' freedoms by taking "all necessary precautions against

harming any animal, human and non-human," and "analyze the ramifications of any proposed action and never apply generalizations (e.g. all 'blank' are evil) when specific information is available." In order to resolve the problem of animal cruelty, members must expose and prevent businesses/people from abusing animals through very direct actions. However, ALF members must also be aware during these direct actions to prevent any unnecessary harm.

The "About ALF" webpage also displays prognostic framing in the ALF's mission statement.[15] It reads: "To effectively allocate resources (time and money) to end the 'property' status of nonhuman animals." The objective of the mission statement is: "To abolish institutionalized animal exploitation because it assumes that animals are property." Under the mission statement and objective is a list of helpful tips to potential ALF members. Many of these tips are non-violent, in that they urge members to "emotionally connect the animals they abuse for food, clothing, and product safety to the domestic companions they love," or "plant the seed of thought in someone else's brain that animals have feelings." These tips also urge members not to use graffiti or liberate any animals without a plan; for example, liberated animals may be replaced with other animals very easily by the animal abuse company, or the company may purchase increased security systems at stockholders' expense.

Although the mission statement page does not advocate illegal or criminal activity, there are hints that urge members to commit criminal activity. For example, they talk about liberating animals from an abuse company, arguing that the liberation itself is not wrong (they do not say that this is illegal, but most people would view

[15] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/mission_statement.htm

breaking and entering a business and stealing an animal as illegal), but that members did not understand that the company would pay for a new security system and acquire more animals, thus defeating the initial aim at eliminating the abuse. Finally, a picture at the bottom of the page uses a popular advertising strategy similar to the one developed by MasterCard: "Ski mask: $12, Bolt Cutters $39, Liberty: Priceless." This is a graphic prognostic frame evoking the summary symbol of liberty for abused animals. It also sends a message to hide one's identity and cut the wire cages of suffering animals in order given them their right to freedom.

More detailed prognostic frames, called the ALF Primer and Student Primer,[16] list the ways in which to carry out direct action against animal abuse companies. For example, they discuss target selection, liberation of certain types of facilities (i.e. fur factories), how to navigate through shutters, windows, doors, and places with security cameras, and how to commit arson. For example, the ALF Primer states: "Arson carries the heavy tag of 'terrorism', and must be used wisely as not to discredit the entire movement. As dangerous as arson is, it is also by far the most potent weapon of direct action."[17] They discuss the ways in which authorities determine the source of arson, as well as different types of arson (i.e. buildings and vehicles) and strategies (i.e. timed devices or plastic bottles filled with combustible ingredients). They also have details on how to deal with police, federal agencies, grand juries, and how to report actions. They provide helpful tips to those dealing with the police, saying: "If given a phone call, do

[16] The Student Primer gives specific instructions for college students. Other articles and links speak to the college setting for ALF recruitment and activity. Student profiles and advocacy stories can be viewed at: http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/Activist%20Tips/CollegeGuidetoARA.htm

[17] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/ALFPrime3.htm

not say anything incriminating over the phone. Call your lawyer if you have one, if not call a good animal rights group and they will help you out with one." Similar information is given for federal agents and grand juries:

> Call every animal rights group you know of. Be sure to contact less deeply involved people as well and inform them of what to do, as these are the people they will target first, since they are more likely to speak. Call a press conference and speak about what is happening. Have a protest outside their federal building. Grand juries are clearly unconstitutional. The last thing they want is publicity. Speak out about this injustice and never, ever say a word to them. This is exactly what was done when a grand jury was called in Syracuse recently, and the grand jury quickly disappeared. Resist, resist, resist.

Part of ensuring the goals of the ALF are met is making sure animal liberationists remain protected from the larger powers that be, or the enemies that prevent their cause. On their "About ALF" page, they list through diagnostic framing other enemies of the ALF aside from animal abuse industries: the FBI, USA Patriot Act, Counter-terrorism efforts, and the Department of Homeland Security, listing specific instances where the government mislabeled animal rights activists as terrorists and misused its power.[18] The ALF Primer warns that the "terrorist" label is used in more extreme liberations, such as arson. Therefore, those involved with the ALF use prognostic framing to prepare ALF members for interactions with the criminal justice system, as well as a plan to fight back against authorities, such as calling a press conference, aligning with animal rights groups, and keeping knowledge from them. They also urge members to monitor everything they do or say and assume they are being "bugged" by the government, leading to discrete methods of direct action.

What is interesting about the ALF website is that it contains a large amount of articles that are linked to non-terrorist organizations, including People for the Ethical

[18] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/AgainstALF/Warning-index.htm

Treatment of Animals (PETA) and the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS).[19] For example, under the "About ALF" link on their homepage, members provide a link to PETA called the "Liberation Guide."[20] In this liberation guide, diagnostic frames argue that taking away animal freedoms and using them for food and profit is wrong. Interestingly, the guide compares the animal rights movement to the women's and civil rights movements:

> Racists violate the principle of equality by giving greater weight to the interests of members of their own race when there is a clash between their interests and the interests of those of another race. Sexists violate the principle of equality by favoring the interests of their own sex. Similarly, speciesists allow the interests of their own species to override the greater interests of members of other species. The pattern is identical in each case.

Aligning the ALF's goals with those of the broader animal rights movement, which itself aligns its goals with other human rights movements, reflects the sharing of diagnostic framing and cultural rhetoric between collective movements, giving the ALF a broader rhetoric from which to frame its goals. The guide also makes an argument that because all living things can feel pain, then they all can suffer, arguing, "Animals can feel pain. As we saw earlier, there can be no moral justification for regarding the pain (or pleasure) that animals feel as less important than the same amount of pain (or pleasure) felt by humans." Freedom from suffering and the liberty to experience pleasure in life, the guide argues, is not a human right, but a right for all living things. They quote Isaac Bashevis Singer, invoking an injustice frame: "There will be no justice as long as man will stand with a knife or with a gun and destroy those who are weaker than he is." Imagine someone new to the ALF homepage who follows a link to

[19] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/Manifesto-TotalLib.htm
[20] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/liberationguide.pdf

the pamphlet. A viewer may not consider the ALF a terrorist organization based upon this information alone; rather, it appears as an extension of other rights movements, and therefore an attractive avenue for the protection of animal rights.

Another link found under the heading "How you can take part in Animal Rights Activism," is to a website called animalethics.org.[21] This page contains an interactive pamphlet about animal rights. Using imagery from past historical events, members of the Animal Liberation Front borrow labels such as the "Animal Holocaust," attempting to use another injustice frame (i.e. the frame produced after the horrors of the Holocaust) to raise awareness about the treatment of animals in the United States. Listed below is a figure produced from a link on the Animal Liberation Front website:

(Insert Figure 2. The ALF Uses this Ad on its Website to Connect Ecoterrorist Discourse with Discourse Surrounding Human Oppression during the Holocaust, Arguing Current Business and Scientific Research Practices are Creating an Animal Holocaust: Wake up! We live in an Animal Holocaust! —Linked to the website for the ALF)

Additionally, the website reports: "We live in a human-made animal holocaust and mass extinction of life about which most people give no thought. So let's defend life and promote a human society." The pamphlet also contains prognostic frames outlining a variety of legal ways to advocate for animal rights, such as civil disobedience, lobbying, picketing, leafleting, media campaigns, and starting animal rights organizations. It defines direct action as "a stronger form of civil disobedience." However, clicking on the Direct Action Link takes you to a page that describes direct action in more detail; for example, the page reports:

> You can view direct action as a strong form of civil disobedience with a capacity for acting illegally. Activists employing direct action aim to create a situation whereby their opponents have to yield significant concessions to the activists'

[21] http://www.animalethics.org.uk/

> cause. Direct action campaigners often tend to disown the methods of the less dramatic and slower mainstream who advance social change through education and legislative procedures.[22]

The original pamphlet advocates for legal and safe forms of protest. However, the direct action description blurs the lines between legal and illegal and safety and violence.

There are other instances that continue to blur the lines between deviant and non-deviant animal rights advocacy. For example, on the main pamphlet, one person says of ecoterrorists: "a few people wielding disproportionate pressure-but are they just?" He or she also asks, "Can we license violence?" This individual leaves these questions open-ended rather than taking a firm stance on the matters. Similarly, he or she also challenges the law, asking, "Does the law always say what is morally right?" Invoking summary symbols of justice and morality, these questions create a space for the symbolic battle for meaning taking place between the criminal justice system's definition of right and wrong (i.e. legal and illegal) versus animal rights supporters' definition of right and wrong (i.e. morally just or unjust). The ambiguity presents itself in a useful way in that members of the ALF can provide links to mainstream environmentalist media that do not condone illegal activity and attract more members on the surface. However, once you delve deeper into the material, there is much more condoning and justification of the ALF's method of direct action through emotional appeals, a questioning (and perhaps challenging) of the law, and appeals to what is moral and just.

Animalethics.org also uses religious and philosophical framing to define and diagnose the current problems facing the debate about how people should treat animals,

[22] http://www.animalethics.org.uk/i-ch3-4-direct-action.html

as well as motivate individuals to join the animal rights cause. For example, Thomas Aquinas writes: "God made animals for man and it is not a sin to kill them." They also argue Darwin determined that people "evolved from animals." They quote Copernicus, too, writing, "humanity does not occupy a privileged position in the cosmos." Here they outline different framing techniques used by well-known scientists, religious leaders, and philosophers in an attempt to provide arguments for and against the animal rights movement, allowing those visiting the website to see both sides of the animal rights debate and come to their own conclusions. However, the majority of the material clearly supports the animal rights movement. For example, it promotes an injustice frame that appeals to the summary symbol of freedom. They outline the five freedoms of all animals: "Freedom to express normal behavior. Freedom from pain, injury and disease. Freedom from hunger and thirst. Freedom from fear and distress. Freedom from discomfort." They also argue zoos take away animals' freedoms: [23]

(Insert Figure 3. The ALF Uses this Ad on its Website to Advocate for Animal Rights Comparable to Human Rights, Arguing Animals should not be Caged: Zoos Teach Us—Linked to the website for the ALF)

Finally, the website provides motivational framing for the ALF, using a poem modeled after Lord Alfred Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade." The poem is titled "The Noble Unnumbered," by Ben Isacat, and featured below:

(Insert Figure 4. "The Noble Unnumbered," a Poem by Ben Isacat Used to Call Attention to Abuse of Living Creatures by Humans—Linked to the website for the ALF)

The poem proclaims in its first section, "Life's in need, life's in need,/Life's in need deeply./Life's a joy and wonder,/T'is a crime of man to plunder./Forward the Life Brigade!/Our charge? To lend life aid./We're the unnumbered!" Continuing in the

[23] http://www.animalethics.org.uk/index.html

second to last section, it says, “Our dealings? We are fair,/Violence we do forswear;/Our morality is of care./We inspire, motivate/And gladly labour./Rightly and strongly,/To save all nature./For life we thunder,/We, the unnumbered!” This poem is motivational in that it uses a well-known motivational narrative poem to align with the aims of the animal rights movement. It honors the unnumbered who “save all nature” in a fair and non-violent way. It represents a call to arms for animal liberators, a motivational frame the ALF links itself to through web campaigning.

To reiterate, although members of the ALF frequently refer to websites such as animalethics.org, these supplemental websites are not the “media flagship” of this ecoterrorist group. The website, animalethics.org, does not promote ecoterrorism; in fact, it promotes legal means of problem resolution. However, the fact that members of ALF refer to animal rights websites means they are adopting the framing of the larger animal rights collective movement and using its purposes and meanings to justify terrorism. Animal rights pages are connected to the ALF via the ALF’s webpage through virtual and symbolic links.

The ALF also has strong motivational frames to attract and keep members, as well as get members to follow their guidelines. One way of motivating members is through the use of poignant examples; these are also somewhat diagnostic, because they also outline problems. However, these frames are motivational in the sense that they are emotionally charged and written in a way to call people to the ALF movement. For example, Ian Smith writes a press release from the North American Animal Liberation Press Office in August of 2014, saying:

> Animals have claws; the animal liberation movement should too. And many animals, when cornered or threatened, won’t hesitate to scratch somebody’s

> fuckin eyes out if that is what is necessary to secure their freedom and safety. Activists speculate and pontificate about what course of action animals would take but when we look at what animals actually do, what we see is attack and that should be inspiring.

The use of curse words adds a layer of emotion to the piece and is used to invoke an animal scratching someone's eyes out if that someone is trying to hurt or kill it. He urges others to be inspired by this image to perform direct action similar to this threatened animal, arguing the animal liberation movement should have claws, too. Later on, the he argues: "If we would like to see a large number of actions carried out against those who harm, exploit, torture, and kill animals, then we must be open to the inevitability that mistakes will be made. Humans and nonhumans may be physically harmed" (2). The press release implies that illegal and violent actions taken by members are only in defense to the larger threatening actions made by the powers-that-be. Members should be diligent despite the dangers.

The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) website is much less sophisticated compared to the ALF website, and most of the material found here is in the form of stream-of-consciousness writing about the problems facing the ELF and the direction it should take.[24] In fact, the ALF website had a copy of a North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office press release about frequently asked questions about the ELF from 2001 that explains the purpose of the ELF.[25] The press release's initial statement includes diagnostic and prognostic framing: "The ELF realizes the profit motive caused and reinforced by the capitalist society is destroying all life on this planet. The only way, at this point in time, to stop that continued destruction of life is to by any means necessary

[24] http://earth-liberation-front.com/
[25] The website listed on the North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office release no longer exits, and the domain name is for sale.

take the profit motive out of killing."[26] The problem, according to the ELF, is capitalism promotes the destruction of life; in order to solve this problem, the ELF's goal is to "take the profit motive out of the killing." In response to a question asking what the ELF is, the press release informs: "The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) is an international underground organization that uses direct action in the form of economic sabotage to stop the exploitation and destruction of the natural environment." Similar to the ALF, the ELF uses direct action in order to achieve its goals. More diagnostic and prognostic framing from this release is listed below:

> If an individual, whether an executive, owner, or bottom of the ladder employee is profiting off the destruction of the natural environment aiding in the stockpiling of wealth which will end up in the hands of a few, the least they deserve is to lose their job. Individuals cannot blindly enter into any form of employment, regardless of the pay, without first considering who and/or what that work is going to hurt. The victim vs. the benefactor ratio must be greatly considered and occupations which pose a threat to life must be abolished.

Placing responsibility on all individuals, the ELF argues employees must be aware of how their work may impact the earth and others living on it. Also, the ELF's guidelines are reflective of the ALF's guidelines, identifying greed and profit as a problem and promoting education, economic damage to those who exploit the natural environment and life, and to avoid harm to all living things:

1. To cause as much economic damage as possible to a given entity that is profiting off the destruction of the natural environment and life for selfish greed and profit.
2. To educate the public on the atrocities committed against the environment and life.
3. To take all necessary precautions against harming life.

[26] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/ELF/elf_faq.pdf

According to the North American Animal Liberation Press Office FAQs webpage, ALF and ELF are both "organized into cells known only to their members, to prevent infiltration by the abusers and their law enforcement supporters."[27] The goals to remain anonymous and non-hierarchical may be more idealistic and realistic. Similar to the ALF, its organization is not hierarchical and does not have a leader; rather, ELF is composed of "autonomous cells which operate independently and anonymously from one another and the general public."[28] They explain and justify the ELF's actions using motivational frames, insisting that "laws are set up as a mere reflection of the morals and norms of the majority of mainstream society," which at the time warrants over-consumption and attacks on qualities of life:

> The ELF recognizes this flaw in conventional nonviolence theory and also realizes that remaining safely inside state sanctioned societal law while attempting to create social and political change will never work. Laws are set up as a mere reflection of the morals and norms of the majority of mainstream society. Unfortunately as a result of massive conditioning and the manufacture of desire, the mainstream public (especially in the United States) is living a life of extreme over-consumption, ruthlessly attacking the qualities of life we all need to survive, clean air, clean water, and clean soil. At this point in time there exists the immediate need for individuals to step outside of societal law and work to directly stop the destruction of life. By any means necessary.[29]

The sense of urgency in this passage to defy the current laws is a call to arms for members of the ELF to stop these cycles of abuse "by any means necessary."

On the current ELF website, diagnostic framing reflects some common concerns facing the ELF. For example, members argue that, in regard to herbicide spraying in Oregon for the past 36 years, government leaders "still bow down to the chemical lobby […] Meanwhile, we the people continue to be exposed to cancer causing chemicals and

[27] https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/
[28] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/ELF/elf_faq.pdf
[29] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/ELF/elf_faq.pdf

witness the collapse of our salmon and steelhead fisheries."[30] As long as the spraying continues, they write, "the greed and genocide continue." In an interview with the ELF founder, John Hanna, the interviewer asked him why he resorted to terrorism. Hanna replied:

> At the time, I was frustrated. I chose to go underground and employ guerilla tactics in defense of the earth. I felt conventional methods of civil disobedience were ineffective. I was upset because pesticide use and cancer rates were increasing in spite of the best efforts of the concerned scientific community to point out the hazards and alternatives to pesticides.

The framing employed by Hanna (and other members of the ALF and ELF) blames the larger public and the government for not responding quickly and efficiently to the environmental problems facing the world. They speak to a sense of strain in that conventional methods (i.e. legal and non-deviant) are preferred, but when these means do not receive positive or effective responses, they resort to direct action.

Strong motivational frames intended to protect ELF members engaged in direct action are also highlighted on the ELF website. Some of the writing confronts the issue of ELF posers who are ruining the reputation of the ELF. For example, someone writes: "This website was created for two reasons: one is to counterbalance inflammatory rhetoric puked out by self-appointed, unofficial ELF 'spokesmen'. Their truculent, rehashed political tirades offer nothing to an independent, intelligent eco-activist." Later on, someone writes: "the fake poseurs sit safely on the sidelines, taking no risks while they pander to the media and bask in the limelight. These hypocrites are pocketing lots of money off the sale of their specious books about ELF and publishing a delusional and short-lived 'eco-radical' magazine." They compare these posers as "greedy

[30] http://earth-liberation-front.com/

capitalist pigs pretending to be anarchists." Similarly, snitching to the government about ELF activities is regarded as one of the worst activities an ELF member can do. For example, the website reports that during "Operation Backfire," snitches (which include Chelsea Dawn Gerlach, Kevin Tubbs, and Darren Todd Thurston) took away the freedom of ELF members by providing incriminating evidence to authorities. The website proclaims: "more than twenty ELF activists did not have to lose their freedom in order to wage an effective battle defending the Earth." This motivational framing is less a call to arms, but a frame that uses guilt and shame to urge other ELF members to not become snitches. In a similar article, an activist for the ALF, Peter Young, said of snitches:

> For the sake of clarity, let us be uncomfortably honest: To snitch is to take a life. By words and by weapons, each day lives are taken in the most egregious of crimes. When this happens in the courtroom, we call it "cooperation." I call it violence, and I call anything done to keep information out of the courtroom "self-defense."[31]

Young turns the rhetoric upside down when he compares the courtroom definition of "cooperation" to what he perceives as the reality facing members of liberation groups when a member snitches on them as "violence."

The ELF website spends the majority of its content attempting to establish a new direction for members, one that is not violent. For example, one person writes: "Regardless of the frustration we all feel about the enormous perils facing our Mother Earth, engaging the perceived wrong-doers with threats, intimidation and destructive tactics will always fail. Fighting fire with fire will get you burned." Similarly, he/she argues, "Continuing the underground approach will perpetuate past mistakes. The life of

[31] http://thecuttingedgenews.com/index.php?ar

an eco-guerilla isn't heroic, romantic or courageous. It is a lonely and paranoid existence and offers no long-term achievements." He/she refers to a former "New Dawn/Zapata Unit's revolutionary guerrilla fighter," Steven Scipes; Scipes is now a professor of sociology at Purdue and has "clearly made a choice to focus his abundant energy into a more civil and effective form of activism" It appears as if members are re-thinking direct action attempts in light of governmental response and counterterrorism strategies, or the website is headed by one person (or group) attempting to change the deviant tactics of the ELF.

Part of attracting and motivating members is the denial of the terrorist label. Members of these ecoterrorist movements challenge the terrorist label by using historical examples of American revolutionaries who are now praised for their efforts. For example, Beirich and Moser (2002), report:

> Charles Muscoplat, the dean of agriculture at the University of Minnesota—a targeted site—says: These are clearly terroristic acts. Someone could get hurt or killed in a big fire like we had." ALF spokesman David Barbarash […] says in response: "I mean, what was the Boston Tea Party if not a massive act of property destruction?…Property damage is a legitimate political tool called economic sabotage, and it's meant to attack businesses and corporations who are profiting from the exploitation, murder, and torture of either humans or animals, or the planet…[T]o call those acts terrorism is ludicrous."[32]

Similarly, on the FAQs webpage of the North American Animal Liberation Press Office, they respond to the question, "Isn't the ALF a 'terrorist' group?" by saying, "Those who terrorize animals by imprisoning them, torturing them in laboratories, displaying them as objects in zoos and circuses, force them to fight each other, and

[32] http://www.furcommission.com/from-push-to-shove/

murder them for their flesh and skins are the ones inducing terror."[33] The following picture is taken from the Animal Liberation Front website:[34]

(Insert Figure 5. The ALF Uses this Ad on its Website to Shift the Symbolic Association with Animal Welfare from Terrorism to Good Citizenship: Being concerned about her welfare makes you a good person, not a terrorist)

The picture argues that being concerned about animals and their wellbeing is a result of being a good person, not a terrorist. These frames align with themes from the environmentalist movements throughout American history, making them more accessible to the larger public.

Media commentary on the Animal Liberation Front also notes framing similarities between the ecoterrorist movement and other non-deviant movements. For example, one article makes a case that the ALF movement is an extension of the civil rights movement (Robbins 1984:2).[35] The article quotes an ALF member, who uses frame alignment as a strategy to gain support: "We may seem like radicals to you. But we are like the abolitionists, who were regarded as radicals, too. And we hope that 100 years from now people will look back on the way animals are treated now with the same horror as we do when we look back on the slave trade." Members of ALF also criticize mainstream media and the larger public. On the North American Animal Liberation Press Office FAQs webpage, members of the ALF tell viewers why the group developed. It developed "to respond to the mainstream media's uncritical reporting on animal liberation activities."[36] Later, they say many of their activities "[…] are illegal under a current societal structure that fails to recognize the rights of non-human animals

[33] https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/
[34] www.animalliberationfront.com
[35] http://www.nytimes.com/1984/06/15/us/animal-rights-a-growing-movement-in-us.html
[36] https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/

to live free of suffering, but validates and promotes the 'right' of industries to do whatever they want to animals for profit or research." Using appeals to freedom for animals, they invoke the justice summary symbol, claiming that "rights" give freedoms to industries, while taking away freedoms from animals. Power, both materially and symbolically, is at stake for members of the ALF and the animals they vow to protect. They attempt to override and challenge the more mainstream assumption that industries are entitled to these rights.

Other ways in which ecoterrorist groups defend themselves is by criticizing the government and the criminal justice system through diagnostic framing, arguing that the government is quick to take away animal liberationists' freedom of speech. Often, those in prison for ecoterrorist crimes serve as examples to the wider public about the ongoing tension between animal liberationist groups and the government. One ecoterrorist that has gained considerable attention is Daniel McGowan. According to an article in the Huffington Post written in August of 2014, Daniel McGowan, a prosecuted ecoterrorist imprisoned for arson as a member of ELF in 2007, was put into solitary confinement while trying to write freely of ALF guidelines and principles for a HuffPost blog. McGowan wrote in an e-mail to the Huffington Post: "The Bureau of Prisons does not like criticism and their reaction was unsurprisingly to try and crush someone who stepped out of line."[37] The article continues:

> McGowan's lawyers argued that the entire incident was a startling example of their larger claim that the special units are used to punish political speech. Even the federal government later admitted in that case that McGowan was jailed contrary to the established law that inmates may write articles under their own bylines.

[37] http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/08/20/daniel-mcgowan-jailed-for_n_5694877.html

In an e-mail to the Huffington Post, one of McGowan's lawyers wrote, "McGowan was arrested for his criticism of the government, plain and simple […] Communication management units are wrong now, they were wrong then, and trying to tell that to the world should not get you thrown back in prison." Members' testimonies, along with graphic imagery that appeals to people's emotions, are powerful rhetorical tools used to identify governmental operations as immoral and unjust.

Media attention surrounds McGowan's story because it has been documented via film. The 2011 documentary, *If a Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front*, portrays McGowan's life as a result of getting involved in the ELF. The film is an Academy Award Nominee in 2012 and received the Documentary Editing Award in the 2011 Sundance Film Festival.[38] It shows McGowan having a typical childhood without any strong political leanings until college. When environmental problems became visible to him, he started to engage in civil protest. None of his pleas were addressed through legal means; therefore, he turned to ecoterrorism. His story blurs the lines between what is terrorism and what is not. For example, in the trailer for the documentary, a commentator discusses the meaning of terrorism, saying, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." In the film description, McGowan is said to believe that terrorism "[…] has become a term that people use to win public relations battles against their political opponents."[39] Additionally, "[h]is sister points out that she witnessed the violence and devastation of 9/11 first hand, and it's hard to see the same word used to characterize both Al Qaeda and her brother, who took care to make sure that no one was hurt by his actions." McGowan and his sister argue that the government

[38] http://www.ifatreefallsfilm.com/film.html
[39] http://www.pbs.org/pov/ifatreefalls/film_description.php

is negatively labeling earth and animal liberationists in order to maintain the current status quo. The label automatically discredits members of these liberation movements, despite the widely varying application of "terrorist" across different groups.

There are plenty of articles and commentaries online that provide us with counterarguments to the ALF and ELF movements. Public commentary on the film review of *If a Tree Falls* contains backlash aimed at ecoterrorists. For example, one person writes: "I just watched this film on PBS and I must say it was all I could do to keep from throwing things at the TV. I've heard of sympathy for the devil, but this film takes it to a new level."[40] Another commentator writes, "I do have a problem with those in the film that refuse to see themselves as terrorists simply because they didn't kill anybody during their massive fire bombs and property attacks." These commentators demonstrate the processes by which people negotiate meanings and understandings when presented with conflicting arguments. During this negotiation, people rely on certain summary symbols to frame the conversation, but they challenge each other to define or re-define those symbols. For example, those who oppose a more sympathetic interpretation of ecoterrorist acts argue ecoterrorism does commit harm and violence to others, even when they do not physically hit or harm them.

For ecoterrorist groups, freedom is a right that must be extended to all life forms. According to the ATS case summary files, one ELF incident occurred in Snohomish County, Washington, on September 3rd, 2009. Members of the ELF stole a piece of excavating machinery and toppled two radio transmission towers. Not only were the towers destroyed, but members of the ELF left a banner with "ELF" on it.

[40] http://www.pbs.org/pov/ifatreefalls/film_description.php

According to the North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office (2009), "For the past eight years, opponents have waged a legal battle against the towers, arguing that AM radio waves cause adverse health effects including a higher rate of cancer, harm to wildlife, and that the signals have been interfering with home phone and intercom lines."[41] This is a classic example of big business and environmental liberationists fighting for their own sense of freedom: freedom to gain profit and extend radio access to others or freedom for people and wildlife to live without the potentially harmful health consequences and interference with other technology.

Jason Crawford, a spokesman for the ELF, justifies the destruction via the online North American Earth Liberation Press Office (2009), saying, "When all legal channels of opposition have been exhausted, concerned citizens have to take action into their own hands to protect life and the planet." He is essentially arguing that the law does not adequately provide freedom to all life forms in America. He also says, "Due to the health and environmental risks associated with radio waves emitted from the towers, we applaud this act by the ELF." The ELF takes control over the material resources (i.e. radio towers & surrounding machinery), and also gains symbolic influence (i.e. a huge tower funded and backed by big business and government topples to the ground by a small liberationist group who leaves a flag behind). He continues: "We have to weigh our priorities, and the local ecosystem in Everett, along with local residents, do not need additional sports news radio station towers that come at the expense of reduced property values and harmful radio waves." Finally, he says, "We sincerely hope that people continue to take direct action to stop the threats to human health, wildlife and the

[41] http://wn.com/north_american_earth_liberation_front_press_office

planet." These appeals to justice through moral beliefs (i.e. people are more important than property) and any type of means necessary (i.e. direct action to stop harmful impact of the towers) provide further explanation for why the ELF destroyed the property.

Media commentary about the ELF radio towers incident is both positive and negative. Criticism of the ELF points out the counterintuitive nature of the values of the ELF and their destruction of property. One commentator argues members of the ELF "[…] pick really stupid targets—considering that decades to life in prison is what they'll get if they're caught. The same methods used to carry out the operation […] could have been applied in other areas to cause extremely serious disruptions to the system that they are allegedly trying to protect."[42] For instance, this commentator points out the hypocrisy he or she feels the ELF members portrayed when they destroyed the property, arguing they could have hurt the environment more through their process of toppling the tower, as well as the use of resources to rebuild the tower. Others on the website offer a more positive critique of the ELF. For example, one commentator says, "Destruction of property IS NOT violence, in my opinion." This person defends the action, arguing destruction of property is not violence without addressing the argument that ELF makes, which is essentially that big business is destroying property belonging to the earth, wildlife, and humans by contaminating it. A resident of the Snohomish explained the event: "It goes to show you, people really just did not want this to happen in this valley. It's a beautiful area and to have a farm of towers go up, it really went

[42] http://cryptogon.com/?p=10809

against everything else that was natural around here."[43] Commentary on the event shows more positive feedback from commentators, using arguments from the environmental movement to support their reasoning.

Walter Bond is a well-known member of ALF and convicted terrorist, as well as one of the case studies featured in the American Terrorism Study. According to the ATS case summary files, Walter Bond set a Sheepskin Factory in Glendale, Colorado, on fire on April 30th, 2010. Court documents describe a book found in Bond's backpack when he was arrested, entitled "The Declaration of War-Killing People to Save the Animals and the Environment-Strike a Matct…Light a Fuse…We've Only Got the Earth to Lose…" and later reported the arson on voiceofthevoiceless.org.[44] Media commentary about the ALF sheepskin arson incident is both positive and negative. The Denver Post comments on Bond's trial. John Ingold, a reporter, writes, "An animal-rights activist who burned down the Sheepskin Factory in Glendale unleashed a vitriolic and unapologetic speech in front of federal court Friday prior to being sentenced to five years in prison."[45] Ingold essentially argues that Bond is not working within the confines of the criminal justice system and the moral codes assigned by the government due to his lack of sincere apology, justifying the punishment he receives from the arson.

Bond, however, has a different perspective on his actions and his punishment, saying, "In a society that honors money over life, I am honored to be a prisoner of war." Using the POW symbolism typically reserved for soldiers captured by enemies of the United States, he appeals to the concept of justice, denying his culpability and refusing

[43] http://liveleak.com/view?i=954_1252105147
[44] USA v. BOND 1:10-cr-00389-CMA Document 17
[45] www.denverpost.com/news/ci_17367465

to accept his actions as terroristic; rather, he sees himself as a hero. Additionally, he told the Sheepskin factory store's owner to "choke on everything you earned," which goes against the ALF's idea of doing no harm, yet also supports the idea that the ALF should do anything necessary to prevent the destruction of animals and people caused by selfish people earning profit from their destruction; here is the full speech Bond made during his sentence hearing:

> I'm here today because I burnt down the Sheepskin Factory in Glendale, CO, a business that sells pelts, furs and other dead animal skins. I know many people think I should feel remorse for what I've done. I guess this is the customary time where I'm supposed to grovel and beg for mercy. I assure you if that's how I felt I would. But, I am not sorry for anything I have done. Nor am I frightened by this court's authority. Because any system of law that values the rights of the oppressor over the down trodden is an unjust system. And though this court has real and actual power, I question its morality. I doubt the court is interested in the precautions that I took to not harm any person or by-stander and even less concerned with the miserable lives that sheep, cows and mink had to endure, unto death, so that a Colorado business could profit from their confinement, enslavement, and murder.
>
> Obviously, the owners and employees of the sheepskin factory do not care either or they would not be involved in such a sinister and macabre blood trade. So I will not waste my breath where it will only fall on deaf ears. That's why I turned to illegal direct action to begin with, because you do not care. No matter how much we animal rights activists talk or reason with you, you do not care. Well, Mr. Livaditis [owner of sheepskin business], I don't care about you. There is no common ground between people like you and me. I want you to know that no matter what this court sentences me to today, you have won nothing! Prison is no great hardship to me. In a society that values money over life, I consider it an honor to be a prisoner of war, the war against inter-species slavery and objectification! I also want you to know that I will never willingly pay you one dollar, not one! I hope your business fails and you choke to death on every penny you profit from animal murder! I hope you choke on it and burn in hell!
>
> To my supporters, I wish to say thank you for standing behind me and showing this court and these animal exploiters that we support our own and that we as a movement are not going to apologize for having a sense of urgency. We are not going to put the interests of commerce over sentience! And we will never stop educating, agitating and confronting those responsible for the death of our Mother Earth and her Animal Nations. My vegan sisters and brothers our lives are not our own. Selfishness is the way of gluttons, perverts and purveyors of

> injustice. It has been said all it takes for evil to conquer is for good people to do nothing. Conversely, all it takes to stop the enslavement, use, abuse and murder of other than human animals is the resolve to fight on their behalf!
>
> Do what you can, do what you must, be vegan warriors and true animal defenders and never compromise with their murderers and profiteers. The Animal Liberation Front is the answer. Seldom has there been such a personally powerful and internationally effective movement in human history. You cannot join the ALF but you can become the ALF. And it was the proudest and most powerful thing I have ever done. When you leave this courtroom today don't be dismayed by my incarceration. All the ferocity and love in my heart still lives on. Every time someone liberates an animal and smashes their cage, it lives on! Every time an activist refuses to bow down to laws that protect murder, it lives on! And it lives on every time the night sky lights up ablaze with the ruins of another animal exploiters' business!
>
> That's all Your Honor, I am ready to go to prison.[46]

His speech is reminiscent of many powerful and motivating speeches made by American leaders throughout history; however, he uses similar rhetoric to support an argument that has been much less supported throughout American history. He describes himself as a warrior pursuing justice by challenging greedy business owners who exploit animals and trying to spread his moral cause.

The store owner stated later, "That just showed the system that this guy should not be out in society."[47] The system the store owner refers to is the legal and culturally mainstream values that identify Bond as a social deviant. The conflict over material resources and how they should be used (i.e. the factory), as well as the symbolic backing that Bond and the store owner argue is theirs (i.e. the right to own or the right to destroy) is essentially a fight over power. They use similar ways of explaining their positions; however, the store owner gains the advantage because he uses the rhetoric in a culturally-backed way. Each of them have their own sense of justice; for the owner,

[46] http://supportwalter.org/SW/
[47] www.denverpost.com/news/ci_17367465

justice was served rightly and the system worked in his favor. For Bond, the system is wrong and broken, but his justice was served when he set the factory on fire and when he identifies himself as a prisoner of war.

Bond made a plea bargain and was sentenced to five years in a federal prison with three years of supervised release; he was also sentenced to pay $1.2 million dollars in restitution.[48] He had over fifty letters showing support for his cause, but the judge rejected them. Fifty letters is considerable in this case, meaning Bond does have a lot of support. The negotiation of cultural summary symbols is carried out through the interaction between Bond and law officials. While the "system" identifies Bond as a deviant currently, if he gathers more support and the moral and legal code shift because of his cause, then he may be re-labeled in mainstream society, either as a whistleblower or non-terrorist. This could be compared to other charismatic leaders, such as Martin Luther King Jr. or Nelson Mandela, leaders who were once imprisoned but later re-labeled as heroes. In that same report, the judge said the damage was too financially crippling and traumatizing to those involved to give Bond a lighter sentence, supporting the mainstream idea of freedom and justice in contemporary society. The prosecutor, Gregory Holloway, argued, "The victims in this case […] did nothing to deserve the ruination the defendant attempted to bring." Each party adheres to ideas of justice and a set of ethics that are culturally representative of American tradition, but the power imbalance keeps Bond from escaping a prison sentence.

Comments made by viewers of the Denver Post article on Bond's case also voiced their negative opinions of Walter Bond. One commentator wrote: "They [ALF]

[48] www.denverpost.com/news/ci_17367465

are so far out in left field it's ridiculous. Five years was about fifty years too light of a sentence. This misfit [Bond] needs to be put away. We might not be so lucky next time (and there will surely be a next time with this idiot) and someone may be injured or killed from his arson adventure."[49] This comment makes a point to isolate Bond's cause as far away from mainstream causes. Another commentator writes:

> Just making an observation here regarding the headline to this post-Tucson era of civility; generally speaking, all "animal rights" activists originate from the left wing of the political spectrum. Yet there is no reference to a "radical left-wing" animal activist and this guy is obviously radical by all reasonable definitions. Do you think that if this same type of crazed individual had originated from the right and maybe torched an abortion clinic, or a Planned Parenthood office, or a union hall, that Mr. John Ingold [the article's author] and the Denver Pravda would have used the term "radical right-wing" activist in describing him? Just sayin'.

This commentator points out the inconsistency he/she feels about the labeling of radical political groups, implying there are some groups that get "special treatment" by the media and the public, while others are heavily scrutinized.

There are also supporters of Bond found on other websites, such as the one owned by Voice of the Voiceless: Journal of the Animal Liberation Movement. Commentators on message boards on this website say they have "full solidarity with him [Walter Bond]."[50] On another website, someone writes, "Thank you. You did what was right, no matter the cost. You are a true hero."[51] Similarly, Dr. Jerry Vlasak, a strong supporter of animal rights, said:

> There are a lot of examples of cases where these actions have been taken and we've gotten concrete results as opposed to lobbying our congressmen and writing letters to the editors. When you measure these types of actions against

[49] www.denverpost.com/news/ci_17367465
[50] voiceofthevoiceless.org/breaking-fbi-m
[51] voiceofthevoiceless.org/walter-bond

> other options, this has actually shown to be one of the most effective ways to get things to change.[52]

This comment points to the struggle that animal liberationists have felt while attempting to follow legal, conventional ways to produce social change. Rebellion is a way to produce change in the larger social order, but it is dangerous and potentially costly to those who participate in it. However, rebellion does present results, according to Dr. Vlasak.

Also found on the "Cutting Edge News" article is a description of "The Declaration of War: Killing People to Save Animals and the Environment," a publication developed by the ALF. The author of the book "[…] contends that people who seek to liberate animals (which the author refers to as 'brothers' and 'sisters') from human oppression and abuse will use any and every tactic necessary to win the freedom of our brothers and sisters." The author continues, "This means they cheat, steal, lie, plunder, disable, threaten, and physically harm others to achieve their objective." Again, strain theory supports this argument by giving animals equal rights as humans.

The criminal justice system reacted to Bond's case using legal and moral rhetoric. Special Agent, Marvin Richardson, says of the incident, "Arson is a serious and potentially deadly crime that impacts an entire community. […] ATF [Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives] is committed to pursuing arsonists that endanger firefighters and communities by their senseless acts of violence" (United States Attorney's Office, District of Colorado 2010).[53] In order to insure everyone's freedom,

[52] thecuttingedgenews.com/index.php?ar
[53] http://www.fbi.gov/denver/press-releases/2010/dn072310.htm

justice must be served to those who commit crimes, which are acts of deviance that are written into law. An FBI Special Agent, James Davis, also argued:

> Terrorism in the name of animal rights is every bit as dangerous and destructive as the other threats facing our country today. […] The actions of Mr. Bond resulted in significant property damage and worse, could have resulted in the loss of life. The FBI, along with the ATF and our other Joint Terrorism Task Force partners are committed to working together to ensure that citizens of this country are safe from terrorist threats of all kinds.

The agent makes appeals to other forms of crime, arguing that Bond's actions are just as threatening to Americans as any other types of crime. U.S. Attorney, John Walsh, also argues, "An alleged political agenda never justifies violent criminal actions like those the defendant took in this case. […] Those who resort to such actions will face resolute prosecution and significant prison time."[54] This statement argues that the government and the law must protect individuals; however, the attorney fails to address what happens when law officials kill or destroy property and justify their actions as necessary to protect others. In this case, the attorney does not have to expend as much energy as Bond to justify his feelings and actions, because they are supported by the larger legal system and moral culture.

Walter Bond has a webpage dedicated to spreading his message and supporting him in prison.[55] In one of his releases in July of 2014, he writes: "Indeed the history of technological advancement is the history of cut, burn, torture, poison, explode and destroy! […] This *history* of technology becomes ever more cruel and efficient as time proceeds."[56] Challenging mainstream ideas of technology as representative of human

[54] http://noanimalsleft.org/node/41
[55] http://supportwalter.org/SW/index.php/donate/
[56] http://supportwalter.org/SW/index.php/2013/06/25/the-cruelty-of-industrial-technology/

progress, he tries to convince the reader to see technological progression from the perspective of the animals who had their lives destroyed/changed as a negative result. He describes the battle for resources and power between humans and non-humans, placing these groups at odds, and more specifically, animals as "losers" in the battle. Later on in the same piece, he argues:

> There's a growing trend to not attempt to emotionally understand the reality of victimization or oppression but use catchwords like Animals, Earth, hierarchy, patriarchy, capitalism et al. as reoccurring rhetorical symbols. This is dangerous because it is a flight from the reality that is experienced by the oppressed and downtrodden all around this globe, be they human, Animal or ecosystem. In the final analysis dissociative flights of philosophy are largely a privilege of those who are not oppressed.

He diagnoses the current problem facing North America as a result of technological progression by critiquing the ways in which people have described and understood this progression (i.e. words such as capitalism, patriarchy, animals, and earth). Through rhetorical practices of defining and describing phenomena, artificial divides are being placed between humans and non-humans, resulting in unequal resource control. He argues technology is aiding in the process of desensitizing people from the exploitation and oppression of certain populations. In our development of rhetorical symbols, he argues, we detach ourselves from the processes of oppression that are currently hurting these populations today. In another North American Animal Liberation Press Office press release in April of 2014, he writes:

> The time has come for an Ideology and for a movement that is both physically and morally strong enough to do battle against the forces of evil that are destroying the Earth (and all life upon it). One that cannot be bought nor led astray by temptation, a movement free of the vices that sedate the mind and weaken the body. An ideology that is pure and righteous without contradictions or inconsistencies. One that judges all things by one standard and emphasizes personal responsibility and accountability above all else. An overall view on life that not only deals with the external but also the internal, realizing that a

> physical entity of oppression, such as the capitalist system (where all life is deemed an expendable resource), is merely an outward manifestation of the warped values held by the people who run the institutions that control our lives, influence our culture and destroy the Earth. [57]

In his essay, he outlines the ideology he hopes ALF members can spread to the larger culture. Diagnostically, he describes the current world as battling against "the forces of evil that are destroying the Earth (and all life upon it)," described as a "capitalist system (where all life is deemed an expendable resource)." From a moral, or justice perspective, he calls for individuals to take personal responsibility for the practices occurring within their country. Not only does he fight for an ideology that is "pure and righteous," another common theme used in American discourse, but he also appeals to American individuality, arguing the same rights that humans deserve should apply to all living things.

Justice is an important theme across all framing techniques, especially motivational frames. During an interview on January 14, 2011 with Paula Ricciulli, (featured in the Columbian magazine, *Cartel Urbano*), Walter Bond uses emotionally charged language in order to provoke a moral outrage in readers, saying, "I don't regret my arsons first and foremost because they were justified. Animals' lives are snuffed out by the billions every year because of human greed, gluttony, bloodlust and psychopathology. […] Animals suffer because of human injustices."[58] In another essay in April of that year released by the North American Animal Liberation Press Office, he proclaims, "We need more liberators, we need more warriors, we need more direct

[57] http://animalliberationfront.com/News/2012_06/NAALPOnewsMay2012.htm
[58] http://supportwalter.org/SW/index.php/2011/01/14/interviewed-by-paula-ricciulli-for-the-columbian-magazine-cartel-urbano/

activism. We don't need more signs, we don't need more workshops and we don't need more negotiation, NEGOTIATION IS OVER?"[59] In that same piece, he says,

> While the seas are infected with floating islands of plastic Walmart bags, while mountains have their gut blown out for coal, while Animals suffer and die by the billions and while most of the human race lives in absolute poverty, we're going to make a sign! We're going to smile and hand out a flier!

Finally, he uses more emotionally charged rhetoric, saying, "The struggle for Animal, Earth and human Liberation needs to live inside of you. That's where it needs to find its strength." All of these excerpts provide strong motivation for members to continue to fight for animal liberation. By evoking passion, anger, and a sense of urgency, Bond has established himself as a motivational speaker for the ALF. He uses a common strategy used in wars, revolutions, and crusades for justice throughout history.

Walter Bond attempts to differentiate members of ALF from other deviant groups. For example, he says, "There are so many correlations between racism and speciesism that it would take a volume to accurately detail them all" (North American Animal Liberation Press Office February 2014).[60] He goes on to compare how racists used terms like beast and apes to degrade African Americans. He predicts that our culture will look back at this time period and be ashamed of the ways in which animals are treated. He also differentiates members of ALF from respected authorities. For example, he is anti-intellectual, writing, "The so-called scientific community justifies the most heinous and ghastly tortures of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives annually under the pretext of advancing and safeguarding the human race/ist." He

[59] https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2012/04/30/servants-of-the-truth-by-abdul-haqq-formerly-walter-bond/
[60] https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2014/02/20/patterns-of-oppression-by-walter-bond/

compares research on animals to the Tuskegee Syphilis Study conducted on African Americans from 1932-1972 (Brandt 1978).

Walter Bond's mother, Mickie, refers to her son as a "Prisoner of War" for his defense of the Animal Nations" (North American Animal Liberation Press Office 2014).[61] She goes on to challenge the symbolic meaning of her son's actions and the ALF, writing,

> Walter Bond was born a warrior; he did not choose it because he found a worthy or righteous cause. A warrior is born with a fire inside and a need to right wrongs. […] Webster's Dictionary's definition of 'warrior' is as follows: 1) a person engaged in warfare; soldier 2) a person who shows or has shown great vigor, courage or aggressiveness

Using the positive imagery of a warrior, she contests his imprisonment and labeling of a terrorist. She uses framing techniques that appeal to larger summary symbols, such as courage and righteousness. She also attempts to criminalize politicians, saying, "At this point, how can people have faith in any of them? […] People seem to have given away their power, their uniqueness, their confidence in their beliefs and blindly follow the media, politicians and the mainstream consensus."

Ecoterrorist groups also use frames that reflect the feminist movement. For example, on the ALF website under the "About ALF" header, there is a link to an article, called, "How Many Feminists Dance Upon the Head of a Pin?" The article, written by Robert Cohen, cites an entry into an Animal Rights Feminist column:

> The animal rights movement is fueled by women. The woman represents the better half of humankind. She combines a passion for change with the wisdom endowed upon her gentle and powerful spirit to animal rights issues. She runs things for the People for the Ethical Treatment of animals (PETA), and she stands in the rain or snow to protest laboratory research. She converts boyfriends

[61] https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2011/11/10/a-mothers-reflection-by-walter-bonds-mother/

> and husbands to her plant-based diet because that creates balance to her universe and superior intellectual perspective. Without the woman, there would be no animal rights movement in America.[62]

The ALF aligns itself with both feminism and environmentalism with this page. Women are claimed as leaders of the animal rights movement and play a huge part in the recruitment and retention of animal liberation groups. Similarly, in PETA's Liberation Guide posted on the ALF website, it begins, saying:

> "Animal Liberation" may sound more like a parody of other liberation movements than a serious objective. The idea of "The Rights of Animals" actually was once used to parody the case for women's rights. When Mary Wollstonecraft, a forerunner of today's feminists, published her Vindication of the Rights of Women in 1792, her views were widely regarded as absurd, and before long an anonymous publication appeared entitled A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes. The author of this satirical work (now known to have been Thomas Taylor, a distinguished Cambridge philosopher) tried to refute Mary Wollstonecraft's arguments by showing that they could be carried one stage further. If the argument for equality was sound when applied to women, why should it not be applied to dogs, cats, and horses? The reasoning seemed to hold for these "brutes" too; yet to hold that brutes had rights was manifestly absurd. Therefore the reasoning by which this conclusion had been reached must be unsound, and if unsound when applied to brutes, it must also be unsound when applied to women, since the very same arguments had been used in each case.[63]

The piece goes on to use this example throughout, examining the relationship between women's rights and animal rights. These frames show a connection between women and animals. They also describe the ability for women to feel compassion for animals (i.e. wisdom) and sway others to join the cause.

ALF and ELF court case files report that women have key responsibilities within their terrorist groups. Women often serve as head communicators during terrorist

[62] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/FeministsDancingonPin.htm
[63] http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/liberationguide.pdf

incidents and are more directly involved in the terrorist incident compared to women in other domestic groups; for example, Chelsea Dawn Gerlach, also known as "Country Girl," served as a "look out" and directed members using a hand-held radio during an arson attack on a meat company.[64] A member of the Earth Liberation Front, Josephine Sunshine Overaker, participated in numerous attacks during which she committed arson attacks in multiple states; she is currently on the FBI's Wanted List.[65]

Qualitative Findings for Left-wing Terrorist Cases

Left-wing terrorists also share some values and beliefs with ecoterrorists. "Left-wing terrorists, according to the FBI, have a revolutionary socialist agenda, and present themselves as protectors of the populace against the alienating effects of capitalism and U.S. imperialism."[66] Left-wing terrorists use the symbol of freedom as motivation for their actions, arguing big business robs people of their inherent rights and keeps them within a hierarchical capitalist system.

The United Freedom Front (UFF) is one left-wing terrorist group that gathered considerable media attention. According to the Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium and ATS court records, the UFF is an "anti-imperialist organization that strongly opposed U.S. foreign policy in Central America, as well as South African apartheid."[67] The UFF called itself a "revolutionary group"[68] and used the concept of freedom in its name. They labeled themselves freedom fighters and make a stand against the U.S. in its lack of action to end apartheid. Active in the 1970s and 80s, the

[64] http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/26/us/26sentence.html?fta=y&_r=0
[65] http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/dt/josephine-sunshine-overaker/view
[66] http:www.faqs.org/espionage/Te-Uk/Terrorism-Domestic-United-States.html
[67] http://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/united-freedom-front
[68] http://www.start.umd.edu/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3232

UFF bombed various buildings in New York and surrounding areas. Shortly after one of the bombs exploded, a member of the UFF told The Associated Press: "'We bombed the South African Consulate in New York in solidarity with resistance to South African human rights violations. Down with apartheid. Victory to the freedom fighters. Defeat U.S. imperialism. Guerrilla Resistance."[69] In this message, diagnostic framing blamed apartheid and U.S. imperialism for the current South African human rights violations. Prognostic framing (i.e. guerilla resistance) used words such as "down with" and "defeat" those they viewed as in charge of condoning or creating human rights violations. In this message and through their actions, members of the UFF challenged the law (i.e. literally through destroying government buildings), as well as the moral codes associated with American imperialism (i.e. appealing to human rights).

Members of the UFF have also been responsible for other bombings and later captured and convicted on conspiracy charges. Labeled the Ohio 7, the convicted members received extensive prison time.[70] Commentary supportive of the UFF can be found through media outlets of the Anarchist Black Cross Federation (ABCF), which is a more contemporary organization formed in in 1995 in support of what members call "Prisoners of War" and "Political Prisoners."[71] For example, members of the ABCF argue those convicted are political prisoners in one of their fliers, saying:

> Conviction at a government-orchestrated political trial is not the same as being guilty of a crime. It's the position of the UFF prisoners that they exercised their responsibilities under international law in actively opposing human rights

[69] http://www.nytimes.com/1984/09/27/news/terrorist-group-blamed-for-consulate-bombing.html
[70] http://www.start.umd.edu/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3232
[71] http://www.abcf.net/about-us/

> violations perpetuated, aided and abetted by the U.S. government and corporate greed.[72]

Members of the ABCF visualize members of the UFF as innocent of guilt, providing motivational framing for the Ohio 7's actions. They frame these actions as the UFF members exercising their "responsibilities" to end "human rights violations" committed by the U.S. government and big business. Members of the ABCF continue to use motivational framing, declaring the battle over a moral and ethical sense of right and wrong is still being fought. They write, "These battles are not over. The American political government has sentenced political prisoners to death by incarceration." Pointing out the power and resources of the criminal justice system, they argue UFF political prisoners are being denied the lives they deserve. In doing so, they challenge the law and the moral codes governing members of the criminal justice system, while also pointing out ways the American government has harmed or ignored at-risk populations all over the world.

Ideas about freedom and justice widely vary between those convicted of terrorism and their allies and the courts. For instance, one of the lawyers representing a member of the UFF said of the terrorist label given to that member, "'sounds like typical F.B.I. attempts to create hysteria to frighten the community before there's even been an opportunity to contest the charges" (Fried 1985: 1).[73] Similarly, another lawyer said the government puts a terrorist label on "anyone who is an anti-imperialist or believes in the common good" (1). Diagnostic frames attempt to discredit the criminal justice system

[72] http://www.abcf.net/abc/pdfs/UFF.pdf
[73] http://www.nytimes.com/1985/03/13/nyregion/7-are-indicted-in-bombings-at-offices-and-military-sites.html

and the government. These frames outline power imbalances that impose on defendants' rights and freedoms.

One well-known member of the UFF is Thomas Manning, an imprisoned leader of the UFF who shot and killed a police officer during a traffic stop. Although he pled self-defense, he was sentenced to life in prison, where he currently lives. He writes poetry and creates artwork in support of his ideology.[74] He uses this artwork to support other people he believes are "prisoners of war," or unjustly accused by the government. In his poem, "Who is Mumia Abu-Jamal," he is part of a larger movement of freedom fighters:

> "Who is Mumia Abu-Jamal?
> He is one of us …… "
> We are women and men who love and hope.
> We are sisters and brothers who refuse to be
> limited by the false boundaries and parameters
> of those who would divide us.
> We feel the music in words like Amandla and Venceremous.
> And we struggle for the ideas and histories
> embodied in these words.
> When the word Libertad crosses our teeth it
> leaves the sweet taste of freedom on our tongues.
> We have cried and sung these words as
> Lolita Lebron and Nelson Mandela
> walked out through prison walls.
> We laughed victorious as Assata Shakur flew
> back into the whirlwind.
> And we will sway with the dance of life when
> Mumia Walks arm in arm with his family.
> We have heard Billie's 'Strange Fruit'
> Nina's 'Mississippi God Damn'
> and Abby's 'Freedom Suite'
> Grooved to Coltrane and Mingus and Monk,
> Gil Scott-Heron's 'Grandma's Hands' and 'Johanesburg'.
> And Bob Marley's 'Get Up, Stand Up' and 'Redemption Songs'.

[74] http://web.archive.org/web/20010826005704/http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Parliament/3400/tompoems.htm (this is linked to an archived version of Manning's former support site)

These songs of freedom move us, move us to feel,
move us to act, and act we must.
We hope with all of our hearts, that you will too.
FREE MUMIA !

Tom Manning – January 1, 1997

According to a support group for Mumia Abu-Jamal, Mumia is a freedom fighter, former member of the Black Panther Party, and an advocate for "[…] prison guards and police officers, but especially for persons who routinely are rendered voiceless–whether they are African-American, Latino/a, Asian-American, Native American, Arab-American, white American, or the often detained from immigrant populations today."[75] In his poem, Manning diagnoses the problem of "false boundaries and parameters of those who would divide us," suggesting the laws and rules created by the powerful to oppress and divide the voiceless are merely illusions used to maintain the social hierarchy.

Using motivational framing, he explains how "love" and "hope" are felt by those who see through these boundaries and join the "struggle." He notes the symbolic conflict being fought between those who want to preserve the social order and those who challenge it, writing, "we struggle for the ideas and histories embodied in these words." He also compares himself and others associated with his movement to important, mainstream charismatic leaders who were once misunderstood and imprisoned for their ideology and actions, such as Nelson Mandela. Similarly, a support group website for Manning compares him to Mandela, arguing, "While Obama claims to respect the legacy of Mandela (while supporting apartheid in Israel) he is allowing

[75] http://www.freemumia.com/who-is-mumia-abu-jamal/

others who were cut from the same cloth to spend their lives behind bars."[76] He also aligns himself with well-known music artists, such as Bob Marley, arguing, "These songs of freedom move us, move us to feel, move us to act, and act we must. We hope with all of our hearts, that you will too." Freedom for everyone, Manning believes, can only be achieved through actions. Using prognostic framing, he urges readers to jump to action to fight for the freedom he feels is denied to vulnerable populations. The entire poem acts as an emotional appeal to draw people to the "FREE MUMIA" movement.

The ABCF group in Denver also supports Thomas Manning. The website contains an autobiography of Manning, part of which is listed verbatim below:

> […] what was needed also became clear- socialism- a system where ends meet. The bosses oppose this system with a vengeance. They attack it with their armies and police. The People must fight for their own system in all ways- one of these being armed clandestine struggle. We have a long way to go, but we are getting there.
>
> I was captured in 1985, sentenced to 58 years in federal prison for a series of bombings carried out as armed propaganda against apartheid in South Africa, U.S. imperialism in Latin and Central America, including a concerted campaign against Mobil Oil and U.S. military targets in solidarity with the FALN's campaign for the release of the five Nationalist prisoners. And against racist, genocidal capitalism here in the belly of the beast. I'm also sentenced to 80 years- (two 25 to life, plus 20 for armed robbery, plus 10 for escape) in New Jersey for the self-defense killing of a state trooper.
>
> […] I stand accused of being a part of the Sam Melville/Jonathan Jackson unit in the 1970's and the United Freedom Front in the 1980's. I am proud of the association and all that it implies…

Using prognostic framing, Manning argues socialism is the resolution to the problem facing society, which is "racist, genocidal, capitalism." Other strategies he has utilized to resolve the problem include campaigns and bombings. Finally, he uses a motivational

[76] https://nycabc.wordpress.com/tag/united-freedom-front/

frame when discussing his terrorist label, saying, "I am proud of the association and all that it implies."

Injustice framing made by left-wing terrorist groups also use religious discourse to critique capitalism and the U.S. government and prove the need for socialist, anti-capitalist, anti-racist governments. One website supporting the United Freedom Front using a religious agenda proclaims:

> "God's scripture teaches that authorities, and people of rich, are supposed to give to the people of the world. Prices can drop in half creating more business for people, from people having more money to spend, this will allow people to buy things, where people would not be able to buy things. God wants people to live in full, but now, people cannot even take care of their health, and do not have enough money to live full lives (John 10:10). God wants people to live in enjoyment, but now people are slaves to money not making enough (James 5:4).[77]

Religious appeals are very powerful due to high religiosity in the United States. The author diagnosis the problem as "people cannot even take care of their health, and do not have enough money to live full lives," citing a chapter in the Bible. Rather, the author argues "God wants people to live in enjoyment" and "God's scripture teaches that authorities and people of rich are supposed to give to the people of the world." How does the author intent to resolve this problem? Through the dropping of prices so that people can afford to buy things, which will create more business. A sense of freedom comes from enjoying one's life, and one cannot enjoy live when one is a "slave" to money. In terms of justice and fairness, those controlling prices should create a more equal world by allowing prices to drop and more people to have access to products.

Another left-wing terrorist group that gained considerable attention is the Republic of New Afrika (RNA). According to the Terrorism Research and Analysis

[77] unitedfreedomfrontproductions.com

Consortium, the RNA is considered a seditious group by the FBI.[78] The group has been charged with "conspiracy to commit robbery, illegal possession of weapons, and a variety of other offenses" (Seger 2001: 2). Part of the evidence used during the trial is a video recording of Simms training members of the group how to kill people (2). Although the defendants were acquitted of the most severe charge, they were charged with "illegal weapons possession," and only one person, Collette Pean, had a prison sentence of three months (2). However, on the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika website, there is no mention of the charges; the website also notes active membership and elections as recent as 2014.[79]

The group formed in 1968, with the issuing of its Declaration of Independence.[80] Members of the RNA declare that there should be a "New Afrika," developed in the following states and remain independent from the rest of the country: Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia. To start and maintain this new Afrika, they demand from the white government what is owed to the black people after years of slavery without payment, "by rights of heritage and reparations." They write, "our basic national objective is to free this land from subjugation: to win sovereignty." Diagnostically, the problem the RNA faces is the denial of land and money that is rightfully theirs; withholding these from New Afrikans essentially denies their freedom. They are attempting to attain freedom through material and symbolic resources, including land and the development of its own nation, along with political documents and flag.

[78] http://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/republic-new-africa-rna
[79] http://www.pg-rna.org/about-the-pg-rna.html
[80] http://www.pg-rna.org/

On the home page is a link titled "What We Must Do."[81] These are the prognostic frames used by the group, listed verbatim:

> 1. We must go into the streets and back roads, and make the following facts known to all our people.
>
> […]
>
> 2. Second, We must win support of all Black people for the Provisional Government. The more people use PG courts and support the independent Black foreign policy the stronger will the Provisional Government and the work for independence become.
>
> 3. Third, We must organize people to participate in a people's vote (a plebiscite) for independence. We must run this vote ourselves, in accordance with the international law, and We must select polling places, create ballots, arrange for exact and verifiable counting of the votes and, of course, organize people to participate in all of this.
>
> 4. Finally, We must be ready to defend ourselves politically and military against those who would try to keep us from controlling the land after the vote. We must keep the will of our people strong. At the same time We must keep up pressure for support from the U.S. congress, from the United Nations and from countries all over the world. In the end, provided that We persist, the United States will have to make an honorable peace treaty with the Provisional Government. The United States will be forced to recognize the independence of our land, people, and government, the Republic of New Afrika. We will then establish peaceful and prosperous relations between our two nation-states, assuming that the United States does continue to exist. With all this, We must begin to build schools, health centers, media centers- and industry owned by the people, before independence

The PG-RNA's prognostic frames include the spreading of education about the RNA, the establishment of the RNA as a legitimate government for black people, winning independence from the rest of America, and defend themselves "politically and military" against those who wish to keep the RNA from existing. Other frames

[81] http://www.pg-rna.org/what-we-must-do.html

encourage working with the U.S. congress and the United Nations in order to gain support. Once a nation, its goals are to work peacefully with other nations.

The group also has a creed, which is used to promote nationality, as well as healthy members of society. The majority of the creed is composed of prognostic frames, such as "I will love my brothers and sisters as myself," but it ends with a motivational frame. Members say at the end of their creed: "Now, freely, and of my own will, i pledge this creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false. For i am no longer deaf, dumb or blind. i am — by the inspiration of Our Ancestors and the Grace of Our Creator — a New Afrikan."[82] This motivational frame uses the symbol of freedom to encourage participation in the RNA cause, promising "a better world." It also includes motivation for members to remain loyal to the group's goals, saying "on pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false." Even the capitalization of "We" and non-capitalization of "i" encourages a group identity to prevail above the individual's.

The RNA uses many appeals to freedom and justice in their material culture. The following media have been collected by the Brown-Tougaloo Project:[83]

(Insert Figure 6. Flier for Republic of New Africa: "Turn Toward Freedom," which Advocates for the Creation of New Community for Black People, Free from the "Struggle of the Ghetto"

The flier appeals to fighting racial inequality in America, asking blacks to join the "Republic of New Africa" in order to "leave the struggle of the ghetto," have healthier, less polluted communities, and to receive reparations for ancestors of slaves. The flier appeals to the American cultural ideal of freedom and civil and human rights. Members

[82] http://www.pg-rna.org/our-creed.html
[83] http://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/FreedomNow/themes/blkpower/

of the movement equate freedom with the right to access material resources (land, money, and independence from the rest of America). Symbolically, they seek to rid black communities of negative stereotypes (i.e. ghettos) and establish clean and healthy communities in southern states, also known as "The Promised Land," which is reflective of the land promised to the Israelites by God in the Christian religion.

Regarding the concepts of justice and social control, the flier (Figure 6) reminds blacks that they are not yet allowed to truly live their lives to fulfillment, due to racial inequality. In order to gain their freedom, they must keep whites from controlling their material and symbolic property. They must establish their own law in their own republic in order to develop a "progressive" community with a progressive moral code. The next flier continues to support these themes.

(Insert Figure 7. Fund and Support Raising Flier for the Republic of New Africa)

This flier tells members that the group has organized a "Plebiscete—an election in which the people may vote to be a free and independent nation." Much like the story of the Pilgrims arriving at Plymouth Rock, members of the RNA want to build a new nation for blacks in America in order to gain independence from white, oppressive institutions. American cultural values, such as building a better life and equal opportunity, are used specifically to support the RNA. It also urges members to donate regularly to the cause in order to attain this freedom.

Qualitative Findings for Right-wing Terrorist Cases

Right-wing terrorists share some values and beliefs with ecoterrorists. They use injustice framing in order to define and describe the major problems facing Americans created by the federal government and racial minorities, arguing American government and society was founded by white men. For example, they use reverse-discrimination

rhetoric in their diagnostic framing. For example, one person posts a video of James David Manning, a black pastor that has negatively criticized President Obama) to support right-wing terrorist ideology, commenting about its contents:

> Obama has done nothing but vilify the white middle class. The election was won by the black vote. Not to marginalize its significance, but it ultimately boiled down the "white guilt" vote (those dopey liberals who bought into his b.s. rhetoric about typical white people being better with guns and religion as he threw his white granny under the bus). Our country was founded by white men with guns. He keeps crapping on white middle class America and this communist a-hole is going to have an armed rebellion on his hands.[84]

This person argues that freedoms of white middle class have been threatened by President Obama, arguing that America "was founded by white men with guns." They also argue that the "black vote" won the election and that President Obama encouraged this while also throwing "his white granny under the bus." On the same website, while referring to Sonia Sotomayor, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States starting in 2009 under President Obama, one person writes: "May I remind Red Sonia of the demographics of those who convened to write the Constitution." This person argues white men wrote the Constitution; thereby, anyone who is not a white man is a threat to American politics and values. Finally, the website blames President Obama for his troubles, arguing, "You can expect less money in your paycheck every week, less healthcare benefits while paying more for them, higher monthly utility bills while remember, making less money than before and paying more for your next car while you guessed it, bringing home less money." Implying that President Obama is an unjust leader supports right-wing terrorists' belief in racial hierarchy, anti-socialism, and anti-communism, all of which they find President Obama guilty of violating.

[84] http://rightwingterrorist.com/ (this webpage has been taken down and is no longer accessible)

Right-wing terrorists also attempt to reject their terrorist label and place it on someone or something else via diagnostic framing. For example, one person describes President Obama: "He steals from you to give to his moron supporters. Wealth redistribution through unconstitutional executive reinterpretation of the law via threats and thug attacks. These people were silenced just like any other Communist leader would have done. This man should be in jail."[85] This person argues President Obama is stealing money from certain people and giving it to others "through unconstitutional executive reinterpretation of the law," disregarding the directions of the Constitution of the United States. President Obama is to blame. This person gives a prognosis for the problems President Obama is creating, saying, "This man should be in jail."

The website for the Knights Party also portrays diagnostic frames. Pastor Thomas Robb, National Director of The Knights, writes:

> There is a race war against whites. But our people - my white brothers and sisters - will stay committed to a non-violent resolution. That resolution must consist of solidarity in white communities around the world. The hatred for our children and their future is growing and is being fueled every single day. Stay firm in your convictions. Keep loving your heritage and keep witnessing to others that there is a better way than a war torn, violent, wicked, socialist, new world order. That way is the Christian way - law and order - love of family - love of nation. These are the principles of western Christian civilization. There is a war to destroy these things. Pray that our people see the error of their ways and regain a sense of loyalty. Repent America! Be faithful my fellow believers.

The problem identified by this right wing terrorist group is a "race war," in which white people face a "war torn, violent, wicked, socialist, new world order." They also argue that western Christian civilization is being threatened. Prognostic frames include "repent," "stay firm in your convictions," and "keep loving your heritage and keep

[85] http://www.rightwingterrorist.com/

witnessing to others that there is a better way." Under the FAQs section of the homepage, members write their goal:

> We want to stop White genocide. This seems absurd to some people. They look around and they don't see masses of white bodies floating down a river as one might see with the victims of the Rwandan genocide of recent years. They don't turn on the evening news and see bodies of massacred white people laid out in a field or on a street. They think white genocide is a joke or some crazy idea we have come up with. They don't take it seriously. […] The coming white genocide has already started and is in its first stages. Whites today in record numbers are leaving areas that non-whites are filling up. The state of California is a prime example. White flight is nothing more than ethnic cleansing of whites. Violence and discrimination against whites in the large cities are forcing them to hand over America's metropolitan areas and many smaller areas as well to non-whites.[86]

The problem facing whites is genocide, and they point to California as an example of genocide through "ethnic cleansing." They also argue whites are victims of violence and discriminated against in large cities, "forcing them [whites] to hand over America's metropolitan areas and many smaller areas as well to non-whites." Similarly, "Statistics and the signs of the times clearly show that within 25 years white people will not only be a minority race in the United States but a minority that will be in the midst of a genocide." Finally, they argue that certain people are promoting harm against whites, citing *Hating Whitey*, a book that "documents widespread anti-white speech by professors in classrooms across America openly smearing whites as the scourge of mankind." White people face an urgent threat and must come together to unite in order to avoid genocide.

The FAQs webpage contains a list of past laws as an example that the founding fathers intended America to be home to white Christians. For example:

[86] http://kkk.bz/?page_id=2896

1. Black people had to post a bond usually for about $5,000 (a lot of money back then) in the Northern states to even live there. And in many counties of the North they weren't even allowed to be there unless in travel.
2. Non-whites were not allowed to vote – voting privileges for non-whites weren't even considered during the founding of America.
3. A person had to profess a belief in Jesus Christ and the 10 Commandments to even hold any type of public office – from sheriff to President – to governor.
4. Interracial marriage was illegal
5. Homosexuality was illegal[87]

It then presents an argument that as the items on this list became legal, problems arose. For example, the advocate argues that politicians today are "messed up" because "they came from the homosexual, race mixing, Communist, anti-law and order, revolution. Some may claim the Republicans aren't that bad, but not one single Republican leader would proclaim their opposition to race mixing." In order to resolve these problems, The Knights use prognostic framing. They argue they must win the ballot box during elections and work to achieve "silent support" from those that will not officially join the group, but still advocate for white rights. They also argue that Christians must acquire more political offices at all governmental levels so that America can begin to return to its original state.

Other goals of The Knights are listed under their "Goals" link.[88] The goals are listed below verbatim:

A. Become the leader of the White racialist movement

Through a strong organized show of leadership

Through the training and use of qualified media representatives

Through a concerted effort of all Klansmen and Klanswomen to carefully follow instructions, suggestions, and guidelines as set by headquarters and to continually strive to be THE BEST

[87] http://kkk.bz/?page_id=2896
[88] http://kkk.bz/main/?page_id=28

B. Strive to become the representative and driving force behind the White Community

Through an aggressive use of television, radio, and print advertising

Through huge nationwide literature drives in which millions of people are reached with our literature.

To legally break through the liberal wall that surrounds America's colleges and universities – to reach and instruct students in the reclaiming of their schools.

Through the effective use of project committees to assist in the re-education of law enforcement agencies and the educational establishment. These two very important groups must be given another side of the story instead of only receiving information from organizations such as the ADL, NAACP, or ACLU

C. Organize and direct white people to a level of activism necessary to bring about a political victory.

Through the organizing and maintenance of strong local units.

Through bold public relations campaigns focusing on two main ideas:

The White Christian people have been betrayed by our nation's political, economic, educational, and religious leaders.

The Knights Party is the last hope for America.

Through the aggressive and combined effort of Knights' units (The core of the grassroots movement) to work within their community in all aspects of a political campaign, including but not limited to:

Getting literature into the hands of everyone in the community.

Keeping the name "The Knights Party" in continual high profile.

Sponsoring ads in local newspapers and on local radio and television networks.

Working on petition drives to achieve ballot access for Klansmen or Klanswomen who run for either local, state, or federal offices; such as school board, mayor, state representative, congress, senate, etc.

Conducting community goodwill projects.

> Organizing and working on "get to the polls" campaigns, to insure that everyone who will vote in our favor can have the opportunity to do so.
>
> Recruiting new associates and volunteers for The Knights Party who will work toward the election of Klansmen and Klanswomen to public office.
>
> We must take back control of OUR U.S. government. We intend to put Klansmen and Klanswomen in office all the way from the local school board to the White House!
>
> WHAT IS OUR GOAL?
>
> POLITICAL POWER

Prognostic frames outline the ways in which The Knights seek to accomplish their goals. Their goal is power, which is directly tied to feelings of freedom. They wish to disperse literature through media, political office, community goodwill projects, voting campaigns, and re-education of police and educational institutions. In terms of motivational framing, they argue that "The Knights Party is the last hope for America," providing readers with a sense of urgency and call to arms. Finally, under the "What you receive" link,[89] joining members receive an array of literature and materials, such as a pledge book and a wallet or purse showing KKK membership. Also, the website provides motivational framing for participating in the group:

> We believe through your association with The Knights you will have a rewarding experience as you work toward a better understanding of Klan philosophy, our struggle, and toward a return of White Christian Revival in America. We can't do it overnight, but each person who dedicates himself or herself to our cause and remains persistent in their beliefs and goals brings our nation one step closer to a rebirth of Christian self- government. We will help you make that step.

Not only will members have a "rewarding experience," but they will also be able to facilitate the "return of White Christian Revival in America." The frames are similar to

[89] http://kkk.bz/main/?page_id=46

other forms or pep-talk, arguing, "we can't do it overnight, but each person who dedicates himself or herself to our cause […] brings our nation one step closer to a rebirth of Christian self-government." Although motivational, these frames do not specifically align with other collective movements compared to ecoterrorist frames.

According to The Knights, there is tension between the public understanding of the KKK and the actual KKK organization. The Knights argue under their FAQs page that the media misrepresents them and their intentions. For example, it reports:

> Most have this idea about the Klan because of the entertainment industry. The entertainment industry which includes movie makers, TV producers, publishing houses, national news agencies, etc. are very liberal in their beliefs and agenda. This same industry also makes fun of Christians in general. Christians are portrayed as uptight, insensitive, narrow minded, dull, boring, bigoted people who never have a good time. If you are a white Christian who believes in the old time gospel of racial separation then you are in for an even bigger slew of hogwash. They will portray you as mean, sinister, revengeful, psychotic, illiterate, and filled with rage toward those who aren't white. This only helps move the liberal agenda forward.[90]

The enemy is the "liberal agenda" that is produced by the entertainment industry. This industry offends Christians and the Knights through improper representations. In order to protect their values and beliefs, they have developed The Knights as a political organization advocating for the white population. In order to gain membership, individuals must believe in Jesus Christ; however, membership does not require a specific denomination.

Women in The Knights organization are highly encouraged to join and participate in the group's activities. On their facts page, members explain:

> The role of women is very important to us. They are in the front lines of defense of the family and Christianity. Women are not put into a separate auxiliary. They have equal opportunity for advancement and can be recruiters, officers,

[90] http://kkk.bz/?page_id=2896

> advisers, etc. The Knights have a long standing tradition of male and female cooperation in the building of this organization.[91]

Women are referred to as "equal" and can be officers and advisers within the organization. They are viewed as defending the family and the Christian religion.

In right-wing cases, religious appeals serve as diagnostic and motivational frames. According to ATS case summary files and the Anti-Defamation League, the Holocaust Memorial Museum Shooting occurred on June 10, 2009, in Washington D.C. According to news articles about the incident, James W. von Brunn, an 88 year old with a white supremacist ideology, went into the Holocaust museum and fatally shot a security guard and attempted to shoot others.[92] In USA v. VON BRUNN, an affidavit describes the notebook found at the scene: "You want my weapons – this is how you'll get them. The Holocaust is a lie. Obama was created by Jews. Obama does what his Jew owners tell him to do. Jews captured America's money. Jews control the mass media."[93] Also in court documents is evidence in the form of "emails, letters, and arrangements the defendant left for relatives, including funeral and financial information […showing] that the defendant was on a suicide mission, hoping to kill as many people as possible before he was killed."[94]

Brunn's ideological prognostic frames are to kill. Brunn also writes in his book, *Kill the Best Gentiles*, "Over my years of adversity, it became clear to me that a JEW strategy had emerged: 'Kill the Best Gentiles!' The tactics were WAR and DEBT…I

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[91] http://kkk.bz/?page_id=2896
[92] http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/James-Von-Brunn-An-Adl-Backgrounder.pdf
[93] *USA v. VON BRUNN* 1:09-cr-00184-RBW Document 1-1
[94] *USA v. VON BRUNN* 1:09-cr-00184-RBW Document 13

was chased from one job to another for not genuflecting before God's Chosen."[95] This quote identifies a problem in its diagnostic framing (i.e. the Jew strategy). Brunn believed in "[…] conspiracy theories involving Jews, blacks and other minority groups and at one point waged a personal war with the federal government." In his prognostic framing, he planned on taking victims hostage, and on his website, he made claims about being "victimized by a court system run by Jews and Blacks." He also claimed "[…] to be a member of Mensa, the high-I.Q. society; to have played varsity football at Midwestern college, where he earned a degree in journalism; to have been a PT boat commander in World War II; and to be a painter and author." His prognosis to solve his diagnosed problem would be murder.

Public leaders reacted quickly to the shooting. Two rabbis, Marvin Hier and Abraham Cooper, described the shooting as proof:

> […] that the cancer of hatred, bigotry, and anti-Semitism is alive and well in America […] It is deeply disturbing that one of America's most powerful symbols of the memory of the Holocaust was selected as the site of the attack just days after President Obama accompanied Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel to the Buchenwald death camp.[96]

Using diagnostic framing, these rabbis used "hatred," "bigotry," and "anti-Semitism" to describe the attack, arguing that Brunn and other bigots like him took away the freedoms of Jews and other target groups. Similarly, President Obama also commented, "This outrageous act reminds us that we must remain vigilant against anti-Semitism and prejudice in all its forms." He continued, "No American institution is more important to this effort than the Holocaust Museum, and no act of violence will diminish our

[95] http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/James-Von-Brunn-An-Adl-Backgrounder.pdf
[96] http://nytimes.com/2009/06/11/us/11shoot.html

determination to honor those who were lost by building a more peaceful and tolerant world."[97] Symbols of justice and freedom are important to the President's message; he demanded the preservation of freedom for oppressed groups and promoted tolerance.

Brunn's family also disassociated themselves with Brunn's personal opinions, arguing Brunn took away their freedom and ruined their lives. For example, Brunn's son made a statement following the attack, aligning his discourse with those distributed by mainstream media outlets after the shooting. He says:

> My father's beliefs have been a constant source of verbal and mental abuse my family has had to suffer with for many years. His views consumed him, and in doing so, not only destroyed his life, but destroyed our family and ruined our lives as well. For a long time, I believed this was our family's cross to bear. Now, it is not only my […family members'] lives that are in shambles, but those who were directly affected by what he did; especially the family of Mr. Johns, who bravely sacrificed his life to stop my father. I cannot express enough how deeply sorry I am it was Mr. Johns, and not my father who lost their life yesterday. It was unjustified and unfair that he died, and while my condolences could never begin to offer appeasement, they, along with my remorse is all I have to give. While my father had every right to believe what he did, by imposing those beliefs on others he robbed them of their free will. His actions have taken opportunities away from many people and forced decisions unexpected, not warranted, to be made that otherwise would not have been necessary. For the extremists who believe my father is a hero: it is imperative you understand what he did was an act of cowardice. To physically force your beliefs onto others with violence is not brave, but bullying. Doing so only serves to prove how weak those beliefs are. It is simply desperation, reminiscent of a temper tantrum of a child that cannot get his way. Violence is a cop out; an easy answer for an ignorant problem. His actions have undermined your "movement," and strengthened the resistance against your cause. He should not be remembered as a brave man or as a hero, but a coward unable to come to grips with the fact he threw his and his families lives away for an ideology that fostered sadness and anguish.[98]

[97] http://www.huffintonpost.com/2009/06/10/holocaust-museum-shooting
[98] http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/06/13/AR2009061302111.html

Brunn's son proclaims that it was unfair for Mr. Johns to die at the hands of his father. He said his father "had every right to believe what he did," but "by imposing those beliefs on others he robbed them of their free will." Brunn threatened and took away others' freedom, yet he was also considered heroic in some extremist circles. However, Brunn's son declares that physically imposing one's beliefs on someone else (i.e. through killing) is cowardly and unjust.

The Hutaree, another right-wing terrorist group, also used religion to motivate members. According to ATS case summaries and court documents, the Hutaree right-wing terrorist plot planned to murder a police officer in Michigan and then use weapons to attack other police officers and civilians that would attend the police officer's funeral.[99] They hoped to provoke a larger rebellion against the federal government. The police arrested nine people for conspiring to commit these terrorist acts. The indictment handed to them claims the Hutaree members tried to "levy war against the United Sates, (and) to oppose by force the authority of the government of the United States."[100] The criminal justice system charged right-wing terrorists with "seditious conspiracy, attempted use of weapons of mass destruction, teaching the use of explosive materials and possessing a firearm during a crime of violence."

During the trial, a transcript reveals information about the Hutaree's ideology.[101] For example, in a transcript of during detention hearings, Ronald W. Waterstreet, appearing on behalf of the government, says the Hutaree is "a group of like-minded

[99] http://jnslp.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/stone.pdf
[100] http://jnslp.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/stone.pdf
[101] *USA v. STONE ET AL* 2:10-cr-20123-VAR-PJK Document 85

people who decided to oppose by force the authority of the United States by using violence and weapons." Later one in the statement, he says,

> And I just want to digress a moment here, Your Honor, and kind of explain that this case does not appear in a vacuum but comes about as a result of some beliefs that the members of this conspiracy share. And one of those beliefs is that the New World Order, who they refer to as the "elitist in charge," which is a powerful and secretive group with a globalist agenda that seek to have one government and to supplant the government of the United States, is working with the U.S. government.

Waterstreet argues the diagnostic frames of the Hutaree are that an "elitist" is seeking to establish a New World Order to essentially take over the world. The transcript later reveals that Stone developed a plan to kill anyone working for the New World order. According to Waterstreet, "And he said that if anybody happened upon them and they did not submit to the demands of the Hutaree, they would be put to the ground either by bullet or by knife." Court records also reveal that the courts had access to the Hutaree's photographs, website, training videos for military combat, as well as detailed accounts from government informants who interacted with Hutaree members about the collection of various types of weapons in preparation for battle.[102]

As the case progressed, the courts acquitted seven out of nine members of the Hutaree of their charges due to lack of strong evidence to determine whether or not the Hutaree had a specific plan.[103] After the ruling, the leader of the Hutaree, David Stone Sr., labeled the ruling "a victory for freedom of speech [and] a good day for justice."[104] In the same article, an attorney in support of the Hutaree group also used mainstream

[102] *USA v. STONE ET AL* 2:10-cr-20123-VAR-PJK Document 272-2
[103] http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/28/us/hutaree-militia-members-acquitted-of-sedition.html?_r=0
[104] http://archive.freep.com/article/20120327/NEWS06/120327048/Judge-dismisses-critical-charges-in-Hutaree-case

cultural values of freedom and justice to defend the Hutaree, saying: "The message emanating from this case is it is not only protected speech to criticize the government, it is downright patriotic to question authority." Another attorney representing a Hutaree group member, said: "Some of the defendants did say things that perhaps they shouldn't have said…but they had a right to say it." The attorney goes on to say, "it's unfortunate that people are getting indicted […] It's the thought police. The government should not be so sensitive that they take away First Amendment freedoms simply because someone says something they don't like." Declaring the actions of the government as overbearing and the "thought police" discredits the pro-active actions taken by the government to prevent terrorism. Prevention means assuring that Americans' freedoms are protected from domestic terrorist groups; both "sides" of the argument use the same summary symbols (freedom, especially) to support their feelings and behaviors.

Many members of the government and criminal justice system labeled the Hutaree anti-government extremists. The Attorney General, Eric Holder, described their actions as "an insidious plan by anti-government extremists."[105] U.S. Attorney McQuade also said, "Because the Hutaree had planned a covert reconnaissance operation for April which had the potential of placing an unsuspecting member of the public at risk, the safety of the public and of the law enforcement community demanded intervention at this time." On a similar note, many of the commentaries given by readers show how citizens reacted to the Hutaree incident. One writes, "Killing…IN THE NAME OF JESUS," whereas another writes, "These guys were flat out pure idiots. Christ has never taught anyone to kill someone to preserve His Father's will. As a

[105] http://www.cnn.com/2010/CRIME/03/29/michigan.arrests/index.html

matter of fact we are to go out of our way to help anyone if asked: Luke 6-27. But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you." Religion, throughout history, has been used in various ways to justify violence against others, as well as justify peace and non-violence. The symbolic battle between the Hutaree and those who reject their ideology continues to exist in the world. Members of the Hutaree honor God more so than the federal government, justifying their intentions in the name of the Lord. However, other Christians criticize them, arguing Jesus promoted non-violence and that the Hutaree incorrectly interpret scripture so that they have an excuse to plot terrorist actions.

Others post their opinions on internet forums about the Hutaree. For example, one person says, "Why do people continue to label these people so? Their ideology is outside the non-negotiables of Christianity and therefore, a cult. And I'm glad they got their *** handed to them!"[106] This person attempts to isolate the Hutaree from mainstream Christianity by labeling the group as a cult. In that same forum, another person writes: "This kind of smells like some politics may be involved since the democrats and the lamestream media have been demonizing conservatives by attempting to link us to people like them, especially with the recent debate about government healthcare." This person argues the government and media are trying to isolate Tea Party Republicans by linking them to people like the Hutaree, claiming some ulterior motive to arrest and report on the group. The symbolic conflict presented here is the rejection of conservatives against the negative label of right-wing extremists linked to mainstream Christians. Either the Hutaree are being "set up" by democrats to

[106] http://forums.officer.com/t143770/

damage the reputation of conservatives, or the Hutaree are not Christians; rather, they are a cult.

On the Hutaree's website,[107] members describe the meaning of their name, Hutaree. It means "Christian Warrior," and they write, "We believe that one day, as prophecy says, there will be an Anti-Christ. All Christians must know this and prepare, just as Christ commanded." They do not label themselves as a cult; rather, they believe all Christians should be ready to defend themselves against the Anti-Christ. Their main goal is: "Preparing for the end time battles to keep the testimony of Jesus Christ alive." According to the Hutaree group's website,

> Jesus wanted us to be ready to defend ourselves using the sword and stay alive using equipment. The only thing on earth to save the testimony and those who follow it are the members of the testimony, til the return of Christ in the clouds. We, the Hutaree, are prepared to defend all those who belong to Christ and save those who aren't. We will still spread the word, and fight to keep it, up to the time of the great coming. The Hutaree will one day see its enemy and meet him on the battlefield if so God wills it. We will reach out to those who are yet blind in the last days of the kingdoms of men and bring them to life in Christ.

As Christian Warriors, they justify their beliefs and actions using motivational framing, claiming Jesus wants them to defend their religion "using the sword." They follow a law and moral code ordained by God; therefore, the law ordained by the government and other people is less important to them. They must be ready to fight at all times in order to preserve their testimony.

The wife of David Stone Sr. discusses the incident in detail, defending her family and using common appeals to persuade the public to believe her family did not intend to go to such extremes. She explains, "It started out as a Christian thing […] You go to church. You pray. You take care of your family. I think David started to take it a

[107] http://qbit.cc/docs/hutatree.com_saved/About%20Us.html

little too far. He dragged a lot of people with him" (Netter and Harris 2010: 2).[108] It went too far, possibly, when the group underwent intensive training, resembling that of the military; for example, they "had acquired guns, ammunition, medical supplies, uniforms, communications equipment […and explosive devices]" (Bunkley and Savage 2010: 2).[109] She describes their activities as something that got out of hand; however, these activities require extensive planning and prognostic framing. When she is questioned by an interviewer about her fear of the Anti-Christ coming to earth, she replies, "Yes, I was raised Pentecostal and we were raised on the book of Revelations…It talks about defending yourself with the sword, it's in the Bible. In modern times, the sword is a gun."[110] Religion is used to motivate and justify group activities by providing a sense of enlightenment and direction by God to act according to His will. Those who refuse to participate are in a sense disobeying the highest authority.

Another wife of one of the group members argues the group's activities were not terroristic or extremist at all. Rather, they exemplified the ideal patriot of the United States, saying, "He [her husband] doesn't even know how to make a bomb […] It was just survival skills. That's what they were learning. And it's just patriotism. It's in our Constitution" (Associated Press: 2).[111] She resorts to motivational framing to defend her husband, arguing that what he did in the Hutaree was patriotic and "in our

[108] http://abcnews.go.com/WN/TheLaw/michigan-christian-militia-hutaree-targeted-law-enforcement/story?id=10228716
[109] http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/30/us/30militia.html
[110] http://detroit.cbslocal.com/2012/03/28/exclusive-hutaree-member-says-a-lot-of-it-was-just-talk/
[111] http://www.nbcnews.com/id/36075836/ns/us_news-security/print/1/displaymode/1098/

Constitution." Other people who know the members of the Hutaree also spoke relatively positively about the Hutaree members. For example, Hutaree members attended Thornhill Baptist Church on a sporadic basis; although their attendance suffered, the wife of the preacher at Thornill Baptist Church described the family of Hutaree members as a very agreeable and polite family.[112] Pointing out their Constitutional rights and having fellow community members confirm their agreeable character are ways in which the Hutaree members connect their actions to their human and civil rights.

[112] http://abcnews.go.com/US/hutaree-christian-militia-group-stone-family-wedding/story?id=10241476

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Conclusion

Findings show important differences across ecoterrorist, left-wing terrorist, and right-wing terrorist groups. Quantitative statistics find significant differences across these three domestic groups. Ecoterrorists are younger on average than left-wing and right-wing terrorists and have zero non-white members. Unlike left-wing and right-wing terrorists, ecoterrorists have relatively more women (although men still make up the majority of members for all groups) than the other two terrorist groups.

Ecoterrorists also have zero members in the less than high school category, unlike the other two terrorist groups, and have strong representation in the some college or vocational school and higher educational categories. They are more likely to make plea bargains and have their cases dismissed/acquitted and less likely to have a trial conviction compared to left-wing and right-wing terrorists. However, count severity is also significantly different across groups, meaning the count severity variable may explain the majority of differences in prosecution outcomes.[113] Thus, findings suggest there is something unique about ecoterrorists both demographically and in their treatment within the criminal justice system.

Using terrorist group websites, court documents of terrorist cases, and news reports on terrorist cases, qualitative research reveals differences in the use of summary

[113] However, when used as a scale, the count severity does not show statistical significance in chi square analyses.

symbols and framing between these three groups. Findings investigate key phrases aimed to reflect the use of summary symbols in diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames across terrorist discourses. These frames provide symbolic representation of these terrorists groups; they define who they are, why they form, how they should act, and why they should act. Frames also use summary symbols found in the larger American culture, such as freedom and justice, to validate and explain their deviant behaviors. The concept map, shown in Figure 1, provides a simplified understanding of the negotiation of meaning surrounding summary symbols.

The idea of freedom, very closely aligned here with the idea of liberty, remains the strongest theme fueling domestic terrorist groups' discourse. Although their ideas reject (or partially reject) mainstream ideas about freedom and the law's ability to ensure people's freedom, the individualistic nature of these ideologies and emphasis on human and civil rights is distinctly an American practice. The conflict between the American government and systems of law revolve around concepts of power (both symbolic and material resources) and justice (through moral codes and legal practices). Power represents resource (material and non-material) control, and justice represents social control through laws or morals.

Ecoterrorists are unique in that their framing revolves around some but not all discourses found during the history of environmentalism in America. For example, they object to manifest destiny discourse and the use of land and animals for private profit and the wild life management discourse that argues humans should properly manage wildlife. Ecoterrorist frames are less aligned with conservation discourse due to ecoterrorists' distrust of those in charge of determining what is the "best" way to

"manage" animals and natural resources. Rather, their discourse lends itself to ideals of preservation and deep ecology, which are that the world is better if left untouched or left alone by humans as much as possible. Although frames refer to the popular reform environmentalism discourse at times (i.e. Walter Bond, referred to earlier in the qualitative findings section, describing images of islands of plastic in the ocean), this was not the most common. Rather, ecoterrorists' frames aligned closely with environmental justice discourse and ecofeminist discourse, both of which describe the exploitative nature of the current society and the hierarchy found within it.

Why are outcomes lighter for ecoterrorists?

Lighter prosecution outcomes could potentially mean that the criminal justice system and American culture are becoming more sympathetic to extreme environmental and animal liberation due to recent reports on the environment. American culture is in the process of weighing the costs and benefits for an economic, bottom-line mentality in business and in its treatment of the natural environment. We have 7.2 billion people living on Earth, and the world population is predicted to increase to over 9 billion by 2050 (United Nations 2014).[114] As Burns (2009:8) warns, "we now have more people on the earth using more resources with technology increasingly capable of making more profound incursions than ever before in history." Consumption is increasing at rates never before seen (McNeill 2000).

The qualitative findings presented here provide insight into answering the question of why ecoterrorists receive lighter outcomes. Analyses are part of an interpretive framework that attempts to infer how members of the public and the

[114] http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N14/210/99/PDF/N1421099.pdf?OpenElement

criminal justice system evaluate and treat domestic terrorists during court procedures. Although their innermost thoughts about decision-making are not recorded, these analyses attempt to explore the potential ways in which domestic terrorists and members of the defense use rhetoric and summary symbols to justify or explain acts of domestic terrorism. Others may sympathize with them more so than other domestic terrorist groups because ecoterrorists and those who defend them have done a better job aligning their discourse with the discourse of other social justice activists and developed more sophisticated techniques to disperse information via media networks, given the large amount of group-driving websites of ecoterrorists compared to left-wing and right-wing groups. However, this information is only descriptive and exploratory. Scholars should use this research as a spring board to develop more sophisticated and systematic analyses in the future.

Future Directions

With this scholarly exploration, social scientists and criminologists may be better equipped to understand domestic terrorist groups and their prosecution strategies. Scholars also have a better idea of how domestic terrorist groups frame their motives, as well as and how well their discourses align with the public perceptions of freedom and justice. By better understanding group processes and ideology, members may also be better able to develop positive outlets to cope with individual and group strain, such as political poetry. One such example is the work of Susan Griffin in *Women and Nature* (1978). Radical environmentalist groups may benefit from safe spaces for members of oppressed groups who often develop alternative ideologies to meet and share ideas with leaders in government and business (Reed 2005). Perhaps one way to develop safe

spaces is to work with one of the most well-known animal rights groups that is not labeled "terrorist" by the FBI, which is People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA). More radical groups, such as ALF and ELF, can collaborate with PETA using legal means in order to benefit from its location in mainstream media, rather than working under their deviant group names. Another solution would be for businesses and government officials would be to use the "precautionary principle" in their treatment of people's wellbeing, animals, and natural resources (Steingraber 1998). For example, for years, cigarette companies fought against claims that smoking can cause cancer and developed a "proof beyond reasonable doubt" mentality regarding the subject. Had they used the precautionary principle, many people could have made more informed, healthier decisions regarding smoking. Similarly, businesses can adhere to a "triple bottom line," considering the impact that a decision will impact the environment, people, and economic success, instead of the bottom line of profit margin (Yunus 1999, 2007).

Gender and ecoterrorism

Findings, to a lesser extent, talk about gender and terrorism. Previous scholars recognize animal and environmental liberation groups as primarily white, middle to upper class men (Pellow 2014; Taylor 1997). Scholars note gender inequality (as well as racial inequality) within groups, despite their best efforts to promote and practice equality. While more men are involved in ecoterrorist groups (and all terrorist groups, generally), this study finds a larger percentage of women are in ecoterrorist groups compared to left-wing and right-wing terrorist groups. Future research should specifically focus on these differences between domestic terrorist groups. It may be that

women in ecoterrorist groups are treated more equally and respected more than women in left-wing and right-wing terrorist groups, as findings suggest. Also, content analysis also suggests that women have more active leadership roles. Perhaps, however, women feel more drawn to ecoterrorism than other types of domestic terrorism because their positions within society enable them to connect with animals and natural resources through a sense of shared exploitation by white men.

Not all radical environmentalist groups were analyzed in this study. One such group that may be of interest to scholars in the future is the Ecofeminist Front. Although the ATS does not have any recorded members of this group (perhaps because they have not been arrested for any terroristic crimes and/or individuals do not claim to be a member during the trial process), the Ecofeminist Front is a women-led liberationist group that aligns closely with the ideas of ALF and ELF. However, they use their experiences as women to understand the oppression of the environment by a patriarchal and capitalistic culture. According to an Earth First! Journal article (2003), the Ecofeminist Front led a campaign to stop the Straw Devil Timber Sale in Oregon to private companies (138). The article also had a picture of members standing in front of trees with crossbows. We need more information on this group and other groups that may be developing that are majority women. Women-led groups may be less likely to be arrested or labeled terrorist.

Race and ecoterrorism

The findings also briefly address race, but more research is needed to fully understand the connections between race and domestic terrorism. There are 40 non-white left-wing terrorists and 7 non-white right-wing terrorists. However, we need to

know more about these non-whites. Given the small number of non-white domestic terrorists, case studies or other qualitative analysis would provide informative exploratory research into this population. Pellow (2014) argues that white earth and animal liberationists are generally a privileged group. They are whites who actively reject white privilege by challenging the social structure and institutions that create a racial hierarchy in the United States. They reject their "whiteness" when they argue inequality, whether across all human groups or across humans and non-humans, is wrong. He argues that liberationists are labeled as terrorists and treated similar to racial minorities within the criminal justice system, despite earning some benefits due to their skin color. Similar to women, racial minorities and indigenous peoples are often believed to be more "naturally" connected to the land than white people from more developed countries (Adamson and Slovic 2009). They share a similar connection to land as women due to their shared oppression.

Some would argue ecoterrorists have lighter convictions because of their white privilege, but left-wing and right-wing domestic terrorists are also predominantly white. This makes this argument less plausible; however, more research is necessary to make a firm statement about race and terrorism. Others explain differences in conviction as a result of ecoterrorist crimes having less convicting evidence and/or getting confused with non-terrorist crimes. This explanation is highly possible; differential availability of evidence during trials, as well as prosecuting ecoterrorists cases as non-terrorist due to confusion over the definition of terrorism, may explain conviction outcomes of domestic terrorist groups. However, the data necessary to study this hypothesis is hard to examine and record due to the dark figure of crime (lack of information on non-

reported crimes) and the intricacies of the court processes. Also, even though count severity is controlled in this study, further research should investigate differences in types of crimes (i.e. bombing, shooting, arson) and how they impact prosecution outcomes using a variety of analyses. The best explanation to understanding why ecoterrorists have lighter conviction outcomes is to know why members of the prosecution, jury, etc. assigned these convictions. However, this data is unobtainable; motives for individuals can only be inferred.

Other limitations

Another limitation of this research is that it does not address other situational factors aside from demographic variables and discourse analysis that may impact conviction outcomes. One example has already been addressed during the discussion of left-wing terrorism. Left-wing terrorism declined dramatically in the 1980s, whereas right-wing and ecoterrorism did not. Ecoterrorism is also relatively newer, starting in the late 1980s. This may create discrepancies in comparative analysis. Also, the political orientation of the state in which the defendant is prosecuted may impact conviction outcomes; for example, a jury of members in a red state may decide to convict a defendant entirely different compared to a jury of members in a blue state. Additionally, given what we know about court procedures during terrorist cases, members of the prosecution, defense team, and/or jury may be morally opposed to punishing terrorists due to their political ideology. For example, they may be persuaded to sympathize with the defendant as a result of the frames and summary symbols used to defend the terrorist more so than non-terrorist defendants, which could result in jury nullification.

Cultural framing and the environment

Although not discussed in detail, qualitative findings address the use of art and music to inspire terrorist group members, and can be interpreted as motivational frames. More research should explore these connections in more detail. Pellow (2014:28) also acknowledges the roles in which music communities lead to the creation of liberation movements. My former work with music communities (Holyfield, Cobb, Murray, and McKinzie 2013) lends insight into the power that music brings to the development of collective movements, generating "ties that bind" with group members (457). Similarly, others note how music is a way of story-telling (Pratt 1980) that helps people make sense of their world, convey meaning, and create culture. Music festivals and subcultures create an intimate environment with which members develop strong affective relationships with each other, which can create feelings of trust and group membership (Turner 1982). Not only can music aid in the process of group membership building, but it also helps connect individuals to larger collective movements through emotional framing (Packer and Ballantyne 2011).

Southern music countercultures speak to environmental themes about big businesses; for example, one song criticizes the mining of "hill country" in Texas for profit instead of letting people enjoy the wonder and beauty of the land (Holyfield et al. 2013: 465-466). In this study, there is a similar theme of connecting music to liberation movements (i.e. Bob Marley), as well as the use of emotionally charged illustrations and posters. Future research must address the ways in which other forms of material culture aside from written text (for example, fliers, music, graphics), impacts the development of subcultures, countercultures, and collective movements, as well as the

motivational functions it plays during liberation movements. Material culture is created through interactions with group members to both create and change the larger culture (Lewis 1980), as well as bring personal justification and motivation for individuals (Pascoe et al. 2005). Material culture provides tangible materials through which sociologists understand culture and exchange ideas and information (DiMaggio 1997).

Although there are limits to this study, it does contribute in a general sense to a larger understanding of the relationship between nature and society by raising awareness of radicalized environmentalist discourse, the ways in which it develops, and the ways in which radicals engage in collective movements. According to Burns (2009), the world still largely operates under a capitalistic economic model of nature and society. The Pacific Trash Vortex (Moore and Phillips 2011) is just one of the many negative consequences of the "bottom line" mentality. Recent outrage has developed in response to the ways in which chickens and other animals are farmed for human consumption in America (Webster 2009). Similarly, activists worry about the environmental degradation of large-scale agricultural projects, as well as the use of genetically-modified food to increase profit (McMichael 1995). If environmental and animal activists continue to receive little political, social, cultural, and economic support, American society increases its risk of ecoterrorism, as well as environmental and social degradation.

This research also hopes to advance what Bergesen and Bartley (2000) label as an "eco-sociology," which not only studies social phenomena, such as interaction and social trends, but also environmental phenomena, such as interactions between humans and non-humans. On a theoretical level, sociologists must recognize the relationships

between people, technology, plants, and animals. Humans are products of their environment, which encompasses natural resources, as well as social and cultural contexts.

Ecoterrorists and members of radical environmentalist movements face a dominant meaning system in America developed and maintained by law and authorities. They are countercultures within the larger American culture. Members attempt to attract and justify their beliefs and actions through the negotiation of meanings available to them. They modify cultural summary symbols (i.e. freedom and justice) in order to propagate their ideology and connect with the larger culture; at the same time, however, they attempt to change the larger culture through their adaptations. Ecoterrorists may have better accessed common cultural themes and may use them to their advantage compared to left-wing and right-wing groups. Drawing upon a rich history of environmentalism in the United States, they may find themselves better positioned within the criminal justice system compared to other domestic terrorists.

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APPENDIX A: TABLES

Table 1. List of websites used for qualitative analyses

Ecoterrorist

1. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/alf_credo.htm
2. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/mission_statement.htm
3. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/Activist%20Tips/CollegeGuidetoARA.htm
4. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/ALFPrime3.htm
5. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/AgainstALF/Warning-index.htm
6. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/Manifesto-TotalLib.htm
7. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/liberationguide.pdf
8. http://www.animalethics.org.uk/index.html
9. http://www.animalethics.org.uk/i-ch3-4-direct-action.html
10. http://earth-liberation-front.com/
11. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/ELF/elf_faq.pdf
12. https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/
13. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/ELF/elf_faq.pdf
14. http://thecuttingedgenews.com/index.php?ar
15. http://www.furcommission.com/from-push-to-shove/
16. www.animalliberationfront.com
17. http://www.nytimes.com/1984/06/15/us/animal-rights-a-growing-movement-in-us.html
18. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/08/20/daniel-mcgowan-jailed-for_n_5694877.html
19. http://www.ifatreefallsfilm.com/film.html
20. http://www.pbs.org/pov/ifatreefalls/film_description.php
21. http://wn.com/north_american_earth_liberation_front_press_office
22. http://cryptogon.com/?p=10809
23. http://liveleak.com/view?i=954_1252105147
24. http://www.denverpost.com/news/ci_17367465
25. http://supportwalter.org/SW/
26. http://www.denverpost.com/news/ci_17367465
27. http://voiceofthevoiceless.org/breaking-fbi-m
28. http://voiceofthevoiceless.org/walter-bond
29. http://thecuttingedgenews.com/index.php?ar
30. http://www.fbi.gov/denver/press-releases/2010/dn072310.htm
31. http://noanimalsleft.org/node/41
32. http://supportwalter.org/SW/index.php/donate/
33. http://supportwalter.org/SW/index.php/2013/06/25/the-cruelty-of-industrial-technology/

34. http://animalliberationfront.com/News/2012_06/NAALPOnewsMay2012.htm
35. http://supportwalter.org/SW/index.php/2011/01/14/interviewed-by-paula-ricciulli-for-the-columbian-magazine-cartel-urbano/
36. https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2012/04/30/servants-of-the-truth-by-abdul-haqq-formerly-walter-bond/
37. https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2014/02/20/patterns-of-oppression-by-walter-bond/
38. https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2011/11/10/a-mothers-reflection-by-walter-bonds-mother/
39. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/FeministsDancingonPin.htm
40. http://www.animalliberationfront.com/ALFront/liberationguide.pdf
41. http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/dt/josephine-sunshine-overaker/view
42. http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N14/210/99/PDF/N1421099.pdf?OpenElement

Left-wing

1. http://www.faqs.org/espionage/Te-Uk/Terrorism-Domestic-United-States.html
2. http://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/united-freedom-front
3. http://www.start.umd.edu/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3232
4. http://www.nytimes.com/1984/09/27/news/terrorist-group-blamed-for-consulate-bombing.html
5. http://www.start.umd.edu/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3232
6. http://www.abcf.net/abc/pdfs/UFF.pdf
7. http://www.nytimes.com/1985/03/13/nyregion/7-are-indicted-in-bombings-at-offices-and-military-sites.html
8. http://web.archive.org/web/20010826005704/http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Parliament/3400/tompoems.htm
9. http://www.freemumia.com/who-is-mumia-abu-jamal/
10. https://nycabc.wordpress.com/tag/united-freedom-front/
11. unitedfreedomfrontproductions.com
12. http://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/republic-new-africa-rna
13. http://www.pg-rna.org/about-the-pg-rna.html
14. http://www.pg-rna.org/
15. http://www.pg-rna.org/what-we-must-do.html
16. http://www.pg-rna.org/our-creed.html
17. http://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/FreedomNow/themes/blkpower/
18. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/26/us/26sentence.html?fta=y&_r=0

Right-wing

1. http://rightwingterrorist.com/

2. http://kkk.bz/?page_id=2896
3. http://kkk.bz/main/?page_id=28
4. http://kkk.bz/main/?page_id=46
5. http://kkk.bz/?page_id=2896
6. http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/James-Von-Brunn-An-Adl-Backgrounder.pdf
7. http://nytimes.com/2009/06/11/us/11shoot.html
8. http://www.huffintonpost.com/2009/06/10/holocaust-museum-shooting
9. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/06/13/AR2009061302111.html
10. http://jnslp.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/stone.pdf
11. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/28/us/hutaree-militia-members-acquitted-of-sedition.html?_r=0
12. http://archive.freep.com/article/20120327/NEWS06/120327048/Judge-dismisses-critical-charges-in-Hutaree-case
13. http://www.cnn.com/2010/CRIME/03/29/michigan.arrests/index.html
14. http://forums.officer.com/t143770/
15. http://qbit.cc/docs/hutatree.com_saved/About%20Us.html
16. http://abcnews.go.com/WN/TheLaw/michigan-christian-militia-hutaree-targeted-law-enforcement/story?id=10228716
17. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/30/us/30militia.html
18. http://detroit.cbslocal.com/2012/03/28/exclusive-hutaree-member-says-a-lot-of-it-was-just-talk/
19. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/36075836/ns/us_news-security/print/1/displaymode/1098/
20. http://abcnews.go.com/US/hutaree-christian-militia-group-stone-family-wedding/story?id=10241476

Table 2. Framing Guidelines for Qualitative Research for Ecoterrorists

Type of Frame	Motivational	Prognostic	Diagnostic
Definition	Provides members of a social movement with justification and reason to take action and resolve the problem. Keeps members "in line" in terms of group's goals.	Outlines potential solutions and strategies to resolving a problem.	Outlines the problem faced by members of a social movement; identifies who is to blame for the problem.
Key Themes Used to Identify	Emotional appeals, call to arms, liberation, rebellion, justice, sense of urgency and need, degradation of "snitches", divinely ordained	Rules, Guidelines, Strategies, Goals, Efforts, Liberate, Reveal, Damage, Hurt, Kill, Murder, Action	Frustration, Right vs. Wrong, Failure, Just vs. Unjust, Victim vs. Villain, Freedom vs. Oppression, Torture, Greed, Violence, Predator vs. Prey, Threat
Ecoterrorist	How to motivate members to action and maintain loyalty to the cause, which is to protect all living things, including humans and non-humans.	Provides resolutions to problems created by capitalistic businesses and scientific research facilities	Define and describe the major problems facing the environment, animals, and humans; blames oppressive capitalism & scientific research
ALF	"We need more liberators, we need more warriors, we need more direct activism. We don't need more signs, we don't need more workshops and we don't need more negotiation, NEGOTIATION IS OVER!"	"To effectively allocate resources (time and money) to end the 'property' status of nonhuman animals."	ALF activities "[…] are illegal under a current societal structure that fails to recognize the rights of non-human animals to live free of suffering, but validates and promotes the 'right' of industries to do whatever they want to animals for profit or research."
ELF	"At this point in time there exists the immediate need for individuals to step outside of societal law and work to directly stop the destruction of life. By any means necessary."	"To cause maximum economic damage to a given entity that is profiting off the destruction of the natural environment."	U.S. Leaders "still bow down to the chemical lobby […] Meanwhile, we the people continue to be exposed to cancer causing chemicals and witness the collapse of our salmon and steelhead fisheries."

Table 3. Framing Guidelines for Qualitative Research for Left-wing Terrorists

Type of Frame	Motivational	Prognostic	Diagnostic
Definition	Provides members of a social movement with justification and reason to take action and resolve the problem. Keeps members "in line" in	Outlines potential solutions and strategies to resolving a problem.	Outlines the problem faced by members of a social movement; identifies who is to blame for the problem.
Key Themes Used to Identify	Emotional appeals, call to arms, liberation, rebellion, justice, sense of urgency and need, degradation of "snitches", divinely ordained	Rules, Guidelines, Strategies, Goals, Efforts, Liberate, Reveal, Damage, Hurt, Kill, Murder, Action	Frustration, Right vs. Wrong, Failure, Just vs. Unjust, Victim vs. Villain, Freedom vs. Oppression, Torture, Greed, Violence, Predator vs. Prey,
Left-wing Terrorist	How to motivate members to action and maintain loyalty to the cause, which is to create a socialist, anti-racist and anti-capitalist government	Provides resolutions to problems created by the government, capitalism, racism, and inequality	Define and describe the major problems facing Americans created by capitalism & the U.S. government & the need for socialist, anti-capitalist, anti-racist governments
United Freedom Front	"It's the position of the UFF prisoners that they exercised their responsibilities under international law in actively opposing human rights violations perpetuated, aided and abetted by the U.S. government and corporate greed."	"Defeat U.S. imperialism. Guerrilla Resistance."	"…resistance to South African human rights violations. Down with apartheid."
Republic of New Afrika	"i pledge this creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false. For i am no longer deaf, dumb or blind. i am — by the inspiration of Our Ancestors and the Grace of Our Creator — a New Afrikan."	"We must win support of all Black people for the Provisional Government."	"Our basic national objective is to free this land from subjugation: to win sovereignty."

Table 4. Framing Guidelines for Qualitative Research for Right-wing Terrorists

Type of Frame	Motivational	Prognostic	Diagnostic
Definition	Provides members of a social movement with justification and reason to take action and resolve the problem. Keeps members "in line" in terms of group's goals.	Outlines potential solutions and strategies to resolving a problem.	Outlines the problem faced by members of a social movement; identifies who is to blame for the problem.
Key Themes Used to Identify	Emotional appeals, call to arms, liberation, rebellion, justice, sense of urgency and need, degradation of "snitches", divinely ordained	Rules, Guidelines, Strategies, Goals, Efforts, Liberate, Reveal, Damage, Hurt, Kill, Murder, Action	Frustration, Right vs. Wrong, Failure, Just vs. Unjust, Victim vs. Villain, Freedom vs. Oppression, Torture, Greed, Violence, Predator vs. Prey, Threat
Right-wing Terrorist	How to motivate members to action and maintain loyalty to the cause, which is to protect white Christian Americans	Provides resolutions to problems created by racial/ethnic minorities and governmental leaders threatening white Christians	Define and describe the major problems facing white, Christian Americans created by the federal government & racial/ethnic minorities
Knights Party	"We believe through your association with The Knights you will have a rewarding experience as you work toward a better understanding of Klan philosophy, our struggle, and toward a return of	"Become the leader of the White racialist movement: Through a strong organized show of leadership; Through the training and use of qualified media representatives…"	"There is a race war against whites."
Holocaust Museum Shooter	Book title *Kill the Best Gentiles*	"You want my weapons – this is how you'll get them."	"The Holocaust is a lie. Obama was created by Jews. Obama does what his Jew owners tell him to do. Jews captured America's money. Jews control the mass media."

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics for Variables by Terrorist Group N=528

Variable	Ecoterrorist	Left-wing Terrorist	Right-wing Terrorist	All
Predictor Variables	Mean/Freq. (SD/percent)	Mean/Freq. (SD/percent)	Mean/Freq. (SD/percent)	Mean/Freq. (SD/percent)
Age	29.31 (5.875)	36.32 (7.819)	39.68 (12.496)	37.18 (10.98)
Race-White	67 (100%)	148 (78.7%)	260 (97.4%)	475 (91%)
Gender-Male	43 (64.2%)	162 (86.2%)	247 (90.8%)	452 (85.77%)
Education				
-Less Than HS	0 (0%)	24 (19.8%)	33 (16.3%)	57 (15.0%)
-HS grad/GED	11 (19.6%)	15 (12.4%)	73 (36.1%)	99 (26.1%)
-Some Coll./Voc.	21 (37.5%)	40 (33.1%)	61 (30.2%)	122 (32.2%)
-Coll./Voc./Assoc. Deg.	19 (33.9%)	24 (19.8%)	32 (15.8%)	75 (19.8%)
-Post college grad.	5 (8.9%)	18 (14.9%)	3 (1.5%)	26 (6.9%)
Count Severity				
-Low	15 (23.4%)	23 (19.7%)	51 (20.6%)	89 (20.7%)
-Medium	28 (43.8%)	24 (20.5%)	54 (21.8%)	106 (24.7%)
-High	21 (32.8%)	70 (59.8%)	143 (57.7%)	234 (54.5%)
Dependent Variables				
Trial Conviction-Yes	1 (1.6%)	48 (29.6%)	90 (34.2%)	139 (28.4%)
Pled Guilty-Yes	38 (59.4%)	70 (43.2%)	130 (49.4%)	238 (48.7%)
Dismissed/Acquitted-Yes	25 (39.1%)	44 (27.2%)	43 (16.3%)	112 (22.9%)
Conviction (pled/trial)-Yes	39 (60.9%)	118 (72.8%)	220 (83.7%)	377 (77.1%)
Total: Freq. (% in population)	67 (12.69%)	189 (35.8%)	272 (51.5%)	

Table 6. Logistic Regression for Pled Guilty N=291; No Trial Conviction or Guilty Plea=0; Trial Conviction or Guilty Plea =1 N=388

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B) (OR)
Age	-.014	.012	1.295	.264	.986
Male	-.042	.332	.016	.900	.959
Count Severity			5.619	.060	
Medium	.358	.389	.847	.357	1.431
High	-.390	.326	1.429	.232	.677
Terrorist Group			18.260	.000***	
Left-wing	.814	.374	4.728	.030*	2.257
Right-wing	1.535	.367	17.483	.000***	4.643
Constant	.794	.556	2.040	.153	2.212

***p <.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.1 Cox & Snell R Square .056 Nagelkerke R Square .085

APPENDIX B: FIGURES

Figure 1. Concept Mapping Diagram for Qualitative Analysis

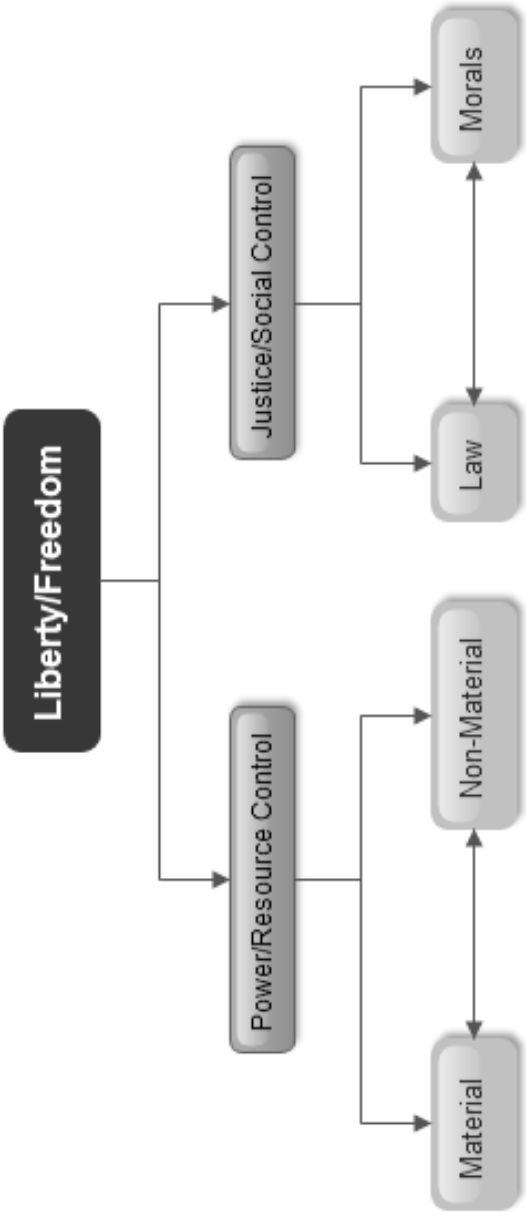

Figure 2. The ALF Uses this Ad on its Website to Connect Ecoterrorist Discourse with Discourse Surrounding Human Oppression during the Holocaust, Arguing Current Business and Scientific Research Practices are Creating an Animal Holocaust: Wake up! We live in an Animal Holocaust! —Linked to the website for the ALF

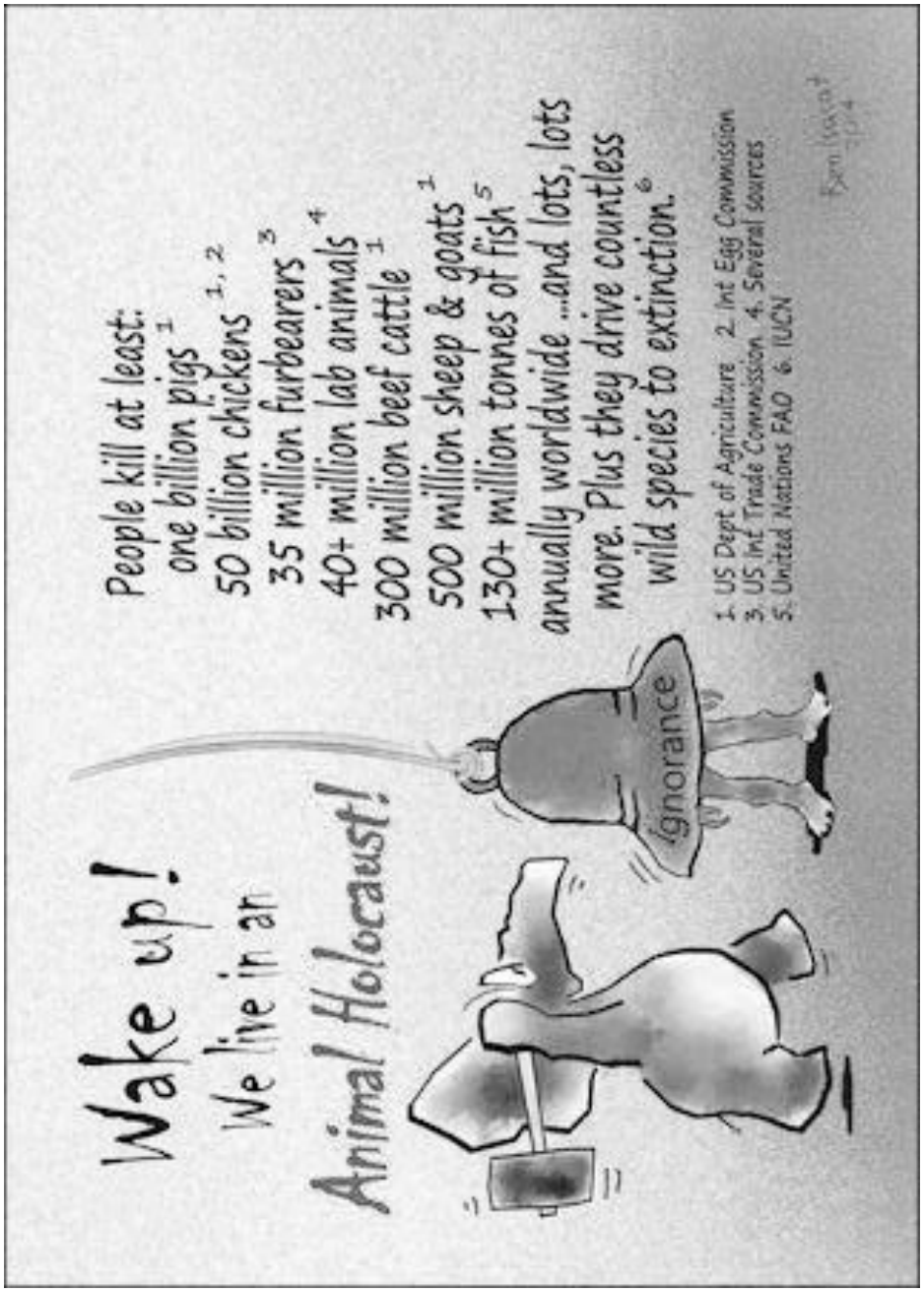

Figure 3. The ALF Uses this Ad on its Website to Advocate for Animal Rights Comparable to Human Rights, Arguing Animals should not be Caged: Zoos Teach Us—Linked to the website for the ALF

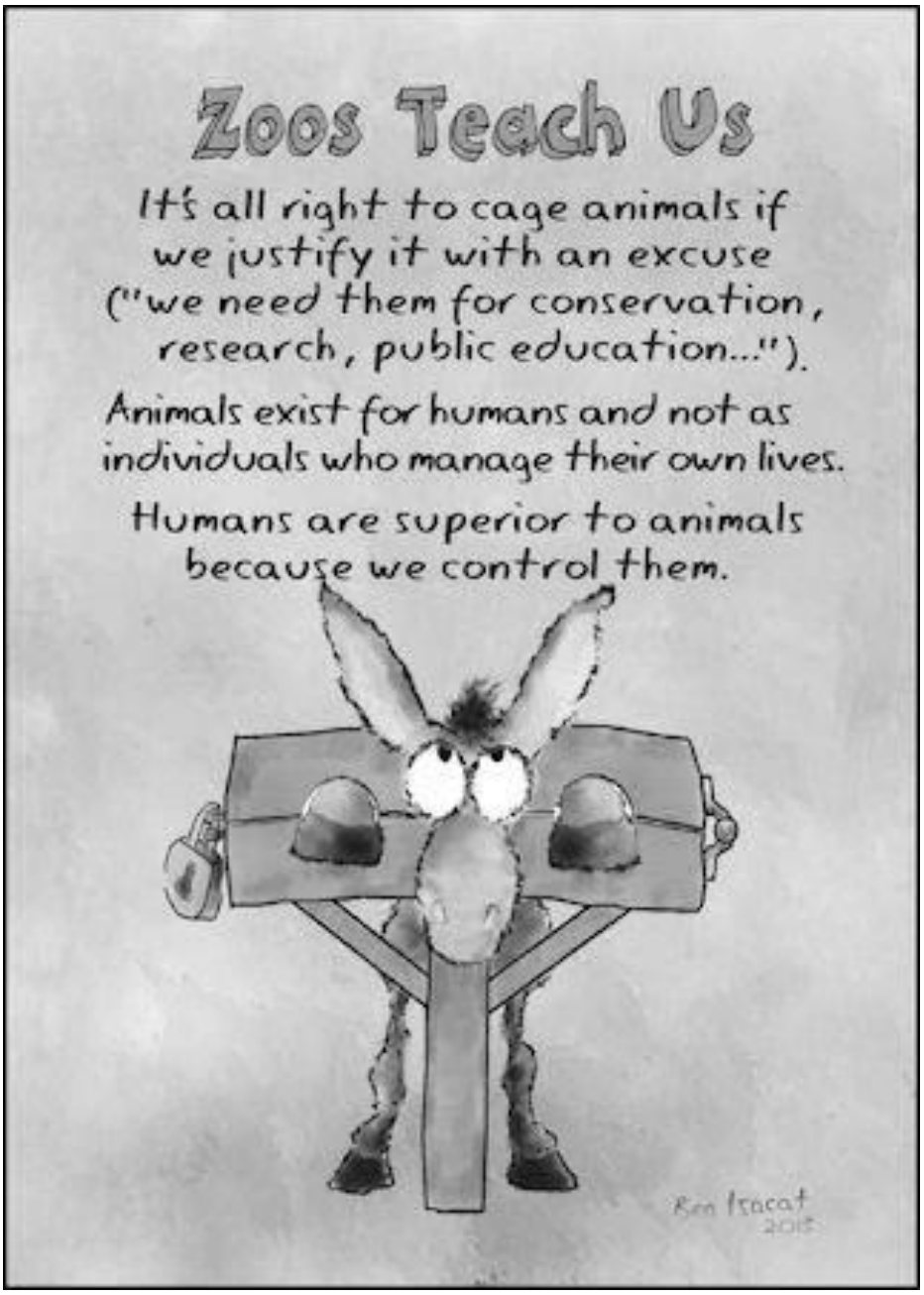

Figure 4. "The Noble Unnumbered," a Poem by Ben Isacat Used to Call Attention to Abuse of Living Creatures by Humans—Linked to the website for the ALF

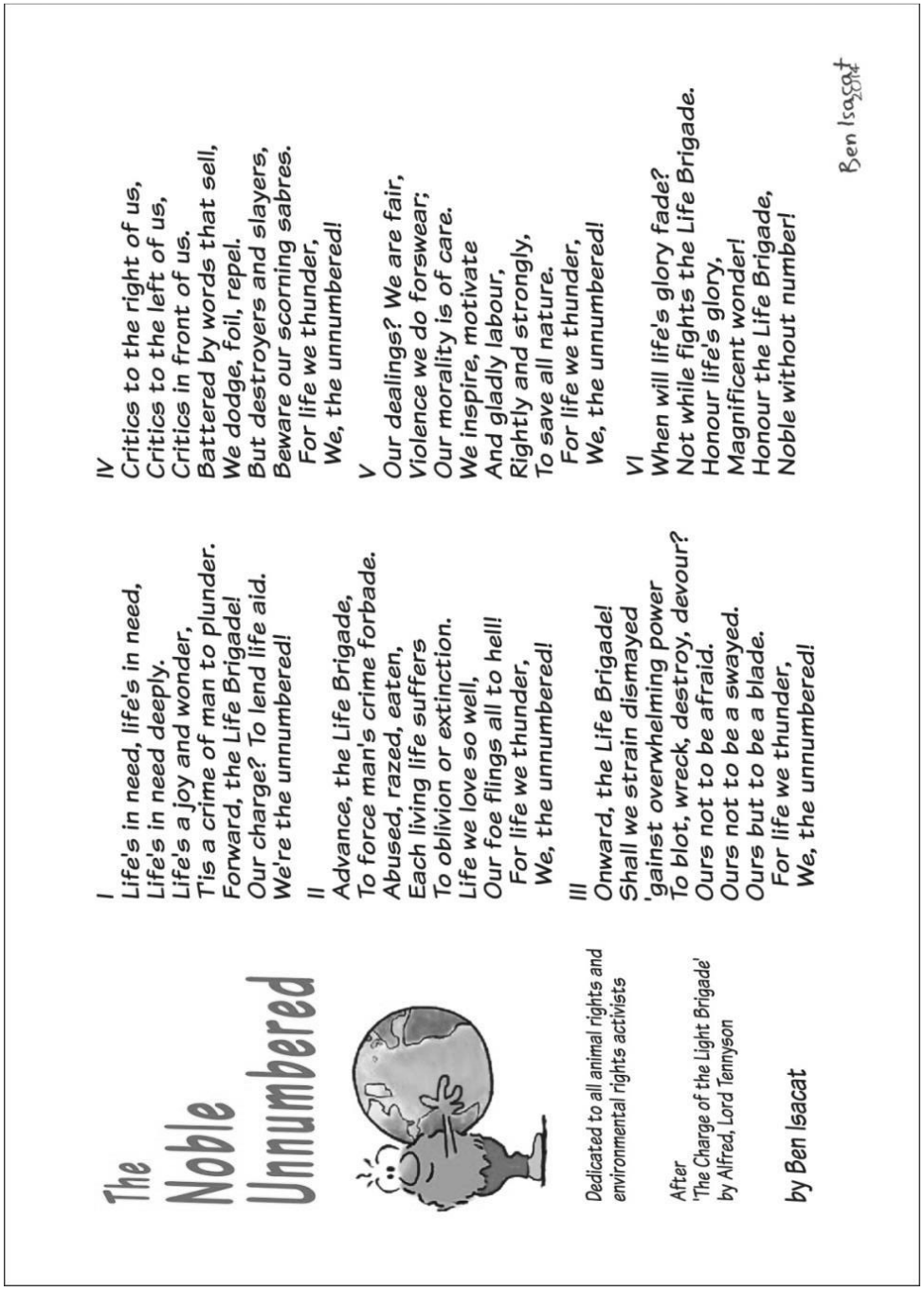

Figure 5. The ALF Uses this Ad on its Website to Shift the Symbolic Association with Animal Welfare from Terrorism to Good Citizenship: Being concerned about her welfare makes you a good person, not a terrorist



Figure 6. Flier for Republic of New Africa: "Turn Toward Freedom," which Advocates for the Creation of New Community for Black People, Free from the "Struggle of the Ghetto"

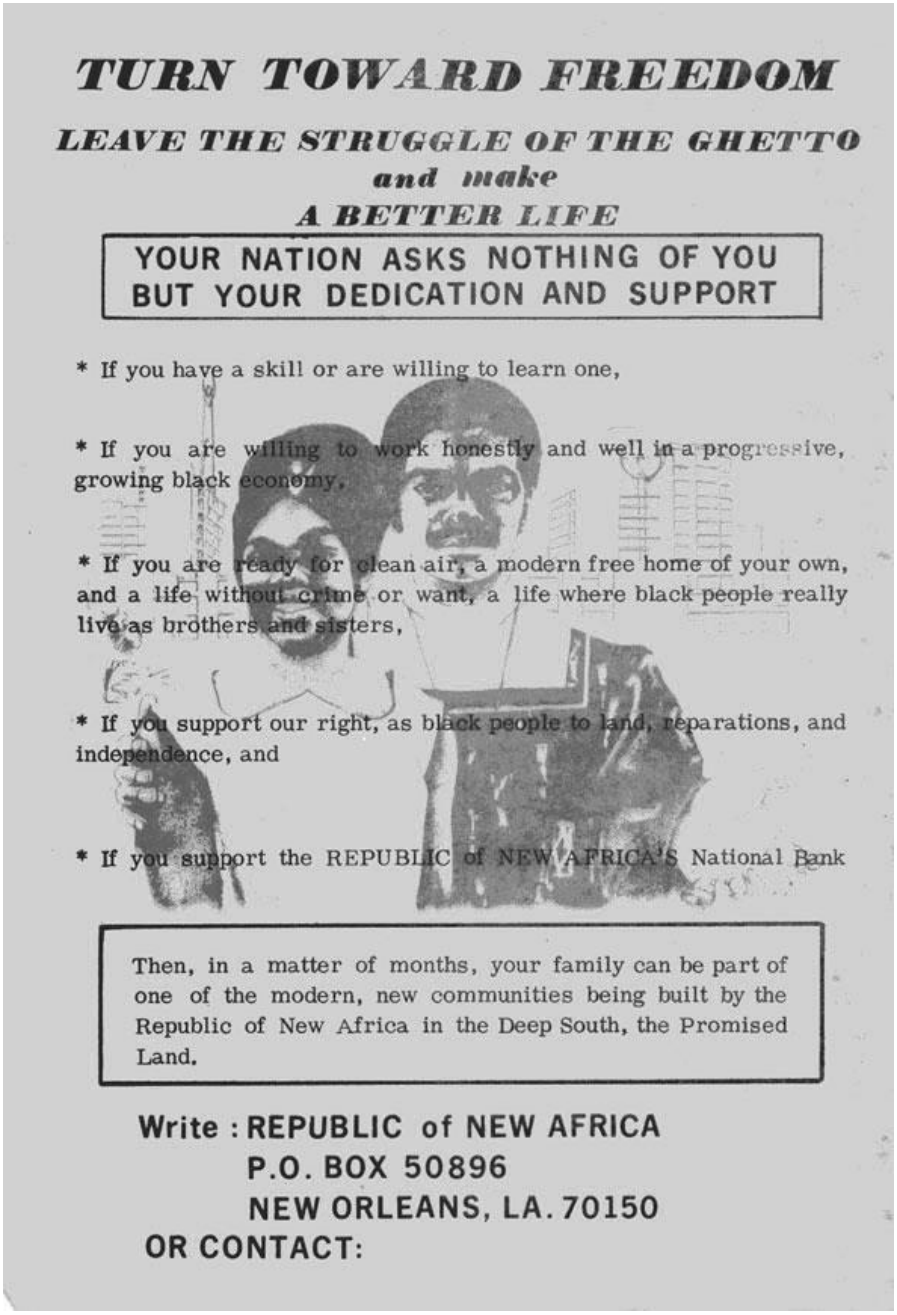

Figure 7. Fund and Support Raising Flier for the Republic of New Africa



BROTHER IMARI ABUBAKARI OBADELE, I
President

THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

We Ask Your Steady Support – For One Fateful Year
August 1972 – August 1973

In the four years since the founding of the Republic of New Africa, the RNA Government has brought the struggle for land from the ghettoes of the North to the virgin land of the Deep South. In Mississippi We are following a simple and legal path to independence. We are organizing a Plebiscete – an election in which the people may vote to be a free and independent nation. And We plan to build New Communities. To these fine New Communities can come black people from all over America who want to help build a better life, a life free from poverty and crime and with honorable work and training for everyone. The black nation has come so far in so short a time – against many odds – mainly because of a small army of dedicated workers. In this cause these workers have not only left family and friends and comfort, laboring with no material rewards, We have been threatened with death, shot at, gassed, and jailed. (Some of us are still in Southern jails.) But RNA citizens continue to wage the struggle. In the past you have helped with your pocket-change and extra money. That is no longer enough. Today We need you to give sacrificially. And regularly. A year is not time enought to build a nation. But if you will support us for one year – with your dollars given regularly – you will help lay a foundation that will never be shaken.