

Supplemental Appendix for ‘Automated Text Analysis for Understanding Environmental Activism: The Topical Agenda of the North American Animal Liberation Movement’

Zack W. Almquist and Benjamin E. Bagozzi

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Overview

This supplementary material first provides extended background on the radical animal liberation movement (RALM) and the No Compromise (NC) 'zine. We then outline the preprocessing steps used to format our NC texts for topic modeling, before proceeding to present a set of example documents for each of our primary structural topic model (STM) topics. We next discuss a series of STM results obtained when using topic numbers of 5 and 15, as opposed to 10. We then report model fit statistics to support our choice of the 10 topic STM over these 5 or 15 topic STMs. Following this, we consider a latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA) model, and corresponding set of model fit results, that together provide additional evidence for (i) the robustness of our primary 10-topic STM results and (ii) our choice of 10 topics as a representative number of topics for our NC corpus. We then discuss an additional plot of topical variation across our entire corpus. This is followed by a section that re-estimates our 10-topic STM for the 2005-2006 period only. Finally, we present a comparative analysis of a separate clandestine social movement corpus: that of the Michigan Militia Corps, as referenced in the conclusion of our main paper.

Background on the RALM and NC

The RALM's origins can be traced to the rise in radical environmental activism within Europe and North America during the 1960s and 1970s. The ALF, which is perhaps the most prominent RALM group, arose in Britain in the late 1970s out of the Hunt Saboteurs Association and its RALM offshoot, the Band of Mercy. Shortly thereafter, several US-based direct actions¹ against animal abuse were attributed to the ALF, and the frequency of ALF and related RALM direct actions in the US—then steadily increased throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Carson et al. 2012). Several isolated incidents (or threats) of violence against humans by RALM activists occurred during this period in the US or Canada as well (Taylor 2013, pg. 302-304, 314). SHAC followed a similar trajectory beginning with its UK-based formation in 1999 to protest the European-based

¹I.e., non-mediated activities against the state that are undertaken for the purposes of social change (Sparrow 1997), where for the ALF, direct action is taken “in the form of rescuing animals and causing financial loss to animal exploiters, usually through the damage and destruction of property” (ALF Nd).

animal-testing laboratory known as Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS). SHAC then undertook increasing controversial direct actions (targeting both people and properties) in the US beginning in 2001-2002, in response to HLS's relocation to New Jersey (Carson et al. 2012, pg. 298-299).

With regards to ideology and tactics, RALM groups commonly acknowledge that their actions may be illegal, but characterize themselves as explicitly non-violent, with short-term goals in the case of ALF noted as “saving as many animals as possible and directly disrupting the practice of animal abuse” and long-term goals stated as ending “all animal suffering by forcing animal abuse companies out of business” (ALF Nd). Other prominent RALM groups express similar aims (e.g., SHAC Nd). Ideologically, these overarching RALM goals can be seen as distinct from those of radical environmentalists more generally—whose agendas rest more at the ecosystem and species-levels—leading some to argue that “profound ideological differences remain between radical environmentalists and animal liberationists” (Taylor 2013, pg. 315). However, others have noted similarities in organizational structure,² orientation, and tactics among radical environmentalist and RALM groups (Pellow 2014, Carson et al. 2012, pg. 298); or have emphasized the shared ideological causes among (i) the North American RALM and (ii) non-environmental leftist and progressive activists (Pellow 2014, Johnston & Johnston 2017). The North American RALM is similarly diverse in its purported targets, which can range from actors engaged in the fur or racing industries, the food industry, big game hunting, genetics, white supremacy, and/or animal research (Carson et al. 2012, Taylor 2013, Braddock 2015).

Given these existing disagreements and ambiguities regarding the identity, tactics, and orientation of the North American RALM, we follow the same logic as Johnston & Johnston (2017) in seeking to let the RALM's own publications “speak for themselves.” However, to do so, we focus on a distinct corpus from Johnston & Johnston (2017) in our consideration of the “No Compromise” (NC) print publication, and a distinct method: automated content analysis. This technique allows us to “learn” the discussed topics from the NC itself, without making any a priori categorizations for coding or related subjective coding decisions. NC was a radical animal rights publication

²Most notably the clandestine, nonhierarchical organization of RALM and related radical environmental groups (Monaghan 1997, Carson et al. 2012, pg. 299).

(i.e., 'zine) that ran from 1996-2006. It lasted 30 issues in total. NC originally billed itself as “The Militant, Direct Action Newsletter of Grassroots Animal Liberationists” (No Comp 1996*a*, pg. 1), but later append the phrase: “& Their Supporters” (No Comp 1996*b*, pg. 2) to this description. Editorially, NC described its publication process as “a cooperative effort between numerous grassroots organizations that is compiled and published by the Animal Liberation League” (No Comp 1997, pg. 2). NC was described by individuals involved in the RALM at the time as “the most important animal rights publication of the 1990s” (The Talon Conspiracy 04/01/2011*a*), “the must read publication for animal rights militants,” (The Talon Conspiracy 04/01/2011*a*), and “essential reading for those who wish to understand the recent history of our movement” (The Talon Conspiracy 02/17/2013).

Those familiar with NC further note that its first appearance in 1996 corresponded to “the return of the militant grassroots after they had been destroyed by grand juries, arrests, and movement paranoia in the late 80s and early 90s” (The Talon Conspiracy 04/01/2011*a*). Thereafter, the production and distribution of NC initially saw substantial turbulence (The Talon Conspiracy 08/23/2011*b*), including one NC editor resigning in 1997/1998 after rejecting tactics of violence and direct action altogether (The Talon Conspiracy 10/20/2011*c*). Though NC would overcome these challenges to see its productivity increase (The Talon Conspiracy 11/15/2011*d*), activists noted that 2001 brought about marked (tactical) changes in the RALM and NC publication itself due both to SHAC’s arrival in the US and to a number of high profile RALM prisoner-cases; including the death of one activist in prison by hunger strike and the imprisonment of another to a 23-year term (The Talon Conspiracy 10/23/2012). In 2006, with the North American RALM facing pressure from outside and in—including US convictions of the SHAC ⁷³ and movement and/or publication difficulties arising within other radical environmentalist publications (e.g., Bite Back and the Earth First! Journal)—the NC steering committee opted to halt publication (The Talon Conspiracy 10/23/2012). The formal cessation of NC’s print publication fixed the NC’s lifespan to 30 issues.

³A group of activists operating the SHAC website who prosecuted under the US Animal Enterprise Protection Act.

With the natural break-point of NC’s termination of publication at issue 30, we limit our analysis to NC’s 30 issues, and thus to the 1996-2006 period. In the main paper and below, we characterize our findings from this corpus as corresponding to the “North American” RALM, due to (i) NC’s North American publication and circulation and (ii) our earlier points regarding the NC referring to itself as the newsletter of grassroots animal liberationists and their supporters. That being said, it is important to note that the contents of the NC ’zine—and the conclusions drawn from our identified topics and topical changes—are likely shaped by factors independent of the North American RALM agenda itself. Such additional drivers can include pressures from magazine editors to produce new, relevant and diverse material to avoid its readership becoming disinterested and defecting to competitors (Atkin 1995, Attaway-Fink 2004, König 2006), as well as broader incentives to produce ‘private serving’ magazine content that is oriented towards attracting new readers and revenue (Jenkins 2016). Hence—while we believe that our (i) validations of topical changes against external events and (ii) reliable forecasting of external RALM direct action events using our issue-level topical content together indicate that our approach is indeed capturing changes in the North American RALM’s actual agenda—we acknowledge that our topical findings are also influenced by additional editorial incentives.

Rationale for Automated Text Analysis

This section expands on our rationale for the use of automated text analysis—and unsupervised topic models, specifically—for the study of radical groups and movements. Altogether, we believe that there are at least four benefits to the use of automated text analysis in this context.

First, our unsupervised text analysis framework is beneficial in that it does not require that the researcher establish a set of a priori coding categories for the analysis of a text corpus. This is valuable for the study of radical groups because it guards against researchers’ own subjective expectations of which themes or categories of discourse may arise for any particular group, movement, or text corpus. As such, unsupervised text analysis not only helps to avoid the overstatement of empirically negligible discursive themes within a text coding project, but also helps to ensure

that previously unanticipated discursive themes will arise (when present) during coding. Our study of the Michigan Militia Corps in the final portion of this Supplemental Appendix illustrates the later point, in finding that the top ten topics discussed by this group includes an environmental topic that has not garnered extensive attention in past Michigan Militia research. These points notwithstanding, it is important to emphasize that this feature does not eliminate subjectivity from one's text analyses altogether, as the post-estimation assessment of topics is an inherently interpretivist endeavor (Nielsen 2019). Hence, extensive validation of any unsupervised text output is paramount (Quinn et al. 2010, Grimmer & Stewart 2013).

Second, and more generally, automated text analysis methods are superior to human text analysis approaches for the management of very large amounts of text from both a time and cost perspective. This point is well established King & Lowe (2003), Quinn et al. (2010), Hanna (2013), Beielser et al. (2016). While, arguably, our particular applications may be small enough to ensure that human coding is feasible, this is not always the case for similar text analysis and text coding projects (e.g., Zhou et al. 2006, Bail 2016, Hanna 2017). Third, and no matter the size of one's corpus, a unique benefit to automated text analysis methods is that such methods typically ensure complete replicability in text codings and measurements. This not only ensures that past coding decisions (and errors) can be readily identified and improved upon by future research, but also helps to address human-coding challenges related to poor inter-coder reliability and coder fatigue in the face of repetitive coding tasks (Schrodt 2012).

A final unique benefit of automated coding for the study of radical groups and movements, specifically, relates to the content produced by these actors. Oftentimes, radical groups' self-produced texts are intended to radicalize readers, and to radicalize young readers in particular (Carrier 1990, Chau & xu 2007, Davies et al. 2015, Connelly et al. 2016). Many accounts in these texts include content which some may find shocking and/or traumatizing due graphic depictions of harm or mistreatment to animals or people. Though not necessarily the case for our RALM corpus, accounts in some radical group texts may intentionally espouse racist, xenophobic, or otherwise discriminatory sentiments. Still other passages in such texts can outline very detailed instructions

for the pursuit of illegal acts and political violence, including the construction of incendiary devices for such activities. Exposing any human coder to extensive amounts of this type of material may pose emotional, psychological, and social risks (L.Smith & Donnerstein 1998, Mushtaq et al. 2011, Bushman 2016). These risks may be especially acute for the undergraduate or graduate student coders that are often assigned a text analysis project's actual human coding tasks. While there are certainly steps that any researcher can take to limit these risks of harm,⁴ automated methods address these risks directly in removing any need for human coders to digest large amounts of potentially problematic text content.

Preprocessing

This section describes the steps and decisions taken when preprocessing our OCR'd versions of NC 30 issues for topic modeling analysis. Our first task in this regard was to establish the length of an optimal document (i.e., the unit of analysis) for our anticipated text analysis methods. Potential document-lengths for our corpus include each individual NC issue, each individual page of text within our NC sample, individual sentences or paragraphs, or each individual story-entry. Extant social science research has applied similar topic models to those used below to documents ranging in size from entire books (Blaydes et al. 2018) to individual tweets (Barberá et al. 2014). Others have used more arbitrary text-breaks to define documents such as page-breaks, sentences, multi-sentence sequences, or paragraphs to denote documents (Brown 2012, Chen et al. 2013, Almquist & Bagozzi 2016, 2019).

For our documents, we were limited by the OCR'd nature of the original source text. The PDF image file format of the original downloaded NC issues required that we OCR these files at the page-level, sacrificing much of the text formatting on the individual pages themselves, especially given the highly variable (e.g., multi-column, multi-box) text presentation on most pages. In light of this, we determined that the most objective and consistent approach to dividing the

⁴Such as the incorporation of a prophylactic article or corrective information (Thornton & Wahl 1996) into the human coding process, or removing the most problematic content from the textual content that is made available to the human coder prior to coding.

NC corpus into text documents of comparable length is the use of individual pages as documents, as opposed to sentences or full issues—which would provide too little content per document, or too few documents for automated text analysis, respectively. This choice of individual pages as our documents of interest has extensive precedent within the automated content analysis literature (Mimno & McCallum 2007, McAlister et al. 2014, Rusiñol et al. 2014).

We next processed each page-length document’s text to remove all punctuation, numbers, stop-words, and sparse terms. Following this, we converted all remaining words to lower-case and stemmed each word to its base root. Each of the preprocessing steps described above are standard preprocessing steps for our intended topic model techniques (Roberts et al. 2014, Almquist & Bagozzi 2019). We then also removed (i) all instances of the bi-gram “no compromise,” given that it is the title of the publication of interest and appears frequently across our corpus, and (ii) several additional problematic character strings that are prone to arise within OCR’d text, namely floating letters (e.g., “t,” “s”). As mentioned previously, these preprocessing steps altogether generated a text corpus with 1,020 unique (page-length) documents and 16,949 unique word-stems, which were then paired with a counter variable corresponding to a document’s issue of publication.

Example Documents

Recall that our primary STM considered page-length entries from each issue of NC as our primary documents of interest. This primary STM then estimated a set of ten overarching topics for our page-level NC document corpus. We then labeled and interpreted each topic based upon the associated top FREX words for each estimated topic, and a close reading of each topic's most highly associated documents. To illustrate the correspondence between the latter outputs and our final topic interpretations, this section reports an example of one highly associated page-length document for each of our ten topics.

We selected these representative documents from the top 10 (and often top 1) most highly associated document for each of our ten topics, based upon our final STM's posterior probabilities of topical association. Each ensuing page presents the selected page-length document in original form, in an order that matches the numbering of our final estimated topics. For reference, the subsequent pages present the following pages from our NC corpus:

- Topic 1: Hunting. NC Issue 27, Page 11.
- Topic 2: Ecotage Accounts. NC Issue 16, Page 22.
- Topic 3: (Non)Violent Resistance. NC Issue 23, Page 18.
- Topic 4: Ecotage Instructions. NC Issue 13, Page 22.
- Topic 5: Prisoner Support. NC Issue 2, Page 23.
- Topic 6: Public Protest. NC Issue 12, Page 30.
- Topic 7: Membership Drive. NC Issue 23, Page 33.
- Topic 8: Movement Identity. NC Issue 8, Page 11.
- Topic 9: Animal Research. NC Issue 17, Page 4.
- Topic 10: Legal Troubles. NC Issue 28, Page 11.

ON THE ICE FLOES

PROTECTING CANADIAN SEALS

What do Paris Hilton, the Sea Shepherd Society and 22 members of the 109th Congress have in common? This year, they all spoke out against Canada's bloody harp seal hunt.

If anything good can be claimed to have sprouted from this year's vile massacre of weeks-old harp seals, it is the huge public awareness raised by the convergence of so many divergent faces in support of the seals. While Paris Hilton publicly sported an eye-catching "Club sandwiches, not seals" shirt, members of Congress drafted a resolution "[u]rging the Government of Canada to end the commercial seal hunt."

Even Hollywood's MacGyver (Richard Dean Anderson) and 007 (Pierce Brosnan) spoke out for the seals, asking consumers to boycott Canadian seafood until the government stops the slaughter. (While we'd of course prefer a perpetual boycott, we appreciate the sentiment in this case.)

Meanwhile, Sea Shepherd and other animal protection groups took to the ice, bearing witness to the grim slaughter. Armed with cameras, they brought their footage to the rest of the world, sparking an international outcry reminiscent of that seen against the seal hunts of the 1970s, when the resultant public relations disaster forced a ban on the import of the baby seal skins into the U.S. and European Union countries.

Blood on the ice

And this year's hunt was every bit as bloody, if not more so, than those from the 70s. Images of baby seals emitting bloody gurgles in their death throes before being skinned alive were a grim flashback to the ugly images from decades earlier. Predictably, the response of Canadian officials has been dismissive at best.

"Freshly-killed seals often exhibit a 'swim reflex,'" explained Department of Fisheries spokesman Phil Jenkins, when confronted with footage of bloodied seals writhing in anguish and screaming after being bludgeoned by sealers.

Baby seals weren't the victims in this year's seal hunts; activists were also targets of the sealers' violence. More than one violent attack on activists was caught on camera and broadcast



"BUT TRY AS THEY MIGHT, THE CANADIAN SEAL HUNT IS ONE GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED CRUELTY THAT SEEMS DESTINED FOR DEFEAT."

over the Internet. To date, no prosecutions have resulted.

On the other hand, prosecutions are currently pending against 11 Sea Shepherd crewmembers who are charged with the outrageous crime of—*gasp*—filming without permission from the government. Sea Shepherd has vowed to use these upcoming court battles as an "opportunity to challenge these censorship regulations as violations of the Canadian Constitution and the Charter of Rights."

Dealers in Death

So who are the thugs behind this atrocity? Count Alan Herscovici, executive vice-president of the Fur Council of Canada, as one.

According to Herscovici, "Sealskin is lightweight and sleek, which is more fashionable now than the shaggier furs worn by previous generations. It's also ideal for producing bags, shoes, purses and other accessories - so even if you can't afford a full-length coat, you can still have a bit of fur."

The Rieber group, one of the world's major processors of seal pelts, is another. The Rieber group transports seals skins from Canada to Norway, the world's largest importer of seal furs. Although the European Union and the U.S. have banned the import of baby seal skins from Canada, Eastern Europe (which sports a record on animal protection just as dismal as its human rights record) provides a healthy market for the skins of "older" seals.

Fashion designers also bear responsibility for the massacre. Designers like Prada and Donatella Versace have reportedly used seal fur in their collections. (The latter was thanked for her cruelty with a letter of protest signed by a cadre of American Idol contestants; how much more mainstream American can you get than that?)

Finally, there are the sealers themselves—off-season cod fishermen looking to bolster their income after a run of dismal fishing seasons, conveniently blamed on allegedly ravenous seals. The myth of cod-devouring seals has been propagated and sustained by the Canadian government, eager to divert attention from the true cause for declining fish populations: overfishing.

But try as they might, the Canadian seal hunt is one government-sponsored cruelty that seems destined for defeat. It's been said that an image is worth a thousand words, and thanks to the brave activists documenting this year's hunt, this is one animal cruelty issue that surely speaks for itself.

TORONTO, CANADA (3/30) - Thousands of sealers armed with clubs, rifles and spears begin killing baby harp seals on the ice floes off eastern Canada. Hunters were expected to kill more than 300,000 seals by May 15, when a federal three-year plan allowing sealers to harvest a total of 975,000 seals since 2003 ends.

ISRAEL (4/1) - The High Court of Justice decides that the practice of force-feeding geese for foie gras will be illegal, effective immediately. The original court ruling came as a result of a petition filed by activists, who argued that force-feeding to enlarge their livers constitutes illegal animal abuse.

SALT LAKE CITY, UT (4/13) - A third suspect is charged with aiding in an arson at BYU's agriculture school. Jason Hall has been charged with a misdemeanor for his alleged assistance in setting the fires. Two others, Josh Demmitt and snitch Harrison David Burrows, are already serving 2.5-year sentences for their part in the fire.

POLK CITY, FLA (4/15) - A 52-year-old man working at an elephant-breeding facility is injured when an elephant knocks him to the ground with her trunk and then steps on him. The man was feeding the elephant at the Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus Center for Elephant Conservation when the incident happened.

HOUSTON, TEXAS (4/15) - Bella, the Houston Zoo's baby elephant, is put to sleep after zoo officials learn that screws used to repair her fractured femur had already dislodged. Bella had somehow stumbled and fallen earlier while walking in the elephant yard and subsequently underwent a 2 1/2-hour operation.



CROSSING THE LINE DIRECT ACTION FOR THE EARTH & ANIMALS

No Compromise publishes this direct action listing to keep the movement educated on the tactics of nonviolence and aims of the A.L.F. and other underground animal liberation groups. We feel it is important to inform people of their activities to combat the lies and distortions that animal abusers disseminate about them. This list is NOT intended to encourage illegal activities. Actions are listed chronologically since the last issue.

No Compromise would like to thank the Frontline Information Service (<http://www.enviroweb.org/ALFIS/>) for compiling and laying out this direct action listing for us and we would especially like to thank the heroic and compassionate activists who make this list possible.

Listed actions start where the last issue left off (2/01/00). Any earlier actions listed here were not reported in the last issue. Due to the numbers of actions from around the world, we do not have room to list them all. For a more complete listing visit <http://www.enviroweb.org/ALFIS>

Australia

3/8/2000; Brisbane - about 100 genetically modified pineapples being grown in a trial crop were uprooted by Free Seed Liberation. Activists breached a two-and-a-half meter high barbed wire fence to carry out the late night raid on Queensland Department of Primary Industries.

Austria

2/4/2000; Vienna - butcher shop in Berggasse had all windows smashed.
2/19/2000; Vienna - 2 windows of the fur shop Foggensteiner smashed. Foggensteiner is located on the Opernring in Vienna. At the end of last year, an AR protester was attacked and beaten outside the shop.
2/19/2000; Vienna - 2 fur wearing women sprayed with paint on the Kaerntnerstrasse in Vienna city center.
3/5/2000; Lower Austria - 30 hens liberated from a battery unit.
3/16/2000; Lower Austria - hunting platform cut down.
3/29/2000; Vienna - a butyric acid attack was carried out against a shop selling stuffed animal corpses in the 5th district, Diehlgasse. A window was smashed and a small bottle of butyric acid was thrown in.

Belgium

4/27/2000; Zele - in a communique to an independent newspaper *De Morgen*, the A.L.F. claimed responsibility for burning 2 loaded meat trucks and a slaughterhouse belonging to the company Euro Vlees in Zele. Damage is about 30 million Belgian francs or about 1 million pounds.

Canada

2/17/2000; Vancouver, B.C. - the Lorax, an underground environmental group, officially claimed credit for spiking hundreds of trees in the Elaho Valley, about three hours north of Vancouver. "The purpose of the tree spiking is to protect grizzly bear habitat and to deter International Forest Products (Interfor) from clearcutting this ancient coastal rainforest," stated the communique.
3/23/2000; Saanich, B.C. - a group calling itself the "Ministry of Forest Defense" destroyed hundreds of coniferous test trees at the British Columbia Ministry of Forests "Tree Improvement Branch" facilities. The activists felled those trees which were specifically marked as transgenic.

Denmark

3/2000 - Two fur stores were attacked with bricks and paint. At one store, the attack caused damage at 200,000 Dkr (nearly £20,000). In addition, a fur farm had three empty rows and cages burnt down; the fourth contained living animals, all of which were unharmed.

England

3/13/2000; London - Cornucopia, a shop in Victoria that had previously assured London activists that it would never again trade in second-hand fur, was found to have resumed this disgusting business. In the early hours of Monday, March 13, a visit was paid. 3 large windows were smashed and a calling card posted through the letterbox. The situation will be monitored in case further visits prove necessary.
3/20/2000; Wanstead - windows have been smashed at the following businesses: NatWest bank, betting shop, and butcher's shop. In addition windows have been smashed at NatWest banks in the following places: Chiswick, Woodford Green, Chingford.
3/late/2000; London - Natwest bank and cashpoint in Leytonstone adorned with white paint; windows smashed at: a Gants Hill butcher shop, a McDonalds and a meat shop in Ilford, Camden kebab shop, a Grange Park butcher shop, New Cross Gate kebab shop, 3 butcher shops in Hackney, and a Shoreditch leather factory.
4/2000; London - Calmanlinks fur shop, Knightsbridge: window smashed and paint stripper poured over the paintwork. Hockley's fur shop, West End: windows and door smashed.
4/7/2000; London - windows smashed at Holloway Road Kebab Shop, a butcher's shop, and a pizza shop. Mile End; windows smashed at a fish shop. Forest Gate; windows smashed at a butcher's shop. Stratford; windows smashed at a butcher's shop.
4/7/2000; London - after the needless deaths of 4 horses on the first day of the Aintree Race Meetings, windows were smashed and locks were glued at the following betting shops: Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, Holloway Road, Forest Gate, and Leyton.
4/10/2000; London - A.L.F. carried out direct action in Ilford over the weekend, smashing windows at the following premises: leather coat shop, leather shoe shop, leather sofa shop, meat shop, fish shop, betting shop, and NatWest bank.
4/2000; London - over the Easter weekend, actions were carried out at the following animal abusers: windows

smashed at 3 meat shops in Upton Park; window smashed at Burger Bar, Islington; in Wanstead, a window smashed at a fish shop; windows smashed at NatWest Bank, Old Street; window smashed at butcher's shop, Walthamstow; in Hackney, a butcher's van was paint stripped and sloganised. window smashed at a butcher's shop in Stamford Hill; in Tottenham, windows smashed at a butcher's shop; window smashed at butcher's shop, Ilford.
4/26/00; Somerset - an explosion occurred inside a Kebab shop resulting in a number of neighboring buildings losing their windows. The kebab shop was entirely gutted by the resulting fire. Unclaimed.
5/2000; London - windows have been smashed at these businesses: betting shop, East Ham; 3 meat shops, Mile End; 2 shops displaying circus posters, Hounslow; 3 meat shops, leather shop and betting shop, Wanstead; 3 meat shops, Finsbury Park; betting shop, Manor House; butcher's shop, Forest Gate.
5/16/2000; Huntingdon - four cars belonging to staff at Huntingdon Life Sciences (Europe's biggest contract vivisection laboratory) were burned up.
5/21/2000; Oxfordshire - an incendiary device ignited under a lorry at Mutchmeats Ltd. in Witney and completely burned it up. Army bomb disposal officers attended the scene and found 9 more devices planted under other vehicles. There were no injuries. The Animal Liberation Front has claimed responsibility for this action.
5/21/2000; Surrey - unspecified attack on Regal Rabbits (breeders for vivisection). "Activists avoided external and internal alarms by drilling through an outer wall and smashed through the ventilation system," an A.L.F. spokesman said.

Finland

3/first week/2000; Helsinki - at Rallis Fur a door window and the display window were smashed. Saturday: door window and the display window smashed again. Monday: door window and the display window smashed yet again. Wednesday: door window scratched and the display window got another smashing.

Animal Liberation Frontline Information Service

<http://www.enviroweb.org/ALFIS/>



The Animal Liberation Frontline Information Service is an internet web site, who's goal is to provide up-to-date and current information dedicated to the activities of the animal liberation movement in Europe, North America and worldwide. It is an uncensored clearing house for information on animal liberation actions, prisoners of war, publications and more.

CONTEMPLATING POLITICAL VIOLENCE

by Craig Rosebraugh

For political activists, it is crucial to constantly analyze strategies and tactics to ensure that the activities we engage in are effective and worthwhile. For those who do continually engage in the analytical process, the time comes when each individual must answer the question "Am I involved in particular strategies and tactics because they are truly capable of advancing the movement and stopping a given injustice, or am I primarily acting only to appease my own personal conscience?" Failing to ask this question and to honestly answer it commonly leads to burnout and dropout on an individual level and ineffectiveness and ultimate failure for movements as a whole.

When pondering the above question it may not be easily understood how to determine if a particular tactic and strategy has been exhausted or is ineffective. The simplest answer is that when a tactic or strategy has been repeatedly unsuccessful over a lengthy period-- thus causing not the growth but often the stagnation and even demise of a movement-- that tactic and/or strategy on its own should be deemed ineffective and exhausted. The desirable question then becomes "What tactic and/or strategy needs to be implemented to progress a given movement?"

Here in the United States, societal norms dictate that anyone involved in activist politics has a right to voice opinions and advocate for change-- as long as it is done in accordance with certain guidelines. These rules specifically pertain to a strict adherence to lawful and nonviolent behavior, with the only exception being the occasional use of nonviolent civil disobedience. Yet, even this strategy is commonly looked down upon and is only considered valid if those committing the act work closely with the police and then agree to face all penalties resulting from the disobedient behavior.

Owing to the power and enforcement of these societal norms, nearly all individuals and organizations involved in social and political movements in the United States adhere to this lawful and nonviolent policy. The most obvious question then needs to be considered: Has a strict adherence to lawful and/or nonviolent activities ever solely advanced a social or political movement in U.S. history? How about internationally? The answer to both of these questions is a firm "no," and that is precisely why those in power positions in the United States are so adamant about people adhering to the state-sanctioned, society-approved methods of political and social change. These people realize that if the lawful and nonviolent policies are followed

religiously, no progress will ever be made in various movements, and thus, their power positions will never be threatened.

Many in this country believe that nonviolence has a rich and successful history in the United States and internationally. Unfortunately, this mythical perception has taken a dominant position in many westernized societies resulting from many western writers and filmmakers refusing to provide an accurate portrayal of nonviolence history and its relationship with political violence. In nearly every popular case of reported nonviolence success, the progress that came resulted only from the assistance of politically violent actions.

By far, the most commonly referred to example of successful nonviolence application is the case of Gandhi advocating for civil rights in South Africa and independence in India. The overwhelming majority of books available in the United States, and even the legendary Gandhi film, would have readers and viewers believing that Gandhi's nonviolent methods forced the British to give up colonial rule of India, thus granting its independence. Nothing could be further from the truth. In addition to Britain's suffering from the involvement in two World Wars and the declining rate of colonial occupations during that time, there was also a fierce and violent contingency to the independence movement. This violent element successfully instilled an atmosphere of fear into the British government, making Gandhi and his nonviolent followers the more appealing of two opponents. Churchill realized that if his government did not deal with Gandhi, they would be faced with the more unruly and uncontrollable violent masses. Thus, India's independence, achieved in 1947, resulted from a combination of strategies, both nonviolent and politically violent.

A similar story is repeated in the U.S. civil rights movement, another commonly cited example of successful nonviolence application. While the enfranchisement and desegregation campaigns, of which King became a major focal point, did achieve some success, it was only made possible by the less popular, violent elements of the civil rights movement. Similar to the Indian independence movement, the violent contingency of the civil rights movement made individuals such as King appear much more attractive to white racists. They knew that if they did not deal with King and the nonviolent sector, they would be forced to face the violent elements, which sprouted up with the likes of Marcus Garvey, Robert Williams, Malcolm X and the black power movement as a whole. To assume that nonviolence was responsible for the success

of the civil rights movement is misleading at best. Not only has the civil rights movement never been fully realized, but the progress of the 1950s and 1960s came from mixture of strategies, both violent and nonviolent.

In addition to the civil rights movement, each and every major social and political movement throughout U.S. history has relied upon a mixture of tactics that did include political violence. From the terrorism, armed insurrection and warfare involved in the War for Independence that formed this country; to the numerous violent slave revolts in the abolitionist movement; to the effects of World War I on the suffragette movement; to the riots, bombings and property destruction in the labor movement -- no movement has gained a recognizable degree of progress or success without the implementation of political violence.

While no one in his or her right mind would glorify political violence, the question remains: Why is political violence necessary to advance political and social movements in the United States? The simplistic answer is "because other tactics individually have never worked, will never work, and most importantly, cannot work to achieve justice in this country." This is fundamentally a result of the inability for non-violent approaches to actually confront and threaten the opponent-- or in the largest and most crucial sense-- the political structure of the United States.

Gandhian nonviolence-- the predominant school of thought behind nonviolent action in the United States-- dictates that the opponent must be weaned from error by sympathy for the non-violent activists. It states that the opponent must see the evils in his or her own actions and voluntarily change. This, it is too often argued, is the only methodology for creating lasting, positive, social and political change. Nonviolent theorists and practitioners also believe that even if the opponent does not have a healthy and working conscience, he or she could be pressured by a third party who would have sympathy for those engaging in the nonviolent self-suffering that Gandhi prescribed. Martin Luther King, Jr. strongly believed in the third party theory and applied it in various desegregation and enfranchisement campaigns.

The fundamental requirement in order for the above-mentioned non-violent theories to be successful is the opponent's ability to have a healthy and working conscience. The healthy and working conscience is needed to allow the opponent to decipher between right and wrong, good and evil, just and unjust.

continued on the next page

NEWARK, NJ (1/30) - A jury in a U.S. District Court rules for PETA in a lawsuit brought against the group and its former investigator, Michele Rokke, by veterinarian Howard Baker, rejecting his claim of malicious use of process. The suit came after Rokke documented Baker's assaults on animals in his care, which included punching and choking dogs and cats.

TULANCINGO, MEXICO (2/1) - Seven people are killed after a fight breaks out between two families at an illegal cockfighting den. The two families began fighting and relatives drew pistols and began firing wildly after one person was beaten to death, the regional attorney general's office said.

NEW YORK, NY (2/4) - The New York City Council passes Bill of Rights Resolution Res. 60-2004. In opposition to the USA Patriot Act. Part of the resolution "actively work for the repeal of those sections of the USA PATRIOT Act and related federal actions that unduly infringe upon fundamental rights and liberties as recognized in the U.S. Constitution and its Amendments.

UNITED KINGDOM (2/9) - Staff at Chiron Corporation are granted exclusion zones around their homes and workplace to keep out animal rights protesters. The High Court order covers about 900 staff in Uxbridge, west London, Oxford Science Park, Speke in Liverpool and Cranford, Hounslow.

HUNTINGDON, UK (2/9) - Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS) says it is preparing private prosecutions against animal rights protesters whom it says are harming its business. The company wrote to Ken Macdonald, director of public prosecutions, last week complaining about the lack of action against demonstrators who are driving away customers and suppliers.

General Traces

(excerpted from *Without a Trace* and updated May 1999)

FINGERPRINTS

Whenever you touch something with your fingertips, you leave behind your calling card. Obviously, surfaces such as glass, marble, chrome, etc., will be the easiest, while it is almost impossible to lift prints from brickwork or untreated wood.

The police are continually perfecting their methods of print detection because they are such a foolproof piece of personal identity. They can take prints from skin (if they really try), from tightly woven fabrics, especially synthetic ones, and paper.

Because a finger print is composed of sweat, which is an acid, in some instances it will etch itself onto metal. This is most likely to occur with crowbars, hammers, chisels, etc., and can be erased by rubbing down said tools with coarse wire wool after use.

Fingerprints are fairly hard to destroy and even immersion in water will not do the job completely, so if you are going to throw something over the bridge, don't forget to wipe it down first. Unless an object is totally consumed, fire is also not a sure method of erasing prints, as a layer of carbon can cover them and keep them recognizable.

UPDATE: In recent years, police have begun to identify suspects by cells shed from the skin at the scene of a crime. This means that if any part of your body touches an object, clothing, etc. you may leave behind traces of your DNA. This is highly unlikely but something to take into consideration.

GLASS TRACES

Every time that glass is smashed, tiny shards of the stuff fly everywhere. For practical purposes, it is wisest to assume that anyone even remotely near to breaking glass is covered in the stuff. It sticks to things like shit to a blanket, especially loose fibered cloth.

Glass also likes to get embedded in the soles of shoes. The police can identify different makes and types of glass and therefore can put you at a certain place at a certain time. Fine, broken glass powder will stick to the smooth surfaces of tools and fibers from your clothing will stick to the sharp edges of broken glass.

The best way to break glass without covering yourself in traces is from a very long distance, using a powerful slingshot and marbles, or for toughened bank windows, steel ball bearings. Both ball bearings and marbles retain your prints well!

SOIL AND PLANT TRACES

A forensic scientist can tell roughly where you have been from the composition of the dirt and soil that you will have picked up on your travels. If, let's say you've been keeping warm by standing next to a burning portacabin on a Laings building site, then traces of sand, cement, gypsum, gravel, lime, etc. will have collected on your shoes and clothes. Once again, it is best to dispose of any clothing.

These traces are used to put you at a certain place, and in some instances, at a certain time. As with dust traces, don't let the police bluff a confession out of you by saying that these traces are cast iron evidence; they are certainly not and can be disputed in court.

SHOE TRACES

There are thousands of styles and sizes of footwear and each one is distinctive; even more so when it has been worn for a while and picked up individual marks of wear and tear. Basically, a clear footprint is as useful to a forensic expert as a fingerprint. However, you can always throw your shoes away!

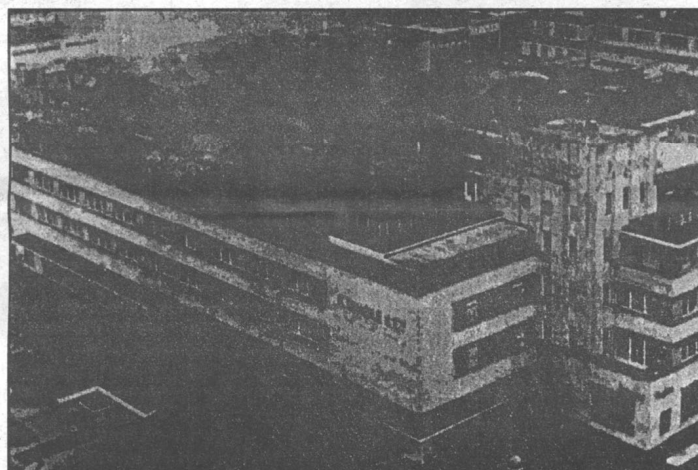
On hard surfaces, such as linoleum or marble, shoe prints will be left behind. On soft surfaces, such as mud, earth, dog shit, etc.,

shoe impressions will be left behind. From these marks, identification can be made and are watertight evidence if a comparison is made.

The only sensible thing to do is to wear old shoes and throw them far away immediately afterwards. Shoes will also carry traces away with them, such as oil, petrol, glass splinters and other such give aways. Don't wear them in your home after being at the scene of a crime.

BIOLOGICAL TRACES

Today, prosecutors claim that DNA serves as 'genetic fingerprinting'. Prosecutors will also tell courts that they are so certain that it is your DNA that the chances of it being anyone else are up to one in 100 quintillion. Also, rather than just blood, it is possible to take DNA samplings from bodily tissues such as skin and



London's Dingles department store engulfed in flames, Christmas 1988. The blaze caused millions in damage and the store immediately stopped selling fur.

hair and hair follicles. For this reason you must be extra careful when working.

If you scratch yourself you should carry plasters to stop the blood flow immediately. You should also try and clean the implement which injured you because it will have traces of blood or skin on it. If you seriously cut yourself you should stop the bleeding as best as possible and leave the site immediately.

We all shed hair and we shed it all the time. If we stay in one place for any length of time, then it is certain that we will leave samples of our hair in the vicinity. It is most likely to be lodged in the clothing of someone with whom you have had close contact. Similarly, you are likely to carry and leave behind hair from your companion animals (on your clothes).

If the root of a sample hair is still attached, a thorough DNA analysis can be done. Wear a tight fitting hat.

TEXTILE TRACES

There is not a lot to say about these traces that is not commonsense.... just think of your clothing as blotting paper that will soak up incriminating evidence like crazy! Dust, soil, chemicals blood, gasoline, paint, the list is endless. Clothing will also leave behind particles of their fabric and as with gloves, will leave impres-

sions should you sit or lean on anything soft.

Likewise, traces of fiber and debris from your own environment will be carried by your clothes and left at the scene. For instance, the fibers from your sofa, carpet, car furnishings, etc. will be carried by your trousers (say) and may be left wherever you go. To circumvent this, wear old clothes (preferably that you haven't worn before) and discard them afterwards. Remember, if you wear them back home, you will also be carrying back traces from wherever you may have been.

TOOL TRACES

In much the same way that a bullet will retain scratches from the barrel of the gun from which it was fired, then tools such as chisels, pliers, bolt cutters, knives, screwdrivers, etc. will leave identifying marks at the scene of an investigation. These marks can be matched to the tool at a later date.

Most obviously, the shear marks on a cut padlock can be linked to the cutters that were used on the job. Either get rid of such tools or give the working edges a "new face" by filing or re-sharpening (only for tools still in good condition). Tools are not only made of metal; objects such as rope, string, tape, etc., are just as incriminatory and lend themselves to comparative analysis.

GLOVE TRACES

Although it is always wiser to wear gloves to avoid the risk of leaving any fingerprints behind, we should be aware that gloves can sometimes leave just as much information.



Basically, gloves will almost certainly leave traces of the fabric from which they are made on anything they touch, especially broken glass, fencing, masonry and rough wood. If gloves are not thrown away after use, then positive links can be made in the form of textile analysis.

Plastic gloves, rubber gloves will keep your prints on the inside and some very thin surgical gloves will still allow your print impressions to show up on hard or shiny surfaces. If your discarded gloves are found, then traces of your sweat will be present (see "Body Secretion Traces" below) as well as comparative traces such as wood splinters, paint flakes, glass splinters, etc. from the scene of the crime.

BODY SECRETION TRACES

The human body produces various fluids and secretions apart from blood. These are namely; spit, sweat, tears, earwax, urine, feces and snot. Samples of these may or will be left at a scene of investigation. They don't tell the police a hell of a lot, but, as with blood traces, they help build an overall picture.

For the most part, body secretion traces will show blood type. In some instances, the information can be more exact. From your urine, sweat and feces, any illnesses that you have may be apparent (hepatitis, anemia, NSU,

etc.) and any medication or drugs that you may have taken. From your shit, they will be able to tell what you've had to eat.

VEHICLE TRACES

Vehicle traces refer to any parts of forensic evidence that may be left by motor transport. Firstly, the tire tracks; these are usually left in soft ground, and not on hard top roads, although they may be found in soft tar, dog shit, etc. and, in a collision, on the flesh of the victim(s).

These traces will identify the make of tire and, in most instances will prove unique to one tire, due to the characteristic wear. The distance between tire tracks will indicate axle width and chassis length, thus indicating the type of car. Some cars carry unique tires, for instance imported or small production runs.

Transfer traces are those which are left on the scene due to collision or contact. Most commonly this involves paint flakes. These are always left in the case of any contact. From one paint flake, it is theoretically possible to know the make, the model, color, previous color(s) and the year of manufacture of a given car.

In practice, it is not a good idea to use your own car for anything dodgy. It may be spotted by the video cameras on gas stations, traffic control videos on motorways or be checked on by the police without your knowledge.

ARSON AND FIRE TRACES

The assumption that evidence is destroyed by fire is incorrect. The Fire Investigation Unit will turn up if the origins of a fire are suspicious. They possess a large degree of skill and are able to determine the flashpoint of a fire and what caused it, (electronic fault, cigarette, candle, spontaneous combustion, deliberate arson, etc.). They also can tell the flammable substance which was used to start the fire (gasoline, paraffin, tallow, paper, etc.).

Chemicals used to start a fire will almost automatically end up on the person and clothing of the person(s) who started it. Particles of soot will also lodge in the clothing and hair.

UPDATE: If planning an unclaimed action, there are certain ways to make it very difficult to detect whether a certain fire was an arson. While the procedures are too in depth for this article, they can be learned from a book on point from Loompanics out of Port Townsend, Washington.

VOICE IDENTIFICATION

It is possible from a tape recording of a voice to compare it with another voice and decide whether they are one and the same. This is because each person's voice is a combination of frequencies which can be analysed using a sound spectrograph. This is most likely to be called into use for anonymous phone callings and to this end, it should be assumed that all telephone lines are not secure.

Most newspapers have facilities for immediately recording calls and all emergency service calls are automatically taped. Changing your voice, dialect or pitch won't make a lot of difference to your 'voiceprint' and speaking through a handkerchief has absolutely no effect!

Perhaps the best way to phone in a message is to edit on tape together the words of famous personalities, in the same way as ransom notes are made from cut up newspapers.

FACE IDENTIFICATION

Obviously, certain things are of more help in identifying someone's face than others: scars, moles, broken noses, tattoos, etc. It is hard to change the features on your face, but certain things help. Glasses, changes of hairstyle, hair color, etc. Women can use a mountain of make up, heighten cheekbones, etc. Men can grow or shave facial hair.

Even when you're masked up, there are many observations the cops can make such as the width between your pupils, the height of the bridge of your nose/eyebrows, the width of your eyes, the shape/thickness of your eyebrows,

TRACES continued on next page

By RUSS LOAR
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

Gina Lynn has three cats, two dogs, six arrests and three pending court cases—all for the love of animals.

It's all the 23-year-old Cypress waitress can do to earn a living, between court appearances and animal rights demonstrations that sometimes take her across the country and frequently land her in jail.

While Lynn suspects mainstream America sees her as a fanatic or a crackpot, she invokes the mantra of civil disobedience in fighting for what she sees as the stolen civil rights of Earth's other beings.

"People can call us crazy, and that's fine with me," said Lynn, who was recently sentenced to 50 hours of community service and fined \$775 for occupying the UC Irvine chancellor's office during an April protest over campus animal research.

"They called Martin Luther King Jr. crazy. They called Henry David Thoreau and Susan B. Anthony crazy. They all practiced civil disobedience and fought for what they believed in and they changed society."

As a matter of principle, Lynn has refused to comply with court orders to stay away from the places she has protested in return for probation and will not pay court-imposed fines.

"I refuse to reward the system for prosecuting nonviolent activists," said Lynn, whose fledgling Animal Rights Direct Action Coalition has targeted animal research, dolphin shows and the sale of fur coats in Orange County and beyond. "I'm not going to pay a fine because I was exercising my First Amendment rights."

Lynn traces her outspoken empathy for animals to the age of 4, when she first visited the Huntington Beach Pier.

"It was the first time I had ever seen anybody fishing," she said.

"All the way down to the end of the pier and all the way back, I screamed at every fisherman I saw. I told them they had no right to take those fish out of the water and they should put them back."

She became a vegetarian at 12.

"I had read 'The Mother's Tale,' a

Profile: Gina Lynn

Age: 23

Residence: Cypress

Education: La Mirada High School graduate

Background: Animal rights activism began at age 12 with Last Chance for Animals in Los Angeles County. After moving to Oregon, she took part in protests organized by Action for Animals. Since returning to Southern California, she has protested hospital and university research labs, rodeo, circuses, dolphin shows and the sale of fur coats. Last April, she founded the Animal Rights Direct Action Coalition.

On Orange County activism: "It's tougher to get a receptive audience here because people are a lot more conservative and a lot of people turn their noses up at anybody who is doing anything different. It's also tougher in the courts."

Source: Gina Lynn, interviewed by Russ Loar, Jan. 29, 1996

Los Angeles Times

short story about cows going to slaughter and everything they go through until they are slaughtered. It was the first time I'd thought about it and I thought, 'Jeez, this is what it takes to make my hamburger? Forget it, I don't want it. And so I stopped eating meat.'"

Lynn shuns anything made of leather and will not use products that were tested on animals. But she also acknowledges the difficulty of rejecting all products, such as some automobile tires, that contain animal byproducts.

"You've got to draw the line somewhere. You can't be perfect, but you can be consistent."

After spending her teenage years at sporadic animal rights demonstrations, Lynn has steadily increased her level of activism the last several years. She has even persuaded her mother, a 55-year-old secretary, to join her in several protests. They were both arrested in May during a protest of the dolphin show at Knott's Berry Farm.

"She raised me to love animals and question the norm, to be different. So I educated her about the issues and got her involved."

Lynn's first arrest was at a February 1995 protest at UC Santa Barbara. Joined by a small band of activists from throughout California, Lynn helped block a truck that

was delivering 10 rabbits to a research lab. They were scheduled to be vivisected in the lab, during a class," she said.

She was convicted of a misdemeanor and given a \$500 fine that was later suspended.

With three court cases nearing trial and ambitious plans to continue demonstrations, Lynn said she is lucky to have an understanding employer. But she gave false warning.

"I told the guy who interviewed me for this job 'I'm an animal rights activist and I get arrested sometimes and I have to take days off to be in court and to do demonstrations.' He said, 'I totally respect that you're telling me this ahead of time and we'll work with you on this.' They've been great. I thought they'd never hire me."

Lynn finds it difficult to survive on earnings that fluctuate between \$500 and \$1,000 a month. She lives in a tidy Cypress subdivision where she rents a room from a sympathetic couple who help care for her pets when she travels to a demonstration or spends the night in jail.

Her longest stint behind bars came last month when she spent three days in a Los Angeles County jail. Lynn and 16 other activists had formed a human chain to block the entrance to the Beverly Center Bullock's department store to protest fur coat sales. She refused to

any energy to do. There are billions of animals suffering every single day. I don't feel like my life can compare to that," she said.

"I get very discouraged and very depressed sometimes because I think it's not going to change. I don't think I'm going to see the end of animal suffering in my lifetime. I'm not that naive. But it's not going to make me stop."

LOS ANGELES TIMES—JAN 29

Fur protest closes store

SOCIAL ISSUES: Animal-rights activists are arrested at Bullock's.

By LORI BASHEDA
The Orange County Register

NEWPORT BEACH — Chanting "fur is dead," a half-dozen animal-rights activists stormed Bullock's on Sunday, prompting Fashion Island security guards to close the store for more than an hour until police arrived to haul the protesters away.

The activists, members of Orange County People for Animals, were arrested on suspicion of trespassing and taken to the Newport Beach jail, where they issued a statement vowing to go on a hunger strike until released.

By Sunday evening, all six protesters had been released, Newport Beach police Lt. Don Chandler said.

The protesters crashed Bullock's pre-season sale at about 12:30 p.m., congregating in the fur salon. Within seconds, security guards locked the main doors.

"You mean I came all the way down here from Riverside just to go to Bullock's and I can't get in?" asked one irate shopper.

"Arrest them!" shouted one woman, peering inside.

Shoppers who were inside the

store when it was locked also were angry.

"They oughta get a life," said San Clemente resident Floyd Panning, shopping with his wife, Lee, who said she is a fur owner and proud of it.

Eventually, police did make arrests.

After they were handcuffed, several protesters dropped to the ground, forcing police to drag them away.

Outside, a half-dozen more activists held posters of skinned foxes.

"Go home, communists!" one man chanted at the protesters.

The group did draw at least one sympathizer. "I'm very much on your side," Barrie Milroy, an Australian who is in Newport Beach on business, told them. "It's time we stop doing this."

The demonstration was part of a nationwide protest.

ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER—JULY 24

Trial of 5 animal-rights activists to start

The Orange County Register

NEWPORT BEACH — Five animal-rights activists go on trial this week, charged with trespassing after they entered UC Irvine Chancellor Laurel Wilkening's office last spring and refused to leave.

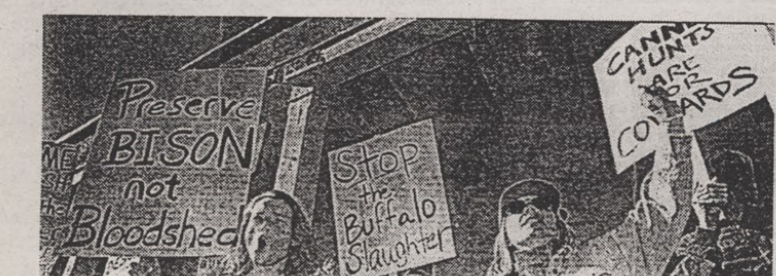
Jury selection begins this morning under Harbor Municipal Court Judge Frances Munoz, with testimony probably starting Thursday, said Elizabeth Otter, deputy district attorney.

The incident occurred April 23, when the activists demanded to ask Wilkening questions about animal testing on campus. After a three-hour standoff, they were arrested.

The activists said they had offered to do community service hours in an attempt to avoid a trial, but were turned down. Otter said the offer was far too lenient.

Charged with one count of trespassing are Gina Lynn of Cypress, Dr. Richard McLellan of Los Angeles, Sheila Laracy of Sacramento, Robin Schroeder of Venice and Crescenzo Vellucci of Sacramento.

ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER—JAN 10



Left to right, Lawrence Curtis-Lacy of Albuquerque, Lauren Sullivan of Albuquerque and Pat Wolff of Santa Fe support legislation that would ban the planned buffalo hunt this weekend.

Groups sue to stop buffalo hunt

By BEN HEARY
The New Mexican

A coalition of Indian groups and anti-hunting forces filed a federal lawsuit on Wednesday charging the Army should have undertaken an environmental study before approving a buffalo hunt scheduled to begin this weekend at Fort Wingate.

Speaking at a Santa Fe news conference called to announce the lawsuit, Picuris Pueblo Lt. Gov. Carl Tsosie, an official of the Inter-

tribal Bison Cooperative that represents 39 tribes that raise buffalo in 15 states, took issue with the use of the word "hunt" to describe the event.

"They call it a hunt, but it's not," Tsosie said. "It's a senseless slaughter of our brothers."

"This is a horrible revival of the horrors of the past," Tsosie said. "We look at this as a needless, senseless slaughter. And for what?"

Not to relieve the hunger of the many, but to relieve the boredom of the few."

Carl Tsosie of the Diné Care organization said Indians some-

times kill buffalo. He said some Indian people have ceremonies in which they "ask the buffalo to give of itself and give of its soul (so) that the Indian people may live."

After the news conference, Tsosie said the Indian groups and the anti-hunting groups are united in their belief that the planned hunt is wrong. While Indians may kill buffalo and use parts of the animals in their ceremonies, he said, the anti-hunting groups recognize a crucial difference between that and a non-Indian trophy hunter who might hang a mount on the wall.

Meanwhile, Lee Gallegos — chief of staff to Gov. Gary Johnson — said Wednesday he will do his best to schedule a meeting between representatives of groups that oppose the hunt and state game and fish officials to discuss the possibility of delaying the hunt to consider other options.

The state Department of Game and Fish has scheduled hunts for three of the animals this weekend to be followed by similar hunts on the following two weekends.

Game department officials have

Photo see HUNT, Page A-2

A-2 THE NEW MEXICAN Thursday, January 11, 1996

HUNT

Continued from Page A-1

said they want to reduce the ratio of bulls to cows in the herd and also are candid about their desire to provide the public with the opportunity to hunt the animal.

While Gallegos said he could not guarantee it's possible that the hunt could be postponed, he said he believed the protesters' suggestion that the state consider alternatives was "well-taken."

Gallegos said he intended to try to reach members of the state Game Commission — which authorized the hunt last year.

The following groups joined as plaintiffs in the federal lawsuit filed Wednesday: The Fund for Animals — a New York City-based anti-hunting organization; Sangre de Cristo Animal Protection; the Intertribal Buffalo Cooperative; Picuris Pueblo and Diné Care, a Navajo-based environmental group.

The coalition intends to file a separate request by Friday asking U.S. District Judge Martha Vazquez to block the hunt, lawyer David Gomez of the Western Environmental Law Center said. If that request is unsuccessful, he said the groups intend to file another request next week.

"What we have here is a willful violation of federal law by a federal agency," Gomez said.

He said the Army's approval of the hunt amounts to a federal action that requires analysis under a federal environmental law.

Malcolm Walden, spokesman for the Tootie Army Depot in Utah, which oversees the decommissioned Fort Wingate Depot near Gallup, said Monday that Lt. Col. Mark R. Henschel and other officials decided the hunt did not require a federal study.

John Crenshaw, spokesman for the game department, said

Wednesday the department on the scheduled hunts as a state action. Accordingly, he said the department believes it's exempt from a federal environmental study.

About noon Wednesday, Diné Care's Tsosie and others went from the news conference to join a protest outside the state Department of Game and Fish headquarters on Gallatin Street. About 50 people carried signs and listened to speakers denounce the hunt.

From there, the protesters walked to Gov. Gary Johnson's office in the Roundhouse, where many sat on the floor waiting for someone to speak with them.

Just after 1 p.m., Gallegos called the group into the Cabins Room to discuss the issue.

Elizabeth Jennings, executive director of Sangre de Cristo Animal Protection Inc., told Gallegos that she viewed it as an outrage that the state would establish a sport-hunting season on buffalo when the animals are sacred to Indians.

Crenshaw, spokesman for the game department, attended the meeting and told people there that hunters in the state paid to bring the Fort Wingate buffalo herd to New Mexico in the 1960 through their license fees and have paid since then to maintain the animals.

He said the game department has considered getting rid of the 60-animal herd altogether.

Gallegos said he intended to contact Bill Brimintool, chairman of the state Game Commission, and discuss with him and other officials the possibility of considering other options.

While Gallegos said he would do his best to set up a meeting, he emphasized he wasn't able to make any commitment from the Governor's Office to delay the hunt.

The Associated Press contributed to this article.

preparing for a "March Against Vivisection" in Dallas for Lab Week, bringing the animal research issue to the front lines.

RESOURCES: ALT is working on building a network with other Texas organizations to coordinate our efforts for a maximum effect. ALT encourages all Texas and boarding states organizations to join our efforts in fighting against animal suffering. ALT has available for distribution, information that helped us obtain victories on such campaigns as: promoting alternatives to Avitrol bird poison, banning pigeon shoots and an extensive file on the Animal Damage Control.



ANIMAL RIGHTS AMERICA

P.O. Box 469, Caldwell, NJ 07006
Voice: (973) 228-7632 • Fax: (973) 403-8440
E-mail: ara@superlink.net
Contact: Anne Crimando

RESOURCES: We are a federation of grassroots animal liberationists. We have sample ordinances on banning animal circuses or banning the sale of fur as well as handouts on how to incorporate, apply for non-profit status, fundraising, civil disobedience, defending yourself in court, conflict resolution and more. Let us know how we can help you.

ANIMAL RIGHTS HAWAII

P.O. Box 10845, Honolulu, HI 96816
Voice: (808) 941-9476 • Fax: (808) 944-2545
E-mail: arh@pixi.com
On the Web: www.animalrightshawaii.org

UPDATE: ARH continues to fight animal abuse in Hawaii. We sponsored anti-fur TV spots on local stations during the holidays; we are involved in a lengthy investigation of the meat industry; we are fighting the use of neck snares which strangle animals in the forests of our islands (and which are used by the federal government, the state DLNR and the Nature Conservancy); we opposed aerial murders of Mouflon Sheep by the state DLNR; we are STILL trying to save the last remaining animals at the notorious Moloka'i Ranch; we have publicized the disgraceful actions of the Honolulu Zoo, which has sent 84 unwanted animals to unscrupulous dealers and into vivisection laboratories; from January through April, we monitor our legislature for bills which affect animals - and we again introduced a bill which would ban circuses from coming to Hawaii with Elephants.



COALITION TO ABOLISH THE FUR TRADE National HQ

P.O. Box 822411, Dallas, TX 75382
Voice: (214) 503-1419 • Fax: (214) 553-8758
E-mail: CAFT13@aol.com
On the Web: www.banfur.com
Contact: J.P. Goodwin

UPDATE: CAFT recently won a major campaign that shut down the largest leghold trap

manufacturing line in the world. Now we are continuing in our efforts to get fur out of the major department stores in North America. We have been present at all major fur industry gatherings in the past few months, and have generated massive media each time.

We have also formed an alliance with Last Chance for Animals. This new alliance will be very well funded and will initiate strong campaigns to stop the sale of fur in the United States.

RESOURCES: CAFT is an information clearinghouse on anything related to the fur industry or fur-bearing animals. We have all of the most recent information on the fur industry and want to share this knowledge with the rest of the movement. We help groups plan strategic campaigns, designed for maximum impact, and can help groups develop into an effective force. No other organization in the country has as much background information on the infrastructure of the fur industry. With this knowledge we can help you put together the best campaign possible for your area. Please get in touch so that we can help you organize for the animals.

CAFT - CONNECTICUT

P.O. Box 3681, Milford, CT 06460
Hotline: (800) 691-9775 • Fax: (203) 934-0731
E-mail: furhuts@yahoo.com
On the Web: www.banfur.com/ct

UPDATE: CAFT Connecticut is continuing in our campaign against Macy's East. We plan on resuming weekly protests at the four Macy's locations in the state on almost every Saturday. In addition, we will be adding in a local fur store campaign.

Check out CAFT CT's new website at www.banfur.com/ct for weekly events and information.

CAFT - PHILADELPHIA

P.O. Box 22310, Philadelphia, PA 19110
Hotline: (888) 341-6587

UPDATE: After a decision to drop the group name Vegan Resistance for Liberation (VRL) we have been focusing our activism on the Philadelphia fur industry. Although CAFT has been in existence for three years, an increase in anti-fur activity was desperately needed to give the final blow to the fur trade.

One of the biggest, long going campaigns is the Jacques Ferber Furs campaign. CAFT has held protests there for nearly three years and as of August '98 CAFT has held regularly scheduled protests every Saturday. Jacques Ferber Furs has obtained restraining orders against CAFT activists and had activists arrested numerous times. Their efforts to stop CAFT have failed. The week before Xmas, CAFT held a week long demonstration at Jacques Ferber Furs. Activists were in front of their store every minute they were open for the entire week.

While we have been busy with Jacques Ferber Furs we have not forgotten the importance of getting fur out of department stores. During the Xmas shopping season several in-store disruptions were conducted at Bloomingdale's and Macy's. Various demonstrations are planned for Neiman Marcus and Macy's in the near future.

CAFT - SAN DIEGO

P.O. Box 86390, San Diego, CA 92138-6390
E-mail: CAFT-SanDiego@goplay.com
On the Web: <http://people.goplay.com/CAFT-SanDiego>

UPDATE: CAFT has been busy with the fur wars here with the main targets being Neiman Marcus and Saks Fifth Avenue. After a disruptive protest at Neimans on FFF resulting in 12 arrests, the mall which houses Neimans and Saks has filed suit against San Diego activists and other

organizations including Compassion Over Killing, Last Chance for Animals, In Defense of Animals, and Animal Defense League. Activists have responded by filing a countersuit and initiating a major boycott of the mall. CAFT San Diego will not be intimidated by the mall's legal efforts to kill our free speech. This is only the beginning.



COMPASSION OVER KILLING

P.O. Box 9773, Washington, D.C. 20016
Voice: 202-986-5599 • Fax: 202-986-3593
E-mail: phshapiro@erols.com

Web Sites: www.cok-online.org; www.neimans.org;
www.boycottmacys.com
Contact: Paul Shapiro

UPDATE: Since the last issue of *No Compromise*, COK has focused almost primarily on our efforts to convince Neiman Marcus to go fur-free. Dozens of protests have been held, including one with more than 200 activists! Several COK activists have engaged in sit-ins at the store, blocking the doors with banners reading: "NEIMANS KILLS ANIMALS," "FUR IS MURDER," and "BOYCOTT NEIMAN CARCASS."

COK activists have locked themselves with chains inside the main entrance, and, most recently, COK activists have locked themselves together with lockboxes in the middle of the fur department, thereby closing the entire department for nearly three hours. In all, there have been 16 COK arrests at Neiman Marcus since January 1998.

RESOURCES: Free copies of COK's newsletter *The Abolitionist* are available. COK also has a variety of literature, videos, and t-shirts available for sale or distribution. Please check out www.cok-online.org for more information.

ILLINOIS ANIMAL ACTION

P.O. Box 507, Warrenville, IL 60555
Voice: (630) 393-2935 • Fax: (630) 393-2941
E-mail: iaa@igc.org
On the Web: www.iaa-online.org
Contact: Debbie Leahy



JUSTICE THROUGH INSURRECTION BY HUMANS FOR ANIMAL DEFENSE

P.O. Box 9827, Anaheim, CA 92812-7827
Voice: (714) 324-3218
E-mail: j.i.h.a.d.@innocent.com
On the Web: members.xoom.com/ar_jihad/

LIBERATION COLLECTIVE

P.O. Box 9055, Portland, OR 97207
Office: 2 NW Third Avenue, Portland, OR
Phone/Fax: (503) 525-4975
E-mail: libcoll@aracnet.com
On the Web: www.enviroweb.org/njara
Contact: Craig Rosebraugh

NEW JERSEY ANIMAL RIGHTS ALLIANCE

P.O. Box 174, Englishtown, NJ
Voice: (732) 446-6808 • Fax: (732) 446-0227
E-mail: njara@superlink.net
On the Web: www.enviroweb.org/njara
Contacts: Angi Metler, Janine Motta, Terry Fritzes

MOTTO: "No one can do everything, but everyone can do something." ACTIVISM WORKS!

UPDATE: If you are interested in getting involved, networking with us or learning more about our campaigns listed below, pick up the phone or e-mail us NOW.

Black Bear Legislative Campaign, working on stopping hunts, keeping a watchful eye on Fish and Game; discrediting vivisection; anti-fur activities: concentrating on Federated Dept. stores; promoting veganism; stopping the exploitation of animals in circuses, zoos, etc. Networks with ARA to distribute NC globally and nationally; tabling throughout NJ to educate; 100% supportive of the ALF and CDs.

NJARA is a member of the Animal Rights America federation of grassroots groups.

NORTHWEST ANIMAL RIGHTS NETWORK

1704 East Galer St., Seattle WA 98112
Voice: (206) 323-7301
E-mail: narn@jps.net
On the Web: www.jps.net/narn

UPDATE: NARN is a Seattle, Washington based grassroots group fighting for animals through activism and advocacy since the mid 1980's. We do well over 40 protests and 40+ animal rights/vegan outreach tables a year.

NARN has been focusing its attention on the bloody fur trade by targeting a local retail store, Helen's, of Course (Corpse), who has rented out a section of the store to a local fur dealer. NARN has been working on the campaign for 3 1/2 months, drawing 15-45 activists to each demonstration. After a successful effigy burning and various other tactics, we have gained a lot of public support, leaving Helen's with virtually no customers. The month of January found the dealer "on vacation", with an empty showroom. We are uncertain as to when he will return. NARN also joined in on the anti-fur TV ad campaign, being the only city in the country able to run the full unedited version.

NORTH AMERICAN A.L.F. PRESS OFFICE

P.O. Box 3665, Minneapolis, MN 55403-3665
E-mail: naalfpo@tao.ca

NORTH AMERICAN A.L.F. SUPPORTERS GROUP

Box 69597, 5845 Yonge St., Willowdale
Ontario, M2M 4K3 Canada
E-mail: naalfsg@envirolink.org

OSU VEGETARIAN RESOURCE NETWORK

c/o Student Involvement, Oregon State University
149 Memorial Union East, Corvallis, OR 97331
Voice: (541) 753-2631 • Fax: (541) 737-7504
E-mail: veggies@mail.orst.edu
Contact: Ang Trenga

UPDATE: VRN is currently working on several campaigns at Oregon State University. Most recently, VRN has been working to end the Small Animal Surgery course offered through the College of Veterinary Medicine which kills approximately 75 healthy dogs and cats each year. VRN has brought a great deal of publicity to this lab including coordinating a protest, a candlelight vigil, and a public forum, which the dean of Vet. Med. agreed to after five individuals locked down inside the Lab Animal Resource Center where the animals were kept caged. Despite the public forum, in which ample evidence for alternatives was presented, the Dean has yet to make a commitment to end this course.

Each year the OSU College of Agriculture hosts a massive event called "Ag Day," in which the Agriculture Department displays calves, chicks, and other baby animals destined to be slaughtered. Coincidentally, VRN hosts Animal

In the Trenches: Grassroots Animal Liberation Organizations

No Compromise's policy for inclusion is that groups listed in our "In the Trenches" directory must be grassroots, abolitionist organizations. Groups must be pro-direct action/ A.L.F., must not denounce other groups fighting for animal liberation and must not have snitches working within their ranks. To be listed in this directory, please send an e-mail with your organization's contact information to nc-trenches@nocompromise.org.

Animal Activists of Alachua

300-25 J. Wayne Reitz Union
P.O. Box 118505
Gainesville, FL 32611-8505
Office Phone: 352-264-9805
Mobile Phone: 352-317-5280
E-mail: fgomez@animalactivists.org
Website: www.animalactivists.org

Animal Commandos

Website: www.LCA-Arizona.org
www.peacework.com
www.AnimalCommandos.org
Contact: Shaynie Aero
shaynie_aero@yahoo.com
Joe First: mediattack@lycos.com

Animal Defense League Amsterdam
E-mail: adl_amsterdam@yahoo.com
Website: www.adl-nl.org

Animal Defense League Chicago

P.O. Box 10022
Chicago, IL 60610
E-mail: adlchicago@yahoo.com

Animal Rights Hawaii

Honolulu, HI 96816
Phone: 808-941-9476
Email: arh@pixi.com

Animal Watch Aotearoa

PO Box 5067
Dunedin
New Zealand
Phone: 027 415 1739
E-mail: animalwatch@paradise.net.nz

Compassion Over Killing

P.O. Box 9773
Washington D.C. 20016
Phone: 301-891-2458
E-mail: info@cok.net
Website: www.cok.net, www.vegdc.com,
www.tryveg.com, www.eggscam.com

East Bay Animal Advocates

710 Shady Glen
Martinez, CA 94553
Phone Number: 925-487-4419
E-mail: info@eastbayanimaladvocates.org
Website: www.eastbayanimaladvocates.org
Contact Person: Christine Morrissey

Freedom for Animals

3001 Bridgeway Blvd. 202
Sausalito, CA 94965
Phone: 415-756-4233
E-mail: info@freedom4animals.org
Website: www.freedom4animals.org

In Defense of Animals - Silicon Valley

500 W. Middlefield Rd. # 178
Mnt. View, CA 94043
Phone: 650-965-8705
E-mail: bkind2animals@comcast.net
Contact: Alfred Kuba

In Solidarity with Animals

PO Box 980751
Houston, TX 77098-0751
Phone: 713-858-0074
E-mail: AnimalSolidarity@aol.com
Website: www.solidaritywithanimals.com

Mercy For Animals

P.O. Box 363
Columbus, Ohio 43216
Phone: 937-652-8258
E-mail: Info@mercyforanimals.org
Website: www.mercyforanimals.org

www.eggscruelty.com, www.vegohio.com
www.Rodeoabuse.com

Northwest Animal Rights Network (NARN)

1704 East Galer St.
Seattle, WA 98112
Phone: 206-250-7301
E-mail: info@narn.org
Website: www.narn.org

Portland Citizens for the Closure of HLS

E-mail: animallibpdx@lists.riseup.net

SHAC Germany

Postfach 60 07 35
D-81207 Mnchen (Munich)
E-mail: info@shacgermany.net
Website: www.shacgermany.net

SHAC UK

6 Boat Lane
Evesham
Worcestershire
WR11 4BP
Phone: 0845-458-0630
E-mail: info@shac.net
Website: www.shac.net

Activist Resources

BOOKS

Free The Animals, Ingrid Newkirk
Earth First Direct Action Manual
Ecodefense, Dave Foreman & Bill Haywood
Earth Force, Paul Watson
War At Home, Brian Glick
Agents of Repression, Ward Churchill and J. Vander Wall
Animal Liberation, Peter Singer
Vegan: The New Ethics of Eating, Erik Marcus
Becoming Vegan, Vesanto, R.D. Melina, Brenda Davis
Being Vegan, Joanne Stepaniak
Vegan Handbook, Debra Wasserman and Reed Mangels
Animal Ingredients A to Z
An Unnatural Order, Jim Mason
The Dreaded Comparison, Marjorie Spiegel
The Sexual Politics of Meat, Carol Adams
The New Farm Vegetarian Cookbook

DIRECT ACTION BOOKLETS

The Final Nail #2
Memories of Freedom
Against All Odds
Keep Fighting: Three Interviews with Britain's ALF Press Officers
Animal Liberation Primer

RESOURCE GROUPS

STOP HUNTINGDON ANIMAL CRUELTY (USA & UK) - Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty is leading the campaign to shut down Huntingdon Life Sciences. Literature, posters, videos, t-shirts and other campaign material available. In the U.S.: PO Box 22398, Philadelphia, PA 19110, Phone: (732) 545-7560, E-mail: shacusa@envirolink.org, Website: www.shacamerica.net; In the UK: 6 Boat Lane, Evesham, Worcestershire, WR11 4BP, Phone: 0845-458-0603, E-mail: info@shac.net, URL: www.shac.net

VIVA! USA - Viva! has great resources on factory farming, veganism and other animal issues. Vegan Basics - Guide for New & Aspiring Vegans is now available! Other resources include guides highlighting the environmental impact of a meat-based diet and the nutritional advantages of a vegan lifestyle, plus videos, posters and other materials; P.O. Box 4398, Davis, CA 95617, Phone: (530) 759-8482, E-mail: info@vivausa.org, URL: www.vivausa.org

ANIMAL RIGHTS AMERICA- ARA

maintains a directory of grassroots animal rights groups; PMB 274, 15 Starrett Dr, Belfast, ME 04915, E-mail: ara100@adelphia.net

THE FUND FOR ANIMALS - Neiman

Marcus Flyers, hunting factsheets, articles and videos, etc.; 8121 Georgia Ave. Ste. 301, Silver Spring, MD 20910, Phone: (301) 585-2591, Fax: (301) 585-2595

PEOPLE FOR THE ETHICAL TREATMENT OF ANIMALS - free posters, leaflets,

and stickers focused on veganism, fur, leather, vivisection, rodeos, circuses, and a free guide for grassroots activism with tips for starting a group, organizing, and more. They have graphic stickers (one sticker shows a skinned cow's head) and cards to promote vegetarianism and oppose fur or leather that you can carry in your pocket. Their new KFC leaflets, stickers, and posters show a psycho Colonel Sanders torturing a chicken and the KFCcruelty.com Web site. Web sites: www.PETA.org, www.GoVeg.com. E-mail: MeganH@peta.org; 501 Front St., Norfolk, VA 23510, Phone: (757) 622-7382.

PHYSICIANS COMMITTEE FOR RESPONSIBLE MEDICINE - Nutrition and anti-vivisection info, a "Guide to Cruelty-Free Giving", etc.; 5100 Wisconsin Ave., Suite 404, Washington, DC, 20016 Phone: (202) 686-2210, x300, Fax: (202) 686-2216, E-mail: pcrm@pcrm.org, URL: www.pcrm.org

PUBLICATIONS

Bite Back - 222 Lakeview Ave, Ste. 160-231, West Palm Beach, FL 33401, E-mail: biteback@directaction.info, URL: www.DirectAction.info

EF! Journal - PO Box 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702, Phone: (520) 620-6900, Fax: (413) 254 0057
URL: www.earthfirstjournal.org

For a list of useful website links, check out the Resources section of the No Compromise website: www.nocompromise.org

not because of loyalty to the beliefs, but to avoid the repression by the supporters of those beliefs. This explains why such hostility might flourish within a struggle.

However, this leadership style results in "drone-ism" and "zombie-ism"--meaning the followers are encouraged to conform and accept orders without thinking. Another danger of this system is that if the logic and reasoning of the hostile group is faulty, there are few followers who will be willing to risk punishment to point out the faults, so they may be addressed. Furthermore, orders that might harm the movement and the activists obeying them are more likely to be followed without question.

But besides drone-ism, and the possibility of misleading the movement, a bitter and hateful environment also results in the variety of problems listed above that could drive a struggle to the brink of disaster. Unfortunately, such hostility can flourish because it is easy, self-serving, and requires no self-discipline.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY AS ACTIVISTS

It is time that we face reality. If there are any hateful and destructive values within our struggle, it is only because we allow them to be here. This is our movement. The way it operates--or does not operate--is our total responsibility. If we don't like what we see, it is our responsibility to fix it. Too often, those activists who work in a hostile environment allow their assumptions about other activists to intimidate and disempower them into not taking action to improve our movement. Meanwhile things worsen, and the cancer of hatred and intolerance continues to spread.

If we allow hostile actions to remain unchallenged, it tells people both within and outside of our ranks that such behavior meets our movement's approval. It is a reflection on all of us. We must confront this cancer of inter-movement hostility before it spreads and kills our struggle.

OUR VISION

We have discussed a lot about what is harmful to the movement. So now we paint a picture of the movement we seek.

We must seek a nonjudgmental, respectful environment among activists that will foster the tolerance needed for a creative movement where people are not afraid to speak their opinion, ask questions, make mistakes, and suggest new ways of doing things. Diversity of thought and tolerance for that diversity is important if we hope to grow as a movement and become the strongest possible force for liberation. A respectful and supportive environment where people can agree-to-disagree is crucial if we hope to build solidarity, trust, and unity within the movement. Such a warm and respectful environment also makes our movement more attractive to its current organizers and potential new activists--aiding our recruitment efforts. Criticism, when needed, should be done out of a sincere interest and desire to help the criticized. It should never be done out of hatred and anger, or as an attempt to upstage them, or in an effort to destroy their self-worth. We must seek to be nurturers of each other--not destroyers.

THE PLEDGE

To help create this vision, the Animal Liberation League has created a pledge detailing the rights and responsibilities of activists. Because hostility can only thrive among a disempowered and fearful movement, we list the rights of activists to assert their authority to think for themselves and act in accordance with their conscience.

The Activists' Bill of Rights and Responsibilities

Activists' Bill of Rights

All activists have a right to:

1. Think for themselves, respectfully express their opinions, make their own decisions, and follow their own conscience.
2. Respectfully disagree with the ideas or behavior of fellow activists.
3. Make honest mistakes.
4. Be treated with respect and dignity as an animal.
5. Ask questions.
6. Be creative.
7. Respectfully refuse the advice and assistance of other activists.
8. Refuse to work with activists who psychologically, mentally, or physically hurt and injure them or violate their rights or those of their comrades.
9. Politely assert their rights to those activists who are violating or trying to violate them.

Activists' Responsibilities

As an activist who seeks to establish the "Activists' Bill of Rights," I recognize that I must strive to respect other activists' rights by upholding the following responsibilities:

1. **Recognize Other's Rights.** I will respect the rights of other activists to think for themselves, disagree with me, make honest mistakes, ask questions, be creative, refuse my help and assistance, refuse to work with me, assert their rights, and be given the dignity they deserve as animals. I recognize that these rights extend not only to my friends, but also to those activists who I dislike and who are hostile to me.
2. **Foster Selflessness** I recognize that selfishness, and misplaced priorities cause most of the hostility between activists. I will strive to place the issue of animal rights first, and my selfish desires second. This does not mean I will be subservient to the demands of hostile activists, but that I will return their hostility with compassion, while reasserting my own beliefs, for the benefit of a strong movement and the animals.
3. **Be Honest and Reliable.** I will be honest and truthful with all activists. I will not distort the facts or try to deny responsibility for my mistakes. I will be reliable. If I make a commitment to other activists, or members of my affinity group, I will follow through with that commitment, unless they agree to absolve me of the commitment because of unexpected events.
4. **Develop Inner Strength.** I will develop the inner strength, courage, and discipline to respect other's rights, respectfully stand up to hostile people, not get angered by their attacks, remain courteous with those I disagree with, share my opinions, assert my rights with hostile activists, admit my mistakes, and ask questions when I don't understand--even though I might suffer personal attacks and condemnation for doing so.

5. Respect Everyone. I will respect cultural and religious diversity within the movement, and challenge the speciesism, sexism, racism, heterosexism and ageism within myself and others. All animals have inherent worth and dignity, and I will strive to understand and apply this principle by offering goodwill and respect to all activists--especially those I dislike or disagree with. I recognize that none of us were born with the political awareness we hold today. I will be understanding of activists who are at different levels of awareness and recognize that someone is most willing to change their ways based on a respectful discussion that presents facts without passing judgement. To those who verbally attack or condemn me, I will not retaliate with hostility, but rather respect.

• **Disagreements:** Diversity of thought and opinion exist within our movement, and these differences are healthy and important for its growth and adaptability. When engaged in conversations with those who disagree with me, I will communicate with them in an open, honest, respectful and courteous manner, regardless of the hostility they might direct at me. If we are unable to reach an agreement or understanding through dialogue, I will have the good sense to agree to disagree with them and end the conversation.

• **Reprimanding others:** People sometimes make mistakes or need guidance. When reprimanding or constructively criticizing others, I will do so with a sincere desire to help them grow as a person and activist. My criticism will be supportive and nurturing--not hostile. I will not condemn them as a person, but rebuke their behavior while recognizing their importance and self-worth as an individual. I will not engage in hostile name calling or personal attacks. These actions are motivated with the intent to hurt the individual or bolster the attacker's ego.

• **Assumptions:** Because most rumors begin from damaging and erroneous assumptions about others, I will not assume the worst about people. Instead, until I can respectfully confront the activist about their questionable behavior, I will give them the benefit of the doubt that their behavior is motivated from the purest of intentions and has a reasonable explanation.

6. Encourage Others. I will teach respect by setting a good example. I will also encourage others to respect each others rights, defend and support those activists who are personally attacked, and nurture all activists into becoming respectful, disciplined activists who have the power to help achieve animal liberation. If however, activists continually violate activists' rights and make no attempt to change their behavior despite polite rebukes, I recognize my right to not work with them.

7. Review My Rights and Responsibilities. In my attempts to follow the above-listed responsibilities, I will review them on a weekly basis so that I keep these concepts fresh in my mind and can work on actively applying these principles in my daily life.

I have read the above rights and responsibilities of activists, and I pledge to foster the self-discipline and inner strength needed to follow the above responsibilities and respect my rights and those of other activists. I take this action voluntarily because I sincerely believe in its importance for the sustainability and betterment of the movement.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I will review this document every _____ (Put a day of the week here).

However, follow-up responsibilities are needed to ensure that we do not abuse our rights by hurting the rights of others. ALL encourages those people who read and agree with the pledge to sign it, commit to the creation of a respectful movement, and set a good example for others to follow. Signing the pledge is a completely personal decision, and, therefore, entirely voluntary. It is boxed on the side.

If you signed the pledge, please fill out this form and mail it to the Animal Liberation League so we can measure the success of this campaign, and add you to our mailing list. Thank you!

Name: _____ E-mail: _____

Address: _____ City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Phone number: (_____) _____ Tax deductible donation: _____

Send completed form to: ALL, PO Box 7245, Minneapolis, MN 55407

Direct Action News From North America

News Briefs

EUGENE, OR — Two people were arrested for spray painting "Meat is Murder" at McDonalds on June 2nd. The arrestees, Alex Castle and Dylan Barr, were charged with felony Criminal Mischief and agreed to pay \$400 restitution and do 40 hours of community service.

SACRAMENTO, CA — Ringling Bros. circus led an illegal, covert surveillance operation against the Performing Animal Welfare Society (PAWS), planting "volunteers" to gather confidential information in an attempt to discredit the organization, a federal lawsuit charges. The suit, which PAWS filed in U.S. District Court on June 8th, alleges that Feld Entertainment, Inc., Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey Combined Shows and operatives spied on and stole documents belonging to PAWS, a nonprofit animal sanctuary. It accuses the groups of hiring people who, beginning in 1989, infiltrated PAWS and gathered files, personnel records, donor lists and other information in an attempt to taint its public image, harm its ability to raise money and drive it out of existence "in order to benefit defendants and their business of using animals in live circus performances."

SAN FRANCISCO, CA — On June 9th a federal appeals court overturned the ruling that allowed Washington State's Makah Indians to resume whaling. The Makah, claiming whaling rights under an 1855 treaty, hunted and killed a young gray whale in 1999.

SECAUCUS, NJ — The state Supreme Court ruled on June 14th that shopping mall owners may not impose unreasonable restrictions on grassroots political groups seeking to hand out leaflets or collect signatures. The unanimous decision came four years after the court declared that malls were the new town squares and could not ban groups from distributing literature. Activists raised the ruling as a victory for free speech.

SACRAMENTO, CA — It was reported on June 14th that a million dollar civil rights lawsuit has been filed in federal court against the University of California, the chief of a primate research lab and the UC Davis chancellor and police. The 13-count lawsuit, filed in U.S. District Court, is the second in two years lodged against UC for beating and falsely arresting animal rights demonstrators.

EUGENE, OR — On June 16th two anarchists were arrested on charges of Criminal Mischief and Arson One, suspected of an arson that had occurred that evening at a local car dealership, which resulted in \$40,000 damage. After spending five months in custody awaiting trial, Craig Marshall (AKA Criter) plead No Contest to Conspiracy to Commit Arson and Possession of an

continued on following page

A.L.F.'s Freedom Summer

continued from page 1

"We then cut into an adjacent aviary where 11 ducks were loaded into carriers and taken to a getaway vehicle.

"The main laboratory was our next target. Using a high-speed drill and 3/8" drill bit, several holes were drilled into the wall of the building. Bolt cutters were then used to cut away a 3' X 3' hole in the corrugated metal siding. Fiberglass insulation was stripped away, and an additional hole was cut into the drywall, giving us direct access into a room holding an additional 68 Bobwhite birds. These birds were held in tiny wire cages allowing no room to fly or walk. The cages were cut into and all 68 birds loaded into carriers for delivery to a getaway vehicle."

The raid featured the U.S. A.L.F.'s first use of cutting through a wall to bypass alarms and gain direct access to a building - a technique used by the A.L.F. in Europe since the 1980s.

Police responded to a motion sensor alarm at Genesis at 3:51 AM, tripped in a hallway after operatives emptied a vivarium and moved further into the lab "with the intent of liberating every last animal," according to the communiqué. "This unfortunate technical error forced us to leave behind hundreds of animals held throughout the building including additional birds, prairie dogs, squirrels, ferrets, and wild mice and rats."

The A.L.F. stated 100 of the birds housed in outdoor aviaries were released into the surrounding countryside, while the remaining 68 quail and 11 ducks were taken to a getaway vehicle and later released into a wilderness area.

Immediate effects of the raid included police patrols of stockyards and other animal exploitation sites in northern Colorado, and the hiring by Genesis of an overnight armed guard.

Curiously, nearby Fort Collins is the American epicenter of wildlife research, hosting Genesis Laboratories in a northern suburb, the headquarters of the USDA's National Wildlife Research Center, the Colorado Division of Wildlife and Foothills Wildlife Research Facility, the Colorado State University's wildlife program, an office of NIH federal fur research laboratory, Rocky Mountain Laboratories, and mink farm pharmaceutical manufacturer Wild-



caged quail days before suffering scheduled force-feeding of rat poison - rescued by the A.L.F.

life Pharmaceuticals - the target of an unsuccessful arson attack in 1997.

On September 7th—10 days later and two states east in New Hampton, Iowa—fences were cut and cages opened at Drewelow & Sons Fur Farm, allowing 14,000 mink to literally run for their lives.

Owner Earl Drewelow described the scene of waking up to 14,000 mink running wild through surrounding cornfields as his "worst nightmare."

The raid was the largest liberation of animals in North American history. The following day the A.L.F. took credit.

Received by the Press Office that day, the communiqué /see p. 31/ rebutted standard fur industry lies about mink releases and set the facts straight for a mostly unresponsive media. News coverage following the raid regurgitated lies from numerous Fur Commission USA news releases, including the improbable claim that 7000 mink had been recaptured within 36 hours.

Newspapers did reveal that the future of the farm was uncertain. One report described the farm as "wiped out." Losses were estimated at \$400,000. Additional encouraging testimony to the effectiveness of A.L.F. action came in a newspaper's follow-up on past fur farm targets. Of three farms from which animals have been released in Iowa, two - the Circle K Fur Farm in Sioux City (5000 mink and 100 fox released 10-16-97), and the Hidden Valley Fur Farm (300 fox released 8-20-98) - have since shut down.

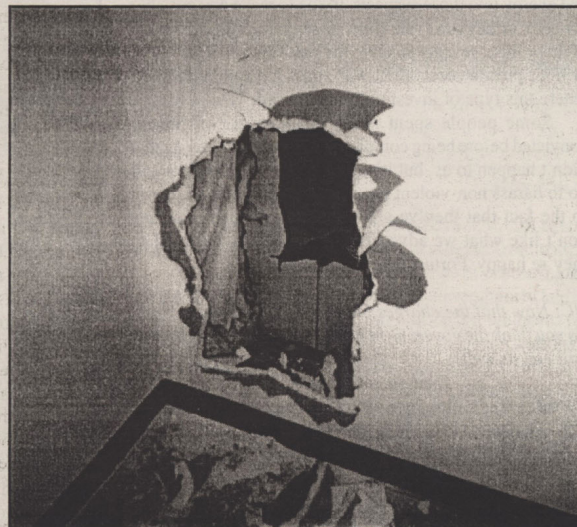
Any arrests resulting from state and federal investigations was reported "unlikely."

Two nights later, A.L.F. operatives entered a shed at Double T Farms in Glenwood, Iowa and removed 215 pigeons (by their count) slated for shipment to vivisection laboratories. Owner Ted Golka put the number at over 400 and his losses at \$10,000. Every animal was taken.

The following day the A.L.F. once again took credit for the liberation—their third in two weeks—and described the rescue: "Access was gained to the pigeon shed through an unlocked door. 63 pigeons were placed in containers and loaded into a vehicle for transport to a wilderness area out of state. We were, unfortunately, logistically unable to transport by vehicle any more than these 63 pigeons. The remaining 152 birds were loaded into tubs and manually transported through nearby fields to wooded areas a half mile in every direction and released to freedom."

Double T Farms is a known breeder of pigeons for use in experimentation through advertisements in vivisection industry publication Lab Animal magazine.

New tactics and bigger numbers - a new episode in the evolving counter offensive of the animals' last hope: the A.L.F.



the A.L.F. drilled through a wall to enter Genesis Labs



GRAND JURY NEWS

Federal grand juries convened in San Francisco and San Diego have continued to harass and imprison activists in recent months. These grand juries represent an attack on the animal and earth liberation communities and are designed to stifle dissent and intimidate and imprison activists engaged in social change.

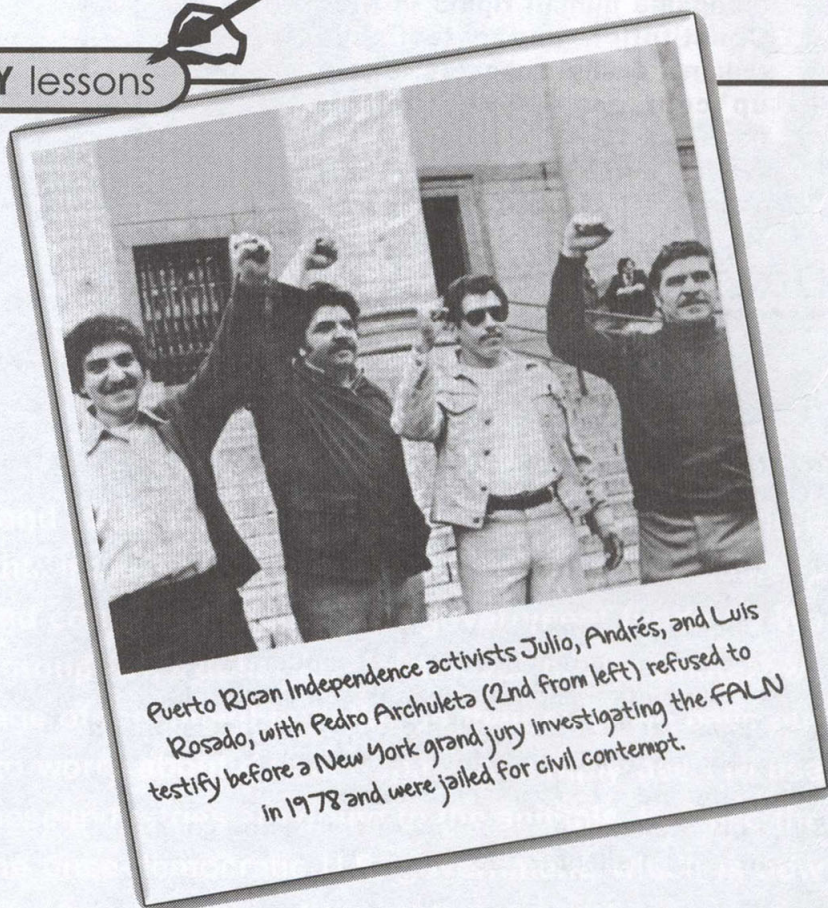
In San Diego, one of three individuals remain behind bars, after months in custody for refusing to capitulate to government intimidation by cooperating with the grand jury's questions. (At press time, Danae Kelly and David Agranoff have been released, leaving one person in custody.) The court may only hold them so long as their imprisonment has the effect of coercing testimony. Despite the fact that these individuals have made clear their refusal to cooperate with this unconstitutional process, Judge Irma Gonzalez denied their attorney's motions to have them released until recently. Furthermore, government attorneys are attempting to levy a \$25 charge against the defendants for every day that they spend locked up.

In San Francisco, eight activists called to appear before a federal grand jury investigating the animal liberation movement continue to issue legal challenges to the legitimacy of the subpoenas and to the government's use of illegal electronic surveillance. Thus far, two subpoenaed individuals have appeared before the grand jury, each asserting her Fifth Amendment privileges and refusing to answer questions. Excused from the proceedings, at least one of these individuals was later resubpoenaed to appear with immunity. The fate of the remaining seven remains to be seen, as they continue their fight against this bankrupt process, regardless of how many weeks or months they face behind bars.

U.S. attorneys seem intent on jailing these grand jury resisters and have already begun making arrangements for contempt hearings. David Deitch, a Washington, D.C.-based Justice Department attorney has been flown in to argue the government's case in the San Francisco courts. Deitch has been involved in high-profile cases, such as the prosecution of a 34-year-old student whom the government indicted on charges of providing material support to terrorists, based on the fact that he helped design a website containing lectures and edicts from radical Muslim clerics.

A second grand jury operating out of San Francisco has been targeting black liberation activists from the movements of the 60s and 70s. This grand jury claims to be investigating crimes that occurred over 30 years ago, and it has targeted individuals upwards of 70 years old. This grand jury has already imprisoned three of these individuals after they refused to cooperate. The chilling effect of these grand juries is clear. In San Francisco alone, as many as twenty people may be locked up in the coming months for resisting these two political witch hunts. Up-to-date information on all of these cases can be found at www.fbiwitchhunt.com.

HISTORY lessons



Puerto Rican Independence activists Julio, Andrés, and Luis Rosado, with Pedro Archuleta (2nd from left) refused to testify before a New York grand jury investigating the FALN in 1978 and were jailed for civil contempt.

OTTAWA, CANADA (9/20) — A 1000-person national survey conducted by Environics Research for the International Fund for Animal Welfare shows that 69% of Canadians holding an opinion are opposed to Canada's commercial seal hunt. Only 4% of respondents stated that they would be upset if the hunt were ended.

SEATTLE, WASH. (9/20) — The FBI and a building industry group say they will begin offering \$100,000 rewards for information leading to the arrest and conviction of "ecoterrorists." The main target of the FBI's action is the Earth Liberation Front, which has, among other things, claimed responsibility for setting fires at construction sites in housing developments.

BATONROUGE, LA (9/20) — PETA sends a letter to Louisiana's Attorney General, Charles Foti, asking that Louisiana State University officials be charged with cruelty for abandoning 8,000 animals in the university's labs in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. (9/22) — The A.L.F. claims responsibility for the detonation of Military Strength Smoke at the residence of Los Angeles Animal Services Manager Guerdon Stuckey. The A.L.F., the Animal Defense League of L.A. and other animal advocates have been campaigning against the controversial LAAS, citing it is corrupt and mismanaged.

LONDON, ENGLAND (9/23) — The High Court grants an injunction against SHAC, to protect giant courier company DHL from "harassment" by animal rights protesters. The judge ordered 40-meter "exclusion zones" around all 288 sites operated by DHL in England and Wales, where even peaceful protests will not be permitted.

Regression Table: Ln Direction Action Events

Table A.1: Bivariate OLS Regressions of Ln Direct Action Events

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Hunting	-6.355* (3.537)									
Ecotage Accounts		13.034*** (3.787)								
(Non)Violent Resistance			-11.382*** (2.942)							
Ecotage Instructions				-2.255 (3.137)						
Prisoner Support					3.686** (1.648)					
Public Protest						6.414** (2.453)				
Membership Drive							-9.080** (3.600)			
Movement Identity								-12.445*** (3.150)		
Animal Research									1.803 (3.316)	
Legal Troubles										0.892 (3.029)
Constant	3.950*** (0.307)	2.253*** (0.384)	4.748*** (0.355)	3.742*** (0.401)	3.141*** (0.218)	2.787*** (0.306)	4.523*** (0.441)	4.661*** (0.328)	3.324*** (0.333)	3.384*** (0.369)
Observations	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
MSE	0.699	0.544	0.504	0.768	0.661	0.625	0.634	0.496	0.774	0.78
R ²	0.107	0.305	0.357	0.019	0.156	0.202	0.191	0.366	0.011	0.003
Adjusted R ²	0.074	0.279	0.333	-0.018	0.125	0.172	0.161	0.343	-0.026	-0.034

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

STM Topic Number Comparisons

Our primary analysis employed a 10-topic STM. As discussed earlier, our choice of a 10-topic STM was largely shaped by similar analyses of social and political text, and by recommendations offered by the developers of the STM itself. However, also recall that the topic number assigned for any given STM is up to the research, and thus entails a degree of subjectivity within one’s topic modeling analysis. Because of this, and given that there is often no single correct choice of topic number for any given STM application, this section follows a similar approach to that used by Bagozzi & Berliner (2018) so as to evaluate the robustness—and defensibility—of our primary choice of ten topics as being most representative of the 30-issue NC corpus.⁵

For this evaluation, we first re-estimate our STM with topics of either $k = 5$ or $k = 15$. We continue to include issue-number as a document level covariate, and also again select a final STM model (for both $k = 5$ and $k = 15$) from a set of 50 STM models in each case.⁶ After estimating these alternative-topic STMs, we extract the corresponding top 20 FREX words for each identified topic, and qualitatively evaluate these topwords against those obtained from our main 10-topic STM. For reference, we present our original 10-topic STM topword results in Table A.2 below.

The corresponding top 20 (FREX) wordstems for our 5 and 15 topic STMs are then presented in Table A.1 and Table A.3. For these two alternative STMs, we find a high overall degree of consistency between the topics identified within our 5, 10, and 15-topic STMS. For instance, the five topics identified by our 5-topic STM (moving from topic 1 to topic 5) appear to clearly correspond to our 10-topic STM’s identified topics of *Movement Identity*, *Legal Troubles*, *Ecotage Accounts*, *Hunting*, and *Membership Drive*. Similarly, our 15-topic STM appears to also have a high correspondence to the primary 10-topic STM results, with *Hunting* (Topic 9) *Ecotage Accounts* (Topic 2), *(Non)Violent Resistance* (Topic 15), *Ecotage Instructions* (Topic 5) *Prisoner Support* (Topic 6), *Public Protest* (Topic 14), *Membership Drive* (Topic 3), *Movement Identity* (Topic 1), *Animal Research* (Topic 8) and *Legal Troubles* (Topic 12) all readily identifiable in Table A.3. Hence, our

⁵Which, as discussed earlier, is modeled using *page*-level documents.

⁶Where these 50 separate models employ different starting parameter values to estimate distinct initializations of each relevant STM, then choosing a best performing “final” STM for each k considered based on exclusivity and semantic coherence statistics.

primary topics are relatively stable with respect to topic number choice.

However, further examination of the topwords in Tables A.1 and A.3 also suggests that the use of 5, or 15, STM-topics for our 30-issue NC corpus may be less than optimal. For instance, while the five topics identified by our 5-topic STM exhibit clear correspondences to several of our 10-topic STM's topics, we also find that a number of the 5-topic model's topword vectors exhibit lower face validity. Topic 2 in Table A.1, for example, appears to correspond to *Legal Troubles* but also includes words that contradict this interpretation (such as 'gandhi,' 'monkey,' and 'hiv'). The same could be said for Topic 4 in Table A.1, whose topwords appear to conflate hunting-based discourse with information on prisoner support. At the same time, while the remaining topics identified by the 5-topic STM appear to be relatively more coherent, one can note that these Table A.1 topics nevertheless completely omit relevant thematic areas identified by similar past research efforts (e.g., Braddock 2015, Almquist & Bagozzi 2019)—including topics related to protest tactics and animal research/captivity. In light of these issues, the 5-topic STM appears to be especially suboptimal to our primary 10-topic STM.

While the 15-topic STM better approximates our 10-topic STM results, it also produces higher conceptual overlap in topics. Topics 2 and 10 in Table A.3 both appear to provide overlapping accounts of ecotage and arson related tactics, with the latter topic also including words related to international animal abuse and legal troubles (e.g., 'pamplona,' 'birmingham,' 'sentenc,' 'england-sentenc'). Given that we still find a (now third) ecotage (instructions) topic (Topic 5), and a much more coherent *Legal Troubles* topic (Topic 12) in Table A.3, it would hence appear that the 15 topic STM is now identifying an excessive number of overlapping ecotage/legal-troubles-type topics, relative to our 10-topic STM. The same could be said, to a degree, with regards to the multiple (difficult to distinguish) topics related to *Movement Identity* in Table A.3, such as Topics 1 and 13. On the other hand, it is potentially interesting to note that our 15-topic STM does not split apart fur farm-oriented animal abuse (Topic 11) from that of animal research (Topic 8). Notwithstanding this potential insight, the conceptual overlap discussed further above leads us to conclude that our primary 10-topic STM offers us the most coherent and distinct set of estimated topics for the NC

corpus.

Topic	Top 20 Words
1	think, easier, often, realli, rememb, simpli, might, gossip, talk, instanc, mind, thing, certain, risk, know, someon, answer, someth, person, feel
2	injunct, constitut, gene, terror, terrorist, tro, indict, plaintiff, hiv, juri, grand, violenc, contempt, amend, monkey, fbi, gandhi, usda, attorney, crimin
3	smash, slogan, glu, spraypaint, slash, etch, hmp, unclaim, bristol, butyr, dous, evacu, wight, recaptur, window, spong, paint, unreport, spray, fenc
4	trapper, lbe, ooe, lbc, bolivia, bullock, oow, cougar, aoc, aod, dol, ool, lhc, tbal, hid, kryptonit, faroes, ooi, pod, rider
5	adl, subscript, submiss, brochur, hawai, faxemail, fedor, cmu, postag, lindsay, paal, hotlin, marjori, seth, brooklyn, capolongo, prodirect, shayni, voicemail, aol

Figure A.1: Topwords for 5-Topic Structural Topic Model

Topic	Top 20 Words	Labels
1	trapper, whale, trap, dolphin, bolivia, lynx, hunt, land, ban, wildlif, hound, eleph, hunter, bison, foie, seal, shoot, hors, usda, bear	Hunting
2	slogan, glu, slash, etch, unclaim, butyr, spraypaint, smash, wight, paint, window, shop, spray, butcher, dbf, spong, mcdonald, truck, billboard, meat	Ecotage Accounts
3	violenc, band, nonviol, societi, achiev, violent, warrior, progress, revolutionari, reform, gandhi, resist, tactic, terrorist, abus, media, histori, true, geronimo, believ	(Non)Violent Resistance
4	cloth, sure, camera, thing, pick, leav, rememb, secur, tell, bag, type, tool, job, talk, look, know, quick, familiar, get, might	Ecotage Instructions
5	bullock, lhc, aod, lbe, tbe, hunger, tbc, oot, lockbox, chant, lhe, doi, acti, lbc, thal, riot, lime, wen, ill, ibey	Prisoner Support
6	brochur, neiman, cok, maci, boca, marcus, adl, soar, contact, student, dayton, aol, caft, outreach, literatur, tabl, chapter, rodeo, campus, arh	Public Protest
7	subscript, submiss, herein, studentlow, trench, url, directori, commentari, ingrid, interview, mangel, subtot, steer, subscrib, shadow, hayden, featur, phoneemail, donatpleas, lakeview	Membership Drive
8	cultur, improv, understand, goal, problem, audienc, fundament, often, behavior, social, oppress, solut, feel, chang, differ, gossip, obstructionist, popul, divers, acknowledg	Movement Identity
9	monkey, shed, gene, farmer, primat, genet, mice, rat, breeder, duck, pig, mink, laboratori, research, farm, cage, univers, hen, experiment, lab	Animal Research
10	subpoena, juri, fbi, grand, attorney, conspiraci, alleg, testifi, sentenc, agent, lawyer, indict, plead, judg, plaintiff, crimin, guilty, cooper, contempt, enterpris	Legal Troubles

Figure A.2: Topwords for 10-Topic Structural Topic Model

Topic	Top 20 Words
1	think, realli, feel, audienc, understand, eat, human, problem, everyth, someth, vegan, mayb, thing, listen, chang, children, thought, truli, love, moment
2	glu, slash, slogan, smash, paint, window, spraypaint, butyr, spray, shop, dbf, butcher, etch, red, billboard, meat, tire, communicu, lock, acid
3	fax, paal, web, dayton, email, contact, brooklyn, prodirect, shayni, voicemail, adl, phemail, rmad, aol, outreach, rodeo, box, americapo, seta, wcin
4	bird, vote, duck, eleph, bolivia, foie, usda, gras, hegin, pigeon, hors, senat, lynx, timber, veterinari, club, bear, usf, salmon, shoot
5	cloth, wire, bag, glove, shoe, recon, trace, plastic, drill, concret, tool, lookout, fenc, dark, garden, hole, cutter, match, camera, pick
6	lhc, doi, tbc, lbc, oow, wilb, ooi, righl, luna, aboul, lheir, lhl, manh, rigbt, hich, rrom, actiist, hunl, olf, ooc
7	subscript, submiss, hls, herein, commentari, stephen, hlss, interview, hayden, harper, shac, shadow, steer, trench, featur, renew, subscrib, compromis, strengthen, grassroot
8	monkey, primat, hiv, mice, research, univers, drug, lab, medic, vivisector, laboratori, test, experiment, quintil, rat, experi, aid, vaccin, surgic, institut
9	whale, sab, saboteur, band, bison, hound, hunt, hunter, shepherd, boat, sea, yellowston, whaler, irish, buffalo, ronni, hunger, gypsi, patrol, barri
10	wight, remand, parkhurst, arson, hmp, manokwari, pamplona, birmingham, winson, bristol, prison, possess, hvhmp, parol, conspiraci, sentenc, explos, englandsentenc, pylon, incendiari
11	mink, farmer, trapper, pelt, farm, trap, retail, skin, fur, fox, breed, trade, breeder, chinchilla, finland, wild, ranch, declin, sale, percent
12	juri, fbi, grand, attorney, subpoena, judg, lawyer, agent, testifi, amend, cooper, contempt, court, plaintiff, prosecutor, harass, indict, bail, rico, enterpris
13	person, secur, type, someon, often, know, risk, may, good, sure, inform, can, trust, make, import, potenti, talk, give, want, simpli
14	entranc, protest, chant, banner, maci, arrest, polic, block, neiman, blockad, hour, crowd, arriv, demonstr, demo, marcus, march, antifur, picket, guard
15	violenc, oppress, nonviol, reform, movement, struggl, accept, revolutionari, achiev, strategi, violent, tactic, polit, gandhi, radic, social, progress, resist, engag, fundament

Figure A.3: Topwords for 15-Topic Structural Topic Model

Hence, based upon our qualitative topword comparisons, we believe that a 10-topic STM provides us with the most defensible, and interpretable, set of topics for the NC corpus. This determination is consistent with Roberts et al. (2014), in that our choice of topic number for the STM has been guided by our theoretical understanding of the RALM, and our corresponding readings of the topwords (and classified documents) for our 5, 10, and 15-topic STMs. This evidence notwithstanding, we next briefly review and compare a series of topic-based model fit diagnostics across our 5, 10, and 15-topic STMs. Our comparisons in these regards can be interpreted as auxiliary evidence for our model (i.e., topic number) selection choices. As noted in Roberts et al. (2014), exclusivity measures how exclusive one’s topwords are to each topic based upon a word’s relative probabilities of association across topics. Semantic coherence quantifies the relative co-occurrence of our topics’ identified topwords across our corpus, thereby representing how internally consistent a topic is (Roberts et al. 2014). For the final (5, 10, and 15-topic) STMs reported above, we calculate mean and median semantic coherence and exclusivity values across all k topics. These values appear in in Table A.2 below.

Turning to Table A.2, we can first note for reference that larger positive values of either exclusivity or semantic coherence denote a more preferable model (i.e., based on distinctness or internal consistency). Thus, Table A.2 clearly suggests that with regards to (mean or median) exclusivity, our most preferred STM topic numbers are $15 > 10 > 5$. By contrast, with regards to semantic coherence, Table A.2 ranks the three topic numbers evaluated as $5 > 10 > 15$. These results indicate that there is no topic number choice that consistently outperforms the alternatives evaluated here. In this case, we contend that favoring a topic number of 10 is desirable, given that it strikes a balance between semantic coherence and exclusivity, while never being ranked in last place along either metric. While $k = 10$ also is never ranked first along exclusivity or semantic coherence, its balance across both metrics along with our substantive comparisons implemented above provide us with strong justification for favoring the 10-topic STM over the alternatives considered here. Moreover, in the next section, we provide additional LDA-based model fit assessments that further bolster our choice of 10 topics as being most representative of the NC corpus.

Table A.2: Model Fit Comparisons for $k = \{10, 15, 20\}$ STMs

Topic Number	Mean Exclusivity	Median Exclusivity	Mean Semantic Coherence	Median Semantic Coherence
5	8.41	8.40	-24.92	-25.76
10	9.07	9.08	-29.35	-29.40
15	9.35	9.42	-37.64	-33.88

LDA Models

Here we reexamine our corpus with an alternative topic modeling approach: LDA (Blei et al. 2003). Doing so allows us to evaluate the robustness of our final identified topics (and choice of topic number) to topic modeling choices and related assumptions. LDA, like the STM, is an unsupervised topic model that allows one to uncover a set of representative topics for a corpus of text. Also like the STM, LDA assumes that each document within one’s corpus contains a *mixture* of multiple topics each with a characteristic set of words. However, unlike STM, LDA does not assume that these underlying topics to be correlated with one another, and LDA does not allow for the inclusion of “structural” (document-level) covariates as predictors. LDA provides one with a representative set of topwords for each identified topic. These word vectors can be interpreted in a similar manner to those discussed for our STM, though LDA does not structurally associate these topics with (or condition the estimation of these topics upon) external covariates in the same manner as the STM. Even so, given LDA’s widespread use, and because LDA is noted for its similarities to STM (Roberts et al. 2014), we believe that examining LDA model results for our NC corpus can offer further insight into (i) the stability of our final STM topics and (ii) the credibility of our choice of 10 topics for our final STM model.

In this vein, we first estimate an LDA model on our full NC corpus with setting the number of topics, k , to be equal to 10 (i.e., to the final topic choice from our STM analysis). We do so while setting the LDA model’s α hyperparameter to the commonly assigned value of 0.1, and while employing Gibbs sampling as our estimation routine. After estimation is complete, we use

our LDA topics' posterior probabilities of word assignment to identify the most highly associated words with each LDA topic. Consistent with our primary approach, we specifically derive the most highly associated words for each topic using frequency exclusivity scoring (FREX). This ensures that our reported topwords correspond to the words that are both most frequently assigned to a given topic and most exclusive in their assignment to that topic (Roberts et al. 2014). We report these top FREX words for each of our 10 LDA-derived topics in Table A.4 below.

Topic	Top 20 Words
1	know, even, want, need, thing, think, peopl, chang, much, often, look, ever, find, differ, take, never, fact, howev, might, littl
2	judg, attorney, cop, subpoena, lawyer, juri, feloni, bail, told, grand, polic, refus, trespass, arriv, fbi, court, arrest, harass, cooper, trial
3	stephen, url, kingdom, hlss, hls, shac, sharehold, client, phoneemail, chiron, foreman, vander, ceo, norfolk, maker, sierra, reed, ccf, mangel, huntingdon
4	hiv, obstructionist, lhl, ama, gay, pole, anb, rhe, anj, flt, hac, hypothesi, mas, tur, hcr, lur, tne, cll, anq, hcir
5	usda, dolphin, lynx, whale, land, predat, trapper, hound, foie, crop, gene, iceland, failur, bolivia, european, salmon, maui, habitat, gras, usf
6	remand, hmp, wight, birmingham, suv, bristol, abattoir, parkhurst, jill, manokwari, oxfordshir, dealership, pamplona, parol, winson, explos, boot, coventri, fci, winchest
7	contact, neiman, marcus, student, maci, tour, cok, soar, literatur, coalit, campus, outreach, dayton, tabl, abolish, flyer, speaker, rodeo, caft, workshop
8	lbe, aod, doi, tbe, wbo, ooe, oot, lbc, lhe, tbc, ibey, thal, wen, bave, wilb, lhal, amd, oow, ibi, ooi
9	subscript, submiss, herein, commentari, shadow, hayden, steer, contributor, strengthen, renew, compromispo, donor, featur, studentflow, artwork, unifi, andrea, concis, zine, accur
10	window, smash, slogan, paint, glu, mink, shop, fenc, farmer, breed, spraypaint, shed, spray, batteri, farm, hen, wire, communicu, broken, slash

Figure A.4: Topwords for 10-Topic LDA Model

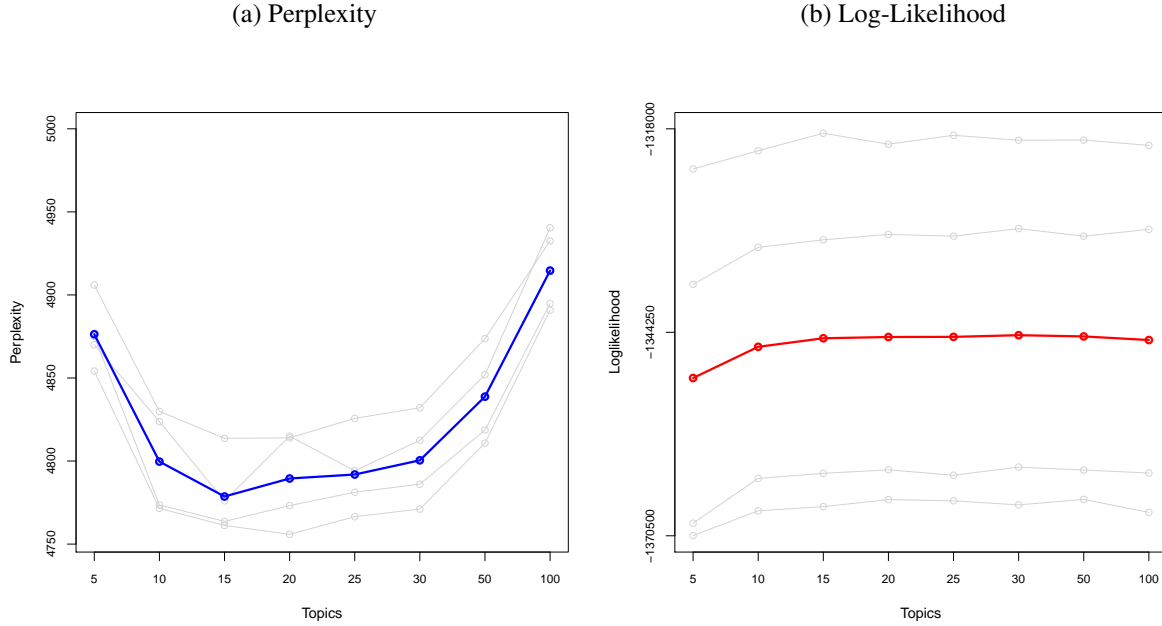
We find in Table A.4 that the top 20 (FREX) words (and corresponding topics) obtained from our 10-topic LDA model are very comparable to those identified within our primary STM analysis. For example, LDA Topic 2, with its top five words of ‘judg,’ ‘attorney,’ ‘cop,’ ‘subpoena,’ and ‘lawyer’ clearly captures the *Legal Troubles* topic identified under our STM. LDA topic 5, with topwords such as ‘usda,’ ‘trapper,’ ‘hound,’ ‘salmon’ likely corresponds to our STM’s *Hunting* topic, whereas LDA topic 10 (top five words: ‘window,’ ‘smash,’ ‘slogan,’ ‘paint,’ ‘glu’) clearly pertains to *Ecotage Accounts*. To a slightly lesser extent, Topic 1 also appears to match the more abstract discussions related to *Movement Identities*, as discussed for our STM. These similarities underscore the robustness of the topics identified within our STM analyses. At the same time, a number of the remaining LDA topics appear less coherent relative to our STM results. For instance, LDA topics 7 and 9 each appear to capture elements of the NC’s *Membership Drive* and networking efforts, with Topic 7 also appearing to capture elements (or targets) of *Public Protest*. Topics 4 and 8 are difficult to interpret altogether although some topwords herein overlap with those identified within our STM’s *Prisoner Support* topic. Topic 8, like the 15-topic STM, appears to be capturing a range of different international RALM issues. Hence, LDA identifies a similar, but less coherent, set of topwords and topics to our STM reference models.

Having established that LDA yields a relatively similar set of substantive NC topics to those identified by our STMs (especially when $k = 10$), we next estimate a wider number of LDA topics to evaluate whether LDA also similarly suggests that $k = 10$ is an optimal topic number for our NC corpus. Here we note that LDA researchers have frequently used a number of summary quantities to identify the optimal (in-sample or out-of-sample) number of latent LDA topics for a given set of documents. The most common measure for the identification of an optimal number of LDA topics is perplexity, where lower perplexity scores are more optimal (Blei et al. 2003). An LDA model’s marginal loglikelihood, which is inversely related to an LDA model’s perplexity score, is a second means of comparison for (topic number-oriented) LDA model selection routines (Grün & Hornik 2011, 28). We compare each of these LDA model fit statistics across several plausible choices of k below.

In the interest of stability, we use cross-validation to compare our LDA models' perplexity scores and marginal loglikelihoods at each k . Because our NC corpus is only of small to moderate size, we favor four-fold cross-validation, which effectively leads us to randomly divided our corpus into four folds of training and test data. For each fold of test data, the remaining documents in the NC corpus are then used as training data. At each fold, we estimated a series of LDA models where the number of topics, k , was sequentially set to $k = \{5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 50, 100\}$, and then used these “in sample” LDA models to initialize a validation LDA model using my corresponding test sample. We then used the validation LDA model results to calculate perplexity and loglikelihood measures at each k considered. These steps generate four sets of perplexity and loglikelihood measures at each k considered. These are plotted in grey Figure A.5, and the mean values of our perplexity and loglikelihood values are then calculated and overlayed in blue and red.

Similar to our STM discussions, figures A.5a-A.5b indicate that an optimal number of LDA topics for the NC corpus lies between $k = 10$ to $k = 20$. Indeed, this is the general range for k that yields the lowest and highest values for our perplexity and log-likelihood measures, respectively. In order to guard against potential overfitting, we then follow extant applications of these metrics (e.g., Barberá et al. 2014, Bagozzi 2015, Berliner et al. 2018) to identify a topic number at the lower in of this scale, i.e. $k = 10$, as the optimal topic number in this case. To this end, one can observe that the gains that one obtains in perplexity—and especially loglikelihood—from increasing k beyond $k = 10$ are marginal to non-existent, especially relative to the gains in either obtained by increasing k from 5 to 10. Thus, our LDA model fit cross-validation assessment provides a degree of secondary support for our choice of a 10-topic STM within our primary analysis.

Figure A.5: Model Selection



Additional Measures of Topical Variation

We briefly consider here the aggregate variation in topical attention across our entire 30-issue NC corpus. To do so, we use our documents' assigned probabilities of topical assignment to identify the 'highest probability topic' for each document. We then classify each document according to that topic, in an approach that follows past research (Grün & Hornik 2011, Wilkerson & Casas 2017), and plot the frequencies of documents (i.e., 'zine pages') that were classified into each topic within Figure A.6. In this case, we find fairly similar levels of attention across all topics, which is not always the case for topic models applied to corpora of social texts (e.g., Bagozzi 2015, Bagozzi & Schrodtt 2012). We can further observe in Figure A.6 that NC devotes more attention to network-ing and expanding its readership than to any other topic. Additional topics receiving high attention within NC on the whole include coverage of RALM members' *Legal Troubles*, discussions of the movement's (non)violent strategies, and *Ecotage Instructions*.

By contrast, we find relatively less attention devoted towards movement identity, to coverage of (hunting or research-based) animal abuses, and to *Ecotage Accounts*. The relatively low levels

of attention to *Ecotage Accounts* matches our own qualitative readings of these documents, where the primary treatment of *Ecotage Accounts* is generally limited to very short summaries of ecotage events within 3-4 page “Diary of Actions” sections in each NC issue—a reporting practice that shifted to online mediums within the final 2-3 years of NC’s publication. The relatively low levels of attention to discussions of *Movement Identity*—which corresponds to the least discussed topic in the corpus overall—further underscore our earlier findings. Namely, this finding suggests that wide ranging discussions of the RALM’s identity and agenda do not appear to feature prominently within the NC corpus. Rather, the majority of NC discourse centers on topics pertaining to *Ecotage Tactics*, *(Non)violent Resistance*, coverage of ongoing *Legal Troubles*, and networking efforts (via *Membership Drive*).

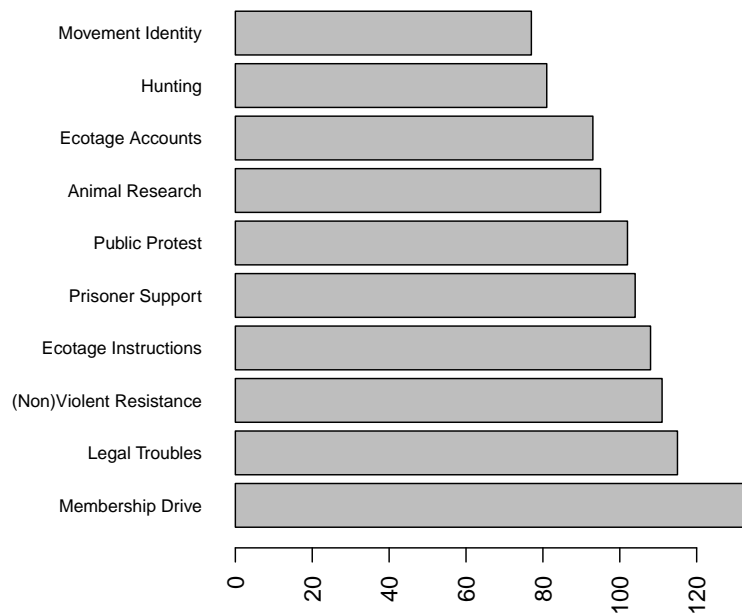


Figure A.6: Dominant Topic Frequency Across the NC Corpus

STM Analysis of 2005-2006 Period

To evaluate whether the distinctions between (i) the topics we identified in our primary analysis and (ii) those identified by Johnston & Johnston (2017) and other recent scholarship (e.g., Pellow 2014, Braddock 2015) were arising due to the different time periods of focus, this section estimates an auxiliary STM on only the NC years (and text documents) that overlap with Johnston & Johnston’s own 2005-2015 period analysis. Given the end-date of 2006 for our NC corpus, this leads to a far smaller sample size for STM analysis than that of our primary analysis, which in this case specifically corresponds only to NC issues 26-30 (and a total of 199 page-length documents). After applying the full set of preprocessing steps described above to this 2005-2006 NC subset—including sparse term removal—our fully preprocessed 2005-2006 NC corpus ultimately contained 197 page-length documents and 4,191 unique terms. With this revised corpus in hand, we then repeated our original STM analysis. Specifically, we re-estimated our 10-topic STM on this corpus by first initializing 50 STMs, each with different starting parameter values. Using these 50 initializations, we selected an optimally performing STM from the exclusivity and semantic coherence frontier. The results are presented in Figures A.7-A.8.

We begin by quantitatively comparing the themes of our latest (2005-2006) STM topics to those obtained under our original (1996-2006) STM. For these qualitative comparisons, we rely on our newly estimated STM’s top 20 FREX words (as reported in Figure A.7) and the most highly associated documents for each corresponding STM topic. In comparing these outputs to our original STM results, we find that Topic 1 in Figure A.7 exhibits notable similarities with our original STM’s *Ecotage Accounts* topic. Here, for example, we can note Topic 1’s inclusion of several topwords related to ecotage tactics and targets (e.g., ‘window,’ ‘store,’ ‘vehicle,’ ‘entranc,’ ‘fur,’ ‘farm,’ ‘maci,’ ‘target,’ and ‘blokad’) and its inclusion of additional topwords related to animal liberation-based actions (e.g., ‘mink,’ ‘cage,’ ‘rabbit’). Likewise, Topic 2 in Figure A.7 exhibits close thematic overlap with our original STM’s *Ecotage Instructions* topic, given topwords for Topic 2 such as ‘fenc,’ ‘glove,’ ‘cloth,’ ‘wear,’ ‘wire,’ ‘avoid,’ ‘hair,’ ‘cell,’ and ‘trace’.

The overlap between Topic 3 in Figure A.7 and our main STM’s topics is less evident. To

this end, we note that the most associated documents for Topic 3 frequently engage with topics of surveillance. In some cases, these discussions of surveillance pertain to RALM activists' own undercover surveillance of various animal research or veterinary facilities. This is reinforced by the topwords for this topic, which often hint at terms used to describe the digital surveillance of abusive animal practices (e.g., 'shot,' 'camera,' and 'footag'). However, other highly associated documents for this topic instead critique rising government surveillance (in the U.S. or globally).

Topic 4 in Figure A.7 is reflective of the expanding international coverage of animal abuse and related direct action events worldwide within later issues of NC. This can be seen in this topic's topwords of 'postcard,' 'arson,' 'indonesia,' 'pamplona,' 'petersburg,' 'birmingham,' and 'papua.' Many of the most highly associated documents for this topic also contain international addresses of RALM prisoners, indicating that this topic also overlaps with our earlier *Prisoner Support* topic. The fact that our 2005-2006 STM model identifies these international aspects more prominently than did our original STM is anticipated, given that NC's Diary of Actions, and related coverage, increasingly shifted from being exclusively North American in focus to being increasingly global in focus over its 30 issues of publication. In support of the findings reported by Johnston & Johnston (2017), the latter focus may suggest a 2005-2006 increase in RALM efforts to more broadly combat state power over humans, cultures, and societies (in addition to animals).

Topic 5 in Figure A.7 exhibits a degree of correspondence with our previously estimated *Membership Drive* topic, with many of the same top FREX words being shared across these two topics (e.g., 'submit,' 'herein,' and 'featur'). Based upon its most associated documents, Topic 6 in Figure A.7 closely parallels our original *(Non)Violent Resistance* topic. This can be further seen in shared topwords across these two topics of 'warrior,' 'resist,' 'believ.' However, we can also note that several other topwords in Topic 6 instead intersect with our earlier *Movement Identity* topic, and with Johnston & Johnston (2017)'s broader uncovered themes intersecting with human societies and cultures. Examples of such topwords in Figure A.7 include 'moral,' 'cultur,' 'peopl,' and 'struggl.' Next, and with topwords such as 'hunt,' 'black,' 'bear,' 'ban,' 'saboteur,' 'beagl,' 'fox,' and 'hound,' Topic 7 oftentimes mirrors our previously identified *Hunting* topic. However,

its remaining topwords (e.g., ‘court,’ ‘grand,’ ‘juri,’ and ‘coronado’) also suggest that this topic is now additionally capturing broader aspects of RALM-related *Legal Troubles*.

Like Topic 3, Topic 8 is relatively unique to our 2005-2006 STM. Based upon its topwords, Topic 8 appears to encompass advocacy or education campaigns (‘campaign,’ ‘subscript,’ ‘school,’ ‘educ,’ ‘chang,’ ‘movement,’ and ‘legisl’) related to products or foods derived from animals or animal testing (‘eat,’ ‘vegan,’ ‘huntingdon,’ ‘hls,’ and ‘industri’). The most associated documents for Topic 8 reinforce this interpretation, in that they seek to expand radical activism in Italy, to advocate for veganism more broadly, or to advocate for the targeting of veganism and vegetarian campaigns towards younger persons, specifically. Topic 9 in Figure A.7 overlaps with our earlier-identified *Animal Research* topic, as evidenced by topwords such as ‘monkey,’ ‘primat,’ ‘rat,’ ‘largest,’ ‘research,’ ‘psychology,’ and ‘iowa.’ Finally, and based upon its topwords and most highly associated documents, Topic 10 primarily encompasses RALM-oriented contact information for various North American and global groups, alongside accounts of anti-whaling efforts.

In sum, the correspondence between our 2005-2006 topics and those of our full 1996-2006 STM is very close. This suggests that the distinctions that we’ve noted between our findings and those of Johnston & Johnston (2017) are not wholly attributable to the temporal foci. In support of Johnston & Johnston’s findings, we do find continued attention to topics related to concerns for animals, humans, cultures, and societies more generally within Topic 6 of Figure A.7. The fact that this *Movement Identity*-related content is now merged with our previously identified topic of *(Non)Violent Resistance* may suggest that *Movement Identity* is an even less distinct theme in 2005-2006 as during prior years. However, another interpretation for the 2005-2006 STM’s merging of *Movement Identity* and *(Non)Violent Resistance* into a single dominant theme could be that both topics coalesced by 2005/2006 into a singular guiding identity for the RALM. This latter interpretation is supported by Topic 6’s ranking as the fourth most prominent topic within the distribution plot in Figure A.8. Likewise, newly emerged topics related to surveillance and vegan campaigns in Figure A.7 could be interpreted as intersecting more prominently with broader

concerns for humans and societies.⁷

Nevertheless, we continue to find that a majority of our top 10 STM topics for the 2005-2006 period focus on the mistreatment of animals and tactical reactions to this mistreatment. To this end, we can first note that our 2005-2006 period STM identifies at least five topics that are directly related to these themes, with one again pertaining to ecotage accounts, another again pertaining to ecotage instructions, a new topic intersecting with international ecotage accounts (and to an extent, prisoner support), and two more topics detailing animal abuse concerns in laboratory or hunting contexts. Secondly, several of the remaining 2005-2006 period STM topics focus primarily on RALM membership and dissemination efforts, or broader RALM and animal abuse-centric concerns, as opposed to broader social justice concerns. These patterns are reflected in Figure A.8, which suggests that the three most prominent STM topics for the 2005-2006 period relate to educational efforts, hunting, and ecotage accounts. As in our primary analysis, we also do not find evidence of dominant themes related to capitalism critiques, indigenous movement solidarity, or critical feminism within our 2005-2006 STM analysis. Taken together, these patterns suggest that the RALM remained focused on animal abuse, ecotage, and (non)violence concerns during the 2005-2006 period, rather than shifting its focus noticeably towards issues of human oppression, capitalism and inequality identified by Johnston & Johnston (2017).

The patterns summarized above suggest that the thematic differences between (i) our NC-specific topic model patterns and (ii) the results obtained from online sources by Johnston & Johnston (2017) are not attributable to temporal aspects alone. Future research in the RALM area should continue explore the sources of divergence between our analysis and those of Johnston & Johnston (2017). For instance, were the broader issue-foci identified within the latter analysis a function of the online forums analyzed, and the corresponding broadening of viewpoints, actors, or strategies that online mediums entail (Dimond et al. 2013, Castells 2015)? Or, is this recent broadening of the RALM's discourse more reflective of an even more recently (i.e., post-2006) changing nature of the animal rights movement itself (Marino & Mountain 2015, Vallery 1/8/2015)? We

⁷Although the most associated documents in these cases appear to be more directly centered on concern for the RALM movement itself or animal wellbeing.

look forward to future research that considers these questions, as well as to future applications of the methods discussed above to additional (radical) social movements more generally.

Topic	Top 20 Words	Labels
1	mink, fur, tur, tne, cage, window, store, crowbar, brown, entranc, knew, blockad, oper, vehicl, rabbit, lock, farm, summer, maci, target	Topic 1
2	oppress, fenc, glove, cloth, wear, wire, may, easili, leav, comput, avoid, loos, bodi, secur, etc, photo, type, hair, cell, trace	Topic 2
3	mike, got, jill, barri, shot, ask, camera, search, know, say, hunger, footag, think, wait, job, want, get, coventri, hold, short	Topic 3
4	remand, hmp, manokwari, sheridan, sergio, postcard, demmitt, arson, accus, indonesia, pamplona, petersburg, pylon, josh, usa, chris, birmingham, papua, silvestr, subtot	Topic 4
5	submiss, herein, compromis, issu, magazin, featur, john, grassroot, scare, fbi, steer, shadow, liberti, lindsay, alert, provis, inspir, intend, press, length	Topic 5
6	talk, resist, fear, realli, will, cultur, believ, warrior, struggl, peopl, thing, friend, moral, other, exampl, reason, hope, know, lie, pressur	Topic 6
7	hunt, bear, ban, saboteur, court, juri, fox, grand, hound, bill, croatia, black, judg, coronado, introduc, demonstr, cooper, kill, beagl, speech	Topic 7
8	subscript, school, enterpris, industri, campaign, compani, vegan, hls, differ, vlasak, eat, per, movement, chang, product, legisl, martosko, huntingdon, market, educ	Topic 8
9	monkey, duck, seal, fossey, silver, tho, primat, covanc, rat, bird, largest, research, iowa, babi, consum, rescu, psychologist, million, experi, aliv	Topic 9
10	director, phoneemail, reykjavik, camill, harbor, weissman, web, angi, boxenglishtown, boxmartinez, christin, emilia, jerseyemail, listserv, njaranjarahorgweb, shayni, trench, ship, whale, leagu	Topic 10

Figure A.7: Topwords for 10-Topic Structural Topic Model for 2005-2006 Sample

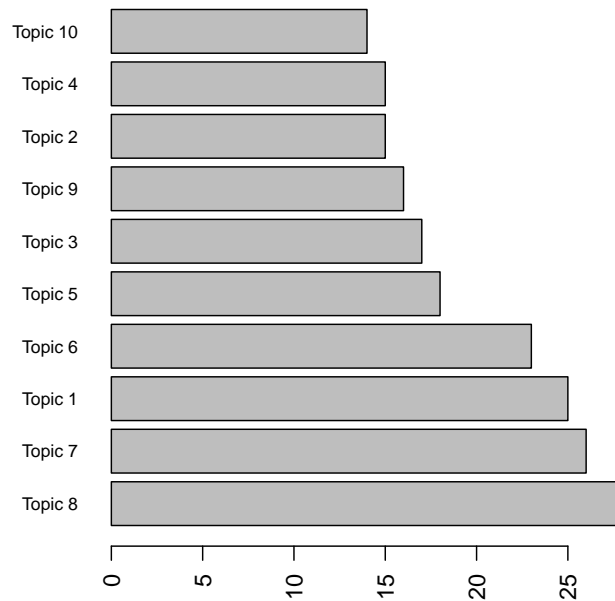


Figure A.8: Dominant Topic Frequency Across the NC Corpus for 2005-2006 Sample

Michigan Militia Corps Application

To illustrate the generalizability of our overall approach, this section applies our framework to a second radical social movement: the Michigan Militia Corps during the 1996-1999 time period. Our focus on the Michigan Militia Corps provides an interesting point of comparison to our main NC corpus and RALM findings. For one, the 1996-1999 time period of analysis for our Michigan Militia Corps corpus ensures that this second radical movement case study has temporal overlap with that of our main radical movement case of interest (the 1996-2006 RALM). Second, the Michigan Militia Corps base of operations in the U.S. also ensures at least partial geographic overlap with that of our primary RALM case. Third, the Michigan Militia Corps occupies a distinct ideological position from that of the RALM, in that it is more so aligned with far right U.S. politics rather than far left U.S. politics. Notwithstanding its distinct location on the political spectrum, the

1990s Michigan Militia Corps exhibits similarities with the North American RALM in the scrutiny that the former movement received by the U.S. government and media for its purported support of terrorist tactics. This was especially the case following the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing investigations. These aspects of distinctness and overlap enable us to make controlled comparisons of our two radical social movement corpora and text analyses thereof, while also helping to demonstrate that our proposed methods can offer insights into a broader set (and spectrum) of radical movements than was considered in our main paper.

The Michigan Militia Corps was primarily a U.S. citizen militia movement that operated in Michigan from 1994-2000 through both local branches (i.e., Brigades, which operated within region-based Divisions) and a multi-member state-wide leadership structure. Beginning in 2000, the organization largely disbanded and fractured into a smaller set of independent movements, with significantly reduced membership levels (Bradsher 4/30/2001).⁸ During its primary period of operation (i.e., 1994-2000), the Michigan Militia Corps was principally oriented around activities of paramilitary training, preparedness, and education. Its ideology was firmly rooted in the preservation of purported local and individual freedoms, with the overarching goal of restoring “the [U.S.] Federal and state governments to their historical, limited, and constitutional function,” in light of what the Militia Corps perceived as excessive government infringement on individual liberties (MMC n.d.). With regards to the latter contentions, the Michigan Militia Corps expressed at the time that “[e]very year thousands of liberty-restraining regulations and laws are put into effect, each one more limiting on the individual than the previous. We also believe that firearm ownership was placed into the Federal and our Michigan constitution for a reason, not just hunting” before going on to reemphasize their belief in freedom and governance from the “bottom up” (MMC n.d.). Yet, others have classified the Michigan Militia movement as advocating more radical beliefs and tactics, including terrorism (Ronczkowski 2007, 31), and several (alleged) movement members or associates have been linked to terrorism, white-supremacy, anti-semitism, and/or armed clashes with law enforcement officials (e.g., Desa & McCarthy 2009, Smith et al. 2006, 114)—most no-

⁸The Michigan Militia and Michigan Militia Corps have seen a state-wide resurgence in recent years, though we treat this revitalized movement as a distinct entity to the focus of the present analysis.

tably Oklahoma City bombers Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols (de la Garza & McRoberts 04/23/1995, Desa & McCarthy 2009, Covington 2010, 85).

To examine these claims in further detail, we apply our STM approach to a series of self-produced texts from the Michigan Militia. We specifically make use of an archived copy of the Michigan Militia Corps 15th Brigade, 5th Division (Kent County) web site, which was active from 1995-1999.⁹ Of note, this site contains an archived corpus of now defunct self-produced texts from the Michigan Militia Corps' actual headquarters, which were disseminated electronically as "Weekly Updates From the Headquarters of the Michigan Militia Corps." Using this archive, we have access to these Weekly Updates beginning with Volume 2, Issue 24 (March 7th, 1996) and ending with Volume 6, Issue 21 (December 21st, 1999). Several Weekly Update issues encompassed multiple weeks, whereas other weeks during this time period saw no issues due either to nonpublication or missing electronic text files, leading to a final corpus of 127 available issues. Each of these available Weekly Update issues was archived in html or txt format, and typically contains between 2-8 separate entries (i.e., multi-paragraph stories, often mirroring the length and structure of print news reports) that relay or comment on topics of interest to the Michigan Militia Corps and their anticipated readership.

We webscraped all 127 available Weekly Update issues and split individual issues at the *entry*-level for automated analysis. In this case, we do not have page breaks for our individual Weekly Update issues (or the story-entries therein), making story entry-level documents the most viable alternative. Each of our resultant entry-documents is typically several to a dozen paragraphs in length. However, note that in a very small number of cases, our resultant individual documents correspond to shorter prompts or one sentence admonishments, given the structure and formatting of some Weekly Updates. After splitting our Weekly Update sample into entry-level documents, we applied a comparable set of preprocessing steps to those used for our main RALM corpus. Specifically, we first removed all punctuation, numbers, floating letters, and stopwords. We then converted all remaining terms to lower-case and stemmed each term where applicable. Finally, we

⁹See <https://mmcw.neocities.org/>.

omitted sparse terms that did not appear in at least 1% of the entries contained in our final corpus, and restructured our final sample into a document-term-matrix for analysis. These preprocessing steps created a corpus with 700 (entry-level) documents and 3,164 unique word-stems. Our processed documents were then paired with a time-counter variable, which corresponded to each document's month of publication across the 1996-1999 period. Similar to our primary analyses, we use this time counter variable as a prevalence-based covariate in our STM analysis.

We then estimated a comparable 10-topic STM to our main paper's primary RALM model. Herein, we again address multi-modality concerns by estimating 50 10-topic STMs on our full Michigan Militia Corps corpus—each with different initialization parameters—and storing each STMs' topical exclusivity and semantic coherence metrics. We then choose a model run from these 50 models that maximizes these semantic coherence and exclusivity metrics. Using these final model-results, we again derive the top 20 wordstems that are identified as being most highly associated with each of our 10 topics according to frequency exclusivity scoring metrics (FREX). For these 10 estimated topics, we also read a sample of the documents that were most highly associated with that topic in order to more fully interpret our topics' underlying themes. Using these qualitative assessments of our STM topics' most associated documents and wordstems, we assigned labels for each of our 10 Michigan Militia Corps topics. We report these final labels for our 10 extracted topics—alongside each topic's top FREX wordstems, and the topic's reference number—in Figure A.9.

Our Michigan Militia Corps STM topics are highly coherent and reveal a number of insights about the discourse of the Michigan Militia Corps during the 1996-1999 time period. Topic 1 encompasses the relaying of news stories and summaries that seek to critique the U.S. education system in terms of (e.g.,) the literature students are exposed to, the psychological programs used within public schools, career awareness programs, and specific student assignments. Based on these observations, and topwords such as 'student,' 'school,' 'parent,' 'teacher,' and 'educ,' we accordingly label this Topic as *Education*. Our second topic contains a number of topwords related to tobacco rights and health (e.g., 'cigarett,' 'smoke,' 'smoker,' 'diseas,' and 'health') or to broader

health science themes (‘scientist,’ ‘scientif,’ ‘diseas,’ ‘ill,’ ‘genet,’ and ‘doctor’). Our review of this Topic’s associated entry-level documents indicated that many of these entries express opposition to the anti-smoking movement, by, e.g., relaying claims that 1990s anti-smoking legislation is reliant on outdated science. We therefore label this topic as *Health Science*.

Topic 3 very clearly encompasses issues and concerns related to *Economics* with topwords such as ‘economi,’ ‘tax,’ ‘invest,’ ‘budget,’ and ‘debt.’ A review of the documents that were highly associated with this topic suggests that *Economics*’ corresponding most associated entry-level documents pertain both to international economic concerns and national-level U.S. economic concerns. Topic 4 is labeled *National ID Concerns*, and includes ‘card,’ ‘driver,’ ‘licens,’ ‘databas,’ ‘finger-print,’ and ‘identifi’ among its topwords. Consideration of these topwords and *National ID Concerns*’s most associated entries reveals that this topic is concerned with privacy issues in relation to identification (ID) cards (especially concerns over a National ID card, but also concerns over the addition of features such as fingerprints to State IDs) and purported encroachment on U.S.-state or individual rights by Federal Agencies (e.g., the Federal Communications Commission).

Topic 5 bears a notable degree of similarity with the *Legal Troubles* topic that we discussed for our primary RALM corpus. For instance, and similar to NC’s *Legal Troubles* topic, Topic 5’s topwords include terms such as ‘polic,’ ‘arrest,’ ‘court,’ ‘judge,’ ‘prosecut,’ and ‘handgun.’ Contextually, many of *Legal Troubles*’s most associated documents discuss the legal proceedings and aftermath surrounding the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing—whose perpetrators, as mentioned above, have been linked to the Michigan Militia movement. At the same time, a number of other highly associated documents with *Legal Troubles* appear to instead detail instances of police/judicial abuse or bias, ostensibly to paint a picture of law enforcement (and U.S. government) overreach.

Topic 6, which we label *Environmental Issues* given that it exhibits topwords such as ‘wildlif,’ ‘endang,’ ‘fish,’ ‘speci,’ ‘flood,’ ‘river,’ and ‘park.’ This topic is surprising in that it suggests that environmental issues or concerns represent one of the top ten most dominant dimensions of the Michigan Militia Corps’s discourse over this 1996-1999—a level of agenda prominence that has not been reported within extant research on the Michigan Militia (e.g., Mariani 1998, Freilich et al.

1999, Pitcavage 2001, Kelly & Villaire 2002). However, as one might expect, a close reading of highly associated entry-level documents for this topic suggests that the Michigan Militia Corps' environmental concerns are distinct from those of the RALM movement. Specifically, while the Militia discourse clearly recognizes and emphasizes the existence of environmental problems (and even at times emphasizes that these problems are growing more severe), many of *Environmental Issues*'s associated entry-level documents suggest that the Michigan Militia is primarily concerned with the threats posed by the U.S. Endangered Species Act, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, and Global Warming legislation to themes such as (i) human wellbeing, (ii) private property rights, (iii) economic development, and (iv) farmers' livelihoods. For example, one of this topic's associated entry-level documents argues that the Endangered Species Act has impeded the ability of the U.S. government to save human lives in response to worsening floods. Other associated entry-level documents express opposition to perceived interference in Michigan environmental concerns by international designations and organizations. The latter entries support Freilich et al.'s contention of the U.S. militia movements' core ideology being one that seeks to protect against government encroachment upon personal rights involving environmental regulations,¹⁰ alongside efforts to protect the U.S. and U.S. government against attempts to establish a global government.

Topic 7 is labeled *Membership* in Table A.9. Based upon its most associated documents and topwords, this top appears to encompass efforts to expand the membership of the Michigan Militia Corps, and the associated readership of the Michigan Militia Corps Weekly Updates. Much of these correspond to disseminations of (i) Michigan Militia Corps-related news (e.g., 'updat,' 'stori,' 'commentari,' 'oklahoma,' 'bomb,' and 'editori') and (ii) information associated with Michigan Militia Corps-related events and media ('michigan,' 'militia,' 'corp,' 'subscrib,' 'email, and 'send'). This topic accordingly exhibits a notable degree of thematic overlap with our RALM corpus' *Membership Drive* topic. In addition, and given that many of the upcoming Michigan Militia Corps-related events that are discussed in this topic's associated documents encompass public protests, this topic also exhibits some thematic overlap with our RALM corpus' *Public Protest*

¹⁰Among other personal or local rights such as gun rights.

topic. For example, several highly associated entries call for attendance at—or provide coverage of—the Michigan Militia’s protests over the raising of the United Nations (UN) flag at the Michigan state capital building in Lansing.

Topic 8 clearly relates to *U.S. Foreign Policy* concerns during this period—especially those encompassing U.S.-China-Taiwan relations under the Clinton Presidency (e.g., ‘china,’ ‘chines,’ ‘beij,’ and ‘taiwan’) and broader security concerns (e.g., ‘missil,’ ‘nuclear,’ ‘pentagon,’ ‘militari,’ ‘intellig,’ ‘armi,’ ‘troop,’ ‘weapon,’ ‘defens,’ and ‘deploy’)—including those relating to other potential threats Iraq (‘russian’ and ‘iraq’). A review of this topic’s associated documents suggests that *U.S. Foreign Policy* is largely capturing general U.S. foreign policy related updates—especially on issues related to security—alongside a number of entries that appear to more directly underscore or insinuate that perceived U.S. antagonists such as China, Iraq, and Russia are gaining ground on the U.S. militarily. Likewise, Topic 9, which we label *Core U.S. Principles* encompasses historical U.S. principles, rights, and documents (e.g., ‘republ,’ ‘sovereignti,’ ‘constitut,’ ‘power,’ and ‘jurisdict,’). The most associated entry-level documents for this topic indicate that these terms are generally portrayed in a positive and/or nostalgic light, often in an effort to depict contemporary U.S. politics as deficient in these core attributes. Hence, this topic exhibits a degree of conceptual overlap with the *Movement Identity* topic discussed within our earlier RALM analysis.

Topic 10 represents discussions of more contemporary, national U.S. political issues and institutions (‘senat,’ ‘presid,’ ‘vote,’ ‘party,’ ‘house,’ and ‘impeach’) among both Republicans (‘repub- lican,’ ‘gop,’ ‘dole,’ and ‘gingrich’) and Democrats (‘clinton,’ ‘democrat,’ and ‘gore’). In reviewing the most associated entry-level documents with this topic, we find that many correspond to attempts to relay standard current event coverage of various political events to the Michigan Militia Corps’ readership, rather than editorials. However, we should note that among these entries, a great many associated entry-level documents pertain to coverage of various ‘impeach’-ment related issues surrounding the Clinton Presidency.

Topic	Top 20 Words	Labels
1	school, student, educ, teacher, parent, teach, children, moral, homosexu, child, career, behavior, read, boy, learn, kid, famili, colleg, class, book	Education
2	smoke, diseas, warm, food, tobacco, studi, farmer, cigarett, scientist, smoker, plant, ill, eat, research, abort, restaur, genet, doctor, scientif, health	Health Science
3	tax, economi, taxpay, corpor, econom, budget, invest, bank, debt, fund, spend, money, revenu, capit, pay, gold, financi, deficit, market, cut	Economics
4	card, comput, telecommun, privaci, electron, licens, custom, databas, driver, system, fingerprint, identifi, surveil, access, identif, requir, internet, digit, inform, wiretap	National ID Concerns
5	judg, court, polic, arrest, justic, prosecut, lawsuit, lawyer, handgun, suprem, attorney, appeal, search, prosecutor, crimin, crime, bradi, judici, dealer, trial	Legal Troubles
6	park, alleg, speci, wildlif, list, document, manag, endang, fish, committe, flood, hill, mission, insight, gao, investig, servic, project, river, request	Environmental Issues
7	michigan, militia, updat, subscrib, corp, messag, bomb, stori, commentari, week, pleas, oklahoma, email, perspect, thank, editori, majordomlistscnsnet, send, evalu, xxx	Membership Drive
8	missil, chines, china, nuclear, pentagon, militari, weapon, beij, russia, iraq, taiwan, intellig, troop, deploy, defens, cia, russian, korea, armi, air	US Foreign Policy
9	constitut, sec, amend, sponsor, texa, section, treati, sovereignti, shall, declar, regul, power, jurisdict, foreign, republ, provis, titl, author, deleg, interst	Core US Principles
10	clinton, republican, impeach, dole, senat, presid, gore, vote, parti, hous, bill, gop, elect, democrat, gingrich, white, leader, speaker, voter, polit	National US Politics

Figure A.9: Topwords for 10-Topic STM Model of Michigan Militia Corps Newsletter Entries

Before considering the temporal variation of our identified topics, we briefly evaluate the distribution in topical attention across our entire collection of Michigan Militia Corps Weekly Updates. We do so with the aid of our documents' (i.e., Weekly Update entries') estimated probabilities of topical assignment, which allow us to identify the 'highest probability topic' for each document. We use these to classify each entry-document according to its most associated topic and plot the frequencies of documents (i.e., in this case Weekly Update entries) that were classified into each of our 10 estimated topics in Figure A.10. Turning to this figure, that concerns related to *Education* policy, *National U.S. Politics*, and *Economics* tend to dominate the Michigan Militia Corps' discourse. This is followed by an above average discussion of *Legal Troubles*, which is consistent with our RALM-based findings. By contrast, we see relatively less (entry-document level) attention devoted to *Environmental Issues*, *Membership Drive* and *National ID Concerns*. The low levels of attention towards the latter topic are perhaps understandable, given that U.S. National ID initiatives received highly variable attention within U.S. politics and the U.S. media during the 1996-1999 time period more broadly.

Overall, the relative levels of topical attention in Figure A.10 suggest that the Michigan Militia Corps' Weekly Update publications are less focused on membership drive efforts, relative to the RALM corpus, and are instead more so oriented towards providing updates on particular national issues of concern within the domestic political sphere, U.S. Foreign Policy, or Legal Troubles.¹¹ These patterns perhaps suggest that these Weekly Updates are less directed at core members of the Michigan Militia movement than they are to sympathetic Michigan citizens. By contrast, our primary STM topics and analyses suggested that the NC corpus more directly intended to speak to core members of the RALM, rather than to sympathetic environmentalists more broadly.

However, as our above points about National ID Concerns imply, Figure A.10 also likely masks a substantial amount of variation in topical attention over the 1996-1999 period of our Michigan Militia Corps corpus. To obtain a better sense of the temporal variation in themes discussed within the Michigan Militia Corps' Weekly Updates, we next extract and plot the estimated prevalence of

¹¹Recall that the latter topic largely encompassed coverage of the Oklahoma City Bombing aftermath, alongside accounts of perceived police or justice system abuses across the U.S.

our 10 estimated topics over time. To do so, we generate the estimated change in prevalence for each Michigan Militia Corps topic according to the month of publication, which was included as a prevalence covariate within our full Michigan Militia Corps STM. We then report the estimated change in topical prevalence over time, for the entire time window of our Michigan Militia Corps analysis within the time series plots in Figure A.11.

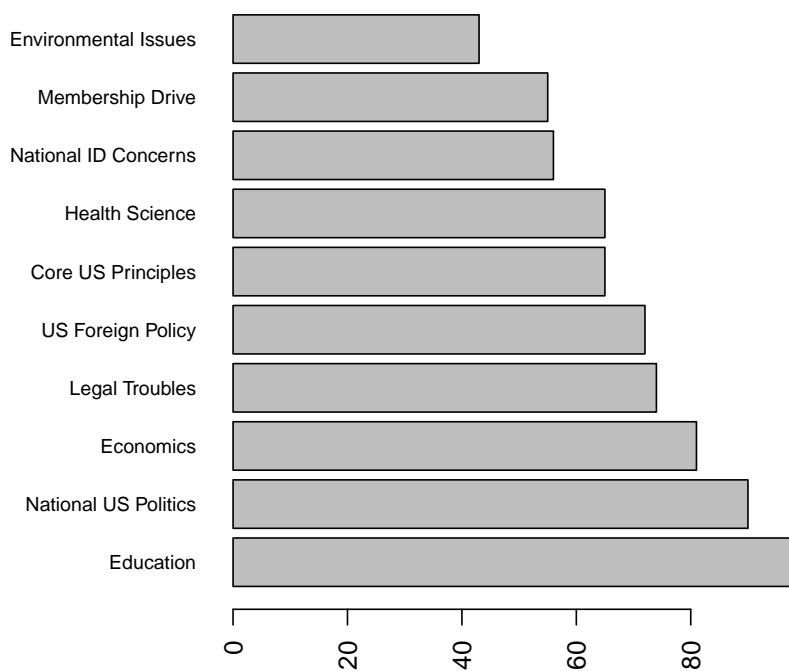


Figure A.10: Dominant Topic Frequency Across Michigan Militia Corps Corpus

Two of our Michigan Militia Corps topics remain fairly stable over time in Figure A.11, albeit with some variability therein. Specifically, *Economics* and *Legal Troubles* each appear fairly stable throughout our 1996-1999 time series. However, we do find a small spike in attention to the *Legal Troubles* topic from late-1997 and mid-1998. Given that at least some of the associated documents with this topic appeared to be coverage of the Oklahoma City Bombing and its aftermath, this spike may be in part the result of the completion of the trials and sentencing of the Oklahoma City

Bombing's perpetrators and conspirators.¹²

As alluded to above, *National ID Concerns* exhibits a fairly low and stable level of topical prevalence from 1996 until late 1998, when we see a clear spike in attention to this topic (to the point where estimates suggest that upwards of 20% of all content pertained to this topic in late 1998 and early 1999). An examination of the most highly associated entries for this topic suggest that much of this spike in attention is likely attributable to President Bill Clinton's May 1998 Executive Order 13083 on Federalism, as well as its aftermath; wherein the Michigan Militia Corps appears to be expressing concern that such developments will pave the way for a national ID law, and/or will undermine U.S. state and local rights more generally. Our *Environmental Issues* topic similarly exhibits higher volatility—and at times a level of attention that encompasses upwards of 15% of all content—beginning in 1998. A review of the most associated documents for this topic suggests that a confluence of factors may have led to this increased volatility, including reactions to wetlands regulations that went into effect in 1996-1997 and increased efforts to remove the UN Biosphere Reserve designation from Isle Royale National Park in early 1998.

Turning to the topics exhibiting more substantial temporal variation, we can observe in Figure A.11 that attention to *U.S. Foreign Policy* exhibits a spike in early 1996 but then remains relatively low (with estimates of 5% of all entries) during late 1996 and 1997. However, beginning in the start of 1998, *U.S. Foreign Policy* then exhibits a marked increase, until it encompasses nearly 30% of all documents towards the end of our time series, based upon our estimates. Concurrently, we also observe that *National U.S. Politics* initially exhibits high levels of Topical Attention (of approximately 15%) but then continuously declines until mid-1997, before increasing during the lead up to the impeachment trial of Bill Clinton, and then declining very sharply with the initiated of the impeachment trial. The patterns for these two topics during the end of our time series together suggest that the Michigan Militia Corps' shifted its discourse from a focus on domestic U.S. political concerns to international U.S. political concerns during the latter quarter of 1998 and thereafter. In these respects, the Militia Corps' may have lost interest in extensively covering

¹²Timothy McVeigh was convicted and sentenced in mid-1997; whereas Terry Nichols and Michael Fortier were each convicted and sentenced in mid-1998.

Clinton-related scandals after his impeachment succeeded. Lastly, we see that discussions of *Core US Principles* hover between an estimated 10-20% of all entries during 1996 and 1997, but then decline thereafter, towards levels closer to 5%. The latter trend coincides with the conviction of Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, and is perhaps more broadly an indicator of fractures or power shifts (and declining ideological momentum) within the Michigan Militia movement itself.

In sum, our analyses of the Michigan Militia Corps' self-produced texts (1996-1999) indicates that the Michigan Militia Corps at times exhibits similar discourses to the NC corpus analyzed above. This is especially the case for the Michigan Militia's emphasis on themes of protest, recruitment, legal troubles, and literature dissemination, which overlap conceptually with NC Topics 6-7 (*Public Protest* and *Membership Drive*) and 10 (*Legal Troubles*). At the same time, this second STM analysis also reveals a number of previously under-appreciated insights into the Michigan Militia's agenda, including evidence of the Michigan Militia Corps' shifting of attention away from domestic U.S. politics and towards international politics during the 1996-1999 period; and a surprising level of attention to environmental issues; albeit with a very different perspective than that of the RALM. Notably, the latter (environmental) theme ranks among the top 10 most prominent themes that we identified within our Michigan Militia Corps corpus, but has not extensive recognition in past studies of the Michigan Militia. Together these findings—obtained from a radical social movement that occupies a dramatically different place on the socio-political spectrum to that of the RALM—thereby help to demonstrate the applicability of our proposed STM approach to a broad range of radical movements.

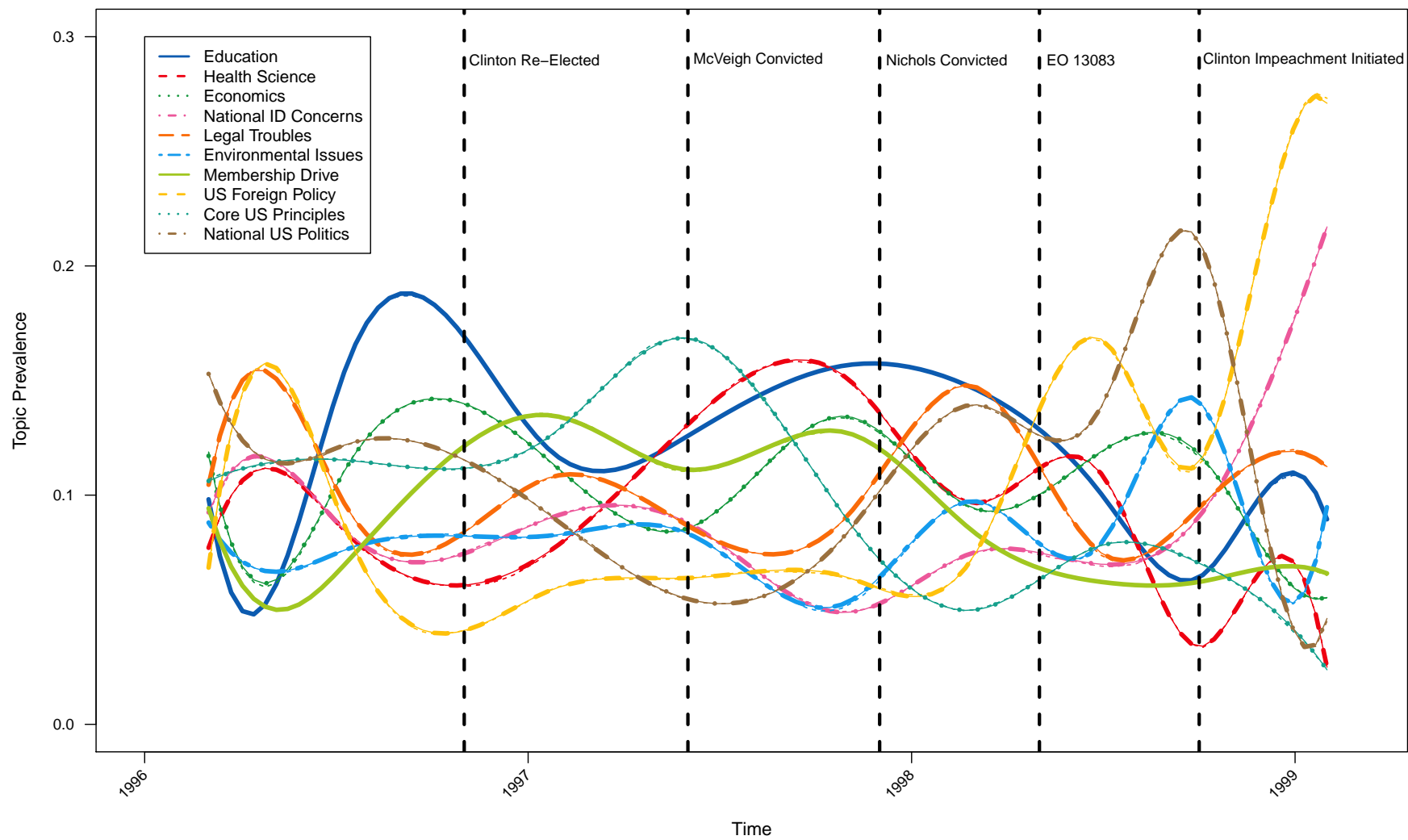


Figure A.11: Michigan Militia Corps's Topical Attention Over Time

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