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“Freedom for all living things, human and nonhuman”: Amplifying extant cultural values, beliefs, and myths as a framing strategy for eco-terrorist movements

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**“Freedom for all living things, human and nonhuman”:
Amplifying extant cultural values, beliefs, and myths as a framing strategy for eco-terrorist
movements**



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1. Introduction

Why do social movements aiming to challenge the status quo still appeal to dominant cultural values and beliefs? Movements face a typical dilemma: they represent views sidelined by society, yet they must present these views in a culturally familiar and natural way. Movements with radical beliefs are threatened not only by “hard repression”, or state-sponsored violence, they also face “soft repression” from civil society (Ferree, 2005). Stigma is a form of “soft repression” which occurs when being part of a movement is a source of discredit or devaluation (Ferree, 2005, p. 144). Snow and Benford (2000, p. 624) suggest that movements facing stigma for their *beliefs* strategize by amplifying accepted values from extant culture when framing their struggle. This lets them communicate radical beliefs in a way that still adheres to dominant cultural values, norms, and understandings.

Though the existing literature largely agrees with this argument, such studies only cover movements facing stigma for one attribute - having radical beliefs that contradict dominant cultural values (Berbrier, 1998; McCammon, Hewitt & Smith, 2004; D’Anjou & Van Male, 1998). Yet, movements also face stigma for other attributes. Movement tactics inflicting physical or material damage often encourage stigma from civil society. These tactics alienate sympathizers and invite harmful labels such as “extremists” or “terrorists” (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 180). Would these movements amplify extant cultural items in a similar vein? Or is this a strategy solely reserved by movements stigmatized for their radical beliefs?

The eco-terrorist movements provide useful cases to test the scope of Snow and Benford’s (2000, p. 624) argument - whether its predictions are generalizable to movements facing stigma for their tactics. Eco-terrorists commit destructive tactics against perceived animal or environmental exploiters (Loadenthal, 2017). Two groups under this category are the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Earth Liberation Front (ELF) - advocating animal rights and environmental justice respectively. I argue that the ALF faces a greater degree of stigmatization - facing stigma for both its *beliefs* in animal rights and its destructive *tactics*. In contrast, I contend that the ELF faces no stigma for its beliefs - it is only stigmatized for its *tactics*.

Given differences in the degree of stigmatization, I test whether the framing strategies of both groups would vary. The research question asks: *How does the degree of social movement stigmatization influence a movement’s framing strategies?* Consequently, the argument predicts

that the ALF will amplify extant cultural items as a framing strategy, given the stigma it faces for its radical *beliefs*. Yet, will the ELF, facing stigma for its *tactics* but not its beliefs, also amplify extant culture when framing?

Investigating this identifies relevant framing strategies for practitioners to employ. Movements failing to win support for their radical beliefs may seek to shift their frames - amplifying extant cultural items to achieve greater acceptance. However, even audiences sympathetic to a movement's beliefs will nonetheless condemn extreme tactics (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 180). These movements may find it relevant to amplify extant culture the same way movements facing stigma for their beliefs do.

This research also contributes to eco-terrorist literature and framing theory. First, eco-terrorist literature generally focuses on state-sponsored "hard repression". Johnston and Johnston (2020) show how the state's prosecution of ALF activists impacts the movement's framing of justice. However, Ferree (2005) recognizes that movements also face "soft repression" from civil society. I assess whether "soft repression" against eco-terrorist movements impacts their framing strategies the same way hard repression does. Second, on a theoretical level, studies connecting stigma with framing only cover movements facing stigma for their *beliefs* (Berbrier, 1998; McCammon, Hewitt & Smith, 2004). I extend the scope of current research - investigating whether movements facing stigma for their tactics also find it relevant to amplify extant culture when framing.

In sum, this paper identifies whether the degree of social movement stigmatization impacts a movement's framing strategies. I investigate this using a Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD) comparing ELF and ALF frames, where the key variation lies in the degree of stigmatization faced by both movements.

2. Literature review

2.1. Stigma as soft repression

Studying repression is common in social movements literature. However, these discussions typically focus on “hard repression”, state-sponsored efforts to crush opposition through threatening or using violence (Ferree, 2005). Ferree (2005) calls upon authors to account for subtler forms of repression targeting movements’ identities, ideas, and legitimacy. Soft repression is the use of nonviolent means to limit and exclude ideas from the public forum (Ferree, 2005). It comes in three forms - ridicule, stigma, and silencing. Stigma is a form of group-level repression when “connection with the group is a source of discredit and devaluation” (Ferree, 2005, p. 144). Though the state engages in soft repression by labeling groups as undesirable, soft repression usually happens in civil society, including the institutionalized media.

The effects of stigma have been studied at both the individual- and movement-level (Lindekilde, 2010; Linden & Klandermans, 2006; Jämte & Ellefsen, 2020). This paper assesses stigma at the movement-level - its effects on a movement’s framing strategies. In the following sections, I discuss framing and the argument that stigmatized movements amplify extant cultural values and beliefs as a framing strategy. I highlight a gap in this literature, as studies connecting stigma with framing only analyze movements facing stigma for their beliefs.

Goffman (1963) notes that stigma arises from an attribute perceived as undesirable. Meanwhile, movements have multiple attributes - beliefs are merely one of them. Besides their beliefs, movements also face stigma for their tactics. The radical-left movement in Sweden, for instance, faced stigma for its transgressive protest tactics (Jämte & Ellefsen, 2020). Furthermore, tactics inflicting physical or material damage generally alienate supporters and invite repression (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 180). I therefore question whether movements that face stigma for their tactics, but not their beliefs, also seek to amplify extant culture.

2.2. Framing theory

Before assessing literature that connects stigma to its effects on framing, it is important to explain the framing perspective. Frames are “schemata of interpretation” strategically designed to communicate certain messages and convince audiences (Goffman, 1986, p. 21). According to

framing theory, movements are rational actors that strategically construct frames to achieve certain goals, such as mobilizing participants. Successful mobilization occurs when frames “align” with targeted individuals’ beliefs, values, interests, and grievances (Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986).

Frame *alignment* entails “achieving a common definition of a social problem and a common prescription for solving it” among the movement and its targeted adherents (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001, p. 6). Framing theory posits that movements achieve frame alignment using four framing strategies: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation. These strategies are interconnected - movements use all strategies at varying degrees to achieve frame alignment (Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986, p. 467).

2.3. Frame alignment and frame amplification

What frame alignment strategies do movements facing stigma use? Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford (1986, p. 476) argue that although most movements use all four strategies to different degrees, there are “modal types” of strategies for certain movements. Simply put, different types of movements opt for different framing strategies. Snow and Benford (2000, p. 624) propose that movements facing stigma for their radical beliefs use frame amplification strategies more prominently. Frame amplification occurs when movements “idealize, embellish, clarify, or emphasize existing values or beliefs” in their frames (Snow & Benford, 2000, p. 624). Thus, *frame amplification* is the strategy movements use when they appeal to extant cultural items.

What does “extant” culture mean? In this context, it refers to movements’ external cultural environment - shared images, metaphors, themes, worldviews, and definitions that structure social interactions within a certain time and space (Swidler, 1986, p. 273). This is not to say that cultures are uniform and push action in a certain direction. Cultures often contain conflicting symbols, stories, and rituals (Hart, 1996). Movements pick items relevant to the messages they aim to convey. Thus, culture is a “tool kit” for movements to select different items relevant to their strategy (Swidler, 1986). Cultures possess useful meanings, values, and beliefs that movements strategically draw from to make frames sound natural and familiar (D’Anjou & Van Male, 1998, p. 208).

What kinds of cultural items do movements draw from? Firstly, religion provides cultural resources for movements (Hart, 1996, p. 89). The US abolition movement framed the slave trade as immoral by amplifying evangelical conceptions of “sin” (D’Anjou & Van Male, 1998, p. 216). Secondly, movements draw from political culture or political theory. The Ontario religious school movement emphasized “multiculturalist” values in Canadian political culture and the “freedom to choose” from democratic political theory (Davies, 1999). Thirdly, movements also amplify moral or philosophical values. D’Anjou and Van Male (1998, p. 212) show how abortion rights activists invigorated the “moral duty” to protect bodily autonomy.

One branch of literature studies movements that amplify such values. Firstly, the US woman suffrage movement faced stigma from civil society - labeled “unwomanly”, “abnormal”, and “unsexed” for believing in equal gender rights (Derleth, 2018). Subsequently, the movement catered its frames to amplify culturally accepted gender roles - emphasizing women’s domestic and maternal roles, which give them a nurturing perspective on politics (McCammon, Hewitt & Smith, 2004). Secondly, the new White supremacist movement overcomes the stigma associated with racial supremacy by amplifying the value of multiculturalism in American political culture - using the rhetoric of “pride”, “love”, and “heritage preservation” to imply that Whites deserve the same special rights as minorities (Berbrier, 1998). Thirdly, taboo concepts like blackness, prostitution, or abortion are joined with accepted concepts like beauty, work, or civil rights through framing like “black is beautiful”, “prostitution is work”, and “abortion is a woman’s right” (D’Anjou & Van Male, 1998, p. 211).

What these movements hold in common is they all face stigma for holding beliefs deemed radical or undesirable. Thus, this literature provides support for Snow and Benford’s (2000, p. 624) hunch that movements stigmatized for holding radical *beliefs* will amplify accepted items from extant culture. However, will movements facing stigma for their use of destructive *tactics* also amplify extant culture as their framing strategy? These movements are also discredited and devalued, albeit for different reasons. Framing their struggle according to widespread cultural values may deem them more acceptable and justify extreme tactics.

Another branch of literature studies the framing of violent terrorist movements - confirming that these movements indeed amplify extant culture when framing. Much of this work focuses on Islamic terrorist movements - how they amplify and distort religious values in their frames (Snow & Byrd, 2007; Westphal, 2018; Andersen & Sandberg, 2020; Sweeney &

Kubit, 2020). Andersen and Sandberg (2020), for instance, claim the Islamic State amplified both religious scriptures and Western pop culture to recruit Westerners - conveying a glorified image of violent Jihadism. This may indicate that frame amplification is relevant for movements facing stigma for their tactics. However, these examples entail movements that face stigma for both their *tactics* and their *beliefs*. Besides being labeled as “terrorists” for using extreme tactics, Islamic terrorist movements are often misconceived as having a “totalitarian” and “evil” set of monolithic beliefs (Snow & Byrd, 2007, p. 119).

In summary, the first branch of literature indicates that movements facing stigma for their *beliefs* amplify extant cultural values to make their otherwise radical beliefs sound more familiar and acceptable. As outlined by the second branch of literature, this strategy also applies to Islamic terrorist movements - facing both stigma for their *beliefs* and their *tactics*. However, would movements that receive sympathy for their beliefs, but stigma for their tactics, still opt for frame amplification? This warrants an investigation of whether such movements will also amplify extant cultural items in their frames. Studying this has practical relevance: moderate tactics rarely garner “newsworthiness”, yet radical or transgressive tactics often face public condemnation - even when audiences are sympathetic to a movement’s beliefs (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 180). Investigating how these movements frame themselves contributes to prior theoretical arguments and identifies strategies for practitioners to employ.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Conceptualizing the degree of movement stigmatization

To reiterate, stigma is a form of soft repression that occurs when “connection with the group is a source of discredit and devaluation”, and often comes alongside name-calling, ridicule, and labeling (Ferree, 2005, p. 144). I add to Ferree’s (2005) concept by suggesting two forms of stigma: (1) *Belief* stigmatization and (2) *Tactical* stigmatization. Movements can be discredited for using violent or destructive tactics without facing stigma for their beliefs. The belief that big corporations must be held accountable for exploiting the environment generally does not warrant stigma (Wright & Reid, 2009; Hess, 2021). Yet, using destructive tactics to achieve it incites backlash even from sympathizers (Joose, 2012).

There are two ways to study movement stigmatization. The first branch studies stigma and soft repression in civil society - measuring it using the institutionalized media as a reference point. Ferree (2005) used the media to show how the women’s movement was portrayed in stigmatizing terms by journalists and their sources. Similarly, Lindekilde (2010) conducts a newspaper analysis to show how Danish-Islams were labeled as "backstabbers" and "ungrateful immigrants" in mainstream media. Alternatively, the second branch studies soft repression at the state-level. Jämte and Ellefsen (2020), for instance, measure stigma by showing how state agencies label movements as extremists.

I stick with the first branch - studying stigma at the civil society-level. Looking at state stigmatization leads to a monochromatic picture: both the ELF and ALF face stigma by governments - being labeled as “eco-terrorists” by state agencies for their tactics (Loadenthal, 2014, p. 17). Thus, looking at state-level stigmatization would not allow for variation between cases. Yet, there is reason to believe that levels of stigmatization would vary when using the media as a reference point.

Indeed, the media also engages in tactical stigmatization against both groups by referring to their tactics as “terrorism” (Sumner & Weidman, 2013). However, levels of *belief* stigmatization would likely vary in the media. Joosse (2012) claims that the public generally sympathizes with the ELF’s environmental justice beliefs, but remains repelled by their destructive tactics. Furthermore, other environmental justice movements using moderate tactics are depicted in positive terms by the media (Wright & Reid, 2009; Hess, 2021). In contrast,

animal rights activists using both moderate and destructive tactics are stigmatized by journalists and their sources (Kruse, 2001; Wrenn et al., 2015). This hints that levels of belief stigmatization are likely to vary across both groups when studying their portrayal in the mainstream media. Thus, focusing on civil society is suitable, as it allows for variance across cases.

3.2. Conceptualizing framing strategies

I conceptualize the dependent variable using Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford's (1986) four framing strategies. These are strategies movements use to *align* frames with prospective constituents' interests, beliefs, values, and grievances.

Table 1.

Framing strategies

Frame alignment strategy	Description
Frame bridging	When a movement links itself with (1) other social movements/SMOs (2) individuals who share common grievances but lack an organizational base to express their discontents (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986, p. 467).
Frame amplification	Emphasizing existing values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom, and myths from extant culture (Snow & Benford, 2000, p. 624).
Frame extension	Including salient issues and concerns beyond the movement's primary interests, but presumed to be important to targeted adherents (Snow & Benford, 2000, p. 624).
Frame transformation	Redefining concepts from one framework in terms of another framework, so audiences see them in a different light (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986, p. 474).

Movements employ these strategies to construct three core framing tasks: (1) *Diagnostic frames*, which identify a social problem, its victims, and perpetrators, (2) *Prognostic frames*, identifying solutions and tactics, and (3) *Motivational frames*, a "call to arms" encouraging individuals to participate (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, pp. 74-79). Diagnostic frames relate to movements' *beliefs* of justice and injustice. Meanwhile, prognostic frames relate to *tactics* - articulating rationales behind movements' actions. Given the theorized relation between stigma

and frame amplification, the outcome of interest is the use of frame amplification as a framing strategy across these core frames.

How would frame amplification look across the core framing tasks? The US anti-toxics movement amplified the “popular cultural image” of “science run amok” in its diagnostic frames - painting incinerators as a social problem and an unethical science (Kubal, 1998, p. 545). Furthermore, Berbrier (1998) shows how the new White supremacist movement amplifies American values of “tolerance” and “multiculturalism” in its prognostic and motivational frames. Special rights for Whites were framed as a just solution by amplifying values of pride for one’s heritage. Likewise, amplifying “pride” and “heritage preservation” motivated moderate conservatives to join the movement (Berbrier, 1998, p. 442).

However, frame amplification is not the only strategy movements engage in. Focusing too much on how culture affects framing invites cultural reductionist critiques: the tendency to exaggerate the importance of culture without considering other explanations behind framing (Valocchi, 1996, p. 116). Aside from merely amplifying cultural items, movements also engage in other strategies. To avoid cultural reductionism, the dependent variable accounts for these different framing strategies and their distribution across movements' core framing tasks.

3.3 Theory and hypothesis

To reiterate, framing theory relies on the rationalist assumption that movements are strategic actors who construct frames to achieve a specific purpose - be it mobilizing adherents, acquiring resources, or amassing support (Martin, 2015, p. 56). Movements align their interests with targeted constituents using four strategies: frame amplification, frame transformation, frame bridging, and frame extension.

All movements draw from extant cultural meanings, beliefs, and values when framing (Swidler, 1986). Yet, frame amplification may be a more relevant strategy for stigmatized movements. I base my hypothesis on Snow and Benford’s (2000, p. 624) suggestion that movements facing stigma for their radical *beliefs* find it more relevant to amplify extant cultural items. Admittedly, the authors’ proposition is rather unspecific - they merely suggest that frame amplification is more relevant for stigmatized movements based on their interpretation of prior studies (e.g. Berbrier, 1998). To operationalize and test this, I follow Kubal’s (1998) approach,

where he assesses the prominence of frame amplification across the three core framing tasks. Subsequently, the hypothesis states:

H₁: Social movements facing *belief* stigmatization will use frame amplification as their dominant strategy - amplifying extant cultural items in diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames.

I argue that only the ALF faces belief stigmatization. Thus, the hypothesis predicts that only the ALF will amplify extant culture throughout all core framing tasks. To test the scope conditions of this argument, I include the ELF as a case that faces *tactical* stigmatization, but not belief stigmatization. This investigates what conditions facilitate the use of frame amplification as a strategy: whether tactical stigmatization encourages frame amplification the same way belief stigmatization does.

4. Methodology

4.1. Research design and case selection

A Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD) with two cases, the ELF and ALF, tests the previous hypothesis. This design ensures that the outcome was caused by differences in the independent variable by controlling for confounding factors (Halperin & Heath, 2020, p. 239). It tests whether the empirical observations from both cases are congruent with the expectations of the hypothesis.

The cases vary on the key independent variable - movement stigmatization. I propose that the ALF faces higher degrees of stigma - facing both *belief* and *tactical* stigmatization. Meanwhile, the ELF merely faces *tactical* stigmatization. As only the ALF faces belief stigmatization, the hypothesis predicts that only this case will conduct frame amplification as its dominant strategy. Choosing the ELF as a second case provides an opportunity to study a movement that faces stigma for its tactics but not its beliefs. This tests whether frame amplification strategies are equally relevant for movements facing stigma for other attributes.

Confounding variables are controlled by ensuring similarity across both cases. First, both the ELF and ALF adopt clandestine, illegal tactics (Loadenthal, 2017). This is important to hold constant, as different tactics lead to different tactical frames (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 620). Second, both have underground, leaderless structures with transnational cells (Gray, 2013). This is important to control, as different movement organizations lead to different frames - decentralized, transnational movements often cover more issues than localized movements when framing (Smith, 2005). Third, both face “hard repression” - surveillance and prosecution by state agencies (Loadenthal, 2013). Hard repression is held constant, as Johnston and Johnston (2020) suggest that frames are influenced by state prosecution. Thus, these similarities ensure that other theoretically relevant variables are held constant.

4.2. Scope

Though the ELF and ALF are transnational movements, I limit my analysis to their United States branches. Eco-terrorism operates most prominently in the US - with the most eco-terrorist attacks and active cells (Loadenthal, 2014, p. 27). Furthermore, the US is ideal for assessing the independent and dependent variables. First, it provides a useful context to study stigmatization at the civil society-level. Wagner (2008) shows an increase in eco-terrorist news from 1984 to

2006, attributing this to the “newsworthiness” of terrorism in the US. This provides a strong incentive to focus on the US when establishing civil society stigmatization. Second, ELF and ALF frames are broadcasted through their press offices - legal, above-ground services publishing the motives behind both movements’ actions (Pickering, 2007). Only the North American press offices are available online or in published sources - eliminating the possibility of studying other branches.

4.3. Data selection and methodology

4.3.1 Investigating the degree of movement stigmatization

Analyzing stigma entails newspaper analyses that show how movements are labeled and discredited by civil society - particularly the institutionalized media (Ferree, 2005; Lindekilde, 2010). Instead of conducting a primary newspaper analysis, I analyze the work of authors who have previously studied the media portrayal of the ELF and ALF. I assess *tactical* stigmatization by looking at prior research of how frequently the US media adopts the term “terrorism” when describing both movements’ tactics (Sumner & Weidman, 2013). Investigating *belief* stigmatization entails assessing how the media portrays both movements’ beliefs. For the ELF, I analyze research on the portrayal of environmental justice activists and their beliefs in the US media (Joosse, 2012; Wright & Reid, 2009; Hess, 2021). For the ALF, I use research on the portrayal of animal rights activists (Kruse, 2001; Wrenn et al., 2015).

4.3.2. Investigating framing strategies

Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) is used to investigate the different framing strategies across movements’ diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames. QCA systematically describes the meaning of qualitative data by focusing on aspects related to the research question - placing parts of the material into different categories of a coding frame (Schreier, 2014).

The coding scheme accounts for both the framing strategies used and their prominence in each movement’s core framing tasks. Firstly, a coding frame was created based on Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford's (1986) four framing strategies¹. Afterward, “themes” are coded as the recording unit for this research. A theme identifies a single idea, value, or belief (Halperin & Heath, 2020, pp. 378-379). This is appropriate, as frames are ideas of a social problem and

¹ See [Appendix A](#).

proposed solutions. After color-coding the different framing strategies, I paste the color-coded parts into a table where they are categorized as either diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational frames belonging to the ALF/ELF².

The sources analyzed are communiques and essays from the North American ALF Press Office and the North American ELF Press Office, which publish anonymous pieces by underground activists and movement supporters. The ALF Press Office is available online. However, as the ELF Press Office website is inaccessible, I use an alternative source - Pickering's (2007) *The Earth Liberation Front: 1997-2002*. Pickering was a former press officer for the ELF. The book contains texts submitted by the ELF to their press office from 1997 to 2002. Thus, I analyze frames using the ALF's website and Pickering's book.

Given limited availability, I analyze texts published from 1997 until 2002 by the North American ELF Press Office - a total of 49 communiques or essays. The North American ALF Press Office contains texts from 2004 until the present day. However, as this totals up to over 1000 communiques and essays, random selection is necessary to limit the data. Thus, I analyze all texts published by the ELF from 1992 to 2002, and randomly selected texts by the ALF from 2004 to 2023³. Although the texts come from different years, this should not affect findings, as temporal considerations are irrelevant to the argument and hypothesis.

4.4. Confirming the hypothesis

To validate the hypothesis, first, the findings must prove that the ALF faces belief stigmatization. When analyzing the independent variable, prior academic research must affirm that beliefs in animal rights are discredited and devalued in the US mainstream media, as evidenced by name-calling, labeling, or ridicule. Second, the ALF must use frame amplification as its dominant strategy overall. Frame amplification strategies must be coded throughout the ALF's diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames.

² See [Appendix C](#) and [Appendix D](#).

³ See [Appendix B](#).

5. Analysis

5.1. Background on the cases

The ELF and ALF originated in Great Britain, where they grew from less radical movements. The ALF broke away from the Hunt Saboteurs Association in 1976, while the ELF splintered from Earth First! in 1992 - with both gaining popularity during the 1990s “Green Scare” (Carson, LaFree, & Dugan, 2012, p. 289). The ALF believes in expanding the moral community to include animal rights - reducing “speciesism” (Schiffman, 2011, p. 153). They contest the notion that animals are inferior to humans and that human interests justify animal exploitation. Meanwhile, ELF activists cater their beliefs to the entire ecosystem - aiming to protect all flora and fauna from human exploitation (Carson, LaFree, & Dugan, 2012, p. 289).

Both groups use illegal tactics to inflict economic costs on perceived animal or environmental exploiters. The ALF uses vandalism, arson, or theft to inflict property damage on fur companies, restaurants engaged in factory farming, and animal experimentation laboratories - often rescuing animals held captive in such locations (Schiffman, 2011, p. 153). Similarly, the ELF uses vandalism and destruction. Notably, the ELF inflicted 12 million dollars of damage on the Vail Ski Resort for its expansion, which destroyed surrounding habitats (Schiffman, 2011, p. 154). Despite inflicting harm upon property, both movements preach “nonviolence” - eschewing physical harm upon life. No physical harm to a human has resulted from these actions (Pickering, 2007, p. 54).

The following section assesses the independent variable, movement stigmatization, by analyzing the levels of *tactical* and *belief* stigmatization faced by both movements. Afterwards, I analyze the dependent variable by observing the distribution of framing strategies across each movement’s core framing tasks. Lastly, findings are discussed in light of the argument that movements with *belief* stigmatization find it more relevant to use frame amplification strategies.

5.2. The degree of movement stigmatization

5.2.1. *Tactical stigmatization*

As expected, the ELF and ALF face stigma in mainstream US media for their tactics - being labeled as “terrorists”. Sumner and Weidman (2013) analyze the use of the term “eco-terrorism” in US newspapers from the years 1999 to 2009. They find a broad acceptance of the term among

journalists and their sources in reference to Earth First! and the ELF. “Terrorist” was used far more frequently (1818 articles) than variations (88 articles) like “eco-arson”, or “ecotage” (Sumner & Weidman, 2013, p. 861). Kruse (2001) presents similar findings. ALF activists were labeled as “terrorists” in 63.4% of US television frames over an 11-year sample - with only 13.9% of frames depicting them positively (Kruse, 2001, p. 77).

What makes this “stigmatization” rather than objective reporting? Firstly, “terrorism” is an elusive term. Grozdanova (2014) suggests it is used to condemn an actor, rather than accurately describe a certain activity. What the media refers to as “eco-terrorism” is describable in other terms - be it arson, vandalism, or sabotage. Yet, “terrorism” is used to rhetorically condemn the movements. Secondly, in the US, “terrorism” is associated with 9/11 - an act designed to harm human life (Sumner & Weidman, 2013, p. 856). Grouping tactics that destroy property without harming people with those intending to kill delegitimizes the ELF and ALF. Thirdly, despite the implication of both movements being militant, as signaled by the “liberation front” in their name, they reject the “violent terrorist” label. For both, a “liberation front” frees nonhuman life from exploitation by inflicting economic harm, not physical harm, upon exploiters (NAALPO, n.d.). Both movements see terrorism as a “false rhetoric” demonizing their cause (Pickering, 2007, p. 54). Altogether, this is evidence of devaluing and discrediting both movements’ tactics - falling under Ferree’s (2005) concept of stigma.

5.2.2. *Belief stigmatization*

The ALF faces belief stigmatization, as indicated by media coverage of the animal experimentation debate⁴. Kruse (2001, p. 82) finds that animal rights activists are three times more likely to be portrayed negatively compared to pro-experimentation forces in newsmagazines, and six times more likely to be portrayed negatively in television. Pro-experimentation forces were framed positively as “conquering heroes” and “martyrs” advocating scientific progress (Kruse, 2001, p. 78). Meanwhile, animal rights activists were painted as having “warped priorities”, “distorted beliefs”, and being misanthropes “caring more about animals than people” (Kruse, 2001, p. 79)⁵.

⁴ Animal experimentation entails surgery on living animals for research purposes. Animal rights activists contest this, as animals should not suffer for human interests.

⁵ The study includes coverage on People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), a movement using non-destructive tactics of legal campaigning, and boycotts, and the ALF as a movement using destructive tactics. This indicates belief stigmatization towards animal rights activists in general, regardless of their tactics.

Furthermore, mainstream media reports portray animal rights activism as deviant, concerning, and a form of mental illness. Major newspaper headlines in the US used ableist words to label animal rights activism 229 times across five years (Wrenn et al., 2015, p. 1315). These labels include “freak”, “crazy”, and “schizophrenic” (Wrenn et al., 2015, p. 1316). Consequently, both studies indicate that animal rights activists are discredited for their beliefs. This is evident in ad hominem frames discrediting animal rights activism as misanthropic and “distorted”, and labels painting such beliefs as a mental illness.

In contrast, the ELF is not subject to the same belief stigmatization. Media coverage seldom represents the ELF’s beliefs, but focuses on condemning its tactics (Joosse, 2012). This hints that the ELF’s ideology or beliefs are not the main point of controversy or discredit - their tactics are. Rather than facing criticism for the beliefs they hold, the media discourse surrounding the ELF holds the sentiment that “they are just terrorists” - beliefs need not be discussed as no motive can morally excuse terrorism (Joosse, 2012, p. 83).

In fact, the ELF’s ecocentric beliefs are generally portrayed positively by the media. This is seen in discourse separating the “goodness” of environmentalism with the “badness” of the ELF’s tactics. One source writes: “What these people are doing isn't activism - it's vandalism, and I strongly oppose it.” (Madigan, 2003 cited in Joosse, 2012, p. 85). Another source claims: “There could be no justification for criminal activity. And whatever their motivation, it had nothing to do with the environment.” (Baker, 2001 cited in Joosse, 2012, p. 85). Subsequently, the media perpetuates the idea that ecocentric activism is “good”, but “terrorism” is “bad”. When movements like the ELF destroy property for the environment’s sake, they are no longer “good” environmental activists, but “bad” terrorists.

Furthermore, beliefs in environmentalism and environmental justice are generally well-received by mainstream media. Positive media receptions toward the US biofuels movement exemplify this (Wright and Reid, 2011). Similarly, the Fridays for Future (FFF) movement, advocating climate and environmental justice, faces no belief stigmatization. Mainstream US media portrays FFF activists as “morally courageous”, “spectacular”, and a “beacon of hope” (Hess, 2021, pp. 2-3). These portrayals hardly imply stigma - they are positive appraisals of environmental justice activists and their beliefs.

This is not to say that environmental justice activists face zero forms of soft repression for their beliefs. Rather, the type of soft repression faced is akin to “silencing”. Silencing occurs

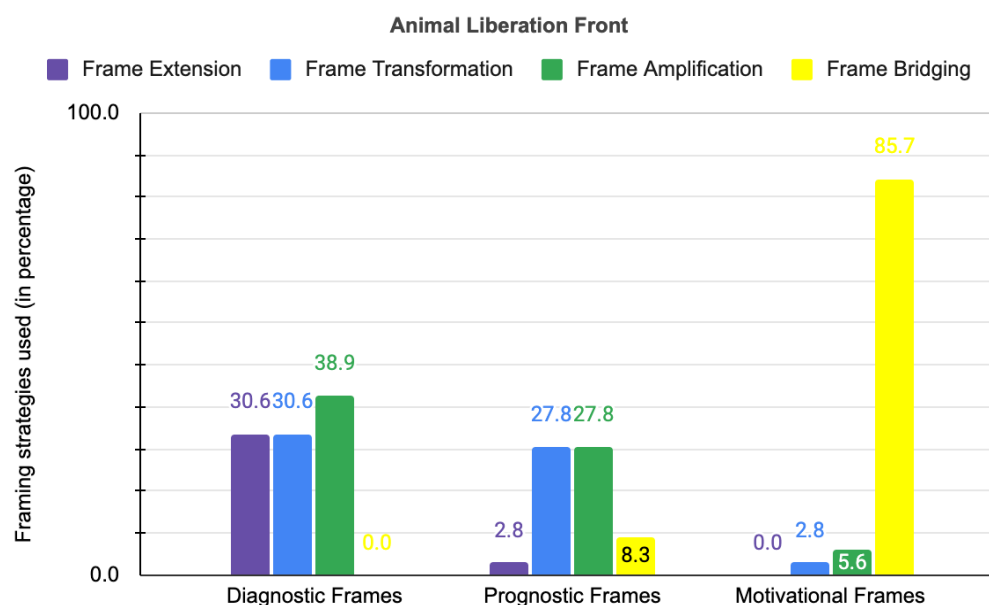
when the institutionalized media excludes voices and ideas by creating their own narrative of a movement (Ferree, 2005, p. 147). This is arguably the case with the ELF - their motives and beliefs are silenced for a narrative of the movement as morally inexcusable terrorists. Regardless, other forms of soft repression are outside of the scope of this research. Looking at stigma alone, the ELF does not face belief stigmatization anywhere near animal rights activists. Media coverage paints environmentalism as a “good” cause tainted by the “badness” of the ELF’s “terrorist” tactics. Meanwhile, animal rights activists are stigmatized by coverage painting their beliefs as distorted, misanthropic, and indicative of mental illness.

Thus, these findings clarify the values of the independent variable. The ALF faces higher degrees of stigmatization as it faces both *tactical* and *belief* stigmatization. In contrast, the ELF faces a lower degree of stigma as it only faces *tactical* stigmatization. To affirm the hypothesis, the ALF, as a movement facing stigma for its beliefs, must use frame amplification across its diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames.

5.3. Framing strategies

Figure 1.

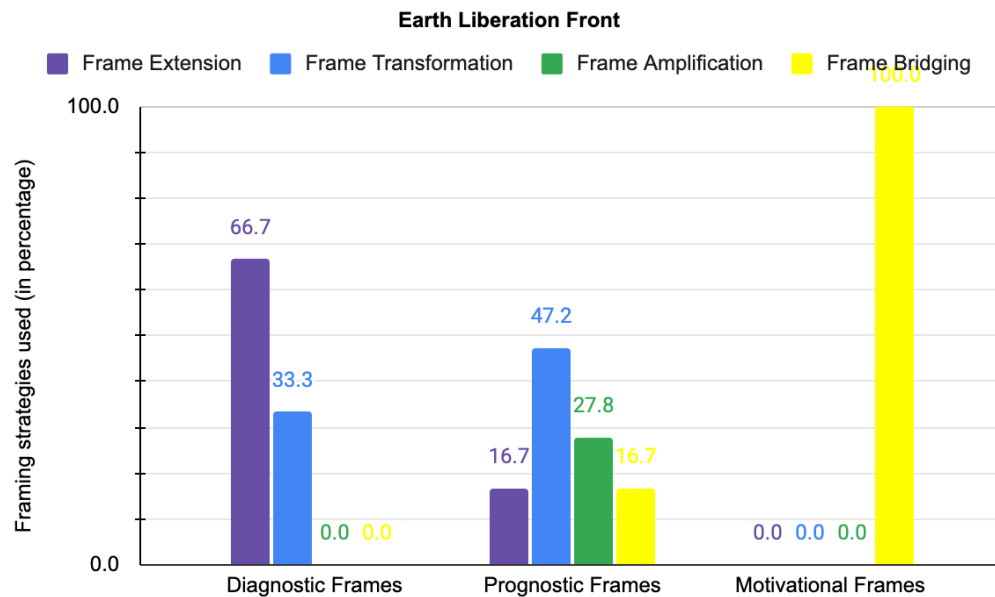
*ALF framing strategies (author’s coding)*⁶



⁶ N=75. 75 framing strategies were coded in total. The graph shows the distribution of strategies across the core framing tasks (in percentage).

Figure 2.

*ELF framing strategies (author's coding)*⁷



In total, 49 texts by the ELF and 41 texts by the ALF were analyzed. These texts consisted of communiqués and essays submitted by activists and supporters to their above-ground press offices⁸. For the ALF, 75 framing strategies were coded in total. For the ELF, a total of 81 framing strategies were coded.

Frame amplification was the ALF's most frequent strategy - evident in the three core framing tasks, and coded in 34.6% of total frames. It was the dominant strategy in the ALF's diagnostic and prognostic frames and the second most dominant in its motivational frames. In contrast, frame amplification was the strategy the ELF used least overall (coded in 12.3% of total frames). It was absent in the ELF's diagnostic and motivational frames, and only seldom used in prognostic frames. Hence, the ALF used frame amplification to a greater extent, given its prevalence across all three framing tasks. Meanwhile, frame amplification was only evident in the ELF's prognostic frames. So far, this supports the hypothesis that movements facing *belief* stigmatization will opt for frame amplification as a strategy in their diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames.

⁷ N=81. 81 framing strategies were coded in total. The graph shows the distribution of strategies across the core framing tasks (in percentage).

⁸ See [Appendix B](#).

5.3.1. Diagnostic frames

The ALF framed animal rights as a social problem by using *frame amplification* as its dominant strategy, amplifying both moral imperatives and political values (evident in 38.9% of diagnostic frames). Interestingly, the movement appealed to these extant cultural items whilst trying to transform or recontextualize them. This was done using *frame transformation* strategies - evident in 31.4% of diagnostic frames.

Firstly, the ALF amplified “thou shalt not kill”, a Judeo-Christian imperative, to frame the killing of animals as a social problem. Consequently, they imply that animal slaughter is a sin and form of human depravity:

“THOU SHALT NOT KILL – this is the path from the insignificance of the man of the system (homo sapiens) to the greatness of the spiritual man (homo spiritualitas); the only way of conscience. There is no difference between killing an animal and killing a human.” (Plokhoi, 2022)

Aside from frame amplification, the ALF uses *frame transformation* to redefine the meaning of “murder” - transforming the audience's understanding of the concept. The ALF extends the moral apprehensiveness of “murder” by applying it to a different context - nonhuman animals. As murder against humans is morally reprehensible, eating murdered animals is transformed - redefined to make it a similar act. The slogan “Meat is Murder” exemplifies this logic (NAALPO, 2019a).

Secondly, the ALF amplified political values of “freedom” and “liberty”. The “sentience” frame argued that animals’ ability to be aware, feel, and perceive made it “critical to relinquish the abridgement of fundamental rights to *liberty* that these nonhuman, sentient creatures deserve” (NAALPO, 2014a). Because animals are sentient beings, they deserve equal rights to experience freedom the same way as humans. Likewise, the ALF used *frame transformation* to place these values in a different framework. They criticize the existing framework, where these values are only applied to humans, arguing that they ought to be applied to animals:

“Leftists should grasp the gross inconsistency of advocating values such as peace, non-violence, compassion, justice, and equality while exploiting animals ... and ignoring the ongoing holocaust against other species” (Best, 2010)

In contrast, the ELF’s dominant strategy is *frame extension* (in 66.7% of diagnostic frames). Firstly, urban sprawls were tied to issues beyond environmental degradation to issues affecting human welfare - congestion, air pollution, and cancerous water (Pickering, 2007, p. 22-24). Secondly, the ELF links to other social justice issues. They invoke anti-colonial sentiment by comparing the removal of non-native plant species to European colonization (Pickering, 2007, p. 10). Furthermore, they frame fast fashion as a social problem by linking it to labor exploitation and modern slavery (Pickering, 2007, p. 29). The ALF also engages in frame extension, though not as its dominant strategy. Animal consumption is a problem not only because animals deserve rights, but also because meat-eating causes heart disease and obesity (NAALPO, 2022). Likewise, the ALF links speciesism to other injustices like racism (NAALPO, 2014a).

Thus, the dominant strategy in the ALF’s diagnostic frames is frame amplification - amplifying extant cultural items. Yet, by amplifying the norm against murder, and values of “liberty”, the ALF also transforms their understandings - applying these human-centric concepts to nonhuman animals. Meanwhile, the ELF uses frame extension most prominently - linking other issues affecting human welfare and other social injustices. This is a strategy the ALF uses, albeit less frequently. Concerning the argument, this hints that frame amplification is indeed a frequent and important strategy for movements facing *belief* stigmatization, like the ALF. Yet, frame transformation may be equally relevant - transforming the values amplified by placing them in a different context.

5.3.2. Prognostic frames

The ALF used frame *amplification* and *transformation* as its most dominant strategies in its prognostic frames. First, the ALF amplifies the same values of “liberty” from their diagnostic frames. Being vegan is seen as “extending individual autonomy to non-human animals” (NAALPO, 2019a). Freeing an animal from its cage gives it “freedom and peace for the rest of its days” (NAALPO, 2006b). Again, this combines frame *amplification* and frame

transformation - the ALF transforms the concept of freedom and justice as human luxuries by extending their application to nonhuman animals.

Both the ALF and ELF amplified extant beliefs about retributive justice to justify their tactics. The retribution frame depicts the destruction of slaughterhouses and fur shops as a proportional punishment to “avenge and give freedom to other living beings victimized by the human animal” (NAALPO, 2008b). Likewise, the ELF also amplifies retributive justice to justify property destruction: “This was in retribution for all the wild forests and animals lost to feed the wallets of greedy fucks” (Pickering, 2007, p. 14). Again, both movements use *frame transformation* to change conventional understandings of justice as a value merely applicable to humans.

Interestingly, both movements also use *frame transformation* to challenge the “eco-terrorist” label. The ALF reframes their destructive tactics as benevolent, selfless acts - rejecting the “violent terrorist” label. Press officer Nicoal Sheen states in an interview that “Liberationists are not and cannot be terrorists, but are selfless actors in defense of our other-than-human brothers” (NAALPO, 2011). Similarly, the ELF counters the “terrorist” label by framing property destruction as self-defense: “When the quality of our air, water, and soil becomes increasingly poor, sickening and killing life, the only natural, realistic, and strategically-sound option is self-defense” (Pickering, 2007, p. 117).

Thus, both movements opt for similar strategies in their prognostic frames. Both amplified beliefs in retributive justice, using *frame amplification* to justify property destruction as an appropriate solution. Additionally, both use *frame transformation* strategies in similar ways. First, they recontextualize “freedom” and “justice” by applying them to nonhuman animals and plant life. Secondly, they transform and subvert the “terrorist” label attached to their tactics. Concerning the argument, this hints that *frame transformation* generally accompanies *frame amplification* - both strategies may be equally important for the ALF. Interestingly, it also implies a link between tactical stigmatization and prognostic framing. The ELF, facing only tactical stigmatization, only amplified extant cultural items in its prognostic frames - frames specifically tasked with rationalizing tactics.

5.3.3. *Motivational frames*

Frame bridging was the dominant strategy for both movements' motivational frames. First, both movements used it to mobilize those who hold similar grievances, but are not members of any movement. The ELF vaguely calls upon those who care for "life" as a call to arms: "It doesn't take a trained expert to become involved in the ELF, just individuals who really care about life on the planet" (Pickering, 2007, p. 44). Second, both movements called upon activists from other movements - bridging different social movements: "we are not the only ones fighting for liberation. There are environmental activists ... activists fighting against central banks ... we have to stand together" (NAALPO, 2014e).

Frame bridging was the ELF's sole strategy in its motivational frames. Meanwhile, the ALF also relied on *frame amplification*. The ALF amplified "liberty" by glorifying animal liberation as a fight for freedom: "Caging the wild is a heinous offense against life – against freedom. Every cage is worth emptying, and to begin this work is not difficult." (NAALPO, 2020). Thus, both movements have similar motivational frames, with frame bridging as a frequent strategy. However, the ALF also uses frame amplification - framing animal rights activism as a path to "freedom".

5.4. *Revisiting the argument*

The main argument or hypothesis contends that movements facing stigma for holding radical *beliefs* will amplify extant cultural items as their main framing strategy. This strategy makes radical beliefs sound more familiar and acceptable to mainstream society - communicating them in a way that adheres to dominant cultural values, norms, and understandings (Berbrier, 1998, p. 431).

The empirical findings are congruent with this hypothesis. The findings showed that the ALF faced stigma for its radical beliefs about animal rights. Facing belief stigmatization, the ALF used frame amplification across diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames - with it being the dominant strategy for the former two frames. Meanwhile, the ELF, which does not face belief stigmatization, did not amplify extant culture to the same extent - frame amplification was absent in its diagnostic and motivational frames. Thus, the findings support the hypothesis.

Beyond the hypothesis, the findings clarified the scope conditions of Snow and Benford's (2000, p. 624) initial argument - limiting its predictions to movements facing stigma for their

beliefs. Although movements like the ELF do face stigma for their *tactics*, the findings show that these movements fail to amplify extant cultural items to the same extent as movements facing stigma for their *beliefs*. Additionally, the findings suggest a mechanism to explain how varying degrees of stigma result in different framing strategies. I outlined two forms of stigma: (1) *belief* stigmatization, and (2) *tactical* stigmatization. The ALF, facing stigma for its beliefs and tactics, used frame amplification across all frames. Interestingly, the ELF, which only faces stigma for its tactics, used frame amplification only in prognostic frames - frames that specifically rationalize tactics and solutions. This is evident in the amplification of “retributive justice” to justify property destruction.

This implies some association between tactical stigmatization and frame amplification in prognostic framing. Diagnostic frames revolve around beliefs about right and wrong, just and unjust. Considering that the ELF faces no stigma for its beliefs, it may be less relevant to amplify extant culture when constructing these frames. Thus, this implies a relationship between the form of stigma a movement faces and when they decide to use frame amplification. However, it is important not to exaggerate this suggestion - though the ELF indeed used frame amplification in prognostic frames, other framing strategies were still used more frequently.

The findings also suggest ways to refine the initial argument and hypothesis. Whenever the ELF or ALF amplified extant cultural items, they also attempted to transform or recontextualize them. For the ALF, appeals to “liberty”, “individual autonomy”, and “justice” mean nothing if audiences understand them in their original frameworks - their application to humans. Transforming these values by applying them to a different framework, nonhuman animals, implies the importance of both amplifying and transforming extant culture. This echoes prior work on stigmatized movements: Berbrier (1998) shows how values of “multiculturalism” and “tolerance” typically used for minorities were recontextualized by White supremacists. Thus, when theorizing about “modal types” of framing, both frame transformation and amplification are equally important for stigmatized movements. This adds to the arguments Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford (1986, p. 476) and Snow and Benford (2000, pp. 624-626) initially make.

Lastly, the findings highlighted similarities between ELF and ALF frames. Firstly, both used frame extension in their diagnostic frames - linking to other social justice issues. This builds upon prior arguments that the ALF is not a single-issue movement - it also critiques racism, sexism, and capitalism (Johnston & Johnston, 2017). Secondly, both movements used frame

bridging in their motivational frames, calling upon other social movements to fight for liberation. This echoes prior arguments that the ALF aims to build alliances with other movements (Johnston & Johnston, 2017). The findings complement such arguments by showing how the same logic applies to the ELF, which uses frame extension and bridging similarly.

6. Conclusion

After answering “*How does the degree of social movement stigmatization influence a movement’s framing strategies?*”, two conclusions are observable at the surface-level. First, the ALF, facing both tactical and belief stigmatization, used frame amplification as its dominant strategy. Secondly, the ELF, facing only tactical stigmatization, used frame amplification less - it was absent in the ELF’s diagnostic and motivational frames, and only seldom used in prognostic frames. Thus, an important condition influencing framing strategies is *belief* stigmatization. As Snow and Benford (2000, p. 624) suggest, movements facing stigma for their radical *beliefs* find it more relevant to use frame amplification. The findings support this, as only the ALF faced stigma for its beliefs and used frame amplification across its three framing tasks.

Delving deeper, the findings build upon and complement prior arguments. First, the findings suggest that frame transformation may be as important as frame amplification for stigmatized movements - “freedom”, “justice”, and “autonomy” are transformed from their original contexts to defend nonhuman animals. This builds on prior work investigating the interplay between frame amplification and transformation (Berbrier, 1998; Davies, 1999). Second, the findings highlighted common strategies the ELF and ALF have - showing how prior arguments initially applied to the ALF (e.g. Johnston & Johnston, 2017) also apply to the ELF.

Regardless, limitations are present. Coding frame amplification is an imprecise measure based on coding whatever values or beliefs sound culturally familiar. Previous work on frame amplification assumes that cultural elements are well-known, often self-evident in society (D’Anjou & Van Male, 1998; Kubal, 1998; Berbrier, 1998). Berbrier (1998, p. 434) argues that “diversity” and “tolerance” are widespread in American culture without referencing how to know or prove this - taking their cultural relevance as a known fact. Yet, what sounds culturally familiar and natural to one may not be self-evident to another. Using multiple coders is a more systematic way of approaching frame amplification for future research - ensuring that when frame amplification is coded, the “values” and “beliefs” amplified sound culturally familiar to at least more than one researcher. Inter-coder reliability also enhances consistency - ensuring that one framing strategy is coded similarly across researchers (Halperin & Heath, 2020, p. 325).

Furthermore, future researchers may opt for a different comparative design - comparing a movement facing no stigma to one facing only tactical stigmatization. This research implied a

possible relationship between tactical stigmatization and the use of frame amplification in prognostic frames. I proposed a mechanism explaining this: movements facing only tactical stigmatization will only opt for frame amplification in their prognostic frames - frames that specifically rationalize tactics. A comparative design tests this hunch by investigating whether such movements use frame amplification as a prognostic framing strategy more dominantly than movements facing zero forms of stigmatization.

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8.1. Appendix A: Coding Frame

Table 2.

Color-coded coding frame for “Framing Strategies”

Category	Description	Indicators	Color-code
Frame bridging	“Linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding an issue or a problem” (Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986, p. 467).	When a movement links itself with (1) other social movements/SMOs (2) individuals who share common grievances but lack an organizational base to express their discontents.	Yellow
Frame amplification	Emphasizing existing values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom, and myths from extant culture in framing (Snow & Benford, 2000, p. 624).	Identifying and emphasizing one or more <i>values</i> or <i>beliefs</i> deemed basic to prospective constituents. Example: Cold War peace activists emphasizing values of equality and liberty associated with democracy (Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986, p. 469).	Green
Frame extension	Depicting a movement’s interest and frames beyond just its primary interests to include “issues and concerns that are presumed to be of importance to political adherents”. (Snow & Benford, 2000, p. 624).	Including salient issues outside of a movement’s primary scope Example: including other issues beyond just animal rights and climate justice for the ELF and ALF.	Purple
Frame transformation	The changing of old understandings/meanings to create and nurture new values or beliefs (Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986, p. 624).	Redefining concepts from one framework in terms of another framework, so wider audiences see them in a different light (Snow, Rochford, Worden &	Blue

Benford, 1986, p. 474).

Example: from
victim-blaming to system
blaming, from self-blaming
to structural blaming (Snow,
Rochford, Worden &
Benford, 1986, p. 474).

8.2. Appendix B: List of coded sources

Table 3.

Number of sources coded per social movement

Category	Essays	Communiques	Total
ELF	4	45	49
ALF	16	25	41

Table 4.

Breakdown of coded sources

Organization	Type of source	Reference
ELF	Book, contains a total of 45 communiques and 4 essays	Pickering, L. J. (2007). <i>The Earth Liberation Front: 1997-2002</i> . Portland, United States: Arissa Media Group.
ALF	Communique	North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2005a). <i>ALF liberates entire deer population from GNK deer farm in Southern Monterey County, California</i> . Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2005/01/22/5020/]
ALF	Communique	North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2005b). <i>Deer herd released</i> . Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2005/01/18/deer-herd-released/]
ALF	Communique	North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2006a). <i>120 chickens liberated in Litchfield CT</i> . Retrieved from

- [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2006/03/25/120-chickens-liberated-in-litchfield-ct/]
- ALF Communique North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2006b). *35 hens liberated Delaware*. Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2006/06/06/35-hens-liberated-delaware/]
- ALF Communique North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2007). *Linda's fashion and fur salon painted and glass door broken*. Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2007/06/14/lindas-fashions-and-fur-salon-painted-and-glass-door-broken/]
- ALF Communique North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2008a). *Butchers and cosmetic shop painted*. Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2008/03/16/butchers-and-cosmetic-shop-painted/]
- ALF Communique North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2008b). *Duck liberation*. Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2008/03/04/duck-liberation/]
- ALF Communique North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2008c). *New York City fast food restaurant gas sabotaged*. Retrieved from [<https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA>

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- [LPO/2010/12/02/animal-liberation-human-liberation-and-the-future-of-the-left-by-steven-best/](https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA-LPO/2010/12/02/animal-liberation-human-liberation-and-the-future-of-the-left-by-steven-best/)
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|-----|------------|---|
| ALF | Communique | North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2010b). <i>Animal rights activists hit several Vancouver-area fur stores Red paint a reminder of 'innocent blood spilled in vicious trade'</i> . Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA-LPO/2012/05/23/animal-rights-activists-hit-several-vancouver-area-fur-stores-red-paint-a-reminder-of-innocent-blood-spilled-in-vicious-trade/] |
| ALF | Communique | North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2010c). <i>Justice department target Huntingdon Life Sciences</i> . Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA-LPO/2010/11/07/justice-department-target-huntingdon-life-sciences/] |
| ALF | Communique | North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2010d). <i>Unnamed activists hit multiple targets</i> . Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA-LPO/2010/05/10/unnamed-activists-hit-multiple-targets/] |
| ALF | Essay | North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2011). <i>Animal Liberation Press Office interview with RISE and Press Officer Nicoal</i> |

- Sheen.* Retrieved from
[\[https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2011/06/01/animal-liberation-press-office-interview-with-rise-and-press-officer-nicoal-sheen/\]](https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2011/06/01/animal-liberation-press-office-interview-with-rise-and-press-officer-nicoal-sheen/)
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[LPO/2013/08/09/portland-or-meat-market-validated/](https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA-LPO/2013/08/09/portland-or-meat-market-validated/)]

- | | | |
|-----|------------|---|
| ALF | Essay | North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2014a). <i>If we care about justice, why not animal rights?</i> Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA-LPO/2014/10/09/if-we-care-about-justice-why-not-animal-rights/] |
| ALF | Communique | North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2014b). <i>Mobile slaughter unit sabotaged in Hillsboro, Oregon.</i> Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA-LPO/2014/06/19/mobile-slaughter-unit-sabotaged-in-hillsboro-oregon/] |
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| ALF | Communique | North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2014d). <i>Three ringneck pheasants liberated in Oregon.</i> Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA-LPO/2014/12/30/three-ringneck-pheasants-liberated-in-oregon/] |

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- ALF Essay North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2016b). *How the war on civil liberties harms animals*. Retrieved from

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- ALF Essay North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2017a). *8 reasons why meat-eating anarchists need a kick up their anthropocentric ass*. Retrieved from [https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2017/05/15/8-reasons-why-meat-eating-anarchists-need-a-kick-up-their-anthropocentric-ass/]
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ALF Essay North American Animal Liberation Press Office. (2022). *On pandemic culture*. Retrieved from [\[https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2022/01/01/on-pandemic-culture/\]](https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAA_LPO/2022/01/01/on-pandemic-culture/)

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8.3. Appendix C: Coding the framing strategies of the ELF

Table 5.

Color-coded framing strategies in the ELF's frames (author's coding)

Diagnostic frames	Prognostic frames	Motivational frames
<p>“The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) claims they are removing non- native species from public lands (aren't white Europeans also non-native?) but then they turn around and subsidize the cattle industry and place thousands of non-native domestic cattle on these same lands.” (Pickering, 2007, p.10)</p>	<p>“INDEPENDENCE DAY FOR FUR FARM PRISONERS” spray-painted on a storage barn.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 11)</p>	<p>“We take inspiration from Luddites, Levellers, Diggers, the Autonomie squatter movement, the ALF, the Zapatistas, and the little people” (Pickering, 2007, p. 10)</p>
<p>“That cougars just trying to survive their genocide – not human expansion and habitat decimation – are the problems!” (Pickering, 2007, p. 11)</p>	<p>“This was done in response to the work being done to force developing nations in Asia, Latin America and Africa to switch from natural crop plants to genetically engineered sweet potatoes, corn, bananas and pineapples.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 24)</p>	<p>“We stand in solidarity with all resistance to this system, especially those who are in prison, disappeared, raped, tortured...we are all survivors and will not stop!!!” (Pickering, 2007, p. 35)</p>
<p>“Fur farming industry plays a crucial role in the devastation of delicate ecosystems. Fur farm waste run-offs contaminate local bodies of water, poisoning fish supplies and suffocating aquatic plants” (Pickering, 2007, p. 12)</p>	<p>“We have no faith in the present system of electoral politics where every candidate, both Republican and Democrat, is funded with corporate blood money. Because there are no viable options on the ballot, we must find another means of voting. Our non-participation in, and active resistance against this system, controlled by the rich, is our means of voting.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 19)</p>	<p>“It doesn't take a trained expert to become involved in the ELF, just individuals who really care about life on the planet to the degree that they want to take</p>
<p>“...the farm held captive many different breeds of mink” (Pickering, 2007, p. 13)</p>	<p>“The two active cuts had already sliced and diced their way through a beautiful patch of Indiana forest, including some very large, old trees. As prevention was not possible revenge became necessary.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 20)</p>	
<p>“Don't get us wrong – this action is against the Forest Service, not just one particular project or research program. What they do on a daily basis is</p>		

sheer genocide” (Pickering, 2007, p. 18)

“The ELF then proceeded to another site of urban sprawl in Miller place. They then created some havoc including the decommissioning of Earth raping equipment.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 21)

“Urban sprawl not only destroys the forests and green spaces of our planet, but also leads directly to added runoff of pollutants into waterways, increased traffic that causes congestion and air pollution, and a less pleasing landscape.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 22)

“The rape of Earth puts everyone’s life at risk due to global warming, ozone depletion, toxic chemicals, etc” (Pickering, 2007, p. 23)

“Apparently, Long Islands growing smog and cancerous water is not a good enough warning to those directly responsible for it.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 24)

“Polluted air and mudslides affect people’s lives” (Pickering, 2007, p. 26)

“The once beautiful farmlands of Eastern Jefferson County, KY, are being destroyed by Earth rapers for corporate profit” (Pickering, 2007, p. 27)

“Old Navy, Gap, Banana Republic care not for the

“They disregarded these well-intended cautions and proceeded with the cut. We were forced to retaliate.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 20)

“The structures were checked thoroughly for the presence of any occupants (human or animal) before being set.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 22)

“This action was done in solidarity with Josh Harper, Craig Rosebraugh, Jeffrey “Free” Luers and Craig “Critter” Marshall, Andrew Stepanian, Jeremy Parkin, and the countless other known and unknown activists who suffer persecution, interrogation, police brutality, crappy jail conditions” (Pickering, 2007, p. 24)

“We are just trying to cause the rich sprawl corporations enough money so they stop destroying the planet, and thus the health, well-being, and existence of humankind” (Pickering, 2007, p. 25)

“Corporations do not have rights. Humans do. Corporations lost their “right” to property the second the earth inhabitants lost their freedom to life and happiness.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 26)

“The Earth Liberation Front has very recently paid a visit to a Nike outlet in the town of Albertville, MN. This visit was in solidarity with all people of all nations to fight globalization, and to support the growing anti-global sentiment. This is also a call for direct action against globalization in solidarity with all of the anti-FTAA actions scheduled in Canada later this month.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 29)

“All ELF actions are nonviolent towards humans and animals. But if a building exists which perpetrates, and sponsors violence towards people or animals (such as a Nike Outlet, or a Gap Outlet, etc.), then by God, it’s

actions to protect it.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 44)

“Thus, in a sense, to work individually on separate justice issues is to attempt to toss water out of a sinking ship with a teaspoon” (Pickering, 2007, p. 46)

“Ask the families of the murdered individuals why, when they took a stand against corporations like Shell and Chevron, they were killed. Ask the many Native American tribes who it was that murdered their families and virtually destroyed their cultures. Ask the relatives of black slaves why slavery was legal years ago. Ask an Iraqi civilian why the U.S. government continues to bomb the country, killing innocent people. Ask the executives of the General

species that call these forests home, care not for the animals that comprise their leather products, and care not for their garment workers underpaid, exploited and enslaved in overseas sweatshops” (Pickering, 2007, p. 29)

“HLS does not care about the health of people, does not care about the preservation of wild lands and life, and brutalizes, probes, tortures, and murders thousands of lonely, frightened and beautiful creatures.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 32)

“An anonymous ELF Night Action Kid compares research in Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology to the scientific studies which lead to the creation of the nuclear bomb... With G.E. we are creating another bomb.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 34)

“Genetic testing for predisposition to certain diseases, such as cancer, may soon keep you and your children from getting insurance or a job.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 34)

“We want to be clear that all oppression is linked, just as we are all linked, and we believe in a diversity of tactics to stop earth rape and end all domination. Together we can destroy this patriarchal nightmare, which is currently in the form of techno-industrial global capitalism” (Pickering,

got to be burned to the ground!!!” (Pickering, 2007, p. 30)

“These actions were dedicated to the 130 thousand animals who will perish this year for HLS’ greed.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 33)

“Acts of resistance like this spiking are part of a larger worldwide struggle to defend land and communities against clearcuts, war, and other acts of greed.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 37)

“It may be more realistic to refer to the organization as one that works to protect all life on the planet.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 44)

“On behalf of the lynx, five buildings and four ski lifts at Vail were reduced to ashes on the night of Sunday, October 18th. Vail, Inc. is already the largest ski operation in North America and now wants to expand even further.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 49)

“This was in retribution for all the wild forests and animals lost to feed the wallets of greedy fucks like Jerry Bramwell, U.S.F.I. president.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 49)

“Think of what goes through your mind when you hear the term “terrorist.” Usually it relates somehow to racist beliefs and stereotypes about Arabs, about airline hijackings, violence, and about how terrorists need to be caught and/or killed to be kept away from society. So when the federal government and the mainstream press immediately label actions of the ELF as ecoterrorism, it could only create a negative stereotype in the minds of the public.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 55)

“Can you imagine just what might occur if the ELF were not labeled negatively? What if people were honestly told why the group exists and who its targets are? Obviously, more and more people would support and take part in ELF actions. The ELF is not an

Motors Corporation, Ford, and the others why the Gulf War was fought. Ask the executives of General Electric who it is that has profited massively from virtually every war that has been fought around the world. This is real violence. This is real injustice. This needs to be stopped by any means necessary.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 47)

“Once the ideology of the ELF is understood, anyone who is honestly concerned about the destruction of life should feel compelled to either support and/or become a member of the organization.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 64)

2007, p. 35).

“That short term benefit is outweighed by the long term losses of topsoil, clean water, fisheries, and biodiversity which greatly reduce the chances that local people can make a sustainable living on the land” (Pickering, 2007, p. 37)

“This hypocrisy and genocide against the horse nation will not go unchallenged! The practice of rounding up and auctioning wild horses must be stopped.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 42)

“Particularly with the advent of the industrial revolution, the westernized way of life has been in complete violation of natural law. There is a major difference between taking actions for the immediate sustenance of you, your family and your close-knit community and actions taken to stockpile wealth and to demonstrate power and domination over, and oftentimes, at the expense of others.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 45)

“The ELF ideology considers the various social and political problems facing the world today to be mere symptoms caused by a larger overall problem” (Pickering, 2007, p. 46)

“What wasn’t and still isn’t told to the millions seeking the American Dream is that dream comes at a price; it always has

ecoterrorist organization or any sort of terrorist organization, but rather one that is working to protect all life on planet Earth.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 54)

“It is amazingly hypocritical for mainstream media and the federal government to label the ELF as a terrorist group, yet at the same time ignore the U.S. government and U.S.-based corporations, which every day exploit, torture, and murder people around the world.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 56)

“Classically, people-- especially in privileged, Westernized societies-- have been taught that Gandhi’s nonviolence tactics were the only methodology used to gain India’s independence from Britain. Yet, in addition to the work of Gandhi, there was a strong militant faction of the Independence Movement that played just as important a role as the work of Gandhi himself” (Pickering, 2007, p. 57)

“Angry at the threat to life and culture that the new machines of the industrialized revolution posed, the Luddites fought back using tactics very similar to those performed by the ELF today. Some factories were forced to shut down and others agreed to stop running the industrialized machines due to the Luddite activity and threat.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 57)

“In the abolitionist movement in the United States, there are numerous accounts of slaves sabotaging the property of their “masters” and engaging in various tactics to disrupt the flow of commerce in the slave system. Slave revolts were fairly rare, but even one would create a chilling threat that actually forced some slave owners to give up the practice.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 57)

“The suffragette movement, particularly in England, used sabotage in addition to other tactics to successfully gain rights for women.

and always will. That price consists of everything from taking advantage of slave labor, to dumping toxic waste into our waterways, to murdering those who take a stand for justice, to destroying cultures, to destroying environments and exploiting and oppressing anyone or anything that poses to be a threat, nuisance, or a bump along the path to riches.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 46)

“The quest for monetary gain has left millions of people suffering from depression and other illnesses and has been responsible for countless suicides and murders and for the demise of the community and family structure, leading to (or at least being partially responsible for) such atrocities as the numerous school shootings” (Pickering, 2007, p. 47)

“The public relations departments at Monsanto and in other firms within the biotech industry are being far from truthful in presenting this appearance of altruism as though they are helping people in (as they refer to them) the “developing nations” to improve their lives” (Pickering, 2007, pp. 50-51)

“The house was targeted because the sprawling development it is located in is in the Lake Monroe Watershed. This is the drinking water supply for the town of

One example occurred in February 1913, when Emmeline Pankhurst, the founder of England’s suffragette movement, bombed the villa of the Chancellor of the Exchequer David Lloyd George in Surrey. Pankhurst accepted responsibility for the event and described it as “guerrilla warfare.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 57)

“In the United States, most everyone has heard of the Boston Tea Party which consisted of bands of men boarding English ships in Boston Harbor (among others) and dumping British tea into the water. Seldom is this referred to as economic sabotage, but that is indeed an accurate description of it.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 58)

“In the protests in the U.S. against the Vietnam War, economic sabotage was once again used, in addition to other tactics, to place a great amount of pressure on the U.S. Government. In the end-- due in part to the protests but more to the reality that the U.S. lost the war-- the U.S. troops began withdrawing from Vietnam.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 58)

“In addition, rarely is the distinction made-- which is crucial for any movement seeking to actually produce change-- between actions that make an individual simply feel good and actions that are truly effective and challenge the oppressing party.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 60)

“This movement to protect all life requires all of us to step out of our comfort zones and realize what actually needs to be done. The Westernized individual who may support more extreme forms of direct action abroad and outside of the Westernized countries, such as the armed self defense of the Zapatistas, while simultaneously denouncing direct action domestically to protect life, is practicing one

Bloomington, IN and the surrounding area” (Pickering, 2007, p. 52)

“the mainstream public (especially in the United States) is living a life of extreme over-consumption, ruthlessly attacking what we all need to survive: clean air, clean water, and clean soil.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 59)

“The Earth, and therefore all of us born of it, is under attack” (Pickering, 2007, p. 90)

“We watch as our governments justify murdering millions of people for oil while calling the Earth Liberation Front special-interest terrorists.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 90)

“We are sick of the lie that tells us 4 minutes of action every four years will change the world. We are sick of watching as the last of the wild dies, as the animal nations are massacred, and as our communities become devoid of real life, happiness, freedom and personality. We don’t want to live in a world owned by Starbucks, we don’t want to work our existence away making profit for the rich bastards we all despise, and we don’t want to be beaten down and arrested for finally speaking up” (Pickering, 2007, p. 91)

“This false debate over ‘ecoterrorism’ is designed to steer attention away from the

of the sickest forms of hypocrisy, if not a form of racism and imperialism.” (Pickering, 2007, pp. 60-61)

“Remember, the ELF exists to protect life on this planet. The choice to use economic sabotage is a very deliberate and purposeful strategy to target the real underlying threat to life: the quest for profit and power” (Pickering, 2007, p. 61)

“Very often, by labeling the ELF as ‘violent,’ mainstream society, government, and big business can attempt to forget about the real violence that occurs everyday: the violence against life.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 62)

“When faced with the current magnitude of oppression, is it logical to even consider single-issue reform as having any vague resemblance to a solution?” (Pickering, 2007, p. 88)

“Activism detours potential revolutionaries while reinforcing the misconception that capitalist society can be reformed. It keeps us juggling the symptoms of an illness that goes untouched, all the while smiling like clowns.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 88)

“The argument that the movements led by Gandhi, Martin Luther King and others made gains through their practices of nonviolence is an uneducated misconception. These people and their philosophies were simply parts of larger movements, which utilized a wide variety of tactics.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 88)

“For the FBI to state that these groups pose a ‘significant threat’ is to confirm the effectiveness of their actions. Threat to what? There has been no threat to any natural form of life posed by either of these organizations; in fact, they both struggle to ‘liberate’ life. The threat they pose is to ‘national security’ and to the continuance of our genocidal and

fact that we are systematically destroying the very elements we rely on for survival.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 102)

“It’s no coincidence that as we destroy the Earth, we suffer both physically and mentally. While Western medicine has succeeded at increasing the length of our lives, it cannot possibly keep up with the cancer, disease, illness and general unhealthiness caused by industrial/technological society that plagues us.” (Pickering, 2007, p. 102)

“The air that we need to breath, the water that we need to drink and the food that we need to eat become more and more poisoned each day as industry plows onward” (Pickering, 2007, p. 103)

suicidal societal practices” (Pickering, 2007, p. 89)

“The global movement to protect the natural environment and life must be considered as a matter of self-defense. When the quality of our air, water, and soil becomes increasingly poor, sickening and killing life, the only natural, realistic and strategically-sound option is self-defense” (Pickering, 2007, p. 117)

“If someone had his hands around your throat, strangling you, would you gather petition signatures to politely ask him to stop? Would you go limp as a symbolic gesture of your non-cooperation? Hopefully, you would defend yourself by any means necessary” (Pickering, 2007, p. 103)

“The ELF is not a group of violent terrorists, as those who are responsible for the destruction of the Earth tell us. They are intelligent and courageous individuals who are taking necessary action in self-defense. They realize that the Earth is being destroyed because entities are making large profits off of its destruction” (Pickering, 2007, p. 104)

8.4. Appendix D: Coding the framing strategies of the ALF

Table 6.

Color-coded framing strategies in the ALF's frames (author's coding)

Diagnostic frames	Prognostic frames	Motivational frames
<p>“Our hearts go out to victims of the larger problem, the billions of lives we are unable to save – cows, chickens, pigs, mice, rats, and others – casualties of the meat, dairy, vivisection and other industries of suffering and blood” (NAALPO, 2005a)</p>	<p>“devastation wrought by COVID-19 underscores the need for measures to minimize the chances of another zoonotic pandemic. That means radically changing how humans interact with wildlife and natural habitats, preserving terrestrial ecosystems and biodiversity, and overhauling food production” (NAALPO, 2022)</p>	<p>“We encourage compassionate people everywhere to locate farms in their area and tear down their walls” (NAALPO, 2005b)</p>
<p>“THOU SHALT NOT KILL – this is the supreme axiom, a moral postulate, which we must take as a basis for morality.” (Plokhoi, 2022)</p>	<p>“As an individualist, being vegan is practical in extending individual autonomy to non-human animals. My refusal to socially reinforce their commodity status allows them the natural right to exist as their own autonomous individual selves, the same way I would expect to be respected by others” (NAALPO, 2019a)</p>	<p>“Our problem is that when one of us is arrested, there never seems to be another 50 actors who step onto the battlefield to take their place. We must begin to think in terms of being guerrilla activists — that means being creative and thinking outside the box — evening up the playing field.” (NAALPO, 2017b)</p>
<p>“THOU SHALT NOT KILL – this is the main principle with the fulfilment of which you fulfil yourself – by compassion you become a Human.” (Plokhoi, 2022)</p>	<p>“Once we’re restrained by they oppressors, we should be willing to die rather than negotiate with those who’s sole purpose is to divest us of our own liberty. We must recognize the police state and how it is converging upon us, stripping us of our constitutional liberties and criminalizing our speech; the state going so far as to order access to our phones and homes without search warrants or probable cause.” (NAALPO,</p>	<p>“Our movement is small, divided, and weak. But we are not the only ones fighting for</p>
<p>“They speak with horror about killing, but in fact, they support the order of life, which makes killing a law. They carry out the element of death with their cowardice. Killing ... we gave it other names and in this, is our curse. We did it to hide our lies and atrocities. To hide from ourselves our impotence to love.” (Plokhoi, 2022)</p>		
<p>“We are hypocritical animals who invented justifications for killing: patriotism and morality of the highest kind. By the profit of superstitions and the passion of instincts, we have degraded the meaning of life.” (Plokhoi, 2022)</p>		

“THOU SHALT NOT KILL either directly or indirectly; do not participate in everything that promotes killing and makes it possible. Deny by consciousness and action the system of lies that gives the “right” to take life.” (Plokhoi, 2022)

“THOU SHALT NOT KILL – this is the path from the insignificance of the man of the system (homo sapiens) to the greatness of the spiritual man (homo spiritualitas); the only way of conscience. There is no difference between killing an animal and killing a human.” (Plokhoi, 2022)

“THOU SHALT NOT KILL – in this law the whole philosophy, psychology and ethics of mankind. Everything that this law cancels was, is and will be a lie.” (Plokhoi, 2022)

“Then said flesh-eaters are aghast at the illness and deaths they suffer, primarily among the obese, diabetic and heart-diseased populations that are the inevitable result of their flesh consumption.” (NAALPO, 2022)

“I have no doubt that this zoonotic disease is real and has devastated a lot of people. (Although not a single human has been affected anywhere close to the devastation we regularly & carelessly visit upon our nonhuman brethren.)” (NAALPO, 2022)

“For 43 years, I believed that drinking cow’s milk was natural and healthy & that stuffing bread up a murdered turkey’s anal cavity was a festive way to celebrate family. I wasn’t told that heart disease was a wholly-avoidable leading cause of death. Nor was I aware

2016b)

“Let’s do a thought experiment. You’re walking down the street on a sweltering summer’s day and you pass a car in which a dog is trapped. The animal is visibly suffering in the heat, panting, and collapsing; it seems close to death. You know you can easily free the dog by forcing open a door or smashing the window. Do you do it? Even if you don’t know who owns the car, or the dog? I’d venture that a good many of you value the dog’s life over the sanctity of an intact window. It’s arguably a moral obligation to save the suffering animal. A new law (<http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jul/09/tennessee-law-save-animals-cars>) in Tennessee, which makes it legal to break into a car to save an animal, agrees. The legislation — an extension of the state’s Good Samaritan laws — is straightforwardly sensible and commendable. It’s thus of note that it stands at radical odds with the legal status quo when it comes to valuing animal life over property. Damage private property to save one animal, you’re a good Samaritan. Damage private property to save hundreds or thousands of animals, then you’re a terrorist.” (NAALPO, 2015b)

“In 2001, the FBI classified the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) as domestic terror threats. In 2006, Congress passed AETA, targeting a wide range of political activity in the name of animal

liberation. There are many activist movements. There are environmental activists, there are anarchists, there are activists fighting against central banks, there are anti-war activists, there are freedom of information activists.

Although many of these activists are not particularly interested in animal liberation, although many of them eat meat, we still have to stand together” (NAALPO, 2014e)

“Although we have different priorities, although we have different values, we are all fighting some aspect of the system that controls this planet. We are all fighting for liberation” (NAALPO, 2014e)

“when this system crumbles, ALL of our

that high cholesterol, obesity, late-onset diabetes and a host of other standard diseases were caused by eating animals.” (NAALPO, 2022)

“I thought I’d come to terms with the fact that I live in an insane society a long time ago – we murder the innocent for profit, wear skins torn off their bleeding bodies for style, and eat their remains three times a day while giving thanks to some deity. We sing songs about peace on earth while carving up a pig whose last bloody screams on this earth were ignored.” (NAALPO, 2022)

“Most movements who attempt to make social change en masse rely on the “appeal to morality” tactic as a primary method of gaining support. For example, “Meat is Murder” is a common catch phrase within the animal rights movement. This catch phrase relies on the assumption that all people are against murder since, by the same logic, murder is morally reprehensible.” (NAALPO, 2019a)

“Animal abuse is on the same spectrum as misogyny, homophobia, racism, and the abuse of children, the elderly or disabled. Claims that these analogies are racist/sexist/ableist only underscores the inherent speciesism of such a position, for how can we make exceptions for other sentient beings?” (NAALPO, 2017a)

“I would say that insofar as the framing of “total liberation” is concerned most, if not all, struggles are tightly intertwined. Eco- defense and the animal rights movement, for example, are ultimately one fight against destruction of the earth, against the oppression animals, a fight for

rights as “terror” activity. In the years since ELF and ALF’s early 90’s formation, no single human or animal has been killed or injured through their actions. It makes sense to speak of “terrorism” here, only insofar as the actors had political aims. Such an argument would only pass muster if all crimes committed with political intent were deemed terror activity. Patently, they are not.” (NAALPO, 2015b)

“A life is obviously more important than a lock or a window or a building, and that is what our movement is based on: That life is more valuable than property, that it is wrong to imprison and kill animals for material wealth (or any other reason” (NAALPO, 2014e)

“It is no different than when the Viet Cong employed tactical strategic violence against the South Vietnamese Army or when freedom fighters in the middle east employ “terrorist” tactics against imperialist forces occupying their countries. Those who are at a glaring disadvantage in the struggle for liberation need to embrace every available tactic – including violence – if oppressors are ever to be overthrown.” (NAALPO, 14 Sep, 2012)

“Throughout history, various people have broken the law in the name of a moral and just cause. These anonymous individuals liberating animals from vivisection laboratories, factory

movements—animal liberation, earth liberation, human rights, anti-war, freedom of information, EVERYTHING—we will ALL be so much closer to victory. We have to put aside our differences and stand together, as one, for total liberation. After all, it will take more than just us animal liberationists to wage a successful revolution against speciesism and the system that sustains the killing of animals. We need all of the allies we can get. Earth liberationists, we stand with you. Anarchists, we stand with you. Libertarians, we stand with you. Anti-war activists, we stand with you. Anonymous, we stand with you. Freedom of information activists, we stand with you.” (NAALPO, 2014e)

self-liberation, and ultimately total liberation.” (NAALPO, 2016a)

“The industry-crafted Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA) has had a chilling effect on Animal Liberation activism in America, classifying us as domestic terrorists if we affect the profits of animal abusers. Isn’t that our job? But while this oppressive piece of legislation looms glaringly over our movement, the sole objective of the systematic erosion of our civil liberties and Constitutional rights is to criminalize dissent and neuter activists.” (NAALPO, 2016b)

“We’ve seen laws re-written by the vivisection complex to classify free speech as “stalking” and “harassment.” (NAALPO, 2016b)

“giving lesser consideration to beings based on their species is no more justified than discrimination based on skin color” (NAALPO, 2014a)

“The sentience — the ability to be aware, feel, perceive or be conscious of one’s surroundings or to have subjective experiences — of these nonhuman animals indicates the capacity for these animals to experience rich emotional and psychological states similar to human beings. Exploitation of sentient species for human interests ought to be abolished. It is critical to relinquish the abridgment of the fundamental rights to liberty that these nonhuman, sentient creatures deserve” (NAALPO, 2014a)

“many studies have shown that vegetarians [and vegans] seem to have a lower risk of obesity, coronary heart disease — which causes heart attack — high blood pressure, diabetes mellitus

farms, etc. are no different than Harriet Tubman (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harriet_Tubman) and the Underground Railroad (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Underground_Railroad), anti-slavery activists who “smuggled” people considered property to their physical freedom in the North.” (NAALPO, 2011)

“One who directly puts liberation into praxis and frees individuals from the clutches of oppression is not a terrorist by any definition or deeds. Although, the definition of terrorism is and has always been manipulated to meet the authorities needs in conducting witch hunts against activists or in an attempt to halt the effectiveness of the liberation movement at hand. To animal liberationists, this is plain and simple: liberationists are not and cannot be terrorists, but are selfless actors in defense of our other-than-human brothers and sisters. Terrorism is what the industry inflicts upon animals — fear, pain, torture, and systematic holocaust.” (NAALPO, 2011)

“Chickens are highly intelligent, social creatures who experience pain and think, suffer, and feel happiness as humans do. Inspired by others, and guided by our hearts, we took action to liberate them from their horrendous suffering” (NAALPO, 25 Mar, 2006)

“In the middle of the night we simply entered the unlocked

“Anyone who takes part in the war against the oppressive hierarchies in this world can consider themselves a member of the Revolutionary Cells.” (NAALPO, n.d.)

“Until every cage and human prison is empty, for the Earth and the Animals.” (NAALPO, 2006a)

“To all of the old activists whose bandanas are dusty, and to all of the young ones who don’t yet know how much is possible — get off of MySpace and get out on the farms, labs, and everywhere else where beings live in constant pain. You are their only chance.” (NAALPO, 2006b)

“This action was carried out in solidarity with Earth Liberation Prisoner Jeffrey Luers, who

and some forms of cancer.” (NAALPO, 2014a)

“Those who terrorize animals by imprisoning them, torturing them in laboratories, displaying them as objects in zoos and circuses, force them to fight each other, and murder them for their flesh and skins are the ones inducing terror, not compassionate activists who seek only to stop the suffering of animals.” (NAALPO, n.d.)

“Human supremacy dictates that in nearly all our philosophies, religions (or atheism), politics and lifestyles we build off of a basic assumption that humans are inherently superior. So prevalent is this arrogance that it is seen as a given, as an unchallengeable and basic truth to all our endeavors. The human race viewed honestly from the point of Mother Earth is truly the human racist!” (NAALPO, 2014c)

“To justify their careers they tell their funders, the public (and themselves) that torturing innocent Animals to death is a necessary evil when it’s really just circular abuse that knowingly benefits no one. Much like the infecting of poor black southerners in ‘syphilis experiments’, or the horrors of Dr. Mengele in nazi germany, the justifications are the same, and in retrospect just as worthless and unfounded.” (NAALPO, 2014c)

“Every single being on this planet deserves their liberation and freedom from social constructs that limit who we are, how we live and how we interact with each other – human and other-than-human” (NAALPO, 2012b)

“Womyn have the right to free health

facility (after scouting several locations), removed one to two hens from many different cages so as to give those who remained a tiny bit of extra space, and once all of the hens were set to go we were off into the night. As we moved across the grass outside they were eerily quiet, taking in the fresh night air for the first time in their lives. Each of these is a sentient being who up to this point has lived a life of pain and suffering, and now each has freedom and peace for the rest of its days.” (NAALPO, 2006b)

“the ALF visited a branch of a murderous fast food joint and flushed multiple sponges down their pipes, flooding the entire restaurant with piss and shit, making the whole place smell of death – the death and suffering of millions of cows, chickens and other animals that go into their “happy meals” (NAALPO, 2008c)

“Throughout history all the progress of civilization has come from attacks against laws and each liberator has been listed as an illegal; this is why as a militant, clandestine group, we put our freedom at stake to avenge and give freedom to other living beings victimized by the ego-centrism and the degenerated feelings of the human animal influenced by capitalist, neo-liberal globalization.” (NAALPO, 2008b)

“a cosmetics business was attacked with paints on their floor and shutters by the ALF.

recently began Year seven of his almost 23 year sentence, and all others who refuse to compromise in defense of our earth. We refuse to be intimidated by the forces of government repression, and we refuse to forget our comrades. Until all the cages are empty and all are free, our struggle continues” (NAALPO, 2007)

“This is why we take direct action: to save the lives of animals here and now — not standing on the sidelines waiting for others to act, but realizing that the only thing standing between an animal and its freedom is a latch on the cage door. This action was inspired by and carried out in solidarity with Utah grand jury resister Jordan Halliday and all those who refuse to compromise in defense of all life on this planet.”

examinations, abortion and contraception. Female bodied animals have the right to produce young naturally without artificial insemination, force or hormones; to live a life unto themselves and for their own purposes” (NAALPO, 2012a)

“This is often a concept derived from Judeo-Christianity. People treated as property a.k.a slaves was once said to be endorsed and backed by the Bible, however the majority of people now believe human slavery is morally abhorrent. Human slavery was once defended by the same unsound logic used for animals now” (NAALPO, 1 Jun, 2012)

“Since the fates of all species on this planet are intricately interrelated, the exploitation of animals cannot but have a major impact on the human world itself.[1] When human beings exterminate animals, they devastate habitats and ecosystems necessary for their own lives. When they butcher farmed animals by the billions, they ravage rainforests, turn grasslands into deserts, exacerbate global warming, and spew toxic wastes into the environment. When they construct a global system of factory farming that requires prodigious amounts of land, water, energy, and crops, they squander vital resources and aggravate the problem of world hunger.” (Best, 2010)

“Leftists should grasp the gross inconsistency of advocating values such as peace, non-violence, compassion, justice, and equality while exploiting animals in their everyday lives, promoting speciesist ideologies, and ignoring the ongoing holocaust against other species that gravely threatens the

COSMETICS = ANIMAL TORTURE!” (NAALPO, 2008a) (NAALPO, 2009b)

“they deserve to be free, they deserve to be avenged, they do not take up arms but the people can, they have no voice but the people do, they can not organize but the people can, the animals need our intervention to be free,” (NAALPO, 2008d)

“The spilled blood of innocent animals in your laboratories will be avenged; with your tears and your own blood you’ll pay for it. We warn you that this is not a game. We speak seriously; now you know who to blame when these and other things happen here at Novartis.” (NAALPO, 2009a)

“A McDonalds ‘Wrap It Up’ billboard in the Bloomfield area of Pittsburgh was redecorated. I’m Loving it was painted over with ‘I’m Dying’ with a sad face and ‘Puke it up!’ was painted across the bottom of the billboard.” (NAALPO, 2010d)

“For the animals enslaved, mutilated, and murdered by this society: we will be tearing down the fences to set them free.” (NAALPO, 2010a)

“The sign outside of your house says ‘The right to free speech does not include: harrassment, trespassing and vandalism.’ Well, the right to earn a fair living does not include torturing, abusing, and murdering others. We didn’t bother visiting your house because there is still evidence of a

“For too long we have sat back, for too long we have let our past actions justify our lack of action; but stirred by the sentencing of the young SHAC activists, we are off our seats and at our doors.” (NAALPO, 2010c)

“This is a call for all those who feel the same, the people from campaigns past, the people who never got caught, and those who did. The animals still need our help, so we must strike hard and fast. This will be a turning point..” (NAALPO, 2010c)

“This action was inspired by the recent open liberation of 9 lobsters by the National Animal Rights Association in Ireland. We would like to encourage

entire planet” (Best, 2010)

“Arguments that only humans have rights because they are the only animals that have reason and language, besides being factually wrong, are completely irrelevant as sentience is a necessary and sufficient condition for having rights.” (Best, 2010)

“Just as most people believe that it is immoral to sacrifice a human individual to a “greater good” if it improves the overall social welfare, so animal rights proponents persuasively apply the same reasoning to animals. If animals have rights, it is no more valid to use them in medical experimentation than it is to use human beings; for the scientific cause can just as well – in truth, far better – be advanced through human experimentation, but ethics and human rights forbids it.” (Best, 2010)

“If the ALM can be seen as a new social movement, and as an anti-capitalist and alter- globalization movement, it can also be viewed in a third way I have emphasized, namely that it is a contemporary anti-slavery and abolitionist movement” (Best, 2010)

“As black slavery earlier raised fundamental questions about the meaning of American “democracy” and modern values, so current discussion regarding animal slavery provokes critical examination into a human psyche damaged by violence, arrogance, and alienation, and the urgent need for a new ethics and sensibility rooted in respect for all life.” (Best, 2010)

“While condemning violence and

previous visit splattered all over your front door. It still looks great.” (NAALPO, May 23, 2012)

“Our crimes are in solidarity with the animals under the knife, and are inspired by all of the creative destruction taking place as of late by anarchists and animal liberationists in Portland.” (NAALPO, 2013b)

“This company uses the language of ‘sustainability’ and ‘humane treatment’ to obscure the violence and exploitation inherent to their business. There is nothing humane about sentient animals having their throats slit open, being hung-up, and dismembered as if they were nothing more than mere objects—with no value beyond the dollar sign attached to their flesh. The only true humane alternative is to destroy the machines that torture and slaughter sentient animals.” (NAALPO, 2014b)

“This action was done to both spare these wild animals from life of captivity and to challenge the societal norm that regards non-human (as well as human) animals as commodities” (NAALPO, 2014d).

“On the night of march 24th, we attacked a steakhouse in Phoenix, AZ. ‘FUCK SPECIESISM, DESTROY DOMINATION’ and an anarchist symbol were painted along with a few windows being smashed. We do not limit our anarchist analysis of domination and hierarchy to human beings and recognize that non-human

activists to put their shoplifting skills to use in the service of animal liberation. If you can ‘liberate’ a tofurky from Whole Foods, then you can liberate actual animals from places of violence and exploitation.” (NAALPO, 2015a)

“Caging the wild is a heinous offense against life – against freedom. Every cage is worth emptying, and to begin this work is not difficult.” (NAALPO, 2020)

professing rights for all, the Left fails to take into account the weighty needs and interests of billions of oppressed animals” (Best, 2010)

“This is a fur war. This is a class war. The elite and the police are the enemy and will be treated as such.” (NAALPO, 2013a)

animals are the most exploited and oppressed people on this planet, and we want our actions to reflect this. We do not want to sit by while the enslavement, torture and mass murder of non-human animals continues, because we know our freedom is tied tightly to theirs.” (NAALPO, 2019b)