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## ABSTRACT

This intersectional and interdisciplinary social science qualitative dissertation in six chapters is grounded in critical research and theory for the purpose of engaged public service. This project is grounded in three formal disciplines: education, criminology, and peace and conflict studies. Within those three disciplines, this project interweaves newly emerging fields of study together, including critical animal studies, eco-ability, disability studies, environmental justice, transformative justice, green criminology, anarchist studies, and critical criminology. This dissertation adopts three qualitative methodologies; autoethnography, case study, and critical pedagogy. My project uses the animal advocacy movement as its case study. Using a critical pedagogy methodology, I explored why and how activists respond to the stigmatization of being labeled as or associated with terrorists, a process I refer to as “terrorization.” Chapter One is an introduction to global ecological conditions and post-September 11, 2001 US political repressive conditions toward environmental and animal advocates. Chapter Two introduces the three methodologies that employed for this research project: autoethnography, case study, and critical pedagogy. Chapter Three argues that stigmatization is a form of repression grounded from personal experiences and examined by means of autoethnography disability studies, and critical criminology. Chapter Four, introduces the case study of this dissertation: critical animal studies, which is influenced by green criminology and anarchist studies. In Chapter Five, through a critical pedagogical methodology, fourteen participants engage in a dialogue on responding to political repression. Finally, in Chapter Six, two new concepts are introduced to interweave all the fields of study and topics in the dissertation together—eco-ability, a

theory rooted in disability studies, critical animal studies, and ecology, and transformative justice, a restorative, liberatory, and empowering alternative justice system.

A DIS-ABILITY PERSPECTIVE ON THE STIGMATIZATION OF DISSENT:  
*CRITICAL PEDAGOGY, CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY, AND CRITICAL ANIMAL  
STUDIES*

By

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Science Program in the Graduate School of  
Syracuse University

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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to those who have been stigmatized, repressed, and silenced because of their political, social, or spiritual beliefs and for people who were identified as not “normal.” This dissertation is also dedicated to the life of my dear friend Kevin Pieluszczak who passed away on Monday Morning October 3, 2011, four days before my defense, which he wish he was able to attend.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction: The State of Nature and the Nature of the State

#### Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation, rooted in an autoethnography from a disability and activist perspective, critically examines the stigmatization of activists labeled as, or associated with, terrorists in post-9/11 America. My project uses the animal advocacy movement as its case study. Using a critical pedagogy methodology, I explore why and how activists respond to the stigmatization of being labeled as, or associated with, terrorists, a process I refer to as “terrorization” (a concept explained in Chapter Three).

We are living in an age of global ecological crisis and political repression toward environmentalists, which I address in this chapter. My dissertation aims to expand our understanding of this crisis by probing three critical issues. Next I introduce the three methodologies adopted for this dissertation – autoethnography, case study, and critical pedagogy in Chapter Two. The first critical issue is to challenge from a disability perspective the use of stigmatization through labeling as a form of repression (which is covered in Chapter Three). The second critical issue is the argument that nonhuman animals are not property and have rights, which include living a life free of exploitation and violence as articulated from the field of Critical Animal Studies (this is dealt with in Chapter Four). Finally, the third critical issue investigates how animal rights activists have responded to the stigmatization of being labeled as terrorists or supporters of terror (which is examined in Chapter Five). This important critical issue is explored using the critical pedagogy method of dialogue. Chapter Six, which closes the dissertation, stresses

the need for a more inclusive and transformative world devoid of stigmatization, a process which marginalizes, dominates, and oppresses.

## **Overview of Chapter One**

In this chapter I examine the serious concerns felt by many environmental and animal rights activists with the “state of nature” in relation to climate change, global warming, ecological destruction, and nonhuman animal exploitation. I also explore the current “nature of the state” as a repressive force toward activists that defend the environment and nonhuman animals, and promote sustainable alternatives to production and living. Awareness of their deep concern about the world is crucial for understanding their motivations, including their intense sense of urgency about the need for change. Next I provide in this chapter an overview of “Animal Advocacy.” Finally, I provide an overview of the dissertation, featuring a summary of the individual chapters.

## **State of Nature**

Not only environmental and animal rights activists, including myself, but the world itself is experiencing very troubled times from a global financial meltdown to devastating natural disasters around the world. Global warming is altering patterns of temperature and precipitation, raising sea levels through polar ice melting, increasing vulnerability to flooding and land loss, and changing ecosystems worldwide (“Coastal Zones and Sea Level Rise,” n.d.; Pollack, 2010). NASA defines global warming as:

an increase in the average temperature of Earth's surface. Since the late 1800's, the global average temperature has increased about 0.7 to 1.4 degrees F (0.4 to 0.8 degrees C). Many experts estimate that the average temperature will rise an additional 2.5 to 10.4 degrees F (1.4 to 5.8 degrees C) by 2100. That rate of increase would be much larger than most past rates of increase. (Mastrandrea & Schneider, 2005, para. 1)

This rapid growth in global temperature has often caused reprehensible and lasting effects, threatening humans and other species if actions are not taken immediately. In 2005, the *Washington Post* reported on a study that claimed global warming increased the frequency of “destructive hurricanes,” such as Hurricane Katrina, which destroyed much of New Orleans in 2005 (Eilperin, 2005, para. 1). In addition, a 2006 study by Dr. Camille Parmesan, a biologist at the University of Texas, Austin, stated that global warming is causing species extinction specifically within sensitive habitats, such as in the Antarctica and Arctic (“Global warming increases species extinctions worldwide”). This situation was also noted by former Vice-President Al Gore in his award-winning documentary, *An Inconvenient Truth: A Global Warning* (2006). Gore’s documentary claimed that global warming causes rapid melting of glaciers worldwide. Gore goes on to say that, “forty percent of all the people on the world get their drinking water from rivers and streams systems that are fed more than half by the melted water coming off the glaciers and in this next half century those forty percent of the people on Earth are going to face a very serious shortage because of this melting” (Guggenheim, 2006). Further, species within forests are also greatly at risk because of global warming, which causes forests to be drier, hence more vulnerable to longer and more extreme forest fires. It was noted by researchers at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography and the University of Arizona that “four times as many large wildfires occurred in Western forests between 1987 and 2003 compared to the previous 16 years” (West, L., 2007).

In the documentary *The 11<sup>th</sup> Hour* (2007), produced and narrated by Leonardo DiCaprio, Nathan Gardels, editor of *New Perspectives Quarterly*, explains the divide



between economy and nature that occurred with the industrial revolution. He states that, "...nature was converted into a resource," supposedly limitless and free to be exploited with no consequences in the name of progress and growth of human society (Connors & Connors, 2007). These assumptions about a world consisting of limitless resources for human consumption have served as the ideological driver for widespread environmental havoc and destruction. Richard Kahn (2010) writes in *Critical Pedagogy, Ecoliteracy, & Planetary Crisis: The Ecopedagogy Movement*:

In 2005, the UN-funded Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA) released the most encompassing study to date about the state of the planet's ecology. The study found that during the last fifty years humanity altered and mainly degraded the earth's ecosystems 'more rapidly and extensively than in any comparable time and human history' (MEA 2005, p. 2). (p. 2)

Thus, the increased scope, magnitude, and frequency of flooding, species extinction, hurricanes, glacier melting, ecosystem destruction, environmentally-related health ailments, such as asthma (DiCaprio, 2007), forest fires (West, 2007), deforestation ("Country Forest Data"), and rising sea levels (Gore, 2006) all have one significant similarity: these environmental problems are rapidly reaching a level of global disaster that cannot be managed or ignored, resulting in possible massive ecocide (Bodley, 2005; Churchill, 2002). Global warming threatens all life on this planet, creating "... global environmental or ecological crisis (or crises)" (Kahn, 2010, p. 4). Global warming is not only an environmental and social issue, but a highly charged political one as well.

The corporate-dominated mass media, reflecting the interests of its owners, has given credence to those who see global warming as either a hoax or as an exaggerated

threat. Many scientists and politicians avoid openly stating that global warming exists and that the current global economic system causes climate change, as these claims may be viewed as leftist propaganda (Gore, 2006; Halpern, 2010). President Obama's failure to mention climate change in his 2011 State of the Union Speech reveals the degree to which this issue is viewed as unpopular with corporate interests in America (Goldenberg, 2011). From the perspective of some analysts (including myself), global capitalism is the prime force behind climate change. As this dissertation argues, this perspective is rooted in the dialogues between numerous people within the animal advocacy movement (see Chapter Five).

Grounded in competition, domination, and inequality, *capitalism* is a cultural system that directs technical and economic processes towards the goal of supporting primarily the interests of political elites (Bodley, 2005). In doing so, capitalism essentially perverts human capacity for knowledge and morality, while motivating human beings to destroy themselves and the life-nurturing processes of the planet for a false value of wealth driven by greed and destruction (Best & Nocella, 2006; Kahn, 2010; Kovel, 2007; Tokar, 1997). Capitalism as a way of life flourished under the industrial revolution, with corporations emerging as key economic actors in the establishment of a global market and political system that transcends borders. Today, capitalism is the most adopted and popular economic system in the world, with powerful global institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, as well as national governments and business interests, promoting private property and production for profit (Yuen, Burton-Rose, & Katsiaficas, 2004).

The United States, the biggest supporter of global capitalism, will be the focus of this dissertation. With the end of the Second World War in 1945, the United States emerged as the Earth's largest and most powerful industrial capitalist country. The ending of the Cold War with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, along with the embracing of neoliberalism by governments worldwide, confirmed the political and ideological predominance of America. For decades, the country has disproportionately consumed the world's energy supply and other resources (Harvey, 2005). "In 2000, Americans made up less than five percent of the world's population but consumed nearly twenty-five percent of the world's commercial energy" (Bodley, 2005, p. 380). Even with the rise of China in recent decades, the United States "has the largest and most technologically powerful economy in the world" ("Best companies for business," 2010)" and is the major apostle of the culture of consumption and materialism (Klein, 2002). Once again, climate scientists contend that unchecked private consumption and production are the greatest causes of global warming and other ecological crises.

Capitalism has, for the most part, trumped religious and other ethical value systems on this planet, and corporations have been picked repeatedly in line-ups with thousands of other possible causes. Identified by U.S. courts as individuals, corporations are never arrested; their CEOs are merely fired or asked to respectfully retire to avoid negative media. Also common is that CEOs do not lose their jobs, but instead corporations re-name themselves. As Bodley (2005) explains,

Giant commercial corporations now dominate American life. Corporations are given the same rights as individuals, but unlike individuals and sole-proprietorship businesses, corporations can live forever and grow ever more powerful. Corporations also are not limited to particular places, and

they can project their commercial power throughout the world. Furthermore, corporations' structure and limited liability makes it difficult to hold corporations responsible for the total cost of their activities, even when they are criminal. (p. 408)

With inanimate corporations are considered individuals with rights under the laws, but living, breathing nonhuman animals are considered property without rights under our laws. Critics feel that with all of these firms' rights and limited liability for their actions, something has to give or else corporations will do what they want without impunity. Although legally corporations and individuals are treated the same, they are in fact very different entities. An individual has a heart, mind, and soul. A person possesses a moral conscience based on a set of values. Corporations are a social technology that people have created to pursue the particular economic and political interests of their owners. Therefore,

[b]oth the corporate structure and the surrounding regulatory system need to be changed: we should do away with limited liabilities and 'personhood' under the Constitution and demand an increase in corporate accountability, stronger antitrust laws and international liability, the extraction of corporations out of the political process, extended producer responsibility, internalized (vs. externalized) costs, and total stakeholder responsibility (and it should be recognized that stakeholders include workers, fence-line communities, consumers, and vendors, etc. (Leonard, 2010, p. xxxi)

According to critical theorists, corporate interests have become firmly entrenched in government in contemporary America, through multiple means, including campaign financing, lobbying, and the shuffling of individuals between corporate and business

roles. This political power enhances the ability of corporations to act globally with very little accountability and limitations (Korten, 2001; Bakan, 2004).

Corporations are designed not to benefit others or have long-term human sustainability, but rather for making the most money as quickly as possible. Kenny Ausubel, founder of Bionners, said in *The 11<sup>th</sup> Hour*, “Probably the greatest weapon of mass destruction is corporate economic globalization. And there has always been a greed factor in human civilization. What has happened in corporations which are the dominate institution of our age, is that they perfected that as a system, and what we literally face today is that we will kill our host, the planet” (DiCaprio, 2010). From the BP Gulf Coast oil spill to McDonald’s clear-cutting of the Brazilian rainforest, the world is being reshaped into commodified resources by multi-national corporations. KFC kills more than one *billion* chickens a year (“Kentucky Fried Cruelty) and Lockheed Martin, the largest corporation that contracts with militaries around the world, profits from war (“Lockheed Martin”). Lockheed Martin claims to have “increased their dividend payments by more than 10 percent for the seventh consecutive year - perfectly in line with the increase in war spending by the U.S. Its chairman, Robert Stevens, received over \$72 million in compensation over the past three years” (Quigley, 2010, para. 16).

It must be stressed that the concept and the structure of a corporation is not the problem, as “corporations are not inherently good or evil. A corporation is just a legal entity. It’s how the corporation is run that makes it an asset or a detriment to the broader society” (Leonard, 2010, p. xxx). The problem is the mission of the corporation that was created by the founders and supported by the shareholders. Consequently, “When corporations control such a huge percentage of global resources, it’s pretty hard to reign

them in when they start trashing the planet, as far too many do. In 2007, 60,000-plus multinational corporations controlled half the world's oil, gas, and coal and generate half the gases responsible for global warming" (Leonard, 2010, p. xxx). Corporations are designed to make money for their shareholders at any cost, even if that means putting billions of dollars into lobbying for war, prisons, or environmentally risky offshore oil drilling (Leonard, 2010). These corporations often enter into large contracts with government agencies such as local, state, and federal law enforcement and corrections, which aid in the development of the prison industrial complex (Davis 2003); similarly, corporate dealings with the military have formed the military industrial complex.

I believe, as do many activists who are highly critical of global capitalism, that we are living in the most destructive era on this planet since the arrival of humans as a species. <sup>1</sup>While five great extinction crises have already transpired on this planet, the last one occurring 65 million years ago in the age of the dinosaurs, we are now living amidst the sixth extinction crisis, caused by humans rather than natural phenomenon. Human devastation of local and even regional environments is not a new occurrence, but the altering of climate is unprecedented. The closer humans come to total domination, the closer we come to self-destruction. The Earth has been domesticated, colonized, commodified, bred and cross-bred, genetically engineered, cloned, and transformed into forces of mass destruction, refuting the myths and fallacies of progress, development, science, technology, the free market, and neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005; Giroux, 2008). Overall, our current global crises demonstrate the inherent contradiction between capitalism and ecology (Kovel, 2002).

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<sup>1</sup> This paragraph was adapted from Best, S., & Nocella, II., A. J. (2006). Introduction: a Fire in the Bell of the Beast: The Emergence of Revolutionary Environmentalism. In S. Best, & A. J. Nocella, II (Eds.), *Igniting a revolution: Voices in defense of the earth* (8-30). Oakland, CA: AK Press.

The human species existence can be easily marked at a period in the Earth's history of mass destruction promoted by the 5Cs of human domination of the planet: civilization, colonialization, capitalism, corporatization, and commodification. Civilization is the development of hierarchical, urbanized human societies that are not locally self-dependent, but reliant on external resources and tribute from distant lands. Their demand for accumulation propelled the exploration and expansion, referred to as colonialization (Lee 1992). By the 1500s, European nations participated in colonialization, heightening competition for goods and services in the marketplace, creating the economic system referred to today as capitalism. This system involves commodification, transforming all aspects of nature and humanity into goods that could be bought and sold. In the logic of capitalism, all species are commodified, serving only as a 'resource' to provide profit (Best & Nocella, 2004). The processes of capitalist and colonial expansion were facilitated by the establishment of companies that evolved into today's global corporations. Their management is responsible only to the shareholders, who seek profit maximization. For some animal rights activists, corporations are new modern-day slave owners, buying and selling their "property" at the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) and other stock yards.

Civilization is inherently hierarchical at multiple levels (Bodley, 2005). It involves social, political, and economic inequalities that are based on, and also reinforced by, cultural categories. The elite separate themselves from commoners, those who are seen as different, and those who fall outside their direct societal or economic control. They also sought to define a divide between nature and human (Best & Nocella 2006;

Jensen, a2006; Jensen, b2006; Kovel, 2002).<sup>2</sup> The natural world was portrayed as inferior to civilization, and terms such as savage, primitive, or illiterate applied to people seen as not fulfilling the norms of elite culture. European colonization extended this political economy and cultural system worldwide. Today we live in a world marked by profound differences between the haves and the have-nots; where classism is rampant. Its cultural system seeks to impose on people a worldview where nature is converted into resources and owned goods. The highly unequal industrial world is reinforced by institutions such as the medical industrial complex that ostensibly care for the common good while aims to keep the public safety and orderly for the benefit of elite economic and political interests. Science also supposedly serves the progressive goals, yet it largely contributes to the strengthening of capitalist interests and goals. Colleges, prisons, and religions centers worked closely with the political and educational system to justify their violent acts such as experimentation, dissection, and vivisection toward people with disabilities, nonhuman animals, plants, water, and other elements.

### **Nature of the State**

The current global political climate is steeped in fear and rhetoric about terrorism and security (Chomsky, 2002; Chomsky, 2003; Kellner, 2005; Klein, 2007).<sup>3</sup> The 21<sup>st</sup> century began with drastic shifts in U.S. policies in the name of national security, which has been used to justify the repression of nonviolent dissent and the violation of civil

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<sup>2</sup> This section is adapted from my article Greening Dis-Ability published in *Greening the Academy* (Fassbinder & Nocella forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> This chapter was adapted from the following articles: Nocella, A. J. (2007). Unmasking the Animal Liberation Front using critical pedagogy: Seeing the ALF for who they really are. *Journal for Critical Animal Studies*, 5(1). Retrieved from [http://www.criticalanimalstudies.org/JCAS/Journal\\_Articles\\_download/Issue\\_6/introduction.pdf](http://www.criticalanimalstudies.org/JCAS/Journal_Articles_download/Issue_6/introduction.pdf) and Best, S., McLaren, P., & Nocella, A. J. (2007). Revolutionary peacemaking: Using a critical pedagogy approach for peacemaking with "terrorists. *The Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, 5(2). Retrieved from <http://www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=110>.



liberties. We have entered a neo-McCarthyist period rooted in witch-hunts against activists and critics of the ruling elites (Best & Nocella, 2004; Best & Nocella, 2006). The terms and players have changed, but the situation is similar to the 1950s. The terrorist threat supplants communism; Attorney Generals John Ashcroft and Alberto Gonzalez donned the garb of Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the Congressional Meetings on Eco-Terrorism stand in for the House Un-American Activities Committee (Best & Nocella, 2004). As in the past, the government informs the public that the nation is in a permanent state of danger, such that security, not freedom, must become our overriding concern. Officials conjure up dangerous enemies everywhere, not only outside our country but, more menacingly, ensconced within our borders, lurking in radical cells.

The alleged dangers posed by foreign terrorists are used to justify the attack on “domestic terrorists” within, and in a panic-stricken climate, the domestic terrorist is any and every citizen expressing dissent. Within this environment, the former Bush administration unleashed, and the Obama administration maintains, an unprecedented surveillance machinery to monitor the communications of all Americans post-9/11.

With so much tension among those fighting to protect the natural world with those who are using nature as resources, I thought I could, with my dissertation, make it a practical and personal critical act to challenge domination of all in the form of labeling carried out in two ways. The first way is through political repression in the form of stigmatizing through labeling activists as *terrorists*, specifically “eco-terrorists” who defend the planet against human-based ecological destruction. The second way is the exploitation of nonhuman animals, plants, and natural elements as *property*. The stigmatization by labeling activists and nonhuman animals, plants, and natural elements

minimizes their value with the great community and reinforces the oppression, domination, and marginalization of these groups.

Corporations are increasingly concerned about the critics of their destructive and exploitive practices to the environment and nonhuman animals, while the FBI is ratcheting up its strategic policing of activists who defend the rights of nature.<sup>4</sup> This is not a coincidence, but a strategic attempt to silence voices that speak truth to power, with the state doing the bidding of petroleum, gas, timber, dairy, cattle, and vivisection industries. What is beginning to unfold is a mass political-repressive environment whereby the state is targeting Earth and animal liberationists (Best & Nocella, 2006; Lovitz, 2010). Similar to the *Red Scare* of the 1950s, in which the U.S. government attacked communists, anarchists, and other political activists, there is currently a Green Scare, characterized by similar state tactics against those defending nonhuman animals and the Earth from attack (Potter, 2011). History is repeating itself, such that one ideological scare is replaced by another, all ruses to protect capitalism from its critics and challengers.

It cannot be stressed enough that the Green Scare is being led not only by law enforcement agencies such as the FBI, but ultimately by corporations such as Huntingdon Life Sciences, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Proctor and Gamble, SC Johnson & Son, Scott Paper Co., and Kleenex to name a few that to date, test on nonhuman animals and have been protested by activists. These corporations are fearful of what activists will convey to

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<sup>4</sup> This paragraph is reprinted from, Clearcutting green activists: The FBI escalates the war on dissent (2006). In *Impact Magazine*. Retrieved on July 16, 2010 from <http://www.impactpress.com/articles/spring06/bestspring06.html> that I co-edited with Steve Best and that was republished in Nocella, A. J. (2007). Unmasking the Animal Liberation Front using critical pedagogy: Seeing the ALF for who they really are. *Journal for Critical Animal Studies*, 5 (1). Retrieved on July 17, 2011, from <http://www.animalliberationfront.com/Philosophy/nocella-seeingALF.pdf>.

the public about their destruction and torture on the Earth and non-human animals because it will damage the public image of the company, thereby jeopardizing customer trust. Consequently, customers will find alternatives and the company will lose profits. The Earth and animal liberationists are not going after people or the government, but rather their target is the new super-power, global corporations. They are conducting legal protests and illegal economic sabotage (the most dangerous but successful tactic against global giants such as Proctor & Gamble and ExxonMobil), engaging in tactics ranging from boycotting the GAP to breaking windows of McDonalds franchises. It is here that the FBI is carrying out the job assigned to them by the U.S. Congress, which has been strongly lobbied by corporations.

As Congress and other governmental entities gather information on the Earth and animal liberation movements to attack these groups in public settings of various sorts, these activists feel they must counter-act this campaign. They must begin to undertake thorough research and critical analysis that examines the connections between corporations and Congress. The Earth and animal liberation movements need to make those relationships as simple and clear as possible for the public, so when law enforcement agencies hunt down activists, people will not simply say that they are persecuting or framing activists, but will be able to grasp who are behind these acts of political repression and why they are carried out.

Clearly, one of the most significant events of late and in the history of the animal liberation movement was the arrest and conviction of the SHAC7 (Best & Kahn, 2004). In May 2004, police rounded up nonviolent activists Kevin Kjonaas, Lauren Gazzola, Jacob Conroy, Darius Fullmer, John McGee, Andrew Stepanian, and Joshua Harper. The

government issued a five-count federal indictment that charged each activist, and SHAC USA, the nonprofit 501(c)3 corporation, with violations of the 1992 Animal Enterprise Protection Act (changed in 2007 to the “Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act” [AETA]) (Lovitz, 2010). That act was the first law explicitly designed to protect animal exploitation industries from animal rights protests. The AETA protects corporations that conduct business which tests on, kills for consumption (food or clothing), or uses for entertainment purposes nonhuman animals from public dissent (“Animal Enterprise Protection Act”).

On March 2, 2006, the SHAC7 were found guilty of multiple federal felonies for advocating the closure of Huntingdon Life Sciences. All had to serve prison time and today one member, Kevin Kjonaas, remains in prison (see the website [www.shac.com](http://www.shac.com) for more information about the SHAC trial and convictions). Many corporate industry proponents hope that convictions under the AETA will clear the way for the government to develop more similar laws to target any activist that successfully campaigns against big business, regardless of the legality or morality of their tactics (Lovitz, 2010). It is here again why we should focus on the relationship between corporations and Congress and not government and law enforcement. The Earth and animal liberation community must see and publicize the pivotal critique to capitalism that the SHAC7 and the Earth and animal liberation movements are addressing; it is not about turning people vegan or protecting the Redwoods as much as it is about conducting legal and illegal economic sabotage against animal and Earth exploiters and capitalism in general.

Political dissent and the suppression of dissidents are long-standing aspects of American politics (Lynd & Lynd, 1995; Schultz & Schultz, 2001; Zinn, 1995). In the

1960s and 1970s, the FBI hunted down radical social groups such as the Black Panther Party, the American Indian Movement, and anti-war activists (Abu-Jamal, 2000; Churchill, 2003; Churchill & Vander Wall, 2002a; Churchill & Vander Wall, 2002b; Jones, 1998a; Jones, 1998b; Peltier, 1999; Shakur, 1987). For the past decade or so, they have begun targeting the animal liberation and environmental movements, particularly anyone supportive or suspected of involvement in the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) (Best & Nocella, 2004; Best & Nocella, 2006), which the state has termed the top “domestic [terrorist] threat in the United States” (Lovitz, 2010, p. 106). With a great amount of time and money provided by companies and governments investigating the animal rights movement by private detectives and law enforcement (e.g., FBI, ATF, and local police), one would think that this movement does not have a sound and logical argument. This assumption is farthest from the truth, with the philosophy of nonhuman animals deserving inherent rights and freedoms that humans have and not a life of exploitation ending in murder.

Therefore, the philosophical debate is that corporations view plants, nonhuman animals, and elements as natural resources, more specifically property, which can be bought, sold, and owned. Animal liberationists on the other hand argue that plants, nonhuman animals, and elements are individuals, and therefore should be given rights. They should not be viewed as inferior or owned, but rather free and protected as an important member of the bio-community, where each element and living being is interdependent and interconnected in a complex and interwoven diversity of relationships forming the web of life.

## **Animal Advocacy**

The animal advocacy movement's mission is to stop torture, domestication, and killing of nonhuman animals for food, science, entertainment, pets, or for any other human desire including profiting off of nonhuman animals in any way (Best & Nocella, 2004; Regan, 1987; Singer, 1985). They argue against the notion that nonhuman animals are property. These activists see property as being developed as part of an economic system of exploitation.

Often when a social elite class wanted to dominate others they would through science or religion argue their less-than status and then through economics on an occasion define them as property to be used as slaves, labor, and natural resources. This was done to people of color, women, people with disabilities, nature, and nonhuman animals. Much of this dissertation will touch on this point as I believe much of the reason why animal advocates and environmentalists are defined as eco-terrorists is because they are challenging the notion that nature and nonhuman animals are considered property which allows property owners to profit from them. ALF, for example, is an anarchist-rooted organization challenging this notion of property. The ALF liberates nonhuman animals who are being exploited and killed and destroys materials that aid in this exploitation and killing, while never striving to harm a living creature including humans.

Today, the animal advocacy global movement is made up of tens of millions of people with roots in the great religions of the world, and it goes back as far as Pythagoras (ca 552-496 BCE), with thousands of nonprofit organizations, and like many social movements, has extremists within it. Due to these extremists committing nonviolent civil disobedience or extreme underground tactics, the entire animal advocacy movement has

suffered from charges of ‘guilty by association.’ From some animal advocates’ perspective, the extremists are stigmatizing the movement, while others stress that they are playing an important role in showing the public the extreme conditions that many nonhuman animals are dealt.

In this dissertation, I will show how having a group legally identified as terrorists in one’s movement negatively affects the movement and its members. Further, where it does affect them, I will examine how they respond to society, media, and the state identifying individuals within the animal rights movement as terrorists and them being stigmatized as terrorists or associated with terrorists.

### **Outline of Dissertation**

Chapter One, “Introduction: The State of Nature and the Nature of the State,” sets forth the current political climate of the state and social environment of the global environmental crisis caused by global warming. Social movements argue in defense of the protection of nonhuman animals and nature as they are being exploited, destroyed, and extinct, all justified because they are labeled by the systems of domination as property. Corporations such as BP and governments on the other hand are arguing that those striving to defend and argue that nonhuman animals and nature should be free and liberated are eco-terrorists (Best & Nocella, 2006). In short there are two types of “eco-terrorists” in this dissertation: (1) those whom green criminologists define as ecological terrorists, who destroy and exploit nature such as governments and corporations in hopes of advancing corporate and national economic growth; and (2) those who threaten and harm economic advancement of corporations and governments and argue in defense of protecting nature and nonhuman animals. In short, this chapter introduces political

repression, defines animal advocacy, outlines the dissertation, and provides the purpose of this dissertation.

Chapter Two “Methodologies: Autoethnography, Case Study, and Critical Pedagogy” is an introduction to three specific social justice methodologies that I have adopted for this dissertation: autoethnography, case study, and critical pedagogy.

Autoethnography addresses the need to explain the researcher’s personal standpoint in relation to the study; case study allows the researcher to study an example of a larger macro-phenomena; and critical pedagogy is a social justice activist based participatory action research methodology that enters into dialogue, rather than interviews, with individuals to end oppression *with* the oppressed, rather than *for* them.

In Chapter Three, “Autoethnography and Three: From Disability Studies to Critical Criminology,” using an autoethnographic methodology, I begin with a personal narrative of my life being stigmatized (Goffman, 1963) as a person with mental disabilities and how, because of my disabilities, became an environmental and animal rights activist. I then dive into a number of examples of how I experience firsthand political repression from being stigmatized as a terrorist from corporate interest groups and framed by law enforcement. With these experiences I, as a critical theorist, explain the power of stigmatizing through the theories of social control, political repression, and label theory. I then introduce the field of critical criminology, a sub-field of criminology, which umbrellas such fields as social control and political repression, which I define as well. After defining these topics, I discuss the literature behind political repression and modern history of U.S. political repression.

The chapter next begins discussion on a new sub-topic, which this dissertation



introduces for the first time, within political repression: *political repression response*. This section provides a new tool to gauge the type of response: 5Cs of Responding to Repression. Finally, the chapter concludes by stressing the importance of studying political repression and, more importantly, expanding the sub-field of political repression response.

In Chapter Four, “Case Study: Critical Animal Studies,” critical animal studies is introduced. Critical animal studies is a critical theory that I co-founded in 2006-2007 and is growing rapidly (Best, Nocella, Kahn, Gigliotti, and Kemmerer, 2007). Critical animal studies is an intersectional theory with influences of anarchism, feminism, disability studies, Africana Studies, Queer theory, and other marginalized liberatory theories, arguing against the propertization of nature and animals (human and nonhuman) and for action and engagement with multi-movements for a total liberation of all. Propertization is the oppressive act of identifying an individual, an element or a plant as a thing, an “it,” or an object. Commodification, similar to propertization, places economic value on something, someone, labor, element, plant, or idea,. Therefore, propertization is the act of identifying an individual person, plant, or element into something and commodification is the act of identifying anything or anyone into an economic value. Government and law enforcement need not be influenced by corporate interests to vilify political activists as terrorists. Instead, they should attempt to understand the motivations and arguments of people advocating radical social change, e.g., animal activists. While officials argue that eco-terrorists are those that destroy McDonalds or free nonhuman animals from places of exploitation, green criminologists (Beirne & South, 2007) argue that corporations as legal

individuals are the real criminals when they clear-cut forests, slaughter nonhuman animals for Big Macs, and pollute the water, air, and land.

Chapter Five, “Critical Pedagogy: Reflections on Responding to Terrorization,” provides space and place for those within the animal advocacy movement to discuss their concerns, fears, thoughts, strategies, and tactics on responding to political repression, specifically being stigmatized by being labeled or associated with terrorists. I first introduce case study methodology, which examines particular situations that are part of a larger process or situation. Next, I introduce critical pedagogy, one of two methodologies (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2011) I use for this project. Critical pedagogy is a socio-political methodology rooted in social justice, which puts theory to practice, comes out of a Marxist tradition which sees class struggle as the key dynamic driving social conflict and change (Freire and Macedo, 1998; McLaren, 1997; McLaren, 2000). Given that my sustained analysis of political repression is also critical of capitalism and exploitative economics and my call for social justice and peace, critical pedagogy is the appropriate methodology to adopt.

Finally, in Chapter Six, “Conclusion: Eco-Ability and Transformative Justice” I will summarize all the following chapters and interweave this project’s themes together by introducing two theories—eco--ability and transformative justice. Eco-ability is the intersectional theory connecting disability studies, critical animal studies, and ecology together, arguing that all are different, should be respected, included, and are interdependent on one another. Transformative justice, a restorative, liberatory, and empowering justice system is an alternative to the retributive disciplinary based criminal

justice system that adopts repressive means in-order to have social order currently present in the U.S.

Ultimately, the aim of this dissertation beyond the specific case study (animal advocacy and environmental protection), and the given period in history (post-9/11 and the Era of Terrorism) is to aid in putting theory into practice. Specifically, the goal of this dissertation is to challenge the stigmatizing of people, for which academia and scientific research are infamous. It was difficult to interweave many of the areas of research, but with aid and advice of others, I was able to merge my own personal story, which speaks directly to disability studies and my activism. Further, I was able to address a larger macro-concern of dissent being labeled as terrorism to environmental destruction by multi-national corporations.

This dissertation is not only a specific case study of how a movement is repressed, but how people, animals, trees, etc. are repressed by stigmatization. My own story is that I was labeled retarded, stupid, disabled, and challenged, which only limited who I was and the person people thought I could become. This dissertation is a challenge to all those who generalize, stigmatize, stereotype, and label people. This project is not simply to call out the government in what it is doing and identify how it is doing it, but to explain to people how to fight back against this phenomenon. Further, this dissertation aims to show that while people are being called terrorists, animals and nature are being labeled property, which allows for them to be exploited and murdered in the trillions a year. Labels can, and do, kill, exploit, and silence.

Once completed, this dissertation will be open to share with my interviewees and

members of social movements involved in challenging political repression and protecting dissent. This project hopefully will enable scholars to greater understand the consequences of terrorization and the various responses to it. In a time of violence, terrorism, global economic crisis, and large-scale natural disasters, scholars need to come together in an interdisciplinary manner to look at these serious problems in order to transform them. Transformation beyond marginalizing, stigmatizing, and demonization is a goal of this dissertation.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **Methodologies: Autoethnography, Case Study, and Critical Pedagogy**

#### **Introduction**

I strongly believe that to conduct thorough and successful research, one cannot depend on one methodology alone. A methodology is not a master-key, meaning that a given methodology will not discover everything that other methodologies will. Thus, methodologies are customized keys that open specific information. Hence, a complementary set of methodologies provide and discover the needed data and resources to achieve one's goal. i.e., research question(s). Therefore, finding a using the correct methodologies (i.e., keys) is vital in-order for certain doors of information to be opened. For this dissertation I have three qualitative methodologies in order of them appearing in this dissertation - autoethnography, case study, and critical pedagogy to aid in the research of my dissertation question. Autoethnography addresses the need to explain the researcher's personal standpoint in relation to the study; case study allows the researcher to study an example of a larger marco-phenomena; and critical pedagogy is a social justice activist based participatory action research methodology that enters into dialogue rather than interviews with individuals to end oppression together, rather than for the oppressed.

In this chapter I will introduce and explain why out of hundreds of different qualitative methodologies I have chosen three specific social justice methodologies – autoethnography, case study, and critical pedagogy, which in that order will be discussed in this chapter. This dissertation grounded from my personal experiences as an activist,

student, and person with disabilities are introduced and examined in Chapter Three through employing autoethnography. To examine the stigmatization of dissent post-September 11, 2001 it is essential that this study examine an example of this reality. In Chapter Four by using a case study methodology I explain the philosophy and history of animal advocacy under the umbrella of the field of critical animal studies - the academic field of animal advocacy. Finally, after introducing the reasoning and motivation of this dissertation in Chapter Three and explaining critical animal studies in Chapter Four, I conduct dialogues with scholar-activists in the U.S. and Canada in-order to figure out how they and others within the animal advocacy movement respond to being stigmatized as being associated or labeled as terrorists.

### **Autoethnography**

Many writings by bell hooks are located within the standpoint of her socio-economic political identity and personal experiences, a theory known as standpoint theory. If that standpoint is examined by the individual of the standpoint, the methodology is referred to as autoethnography. To locate one's standpoint is to be critically aware of one's experiences and identity in relation to one's socio-political and economic status within society in relation to power dynamics, specifically the relationship between oppressor and oppressed and dominator and dominated. These relations are fluid, complex, and intersectional, meaning that one could be an oppressor while also being oppressed. Other famous activist critical autobiographies, which because of the nature of their macro-analysis related to larger socio-political and economic conditions within society could count as autoethnographies include, *The Story of My Life: The Restored Edition* (Keller, 2004), *Autobiography of Malcolm X* (X and Haley, 1999),

*Gandhi An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Gandhi, Desai, and Bok, 1993), *Mother Teresa: Come Be My Light - The Private Writings of the Saint of Calcutta* (Teresa, 2007), *A Child Called "It": One Child's Courage to Survive* (Pelzer, 1995), and *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Mandela, 2000). These are just a few of the many autoethnographies that interweave personal narrative with theory and action (Quinn, 2008; Romo, 2004). Methodologists who promote autoethnography argue that research can be conducted successfully on a topic through first-person narratives that relate action with the ideas and self-reported motives of the individual.

Autoethnography is a new qualitative methodology that has not been used a great deal (Russell, 1999). It is dependent on the experience and personal position of the researcher. This method allows the researcher to use personal experiences, expanding the scope of information available. Autoethnography includes autobiographies, poems, personal story-telling, documentaries, narratives, testimony, and other forms of media that examine the experience of the researcher/author. In the case of people with disabilities,

...narratives of illness have the power to transform both the author and the audience: They serve to both inform the public about illness phenomenon and clarify and affirm the experience for the person who experiences it. In the field of psychiatric research, consumer narratives are increasingly recognized as an invaluable resource for understanding the perspectives of people who have experienced mental illness firsthand or in their immediate families and for raising consciousness about appropriate forms of treatment (Davidson, 1992; Estroff, 1989). (Corrigan, 2006, p. 69)

Autoethnography differs from the recognition of personality in research (that is, the notion that the researcher's reflections, feelings, and biases influence the research

process) because the researcher's personal experiences – as expressed in a variety of ways – serve as a key data set for analysis.

While autoethnography provides rich data, it blurs the role of researcher and subject (Ferrell & Hamm, 1998), which is also a goal and purpose of activist methodology. Therefore, to take me (the researcher) out of this project is to lose an important story. Furthermore, I have privileged access as a researcher because of my involvement in the particular community being analyzed: the animal rights movement. I also decided to use this methodology because of my disabilities. Autoethnography has been successfully used by people with disabilities to express their experiences. Thus, the research experience itself is as important (particularly to the researcher) as the final project. Therefore, to take my story out, from an autoethnographer's and feminist standpoint methodologist's position, would be to take the driving force and heart of this dissertation project (Smith, 1990; Gottfried, 1996; and Naples, 2003). The significant difference between an autobiography and autoethnography is the "rigorous way" (Wall, 2006, p. 158) autoethnography examines the text. If the text is not examined or related to a larger critical research project, but simply a story with no questions or critical inquires, then it is simply an autobiography. Carolyn Ellis and Art Bochner elaborate that there are many forms of texts that fall under the umbrella of autoethnography in their article, *Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity* (2000), they write,

it seems appropriate now to include under the broad rubric of autoethnography those studies that have been referred to by other similarly situated terms, such as personal narratives . . . lived experience, critical autobiography . . . evocative narratives . . . reflexive ethnography . . . ethnographic autobiography . . . autobiographical ethnography, personal sociology . . . [and] autoanthropology. (pp. 739-740)



Therefore, no matter if it is a poem, short-story, rap, journal, or autobiography, it must be critical and analytical (Anderson, 2006), hence the reason Ellis and Bochner (2000) note critical autobiography rather than simply autobiography. Further, autoethnography beyond connecting to research must be self-observational and self-visible in one's text (Anderson, 2006). Autoethnography then is a self reflective qualitative methodology examining narratives that dive into larger socio-political and economic influences, topics, and conditions, such as poverty, schooling, environmental destruction, drug-abuse, disability, racism, sexism, homophobia, culture, music, media, and spirituality to name a few topics that are regularly examined by qualitative researchers.

Writing a statement on my personal standpoint (socio-political position) is the beginning step of an autoethnography grounded in what I believe, understand, and defend is critical for a project such as this where I profess a highly controversial standpoint as a radical activist and researcher (Harding, 1987; Hesse-Biber, Gilmartin, & Lydenberg 1999; hooks, 2000; Kemp & Squires, 1997). As all points of view and methodologies are inherently politically-biased, I challenge "detached" and "neutral" research and adhere to a more experiential subjective methodology rooted in feminist and critical theory (Harding, 2004). As Harding (2004) explains, "Standpoint theory emerged in the 1970s and 1980s as a feminist critical theory about relations between the production of knowledge and practices of power" (p. 1). Standpoint theory founded out of providing space and place for those who are marginalized, "... was presented as a way of empowering oppressed groups, of valuing their experiences, and of pointing toward a way to develop an 'oppositional consciousness,' as Patricia Hill Collins (1989)" (Harding, 2004, p. 2) and Chela Sandoval have noted. Standpoint theory and

methodology provided the roadway to the development of autoethnography and other critical activist methodologies such as activist methodology and action research methodology.

### Poetry as Autoethnography

hooks in *Talking Back* (1989) says it best, “For me, poetry was the place for the secret voice, for all that could not be directly stated or named, for all that would not be denied expression. Poetry was privileged speech – simple at times, but never ordinary” (p. 11). Poetry is a means to tell everything in one breath before someone cuts you off or tells you that you are wrong. Poetry a theoretical expression is clever and quick at times, while complex and complicated at other times. Poetry can offer a form of subversive resistance and reaction to a particular political and/or social problem, such as war, domestic violence, racism, or genocide.

Poetry, a literary art form of expression and in recent years a methodology and a theoretical approach to analysis, is present in almost all human cultures and before complex writing “Sociologists and anthropologists continue to explore new ways of composing ethnography, and more than a few are writing fiction, drama, performance, texts, and ethnographic poetry” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2002, p. xi). Poetry has been used in story-telling, narratives, history, proverbs, religious text, and as a tool for personal liberation. Liberation is only possible through self reflection. Political prisoner, Jalil Muntaqim said it best, “we are our own liberators” (Muntaqim, 2010). Many animal liberationists do not understand that. Yes it is possible to liberation yourself and your community, such as the Black liberation movement, but one cannot liberation another

group or community, i.e., nonhuman animals. The Animal Liberation Front can free one from captivity, but liberation is a holistic and transformative experience by the oppressed that takes time. All species and humans express themselves differently when they are liberated, some in throwing dirt others in running. Hence the reason Jalil argues like Foucault that the worst form of prisons are the mental one's we create for ourselves out of fear and not the physical prisons with walls, fences, and bars (Muntaqim, 2010). Poetry and other forms of writing can be a public announcement of one's liberation.

Poetry also has been used in qualitative ethnographies (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Furman, 2007; Blinne, 2010). Rich Furman, Carol L. Langer, Christine S. Davis, Heather P. Gallardo, and Shanti Kulkarni author's of *Expressive, research and Reflective Poetry as Qualitative Inquiry: A Study of Adolescent Identity* (2007), writes "While poetry may not commonly be thought of as a source of knowledge, poems are powerful documents that possess the capacity to capture the contextual and psychological worlds of both poet and subject" (Furman, Langer, Davis, Gallardo, and Kulkarni, 2007, p. 302). Furman, Langer, Davis, Gallardo, and Kulkarni go on to write in the same article,

Poetry has the capacity to express both affect and context, or affect *in* context. In autobiographical poems, poetry has the capacity to express the lived experience of the author. Poetry is personal, yet it is the goal of the poet to transform his/her personal experience into that which is universal, or in the vernacular of social research, generalizable. In this sense, the goal of the poet is to present his/her experiences, both internal and external, in such a way that the reader may enter the work as if it were their own. (2007, p. 303)

Along with autoethnography, the creative and expressive arts have become "increasingly influential in qualitative research" (Gallardo, Furman, and Kulkarni, 2009, p. 289). The

following is a personal poetic autoethnography speaking to my personal identity, educational experience, and activism (Furman 2005; Gallardo, Furman, and Kulkarni 2009).

### Limitations

My research is limited to some extent because of the security that the people I am studying hold for themselves. By being a member (activist) of the community I am studying, e.g., the disability community, I have had rare access to key members who provided time to me in part because I am an “insider” (Naples, 2003) in the support community. I am an insider in the sense that I have several “diagnosed disabilities.” In addition, the insider and outsider positions in the research process are not static because, no matter how personally involved one is with the study population, a researcher still studies them, observing, then acting. For this reason the autoethnographic researcher moves in and out of the insider and outsider status very fluidly (Naples, 2003). Breaking down this polar dichotomy of outsider and insider by using the above methodologies helps in countering creation of a sense of the otherness. “The insider/outsider debate is simultaneously a contestation over divergent epistemological assumptions, methodological strategies and political claims-making” (Naples, 2003, p. 50). I argue that it is impossible for a researcher to be detached from society or to not influence intentionally or unintentionally his/her own research. We are not one-dimensional beings (Marcuse, 1964). Therefore, while it might be impossible to be fully objective, it is essential that researchers strive to be conscious of one’s influence, motivation, and manipulation of the data and outcome of a given project. Thus, even if researchers can

immerse themselves within the research, they should never forget that they are conducting research, hence be aware of their subjective as they strive to be objective.

## **Case Study**

My dissertation uses a case study approach. It is commonly used in psychology, political science, social work, community planning, business, sociology, and other disciplines as a methodology for study and presentation of results (Yin, 2003). As Winston Tellis (1997) writes:

Yin (1993) has identified some specific types of case studies: *Exploratory*, *Explanatory*, and *Descriptive*. Stake (1995) included three others: *Intrinsic* - when the researcher has an interest in the case; *Instrumental* - when the case is used to understand more than what is obvious to the observer; *Collective* - when a group of cases is studied. Exploratory cases are sometimes considered as a prelude to social research. Explanatory case studies may be used for doing causal investigations. Descriptive cases require a descriptive theory to be developed before starting the project. Pyecha (1988) used this methodology in a special education study, using a pattern-matching procedure. In all of the above types of case studies, there can be single-case or multiple-case applications. (p. n.a.)

Peter Castro and Erik Nielsen (2003) stress that case study methodology provides a “learning tool” for discovery and probing through the practice of contextualizing, contrasting, and comparing (p. 3). The case study methodology offers several benefits. First, it allows studies to be analyzed together for the purpose of comparing similarities and differences. Second, it is useful for examining a study that is a microcosm of a large sociological concern. Third, it is useful for comparing individuals and/or groups. Fourth, it allows room for this methodology to be specific and only analyze a particular individual or group. A final value of case studies is that it “... need not always include direct, detailed, observations as a source of evidence” (Yin, 2003). Therefore, it should be

stressed that case study methodology is not a sub-methodology of qualitative methodology, even though the two can work in harmony with each other.

Sometimes case studies are developed not by scholars, but by public intellectuals, politicians, and journalists striving to defend an argument rather than provide true rigorous scholarship that is not manipulated by personal interest. Consequently, the critique of the use of case studies is that they can lack thorough analysis and research, therefore providing weak, if not false, data. However, this argument can be employed against any sort of social science project that is poorly implemented. When case studies are conducted properly in a sophisticated and rigorous manner, which most scholars aim to uphold, such analyses can prove very valuable.

### **Critical Pedagogy**

Being a critical pedagogue, using a methodology that promotes scholars to join social justice movements, I consequently have a great amount of access and knowledge as a member, i.e., insider, therefore allowing my research and dissertation to be more valuable to the general public, activists, and scholars. I am also not an individual who adopts an activist-research methodology, which promotes engaging with social justice movements, group, and organizations that they are sympathetic to, while not a member. I am not only a member, but a leading activist-scholar in the animal advocacy movement. Finally, the individuals that I have selected have studied political repression for most of their activist lives and much more than others within in their given group, area, or movement.

This breadth of diversity in the dialogues aids the reader in understanding the larger context of political repression and other social movement history regarding how

others have responded. These individuals were specifically selected as credible, respected scholar-activists, to give legitimacy to animal advocacy and the topic of political repression. This topic is highly controversial and while there are many venues for those who are being repressed to speak about their repression and being stigmatized as a terrorists or eco-terrorists, I have strategically decided to build support for those individuals by dialoguing with academics, lawyers, and scholar-activists. Again, these individuals have written, taught, spoken to the media, and/or addressed the U.S. Congress on this subject. Again, this dissertation is intended as a critical intervention and tool for nonviolent dissenters who are being stigmatized for their beliefs and actions for social justice and peace.

Critical pedagogy, a social justice activist based participatory action research (Udas, 1998) methodology, comes out of a Marxist social justice theoretical tradition, which sees class struggle as the key dynamic driving social conflict and change (Freire & Macedo, 1987; McLaren, 1997; McLaren, 2000). While there are many social justice research methodologies (Charmaz, 2011), critical pedagogy, argues to engage with the oppressed and to join the struggle for social justice, rather than other methodologies that allow the research to leave after the research is completed. Further, many social justice approaches are based on helping and saving, rather than joining with, instead for the oppressed, assuming the oppressed cannot liberate their selves. Critical pedagogy follows Marx's exhortation that social theory should not only analyze systems of oppression, but that theorists should support and fight with and among the oppressed against domination, authoritarianism, and totalitarianism. This stance attacks conventional notions of objectivity and neutrality, arguing that all positions come from a particular bias or point

of view (Darder, Baltodano & Torres, 2009). As theorists, researchers, practitioners, or activists, we are not asocial and ahistorical beings who glide through life conducting our activities without being influenced and without influencing things (Giroux, 2006).

Educator, activist, author, and revolutionary Paulo Freire in Brazil introduced *critical pedagogy* as a means of social transformation through critical literacy. His innovative pedagogical methodology has been used by numerous oppressed communities and revolutionary groups worldwide. Freire's numerous books, particularly, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1997), emphasize making educational experience engaging by focusing on the conditions of the marginalized, repressed, and oppressed peoples. In the manner of Socrates, Freire did not state or dictate "answers" or "solutions" to their problems, but rather stimulated people's own thinking processes through a prolonged line of questioning, i.e., dialogue. He emphasized that educating is not just a technique or a mere procedure used in order to achieve only analytical results. It is here that this methodology is unique for, rather than structured interviews, it argues for community, group, and personal dialogues based on experience.

Freire, in fact, never posed as an expert or authority, but instead deconstructed the teacher/student role opposition such that, in many ways, he would learn and they would teach; he was the student and his students were the teachers. Critical pedagogy seeks to erase the standard hierarchical relationship between the teacher (the active subject with knowledge) and the student (the passive subject without knowledge). It promotes a true and lively interactive relationship among mutual seekers of knowledge in the classroom and in the community, and aims to learn the insider's experience and perspective, rather than an outsider's one. This conflicting relationship between insider and outsider



perspectives is also known in cultural anthropology as an emic approach (insider's view) versus etic approach (outsider's view) (Ferraro, 2007 p. 17). Ferraro (2007) writes that the emic approach is best used for understanding culture:

More recently, the interpretive school of cultural anthropology has strongly supported the emic approach to research. This school, represented by Clifford Geertz and others, holds that because human behavior stems from the way people perceive and classify the world around them, then the only legitimate strategy is the emic, or insider, approach to cultural description. (p. 17)

Therefore, to understand a group of people or culture, critical pedagogy and the interpretive school of cultural anthropology argues that one must not merely visit, but emerge and become part of a *true* relationship within one's group or culture.

### Limitations

My research will be limited because of concerns regarding the personal security of the people I am dialoguing with. By being an activist in the community I am studying, (i.e., animal advocacy movement), I have privileged access to key public members. I am an "insider" (Naples, 2003) in the sense that I am a member of the animal advocacy movement. The insider and outsider positions are not static in a research context because no matter how personally involved one is with the individuals under study, these people are still under study by the researcher. It is for this reason that the researcher moves in and out of each role very fluidly (Naples, 2003). Critical pedagogy helps to break down this bipolar dichotomy of the outsider and insider, and it reduces the sense of otherness. In critical pedagogy we see that, "The insider/outsider debate is simultaneously a

contestation over divergent epistemological assumptions, methodological strategies and political claims-making” (Naples 2003, p. 50).

Critical pedagogy, one of my methodologies, while respected for decades by scholars, is sometimes seen as a threat to scholars who do not involve themselves with community/civic service and activism. It is also viewed with suspicion by many classic positivists in the academic world, who challenge critical pedagogy’s credibility, legitimacy, and quality (Darder et al., 2009). There are positivists who support critical pedagogy and engage in social justice activism, but scholars who engage in social justice are commonly the same people who argue that academies need to take accountability of their domination within society. This is a major reason that social justice and subjective-based methodologies are marginalized in the academy. While qualitative methodology “... has come of age” (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998, vii), the new radical sub-fields similar to critical pedagogy that blend theory and praxis together, calling for full immersion with the subject, are still fighting for respect and credibility.

### Foundational Questions

In exploring how, if at all, members of a social movement respond to being labeled as or affiliated with terrorists, I propose six foundational questions, plus ten additional key follow-up questions, when dialoguing with my fourteen participants for this dissertation:

- 1) How and when did you become politically conscious?
- 2) Why is being a scholar-activist important?

- 3) Why defend nonhuman animals and nature?
- 4) And what is your philosophy of animal protection and environmental ethics?
- 5) How does protecting nonhuman animals and nature if at all relate to economics and capitalism?
- 6) Do activists feel threatened or fearful of being affiliated with or labeled as a terrorist?

If they answer affirmatively to this question, which they all did, believing it could be a problem, we go on to my next seven questions:

- 7) What is political repression?
- 8) What are good methods on learning political repression?
- 9) Why do they think responding to political repression is important?
- 10) What tactics and strategies are used to respond to the terrorization?
- 11) To what extent can one determine if the charges of terrorism and responses are positive or negative for the individual or group represented?
- 12) How can dialogues with those who have been politically repressed help other activists?
- 13) How do laws that target those identified as terrorists affect their activism or their affiliation with their social movement?

14) How do these activists see the imposition of claims of terrorism, and themselves as terrorists or being affiliated with terrorists by law enforcement?

15) How do corporate interests in the U.S. today influence political and social control?

16) What is your thought on the relation of the oppression of animal advocates and that of the people with disabilities?

These questions laid the foundation of the dialogue that I had with my fourteen participants. Each question building upon the next, with the last question geared specifically on issues of disability. While I would ask many of the questions often like all dialogues, the conversation would focus on one topic more than others. It was for that reason that in Chapter Five certain people were quotes and noted, while others were not. Further, some of the participants worked with people with disabilities or had a disability, while others did not relate at all to the issue of disabilities. The participants did not relate to all the topics; some of them knew and were concerned with certain topics, while not others. This was assumed when I chose strategically the fourteen participants to be part of this dissertation. Therefore, for any research project to be successful it must employ the best methodology for the researcher's goal. More importantly, the researcher if adopting a specific methodology, but be knowledge and adopt the methodology correctly, if not the result will be unsuccessful project. Finally, it is vital to select a diverse group of participants, in-order to get a strong and broad understanding of the larger given group's perspective on a given manner.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Autoethnography and Theory: From Disability Studies to Critical Criminology

#### Introduction

While identifying stigmatization is important, it is more important to learn how to respond to it. Stigmatization is the negative labeling/branding/marking, demonizing, vilifying, defaming, smearing, slandering, or disgracing of a group, individual, theory, belief, or object. Erving Goffman in *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity* (1963) writes, “The term stigma, then, will be used to refer to an attribute that is deeply discrediting, but it should be seen that a language of relationships, not attributes, is really needed” (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). This discrediting is a form of victimization of ideas, theory, groups, individuals, objects, and thereof who depart from accepted norms (Goffman, 1963, p. 5). I will open this chapter with my personal story of being stigmatized as a person and student with mental disabilities. Next, I will discuss my personal experience as an activist who has been politically repressed, including being stigmatized. Finally, I will address the importance of studying theories related to political repression, including its manifestations and methods for responding and resisting.

My own personal experience with stigmatization began as a young child before the first grade, when I was diagnosed by a handful of psychologists and psychiatrists as being severely mentally disabled. This experience is the reason why I am intrigued and concerned about labeling people. Authorities and the media commonly seek to delegitimize dissenters by calling them one of two labels: (1) mentally ill/insane/disabled (sickness) or (2) terrorists (sinners) (Corrigan, 2006, p. 189). As both a person with mental disabilities and an activist, I always thought that if I told the public that I had mental disabilities, they would disregard what I did and said as an activist. What I found out was the public discredited my work because I was an activist and a person with disabilities separately and together. Based on these experiences, I feel it is important to write a personal narrative, using a disability perspective to reflect on the stigmatization of activists as terrorists.

### **Personal Standpoint Statement**

*Who am I?* is an important question, one that must be answered before moving forward. I am not a “one-dimensional man” (Marcuse 1964), who can be neatly placed into this capitalist-driven society as a type of producer and consumer (Marx 1959). I am not normal; I have many mental challenges. I am something that cannot be merely written on paper, but must be experienced. I am intense, maybe because of my hyper-activity and my Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder (OCD). I cannot healthily focus on one project at a time, but rather I must focus on a multitude of projects in a single time period.

Before moving forward, I would like to introduce myself to the reader. This process of introduction is also known in scholarly terms as “locating” myself. bell hooks writes, “As a radical standpoint, perspective, position, ‘the politics of location’

necessarily calls those of us who would participate in the formation of counter-hegemonic culture practice to identify the spaces where we begin the process of revision” ((Harding, 2004, p. 153). hooks also stresses that language can act as a place of struggle and pain, allowing others to understand new perspectives, realities, and truths.

Through an autoethnographical approach, I tell my story of being an activist, a person with disabilities and as a student. I will go about doing this in two different methods, first through poetry and second through a more traditional theoretical narrative. Autoethnography is a care balance of critical examination and personal story-telling, and interweaving of theory and experience through a research methodology.

Autoethnography is a common strategy of scholar-activists to speak out about their experiences and the theory that now develops from it. It is truly impossible to grasp Black feminist theory, for example, without understanding and listening to Black women’s narratives. This common strategy is unlike classical philosophy, where the philosopher was detached and removed from the philosophy s/he believed in, and this strategy has only changed with the advancement of critical dominated voices speaking and writing in the academy.

#### Poetic Personal Statement: Who am i?

Who am i?  
What is this?  
And what am i doing here?

Those are some damn good questions.

i would have said i’m not sure like most, but that would make me out to be a fool.  
Wouldn’t it?

And i’m no damn fool.

Sure i do not write that well and speak great English, (yeah i say liberry) but you will get what i am saying and isn't that the point!

So i am here to defend.

What the hell do you have to defend?

You have no kids, no wife, no partner.

You are white, male, educated (whatever that means) and your family is rich.

So again i ask you what do you plan to defend?

Do you defend your whiteness?

Or how about your gender?

Or your private education?

Or how about your rich ass self?

Well yeah i am white, male, and i come from a rich family.  
But don't fuckin stop me there. i AM MORE.

i am Queer see me cross my legs!  
i am mentally disabled see me shake!  
i am alone in a place that i call the academy, but is my home, ... what an irony.  
i am a member of a wonderful family.  
i am militant and pissed off.  
i am anti-capitalist.  
i am anti - racist, sexist, classist, and imperialist.  
i am anti-repressive.  
i am a Quaker  
and i am an Anarchist.

But i am also all of those things too -- racist, classist, sexist, and imperialist.

So i am here to defend a dissertation.

A diss-a-what?

A dissertation.  
To defend something i am going to own and call my own.



i do not want to do it!

Why are you doing it?

Because i have to.

You don't have to do anything, but die.

Yeah, true, thus I guess I want to do it.

So why do you want to do this?

To show up everyone!

Everyone who?

Everyone that said i could not do it, should not be here, am not smart enough, and am most likely going to be in jail.

Well shit i might still go to jail. But i am not retarded or stupid.

i'm not an idiot, a freak, or crazy.

this is an action for people with disabilities fighting back and proving everyone wrong.

i was dragged on the cement, spitted on, laughed at, tried to commit suicide, have had friends die, imprisoned, and killed, and lost friends because of disabilities.

My dis-abilities are me.

So you ask what am i defending?

i am defending my Ability to fuckin be here.

i am defending the need to fight back.

i am defending the Ability to be different.

so when you ask me what i am defending it is not only an action to write a dissertation to get dusty or be used for a job interview.

It is to defend me, open doors for others, and provide tools to fight.

So i do Dare to struggle, And I do Dare to win.

until all are free...

In this poem, I critically examine my socio-political economic location, while also explaining my personal experience of having disabilities while in higher education (Ben-Moshe, Cory, Feldbaum, and Sagendorf 2005). School was violent, repressive, and oppressive to me. Violent because I was literally held down, because I shook in class and was told to leave class because I could not stay still. Repressed throughout my schooling from first grade to my doctorate degree, teachers, students, staff, psychologists, psychiatrists, and friends never thought I was going to graduate high school, college, or receive my doctorate degree. School was not a liberating experience or place for me. The reason I wanted to write this dissertation was to articulate and express my repressive experience. Also my personal act of graduating opens the door of hope for others with severe disabilities to be successful in higher education. I personally forced the creation and augmentation of many policies for people with disabilities at every college and university I went to. It was oppressive because people with disabilities are an oppressed group, who have been forced out and not accepted in schools; they've been forced into mental hospitals or murdered at the hands of science in the name of normalcy. This analysis of defending my rights, showing my anger, and addressing my frustration provided the motivation for my political consciousness and activism. In this next section I explain how the stigmatization of being labeled with disabilities relates to being political repressed as an activist.

#### From Personal to Political

Beating, killing, imprisonment, surveillance, raids, and framing have been taking place since the creation of a class, race, and state divide established by the elite and reinforced by governments (Bodley, 2005). Faced with the dark times, survival is often

the only hope that victims of repressive and controlling acts can think about. They typically do not think of speaking out, fighting back, writing their story, or uniting together to share their experience (Harding, 2004). They simply want to move on and live!

It took me four years to watch a video of myself being arrested and searched by the Chief of Police for an act of civil disobedience in protecting dolphins from captivity (which I argue is a prison) and felony charges of possession of crack-cocaine with the intent to sell, for which I was framed. The purpose of the framing was strategic, in my opinion. I was lead organizer of a political campaign to keep dolphins out of a nonprofit entertainment and educational facility similar to Sea World. The facility was bringing in a lot of money to the city from tourists. Law enforcement needed to figure out how to stigmatize us, as arresting us was only giving us more and more sympathy from the public and the media. They needed to stigmatize me and the campaign with something that would make people leave and not support our efforts. Marijuana, PCP, LSD, heroine or any other drug does not have the universal negative image by society that crack-cocaine has.

After my release from jail, I did not speak to my friends about it much. Neither did I speak to the media or make buttons or stickers about my case. Rather, I kept fighting for the dolphins. Yes, people knew about my case, but there were two types of people that knew about my case: activists who supported me and the media and law enforcement personnel who portrayed me as a crack-selling vegan dissenter needing to be silenced. I remember making one flyer relating the imprisonment of dolphins with my possible imprisonment, but I only produced a hundred copies. It was then that I could

understand that a prisoner is a prisoner is a prisoner, no matter if the prisoner is an elephant at a zoo, a human at Attica, a bird in a cage, or a dolphin in an aquarium.

No one spoke up to write my story; if someone had done so, I would have told him/her to focus on the dolphins. Now, upon further reflection, I realize that my case tells another story. It tells how everything is connected, and that when one fights against systems of domination and oppressive institutions, s/he will be repressed. Many in the animal rights movement have been arrested for trumped-up charges, receiving ridiculous prison sentences and fines.

I, a Quaker and straightedge (someone who does not engage in illegal drugs, alcohol, or promiscuous sex), was among the first to be framed for something I did not do. As a result, I later received numerous calls from activists wondering what to do about being targeted by police. I provided them two items of advice: (1) stick together with your community and protect each other; and (2) tell your story, as I am doing now. It is through our shared experiences and knowledge that we build stronger understanding.

### **The Stigmatization of Disability<sup>5</sup>**

At a very young age (before first grade), I was diagnosed as having severe mental disabilities. This diagnosis resulted in my being directed to special education classes from first to fourth grade. It was a nightmare for me. I could neither read nor speak well. I shook all the time, and I had difficulty focusing my energy whether in the classroom or in general. At times I would be held down or just kicked out of class. The only wonderful relationship I had in those years was with my cat, Sparkle, who was my best friend and someone that I was able to communicate with emotionally in a humane manner. Sparkle

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<sup>5</sup> This section was adapted from my personal website biography [www.anthonynocella.org](http://www.anthonynocella.org) and an article I wrote, "Emergence of Disability Pedagogy," available at: <http://www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=132>

was later killed by three dogs when I was a child. It was that death that inspired me later to become highly involved in the animal rights movement, specifically dolphins because of the unique relationship they have with people with disabilities. From fifth to twelfth grade, I went to a separate school for students with mental and learning disabilities. Both the classes in “normal” school and the separate disability school were types of segregation.

Segregation today is still a very popular method by special educators as a technique to “manage” the disabled. In the first grade, I was put in segregated classes for learning disabled students. The students in the rest of the school did not play or talk with us. Rather, they laughed at us, physically hurt us, spat on us, and called us “retarded.” Being laughed at and insulted by my peers was a daily reality through my life until the twelfth grade. It was something I had to hide or only tell professors in college, who sometimes later used it against me, claiming I was not intelligent or meant for college.

Similar to people with disabilities, political dissenters today post-9/11 are segregated into prisons and detention facilities and labeled terrorists. In *Discipline and Punishment* (1995), Foucault asked, “...is it surprising that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons?” He argued that institutions and systems are tools to control and discipline those who are identified as abnormal, by those in elite power who identify themselves as normal (Foucault, 1995). This gave rise to normalcy that was supported by capitalism, because of labor efficiency as factories and industries took the place of small family owned stores. “One great frustration for disability scholars had been the glaring lack of direct analysis about disability in Foucault’s work, although his insights have proven eminently useful for an analysis of

disability” (Synder and Mitchell, 2006, p. 134). Science, specifically the medical field, capitalized on the construction of eugenics, which could be “recognized as a quintessential example of hegemony,” (Synder and Mitchell 2006, p.73) to repress those with mental disabilities.

American eugenics laid bare the social and national goals newly claimed for medical practices. It promised an empirically sound, cross-disciplinary arena for identifying ‘defectives’ viewed as a threat to the purity of a modern nation-state. Turn-of-the-century diagnosticians came to rely on the value of bureaucratic surveillance tools, such as census data, medical catalogues, and intelligence testing. (Synder and Mitchell, 2006, p. 74)

From the beginning of the 1870s, there was a rise in the number of strategic repressive pathological medical categorization of those with mental disabilities; first came immigration laws not allowing any person with a mental disability in the U.S., next was the incarceration of those within the country, and finally was the testing and killing of them in the name of purification (Snyder and Mitchell, 2006). This process is similar to that by law enforcement and the government post-September 11, 2001 in neutralizing dissent in the U.S. The cleansing of people with disabilities was a mass genocide in the name of purity and normalcy promoted by the medical field (Synder and Mitchell 2006). While the first lobotomy in the U.S. was performed in 1936 by Dr. Walter Freeman and James Watts on sixty-three year old Alice Hood, the incarceration, medicating, institutionalization, and murder by the electric chair to lethal injection still goes on today.

These institutions -- the clinic, hospital, prison, and so on -- “functioned as laboratories for observation of individuals, experimentation with correctional techniques, and acquisition of knowledge for social control” (Best & Kellner, 1991, p. 50). Anyone

deviating from prevailing norms of rationality was considered odd or mad, and could be interned in psychiatric wards (Pfohl, 1994). Psychiatrists and doctors differentiated between sane and insane, abnormal and normal, and clinics and hospitals confined and tried to “cure” the “mad,” “deviant,” and “abnormal who threatened social stability.” Hospitals constructed medical discourses that determined who was “ill” and who was “healthy” for those individuals who were ill were to be separated, studied, and surveilled (Foucault, 1994). Prisons are systems of confinement which house not only people who rob or murder, but also who are considered dangerous, abnormal, unpredictable, or deviant. They are institutions to control social outlaws and deviance as constructed by laws, rules, and social conventions (Foucault, 1995).

The function of discipline, Foucault believes, is to control individuals in order to make them more obedient, thus more useful (or less troublesome) to the ones in power. Foucault writes, on the rise of systems and institutions of domination that, “A ‘political anatomy,’ which was also a ‘mechanics of power,’ was born; it defined how one may have a hold over others’ bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines” (Foucault 1995, p. 138). Best and Kellner write,

As we see, Foucault’s account of power emphasizes the highly differentiated nature of modern society and the ‘heteromorphous’ power mechanisms that operate independent of conscious subjects. This postmodern theory attempts to grasp the plural nature of modernity itself, which Foucault believes modern social theory such as Marxism has failed to adequately understand. Modernity is characterized by the fact that ‘never have there existed more centres of power ... more circular contacts and linkages... more sites where the intensity of pleasures and the persistency of power catch hold, only to spread elsewhere’ (Foucault 1980b: p. 49). Hence, Foucault defines power as ‘a multiple and mobile

field of force relations where far-reaching, but never completely stable effects of domination are produced' (1980b: p. 102). Modern power is a 'relational' power that is 'exercised from innumerable points,' is highly indeterminate in character, and is never something 'acquired, seized, or shared'. There is no source or centre of power to contest, nor are there any subjects holding it; power is a purely structural activity for which subjects are anonymous conduits or by-products. (1991, p. 51)

Best and Kellner's analysis of Foucault's concept of power highlights the relationship between a dominant party and a dominated party. Power in Foucault's perspective is not a gun that can be grasped or a factor that can be managed, but instead centers around the notion of knowledge, further the shaping of "truth" or reality as the ultimate form of power.

Foucault's works have been extremely influential in all fields of contemporary criticism, inspiring not only the "new historicism," but also innovative research in the areas of the family, sexuality, social regulation, education, prisons, law, and the state. As Foucault noted, power in service to wealth and economic efficiency has forced a universality of rehabilitation of all who are not perceived as normal or who are labeled as deviates from accepted practices. The social construction of the binary between dominant and dominated is carried out in industrial complexes related to the military, medicine, prison, academia, and other institutions.

Social control is established by cultural constructions, such as the self (Lyotard, 1993) or individualism (Brown, 2003). Lyotard (1993) writes, "A *self* does not amount to much, but no self is an island; each exists in a fabric of relations that is now more complex and mobile than ever before" (p. 15). These constructions, as Foucault (1995)

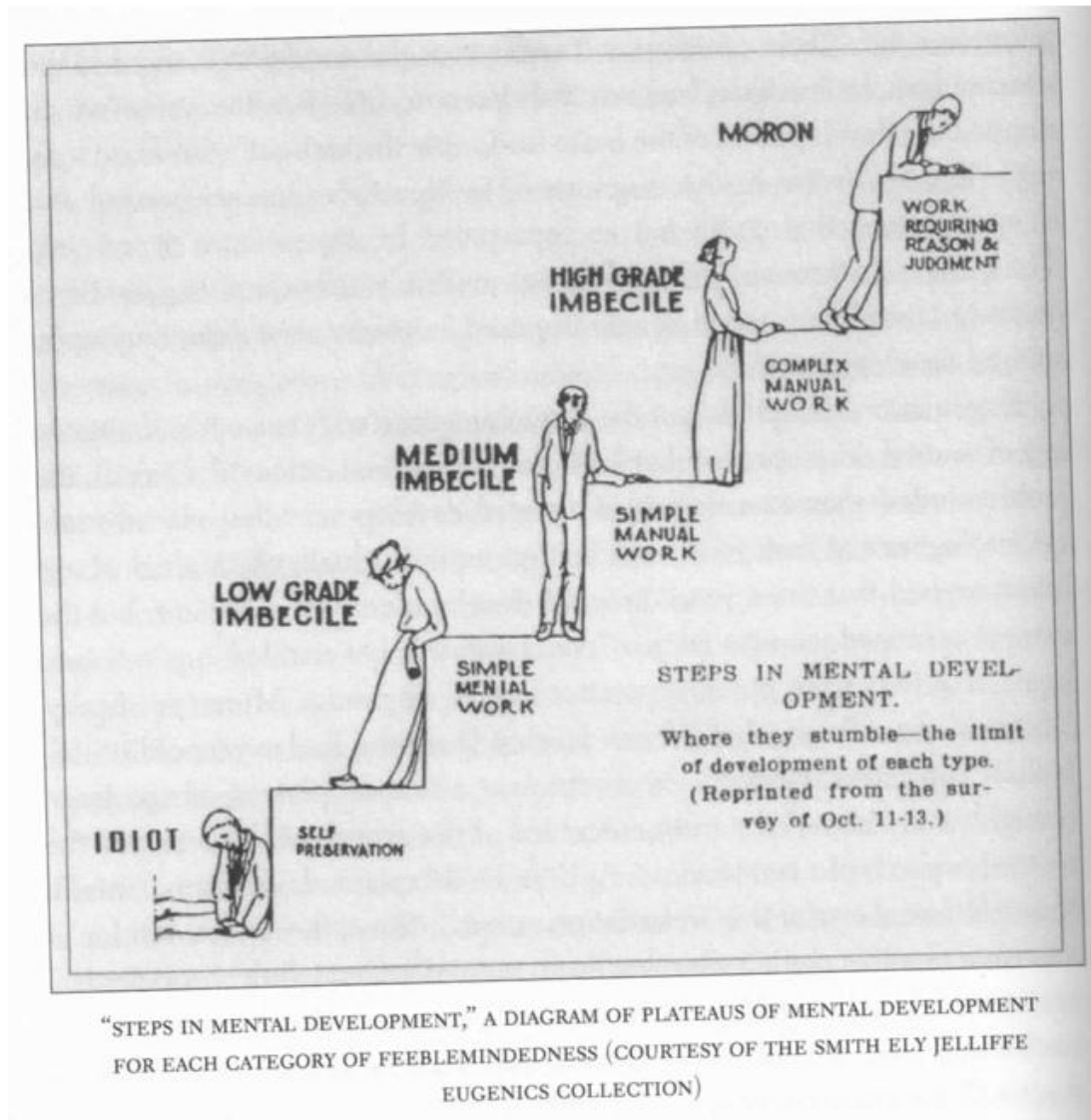


noted, are all related through use of power. The daily practice of medicine became the medical-industrial complex, with industry establishing standards of what was ill, sick, and diseased (Foucault, 1994).

The justification of the term and theory of disability comes from a normalized discourse of ability. Disability has been the justification to kill, test on, segregate, abort, and abandon. What is “disability” and why does it have a negative connotation? Disability is a negative term because society has constructed it as being broken, not working properly, or having something wrong with someone. Disabled, like crippled, lame, and retarded, all mean similar things and are all used commonly in U.S. society to conjure up negative images used as insults and derogatory labels (Taylor, 1996). For example: “You are being lame,” “You are so retarded,” “What, are you mad?” “Don’t be insane?” and “What are you, crippled or something?” Terms such as ‘feble-minded,’ ‘retarded,’ ‘special educational needs,’ ‘special needs,’ ‘learning difficulties’ are all examples of what Corbett (1995) calls ‘Bad Mouting’” (Armstrong, Armstrong, & Barton, 2000, p. 3). The below image was taken from Sharon L. Snyder and David T. Mitchell’s book, *Cultural Locations of Disability*, (2006), which is a scientific diagram with graphic human images of people trying to climb steps of labor efficiency, starting with an “idiot,” sitting in a collapsed pose, depicted as not able to function. The human images on each step going up the steps with a label and a description relating to labor capability. The diagram ends at the top step with an exhausted looking man labeled as a “moron” who can do the most complex labor of those with mental disabilities. It is here again we can make the direct connection between economics and the worth of an individual, those that are worthless

in relation to labor are people with disabilities. The most worthless among those with mental disabilities during that time of eugenics were “idiots.”

*Figure 2.1 – Steps to Mental Development – Eugenics (Snyder and Mitchell 2006)*



Stigmatization of those with mental and physical disabilities have located people with disabilities in a state of value between humans and nonhuman animals, and at some moments, and depending on the disability, less than nonhuman animals. This is not to suggest that nonhuman animals are in any way less important, but rather that such

discourse is informed by elitist norms and systems of domination because of people's physical and cognitive abilities.

Erving Goffman in his article, "Selections from Stigma," a chapter in *The Disability Studies Reader* edited by Lennard J. Davis, writes, "The Greeks, who were apparently strong on visual aids, originated the term *stigma* to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier" (Davis, 1997, p. 203). A perfect example of this stigma is found in the movie *300* (Snyder, 2006), where 300 Spartans battle the Persians, who are depicted as "uncivilized."

In another movie, *300* (Snyder 2006), Leonidas is approached by a Greek who is strong and loyal, but with physical disabilities. The Greek seeks to join the Spartans' fight. However, King Leonidas sees this man as weak and a liability, rather than a powerful and strong soldier with wit. The Greek pleads his case to be part of the Spartans, but the King, after asking the soldier to perform a few defensive and offensive moves, said the Greek soldier with disabilities did not have the qualifications that it took to be a Spartan. This devastates the Greek so much that he becomes a traitor for what the movie portrays as the uncivilized "wild"—the Persians. The meaning of the story is that the Spartans, as a perfect society, could never have a person with disabilities among them. In contrast, for the supposedly uncivilized "wild" Persians, the movie portrays the physically disabled Greek warrior as acceptable. Thus, all marginalized groups are the same, implying that "non-Spartan" equals non-perfect, or not normal. The story is based on the historical battle that had many imperialist lessons, one of them being that "civilized men" are more powerful than all of "nature."

“Disability” and “people with disabilities” are the most endorsed and used terms by disability rights activists, theorists, advocates, and allies. As noted above, there are negative images of the term “disability,” but the disability rights movement has reclaimed the term, more out of a universal understanding of what the definition of disability means and those to whom it refers. The term also holds significant and unique legal and medical value, for it “appears to signify something material and concrete, a physical or psychological condition considered to have predominantly medical significance” (Linton, 1998, p. 10). This does not suggest that the term should and must be resisted. My work with disability activists over the last ten years would conclude that they would not argue for doing so. However, while many in the movement embrace the term, others are now striving to promote new terms that promote positive values of difference, such as with ability pedagogy. The classic predicament in all names for particular identities is that not everyone will understand the term or even be aware that it exists, thus forcing the group into promoting its preferred name and definition.

Like the term *disability*, activists face the imposition of a label -- *terrorists* -- by government, corporations and media. Located in the field of critical criminology, I introduce for the first time within this dissertation the *4Ds of Dissent*, which are four stigmatizing terms sorted in a specific sequence that criminologists have used to identify activists throughout history (Pfohl, 2009). They include, which I define, in order from less threatening to the most dangerous to society and the government:

1. *Deviant* – used to identify people who are not acting or speaking in acceptable ways.
2. *Delinquent* – imposed when one acts and speaks contrary to the norm, and his/her actions are attributed to a failure or neglect of rules or norms.

3. *Disability* –suggests that one’s controversial actions or opinions are rooted in an illness, sickness, disease, or physical disorder.
4. *Demonic* - used to indicate that a person is possessed by evil forces or personifies evil.

Further, “Stigma is of concern to social scientists largely because of the egregious effects it has on almost all levels of society. Stigma represents a social injustice that deprives people of their humanity, leads to violence, and results in robbing individuals of the opportunities that are rightfully theirs” (Corrigan, 2005 p. 6). It must be noted that not all labels of individuals and groups are negative. On the contrary, they sometimes can be helpful and liberating. A label becomes problematic when there is stigma related to it, becoming damaging and marginalizing – hence, a tool used to repress.

After recent terrorist attacks in the U.S. and abroad there has been a common repeated theme throughout news coverage on these attacks to justify these horrendous acts of violence. The repeated theme argued is that terrorists have mental disabilities. Contrary to this argument, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) identifies that terrorists conduct actions for the goal of the “furtherance of political or social objectives” and to “influence the policy of a government” (n.d., para. 8)” and are not individuals that conduct as because of mental disabilities. In his article “Don’t Look for Mental Illness to Explain Terrorists Acts,” Rich Daly writes:

Social factors, rather than mental illness, are at the root of even the most violent terrorist acts, according to mental health experts who have studied terrorism and the people who commit it. For this and other reasons, psychiatry appears ill-suited as a tool to counter modern terrorism. (2007, p. 9)

The shooting at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, on Monday, April 16, 2007, was carried out by Seung-Hui Cho, an English major. Media, law enforcement, doctors, and the university identified him as mentally ill. Before the shooting, Cho strategically took his time and energy to take pictures of himself with weapons, record 27 digital videos, and write an 1800-word manifesto, which was sent as a package to NBC News (Johnson, Cahil, Dedmann, Williams, Popkin, Handelsman, and The Associate Press, 2007), containing critiques of “rich kids” as well as other social problems.

I pose that it is possible that he was a terrorist who had mental disabilities, but his disabilities had nothing to do with his actions. I believe so as the quote by Daly (2007) stresses that social factors and not mental disabilities are the cause of terrorism. Hence the definition of terrorism while not internationally agreed upon is fundamentally a coercive or violent act for social, political or economic change. Therefore, the correlation between the act and the decision he made that act of terrorism and one’s mental disability can be argued to not be related to one another. Further, Cho’s disability that he had could have been the socio-political reason for his actions. For instance, if he was told that he had cancer that he received from a radio-active plant across the street from his home from doctors, and then bombed the plant, his disability, i.e., cancer, did not make him do it, his anger, logic, and socio-political logic did. I should stress that I do not support Cho’s actions or for terrorism, but rather am trying to explain why the act of terrorism and someone with a disability are not related. Furthermore, I argue that it is possible that his social critique of consumption and attitude by students on his campus came prior to his mental disability and was not the cause of his terrorist acts.

In Tucson Arizona on January 8, 2011, there was a shooting by a 22 year-old male, Jared Lee Loughner, who also was identified minutes after the shooting by the media as possibly mentally ill. Media and law enforcement have strategically not identified him as a terrorist because he it would possibly mean that they would have to argue that his actions were targeted against the U.S. and that he has justified political motivations. Loughner did note in a YouTube (Loughner 2010) segment that his favorite books were *Mein Kampf* (Hitler, 2010), *The Communist Manifesto* (1967), *Animal Farm* (1946), and Plato's *Republic* (2007). Some of the individuals who were shot at the "Congress on Your Corner" event at a local grocery-store that Saturday were United States District Court for the District of Arizona Chief Judge John Roll and a staffer of United States Representative from Arizona Gabrielle Giffords. Representative Giffords was shot at point-blank range and was rendered in critical condition (Murray and Horwitz 2011).

As noted above, it is important to recognize the difference between terrorism and one's disability and that it is possible that terrorism can occur by everyone and anyone with a mental disability. Moreover, terrorism is not influenced by the mental disability, but by one's socio-political economic, and religious perspectives . Mental disability has been used to stigmatize terrorists and anyone outside the socially constructed norm as not being rational and logical, but on the contrary, terrorists perform rational and logical illegal violent acts for social and political change. That is not to say we must agree with their actions, but we must agree that they were politically or socially influenced. To recognize this fact is to therefore publicize the argument of the offender, consequently

legitimizing his/her position, which might critique and shame the government or those that are in power, and which is not beneficial to those that are in socio-political control.

Activists, similar to terrorists, strive for social and political change, but typically do not wish to harm others and conduct their activities in a lawful manner. When activists are effective in forcing social and political change, there arises political repression toward these activists. One of the first and most effective tactics of political repression is stigmatization through labeling as extremists, terrorists, and mentally disabled individuals with no rationality, logic, or common sense. Myra Marx Ferree (Davenport, Johnston, & Mueller, 2005) coined the term soft repression, which “involves the mobilization of nonviolent means to silence or eradicate oppositional ideas” (Davenport, Johnston, & Mueller, p. 141). Ferree explains three different forms of soft repression, which include ridiculing, stigmatizing, and silencing (Davenport, Johnston, & Mueller, 2005). It can be argued that soft repression, while not as visible, can be as damaging as hard repression, which Ferree describes as more male-gendered imagery, such as imprisonment, home raids, and assassinations.

When relating stigmatization as a tactic of political repression to the animal advocacy movement, Dara Lovitz in her book, *Muzzling a Movement: The Effects of Anti-Terrorism Law, Money, & Politics on Animal Activism* (2010), writes, “Although not one death or serious personal injury has been attributed to eco-terrorism, the FBI has labeled so-called eco-terror groups the number-one domestic threat in the United States” (p. 106). Today greatly due to the terrorist attacks in the U.S. on September 11, 2001, “terrorist” is the label that is used toward anyone seen as a threat by the U.S. government. For hundreds of years, the general public, when discrediting someone in a so-called



joking manner, would demean them by referring to them with a classic disability label such as crazy, moron, idiot, mad, or retarded. Today, while people still utilize these ableist terms, the word “terrorist” is added to that list as a way to discredit someone.

Lovitz further writes, “Whether one labels another a *terrorist* typically depends on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the cause that the other champions” (2010, p. 106). Activists and social movements, because of their desire for social and political change, are by nature controversial, therefore they are vulnerable to being victims of stigmatization. “Stigma means an impaired collective identity, where connection with the group is a source of discredit and devaluation because that is how the group as a whole is viewed, whether or not anyone makes an issue of it through name-calling or other forms of ridicule” (Linden & Klandermans, 2006, p. 214). The purpose of stigmatization as a tactic of political repression is to devalue and discredit a person and/or group as socially and/or politically flawed.

The discourse of the term constructs a binary of terrorist or friend. But the subjectivity of this discourse is that the terrorist could be a threat one minute and a friend the next and vice versa, such as with the case of Martin L. King Jr. in the U.S., Mahatma *Gandhi* in India, and Nelson Mandela in South Africa. While in this dissertation I do not address social constructionism, I do address how stigmatization through labeling is a tactic of political repression (Rizor 2003).

In her dissertation, *Constructing Animal Rights Activism as a Social Threat: Claims-making in the New York Times and in Congressional Hearings* (2008), Jen Girgen writes, “In fact, the writings of early constructionists have been called “the

labeling theory of social problems” (2001:60). However, there is an important distinction between the two theoretical perspectives: while labeling theory focuses on *who* gets tagged deviant, social constructionism emphasizes *what* gets called problematic” (Girgen, 2008, p. 7). Hence, it is important to stress that I am looking at the *who*, rather than the *what*, in this dissertation. With activist being politically repressed through stigmatized labels, there is a need and an interest, which are the foundations of this dissertation on how activists respond to the stigmatization of being labeled a terrorist post-9/11 in the U.S.

### **Need for Responding to Political Repression**

Scholars, activists, journalists, and lawyers have often written about cases of political repression merely describing the incident (Churchill & Wall 2002a; Churchill & Wall 2002b; Glick, 1989), e.g., “At 1:00 pm the police kicked open the door, threw everyone to the floor, and at 1:07 pm the police shot John Doe in the head, killing him.” This cannot be the end. More than ever we need the development of dedicated scholarship seeking to move beyond the causes of political repression. We all know political repression exists, but we must learn how to respond. We also need to understand how activists respond, be it for the negative (e.g., walking away or snitching) or positive (e.g., countersuing a particular police department and receiving valuable media attention which raises money for the organization and movement). What political repression is will be addressed later in this chapter, while how activists respond will be addressed in Chapter Five.

By building a framework to understand the activists’ responses to political repression and studying it within the context of critical criminology, this dissertation

expands the field of literature on responses to political repression. In this field we identify: 1) the type of repression; 2) how the activist(s) responded; and 3) if the repression and/or response was effective -- how or how not? Understanding how activists respond, and the effect of that response, provides a better idea of how to respond when we, our comrades, or our movements are targeted with political repression. By responding effectively, we are able to mobilize our movements and hopefully transform patterns of social control and prevent future repression.

### **A Critical Criminological Perspective**

Critical perspectives on social control and political repression are studied within the field of critical criminology - a challenge to, as well as subfield of, criminology. Criminology's roots go back to the mid seventeenth century, most notably to Cesare Beccaria an Italian jurist and author of *On Crimes and Punishments* (Beccaria 2009) and Jeremy Bentham with assistance from his cousin designed the architectural blueprint of the panopticon, a powerful method of surveilling populations of people in prisons or in the public (Foucault, 1995), which was later carried out built in the U.S. In 1958, George B. Vold, a conflict criminologist with his book, *Theoretical Criminology* (Bernard, Vold, Snipes, and Gerould 2009), began to explain that crime is an outcome of political conflict between groups that have power versus those that do not and are disenfranchised. He argued that those that have power create laws to defend their interests, which provides them with power. Conflict criminologists entrenched in the values of Marx, understood that conflict was a universal form of interaction among everyone; therefore conflict is not to be avoided or denied, but rather embraced. They saw that relationships were fused by conflict, which could not be avoided.

Out of conflict criminology, with the aid of Vold, emerged critical criminology, which is now regarded as a subfield in the discipline (DeKeseredy & Perry, 2006). Critical criminology is similar to and is sometimes wrongly interchanged with, radical criminology, which came later (Lynch, Michalowski, & Groves, 2006). Critical criminology began in the late 1960s and early 1970s during the same time as the prison reform movement and was founded on a Marxist critique of social order and power (DeKeseredy & Perry, 2006). Critical criminology came also from the critical theory school of thought, entrenched in the Frankfurt school. Critical criminology argues that crime was socially located and contingent on particular historical, cultural, and political norms. Further, critical criminology argues against punitive or retributive base justice systems and is for supportive restorative and transformative ones. Today, the field of critical criminology is highly diverse with sub-fields (Lynch, Michalowski, & Groves, 2006; DeKeseredy & Perry, 2006) such as feminist criminology (Renzetti, 2008), green criminology (Beirne & South, 2007), transformative justice (Morris, 2000), restorative justice (Zehr, 1995; Van Ness & Strong, 1997; Claassen & Claassen, 2008), anarchist criminology (Ferrell, 1997; Ferrell, 2002), and, most recently, queer criminology (Ferrell & Clinton, 1995). Critical criminology challenges domination and control of any sort, and therefore concentrates on examining issues of control and discipline (Fernandez, 2008). The first wave of critical criminology focused more on challenging and reacting than being proactive and establishing an alternative.

As the field matured in the late-1970s, so did the time to transition from reactive critiques and criticisms of retributive and punishment-based criminal justice tactics and systems to more inclusionary and rehabilitative alternatives. As the 1980s came with

President Reagan and left with George H. W. Bush, the war on drugs, with mass arrests and incarceration aided by the 1973 New York's Rockefeller Law and the like, was the answer, which replaced rehabilitation (Hartnett, 2010). The 1980s in the U.S. began with approximately five hundred thousand adults in prison and ending the decade with more than a million ("The punishing decade," 2000, para. 1). In the 1990s education was taken out of the prisons as it was too costly and it was replaced with factory jobs which profited corporations (Burton-Rose & Wright, 1998; Davis, 2003). The substitution of jobs for education became a form of incarcerated slavery, was defended by the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment, and gave way to the prison industrial complex with an overloaded unmanageable criminal justice system—too many cases dumped onto too few lawyers, judges, juries, and court rooms (Magnani & Wray, 2006). This soon made way for the development of the criminal industrial complex, as Clinton introduced global trade and capitalism in 1990s.

The 2000s was marked by George W. Bush as an era of Terrorism (Chomsky, 2002), which brought war, violence, and economic and ecological crisis (Kahn, 2010). And under Bush, in 2002 we saw that the prison population grew for the first time to more than two million in the U.S., overextending its bed (i.e., rooms for prisoners) limit (Davis, 2003). The U.S.'s criminal justice system is grounded in a retributive punitive process, that adopts everything from ankle bracelets to surveilling convicts to the death penalty. In Chapter Six of this dissertation, I introduce transformative justice a criminal justice system that is restorative, liberatory, and empowering, and not repressive.

When prisons do not work, the power of surveillance (Foucault, 1995; Parenti, 2003) and labels that stigmatize are a method for social control in-order to reinforce normalcy. If a group or individual threatens the dominate social order they are commonly

first surveilled, then questioned, and finally if they do not align with the common norms, they are punished. The punishment can be as minimal as a fine to pay the government or as severe as the assassination of someone. This process of promoting a dominate social order or norm is known in the fields of criminology and sociology as social control.

### **Defining Social Control**

One of the most examined topics by critical criminologists is social control. Social control is the regulating of behaviors, identity, and ideas by constructing norms in order to establish boundaries of compliancy and conformity (Pfohl, 2009). Groups and individuals with certain behaviors, identity, or ideas that fall outside these boundaries are labeled as deviant and abnormal (Pfohl, 2009) and must be punished and disciplined by those in dominant positions who reinforce normalcy and social constructions. These systems and regulations that provide order and discipline are there to provide social, political, economic, and religious control over the public. When these systems and regulations are broken, the institutions and the state actions of punishing those who broke them are identified as political repression. Therefore, social control and political repression work together for the goal of protecting hegemony and domination. In *Policing Dissent* (2008), Luis Fernandez argues that if one only looks at repression, s/he will be ignorant of a larger social context. He writes:

In my view, the concept of repression, limited to overt tactics such as harassment, intimidation, assault, detainment, and murder, is too narrowly constructed and leaves out multiple spheres of contention and domination. In contrast, social control of dissent opens up the theoretical possibilities for broader studies of protest and control. (p. 9)

Fernandez, a critical criminologist, views social control and domination as larger fields of study comparable to that of political repression and punishment. Political repression and punishment, while using many tactics such as the death penalty, infiltration of an organization, wire-tapping, and home-raids, are all forms of social control. One specific form of social control is *labeling*. Fernandez (2008) writes:

Labeling theory offers a more contemporary sociological approach to social control and deviance (Becker 1963; Pfohl 1994). Closely associated to symbolic interactionism, this approach argues that human behavior is relative, interpretive, and best understood in human interactions. In other words, meaning is a negotiated process: it is created rather than absolute and independent. In turn, deviant behavior is also an interpretive process. Therefore, what society holds as deviant behavior depends on the meaning and interpretation given to an act rather than the act itself. (p. 21)

In labeling theory, it is important to ask who is labeling, what is deviant, how these actions change and are accepted as normal within a constantly changing world? This construction is pivotal in the examination of dissent for two specific reasons. First, it asks why the particular movement's cause is viewed as deviant, abnormal, and not accepted; and second, it asks how institutions of power identify the activists themselves as deviant. Therefore, not only must the type of tactics and strategies being employed be observed, but the cause as well. It must be stressed that not all labels are negative, but when labels are stigmatized as being abnormal, which marginalize and silence such as with individuals who have disabilities have been, then the label can be used as a tool of political repression.

Goffman notes in his book, *Stigma: Notes on Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963) that, stigmatization unlike labeling is always used negatively in order to discredit.

Labeling on the other hand does not need to always hold to a repressive or negative characteristic, for example, Alexander the Great. Great was not Alexander III of Macedon's last name. Yes, he was a king, a rank with-in the nation, but king does not equate to the subjective value of great. Goffman, in describing a person that has been stigmatized, writes, "He possesses a stigma, an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated. We and those who do not depart negatively from the particular expectations at issue I shall call the normals" (1963, p. 5). In relation to disability studies' critique of labels and stigmatization, Goffman (1963) writes,

We use specific stigma terms such as cripple, bastard, moron in our daily discourse as a source of metaphor and imagery, typically without giving thought to the original meaning. We tend to impute a wide range of imperfections on the basis of the original one, and at the same time to impute some desirable but attributes, often of a supernatural cast, such as 'sixth sense,' or 'understanding.' (p. 5)

A majority of Goffman's work on stigma is related to the negative identity of people with disabilities or people who, as noted above in his quote, are referred to a disability to insult someone, group, event, object, action, or idea. Labels are a form of social control and are an understood and when someone steps out of that label such as myself who has published a number of books and is completing my doctorate, society argues that I and people with disabilities who step out of that constructed identity do not have disabilities or have had someone do the work for us. Whereas, if I get a low grade on a paper, forget something at home, or yell at someone people accept and justify my actions as norm for me because I have disabilities. Furthermore, it was a larger reason that I did not want to come out and be public about being part of the ALGBTIQ community because history by



science, specifically eugenics argued that the only reason people are gay is because they have a disability. Further, in Goffman's (1963) book he quotes a person with physical disabilities on breaking-out of their disability identity and notes,

...people do not only expect you to play your part; they also expect you to know your place. I remember for instance a man at an open-air restaurant in Oslo. He was much disabled, and he had left his wheel-chair to ascend a rather steep staircase up to the terrace where the tables were. Because he could not use his legs he had to crawl on his knees, and as he began to ascend the stairs in this unconventional way, the waiters rushed to meet him, not to help, but to tell him that they could not serve a man like him at that restaurant, as people visited it to enjoy themselves and have a good time, not to be depressed by the sight of cripples. (p. 120)

Goffman goes on to provide many other examples with voices from people with disabilities speaking about breaking-out of their label, for example people with physical disabilities are thought of not being able to dance so many anarchists who do not have disabilities argue that Emma Goldman's quote that is attributed to her saying once, "If I can't dance, I don't want to be part of your revolution," but on the contrary people with any type of disability can dance, even if they are in comas they might be dancing in their minds. Another example that is common is people arguing with a person that is blind going to a movie theater or buying a television, telling them that they should not buy the television or they can't go to the theater because they will not enjoy it.

The most powerful affect and purpose labeling and stigmatization is the establishment of moral panic, which promotes social fear. Moral panic was first introduced by Stanley Cohen in his book, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (1980) to describe the feeling expressed when social order, interests, and values are at stake. A few

examples of moral panic include the War on Drugs launched in the early 1970s (Churchill 2002a), the generalization that all Muslims are terrorists post-September 11, 2001 (Odartey-Wellington 2009), and most recently anti-capitalist activists such as anarchists, environmentalists, and animal rights activists have been argued to be a “new class of folk devil” (Fiona Donson, Graeme Chesters, Ian Welsh and Andrew Tickle 2004) and as violent and terrorists (Fiona Donson, Graeme Chesters, Ian Welsh and Andrew Tickle 2004). Therefore, a common reason that governments and other institutions of power often construct enemies, such as the war on terrorism, is because they want to establish social fear, which will allow them the ability to control society.

### **Defining Political Repression**

Literature on political repression centers on the relationship between the state and dissent. Most of the literature ranges from government strategy, behavioral shifts of dissidents and authorities, and political-historical analyses (Davenport, 2000) to documentation of repression and results of repression. According to Conway D. Henderson (1991, p. 121) in Stohl and Lopez’s Introduction of their book *The State as Terrorist* (1984), Henderson writes, “Political repression is the use or threat of coercion in varying degrees applied by government against opponents or potential opponents to weaken their resistance to the will of the authorities” (Stohl & Lopez, p. 7). This definition is compatible with the broad spanning literature in the field of political repression (de Neufville, 1986; Goldstein 1986; Goldstein 1978; Jones, 1988; Michell et. al., 1986; Reiter, Zunzunegui, & Quiroga, 1986; Rodley, 1986; Stohl & Lopez, 1984). Moreover, as Henderson (1991) notes, the general concept of this definition “is also

widely recognized by governments, international organizations, and professional groups” (p. 121).

My only critique of this definition is that from an activist’s perspective it downplays the violent actions of governments, characterizing repression as merely “coercive.” This overlooks the specific actions, including illegal tactics (e.g., COINTELPRO, see below) often employed by a government to limit or destroy necessary public dissent. In some cases, such actions include physical violence, torture, and murder. This is not to suggest that the state, the U.S. and beyond, is a monolithic entity. The government is a complex, continuously changing, and, at times, self-critiquing institution. Further, because of private security (e.g., Wackenhut), correctional facilities, and militaries (e.g., Blackwater), along with illegal militias and paramilitaries working covertly for governments (e.g., the Janjaweed in Darfur region of the western Sudan) that exist today around the world, political repression is not limited only to formal governmental institutions. Therefore, I define *political repression* as the specific legal and illegal targeting, covert or overt, of political activists to control, eliminate, and/or weaken their ability to create political change.

The literature on political repression around the world centers on the relationship between repression and dissent (Davenport, Johnston, & Mueller, 2005). Most of the literature ranges from government strategy, behavioral shifts of dissidents and authorities, and political-historical analyses (Davenport, 2000) to documentation and results of repression. Recent literature suggests a growing interest regarding response to repression by dissidents (Lichbach, 1987). Some theorists argue that an increase in repression will cause increased dissent (Becker, 1976; Cameron, 1988; Denardo, 1985; Gurr, 1970;

Snyder & Tilly, 1972). Others believe the extent of dissent largely depends on economic shifts (Buss, 1961; Gupta, Singh, & Sprague, 1993; Lichbach 1987).

In this dissertation, I argue that when the economy is unstable, dissent is likely to be high; and when it is strong, dissent is likely to be low. Of course this pattern also reflects the dissidents' own budget and resource mobility. Another pattern of response is that dissent will likely increase along with repression until a certain point when it decreases due to the dissidents' cost-benefit analysis centered on the relationship between repression and dissent (Davenport, 2000; Gurr 1969; Gupta & Venieris, 1981). A significant amount of research goes beyond issues of repression on a domestic level, to examining civil war, revolution, international war, tyranny, and dictatorships as part of the larger scope of repression.

Political repression "has become institutionalized in American life, an unwelcome legacy from the sometimes brutal, sometimes hysterical attacks on political dissidents. Every branch and every level of government has participated in suppressing free expression" (Schultz & Schultz, 1989, p. xi). Beginning with the genocide of Native Americans to the present-day, with the limiting of animal rights activists' freedom of speech through the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA) signed in 2006, political repression is woven in the historical fiber of U.S. history. States are always hierarchical entities, depending on repression as well as cultural hegemony to maintain control (Bodley, 2005). America's form of repression reflects the country's origins in the British Empire, though it has unfolded through the centuries in its own distinct manner.

A review of political repression literature reveals three major characteristics of political repression in the United States. First, repression tends to be legalistic and subtle

(Levin, 1971; Grossman, 1976). Second, it is constrained by norms and procedures (Balbus, 1973). Third, it is administered by multiple levels of government (Kopkind & Lang, 1970; Jones, 1988). Today, political hegemony of corporate media acts less as a social information center and more as a think-tank for supporting particular state policy; therefore the media has become a corporate propaganda-promoting machine and spin-artist on justifying political repression (Chomsky, 2002).

Further, the reason U.S. political repression might tend to look sparse is because the government often does not recognize and allow investigations by other countries and NGOs on repression by law enforcement and institutions to be carried out.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, compared to other countries worldwide, the U.S. appears to be much less repressive. Overall, democratic regimes appear less likely to use large-scale repressive tactics as authoritarian regimes (Blanton, 1999; Henderson, 1991; Poe & Tate, 1994; Rummel, 1996) because democracies offer more peaceful avenues for expressing one's grievances, including public protest, boycotting, petitions, voting, lobbying, and running in an election (Blanton 1999; Rummel, 1996). However, even in democracies, political repression occurs selectively.

### **Overview of U.S. Political Repression**

Robert Justin Goldstein's book, *Political Repression in Modern America: From 1870 to 1976* (2001), shows in vivid detail that political repression has a long history in the U.S. From the Sedition Act of 1798 to the Red Scare during WWI, from McCarthyism to COINTELPRO, the U.S. government has systematically and repeatedly

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<sup>6</sup> "The smattering evidence available on this topic clearly suggests that the level of political repression in the United States has been far below that of most other countries. For example, a study based on the 1948-1960 period placed the United States among the nine most 'highly permissive' regimes among eighty-four nations categorized on a scale measuring 'coerciveness' (Ivo K. Fierabend, Rosalind L. Fierabend, and Betty A. Nesvold, "Social Change and Political Violence: Gross National Patterns," *Violence in America*, eds. Hugh D. Graham, Ted R. Gurr (New York: Bantam, 1969 p. 661)." (Goldstein, 2001)

violated the rights and liberties of its citizens. This phenomenon has been noted by many other scholars and while repressed and silenced throughout U.S. history has not been forgotten (Schultz & Schultz, 1989; Schultz & Schultz, 2001).

In the U.S., one organization more than any other has implemented strategic repression: the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Buck, 2000; Churchill & Wall, 2002a; Churchill & Wall, 2002b; Cunningham, 2003; Jones, 1988; Swearingen, 1995). Between 1956 and 1971, the FBI operated a secret counter-intelligence program known as COINTELPRO, whose purpose was to “expose, disrupt, and neutralize” (Buck, 2000) their targets, specifically radical left-wing organizations that caused a “domestic security threat,” (Earl, Soule, & McCarthy, 2003; Jones, 1988) such as the American Indian Movement and the Black Panther Party (Carson, 2002; Churchill & Wall 2002a; Churchill & Wall, 2002b; Jones, 1988; Jones 1998; Peltier, 1999), along with even more moderate groups such as the American Friends Service Committee (Glick, 1989).<sup>7</sup> The FBI also targeted individuals perceived as connected (i.e., “associated”) to so-called radical groups or whose individual political beliefs were perceived as too leftist (Price, 2004).

The FBI used hard-ball tactics that included phone taps, frame-ups, violence, and even assassination attempts (Churchill & Wall, 2002a; Churchill & Wall, 2002b; Schultz & Schultz, 1989). Despite the condemnations of such tactics by the Church Committee

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<sup>7</sup> In March of 1971 COINTELPRO surfaced as a direct result of a break-in by activists who identified themselves to the media as "Citizens Committee to Investigate the FBI" (Churchill and Wall 2002). They removed files from an FBI office in Media, PA. Consequently, shortly after that event, agents of the FBI began to resign and became whistle blowers against the agency. During the same year, the historical *Pentagon Papers* were released, which documented top-secret history of the reasoning, expanding capitalism and destroying all global resistance, of the Vietnam War by the U.S. government. In the mid-1960s the program began to include right-wing groups that attracted significant negative publicity such as the Aryan nation and the Ku Klux Klan. All COINTELPRO operations were terminated in 1971 when the public became aware of the FBI's activities (Cunningham, 2003). Of course the FBI did not eliminate political repression from its repertoire, but merely employed it through other tactics. Other agencies such as local and state law enforcement, militaries, and private security firms also have continued similar activities.

Report in 1976, they continued such operations in the 1980s, harassing groups supporting Central American peoples under attack by the U.S., such as CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) (Blum, 2004; Cunningham, 2004). Throughout the 1990s, the FBI appeared to have a free hand in political repression, such as with the LGBT and AIDS activist communities and organizations like ACT UP in the 1980s and 1990s (Stockdill, 2002).

### Strategy of Political Repression

When studying repression, one must not only look at the methods (punishment) and reasoning (discipline), but also at the entity employing it (Davis, 2003; James, 1996). Repression is carried out in a variety of methods, ranging from the private sector controlling work schedule and conditions of employment, to the government controlling social behaviors and political expression through open and hegemonic means. The state acts as a form of authority in multiple spheres, from being the government to the infrastructure of society (Marx 1959; Gramsci 1989). As Engels writes, “Authority, in the sense in which the word is used here, means: the imposition of the will of another upon ours; on the other hand, authority presupposes subordination” (Tucker p. 730, 1978).

While it is critical to “draw lines between right and wrong uses of governmental authority to seize and damage persons and property” (Tilly, 2003, p. 27), this dissertation only deals with the wrongful and illegitimate use of government authority to repress the legitimate exercise of civil liberties and dissent, i.e., political repression. In the discussion of right and wrong uses of governmental authority, Charles Tilly (2003) defines the two categories as force (legitimate, i.e., legal) and violence (not legitimate, i.e., illegal). He states that there are “three insuperable objections” in distinguishing the two (Tilly, 2003,

p. 27). First, what is legitimate force? Because this is a contentious issue, “demonstrators and police are almost always contesting the boundary between legitimate and illegitimate uses of coercive means” (Tilly, 2003, p. 27). Second, Tilly claims that a continuum exists between legitimate and illegitimate authority. I disagree with him on this point because it is debatable whether raiding a home or imprisoning someone is always difficult to discern, or in some kind of moral and legal gray zone. And he does not seem to answer the underlying question: who determines what is and is not legitimate? If it is the law, then political repression is a form of legal procedure, but if it is based on social morality and social justice, then it is based on a larger debate over ethics. Law throughout time has always been challenged by social ethics, while social ethics, which are more fluid and less dogmatic, are developed through constructive communal dialogue.

Tilly discusses a third objection, involving the relativity of legitimate force and violence. *Who determines the description of the outcome?*, he asks. Does it depend merely on who is in control at a given moment? “If the rebels had won, would their violent acts have converted retroactively to legitimate force?” (Tilly, 2003, p. 28) Therefore, these questions center on the fact that political repression is hard to determine, and that even the claims to define the concept are problematic (Tilly, 2003). Basically, he offers a variation on the cliché, “One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter.” This is a very problematic relativist position that renders all uses of force and violence equally good or bad, but impossible to discern without some kind of criteria, which Tilly doesn’t seem to provide.



Similarly, Tilly (1978) identifies the two acts - *repression* and *facilitation* - differently in earlier writings. He claims the middle-ground between repression and facilitation is *toleration*:

Governments respond selectively to different sorts of groups, and to different sorts of actions. Sometimes the discriminations are fine indeed: the same government which smiles on church services bringing together a thousand people assembled to pray for salvation shoots without hesitation into a crowd of a thousand workers assembled to pray for justice. (Tilly, 1978, p. 106)

In the eyes of the government and, more importantly, corporations, dissidents (or people engaged in dissident acts) are not mere criminals but a threat to national security and corporate profits.

### Defining Terrorization

From the perspective of critical criminology, the “war on terrorism” (established by the Bush Administration to attack those who conducted terrorist acts on 9/11 in the U.S.) more accurately describes the war against those perceived as threatening the interests of transnational corporations and the neo-con global military-industrial domination, i.e., terrorization (Fernandez, 2008). After 9/11, the “war on terrorism” provided the perfect cover for *a war on democracy* in the form of government, corporate, and law enforcement attacks on civil liberties, free speech, and domestic dissent of virtually all kinds (Chomsky, 2005). Clearly, “terrorism” is not just a word; it is a weapon. The definition is politically motivated by the user in order to target certain individuals or groups.

As state and local U.S. law enforcement become militarized with a heightened level of attention on domestic terrorism and an increase in high power weaponry, the local vandal, robber, murderer, and even dissenter, is constructed into a terrorist. *Terrorization* (with its foundation rooted in the concept of criminalization) stigmatizing, through labeling or branding of one's adversaries as terrorists to malign their cause/goal, demonizes and portrays them as deviant while, conversely, legitimating their own cause and taking any means necessary to secure it. This is similar to that of stigmatizing people with disabilities with labels such as retard, lame, crippled, blind, fools, idiots, and morons, which establish people with disabilities as abnormal and those in elite power in science, medicine, government and education as normal.

Terrorization is a form of political repression and social control that has existed for as long as dissent has existed. As the militarization of U.S. law enforcement becomes a reality, so does by default the terrorization of dissent and common criminals, i.e., military on one side and terrorists on the other. Terrorization, a new concept within label theory, falls within two bodies of literature: social control and political repression, which I will view through the lens of a critical criminologist. Although such labeling has long existed in the U.S., the scope and magnitude of its use greatly expanded after September 11, 2001. Specifically, I will use a case study to illustrate how actions on behalf of the animal advocacy movement became stigmatized by being labeled as terrorism post-9/11 and during globalization of capitalism and mass ecological crises such as the oil spill in the Gulf Coast Mexico and extinction of thousands of species.

Historically, the act of dissent has been labeled and demonized as “deviant behavior,” and often thought to be a mental illness, or even evil, rather than a rational and

emotional response to repressive political and economic forces, especially in the context of social change. It was thought that individuals who could not conform to social change became deviants, mentally ill, or insane (Pfohl, 1994). Today, law enforcement, with the assistance of psychologists, psychiatrists, political scientists, and sociologists, still believe that individuals who conduct acts of social justice can be profiled based on *motivation* alone, suggesting that people who carry out acts of social justice do so based on emotions rather than intellectual understanding, and therefore can be demonized and categorized as mentally insane. This binary of rational versus irrational, serves as an analytical construct to diminish the legitimacy of dissent. It is another means of terrorization.

#### Guilt by Association

As we have been informed by our parents and teachers when we were children, and by law enforcement and politicians as adults, your friends are a reflection of you, or in legal context: if your friends are criminals, then you are most likely a criminal. *Guilt by association*, a weapon to convict, imprison, and silence dissent, has been used throughout all political history – most notably in the U.S., during the Red Scare repressing communists, anarchists, and those who related themselves in any way with them (Goldstein, 2001). If you knew or associated with communists during the McCarthyian period of mass witch-hunts, you, too, were guilty of conspiracy and seen as a threat against the U.S (Chang, 2002).

Another example of guilt by association is the massive arrests of Muslims that followed the terrorist attacks of 9/11. National security policies legally allowed racial profiling of Muslims as possible terrorists or supporters of terrorists simply because of

their race (Akram & Johnson, 2002). Seven years later, in 2008, an article was published by Juan Cole at [www.salon.com](http://www.salon.com) explaining that “A person's travel and occupation, as well as race or ethnicity, could be grounds for opening a national security investigation” (para, 1). Most recently in 2008, President Barack Obama experienced guilt by association firsthand during his presidential campaign. First, with his Reverend, Jeremiah Wright, who had been very critical to the Bush Administration (Ross & El-buri, 2008), then with Professor William Ayers, a highly respected scholar who co-founded the militant Weather Underground and with whom he once had a meeting, along with others (Shane, 2008), and most recently with Deval Patrick, the governor of Massachusetts, who was accused of selling the seat of President Obama (Keller, 2008).

### **Responding to Political Repression**

This chapter seeks to expand the modest growing, not yet defined, field of political repression response. Historically, the act of dissent has been labeled and demonized as “deviant behavior,” and often thought to be a mental illness, rather than a rational and emotional response to repressive political and economic forces, especially in the context of social change. Currently, there is little analysis or research available on how people, groups, and movements respond to political repression. I examine whether they respond in a thoughtful or reactionary way. It appears that activists respond in both ways.

It was thought that individuals who could not conform to social change became deviants, mentally ill, or insane (Pfohl, 1994). Today, law enforcement, with the assistance of psychologists and psychiatrists, still believe individuals that conduct acts of social justice can be profiled based on *motivation* alone, commonly suggesting that

people who carry out acts of social justice do so based on emotions rather than intellectual understanding. This subjective-based binary of ‘rational versus irrational’ serves as an analytical construct to diminish the legitimacy of dissent. To understand any action from an individual, one must understand the complexity of motivations, as well as the specifics of the context.

Along with so many others in academia and in activism, I have too easily interchanged the terms motivation and reason, not caring about the deficiencies that might occur. This interchanging of the terms needs to be challenged and addressed for two major reasons: 1) motivation and reason have two completely different definitions; and 2) when wrongly fully used, often dismisses activists as having disabilities, and by default stigmatizes people with disabilities.

To start, the wrongful labeling insults the disability community because it implies that activists identified as “terrorists” and “extremists” have no reason and only act out of motivation (i.e., emotion). Therefore, activists, revolutionaries, and lone wolves who are labeled terrorists and extremists are stigmatized as not logical, irrational, lack reason, and are labeled as insane and mentally disturbed or disabled. Consequently, that construction demonizes people that have mental disabilities as deviant, who, with that argument, should be institutionalized because those individuals labeled as terrorists who have mental disabilities are all violent and a threat to society. This construction also insults the activist community because their political and social beliefs can be brushed off as “mentally disturbed,” and deviant, with no logical or theoretical understanding. Motivation is based on emotional and psychological characteristics, which drive a deeper

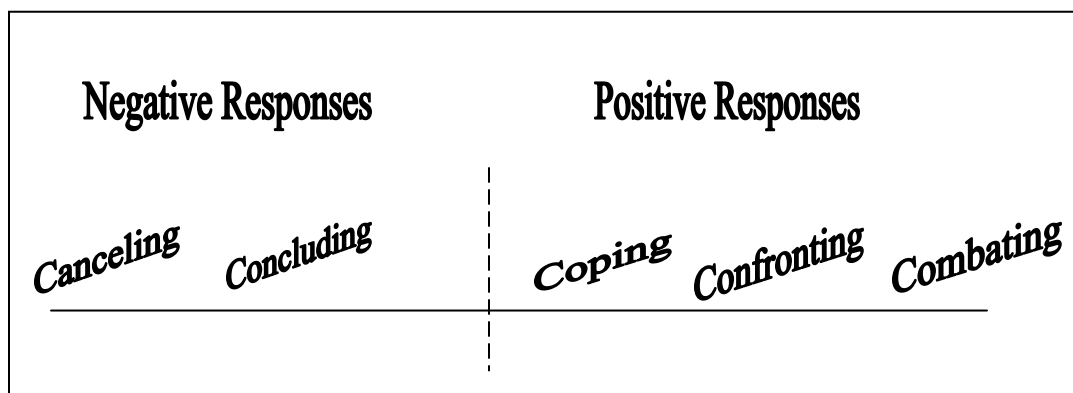
understanding of how individuals took a path toward social justice, while reasoning is based largely on logic and intellect, which acknowledges that individuals have agency.

Through my experience in activism and in conducting an extensive literature review, I have developed five general responses to political repression by activists and socio-political groups. They are: *canceling*, *concluding*, *coping*, *confronting*, and *combating*. I call these the *5Cs of Responding to Repression*. The following describe each of the 5Cs of responding by activists or groups to political repression.

1. *Canceling* is the abrupt elimination of all dissent activity.
2. *Concluding* is the gradual closure of all dissent activity, though not cancellation because people are still in jail, processing court cases, paying fees, or conducting counter-suits.
3. *Coping* is to keep constant, but not retreat or lose sight of, one's overall goals; hence, it is a form of managing repression.
4. *Confronting* is to publicize the fact that (an) individual(s) or group(s) is/are being repressed, but not take aggressive legal or illegal steps to eliminate the repression, usually due to a lack of resources or public support. In some cases, publicity eliminates the repression and may even advance the cause. Dissidents in this form of response are concerned with the overall goals of the group or movement.
5. *Combating* is to advance the goals of the group/movement, to take legal or illegal measures to eliminate repression, and to achieve justice for already implemented repression against them. For instance, this may involve a counter-suit against the city police or the FBI. Not only are activists aggressively advancing their cause, they are seeking to achieve legitimacy through their legal and/or illegal actions.

Of course, responding to political repression is never clean-cut or divided solely into five identified responses. Responses often will fall in between and can shift from one response to another in a moment's notice. However, the 5Cs of responding to repression provide an important conceptual foundation. It must be stressed that, at this point, activists have not drawn any significant distinction regarding such responses.

*Figure 2.2 - 5Cs of Responding to Repression*



Each of the responses is potentially in the repertoire of the activist or group and can be used either to address a particular event, campaign, group, or complete social movement. Further, these responses could be used to explain a diversity of actions. For instance, while an event could be cancelled at a university, and the student group could be coping with academic repression (Nocella, Best, & McLaren, 2006), the overall movement could be more organized and confrontational to State power. Activists' use depends on many factors, particularly the goal and strategy of political repression by the government toward them. Activists or groups, except in the case of imprisonment and assassination, always have agency in deciding how to respond to political repression. In the case of an informant in an activist group/movement, it is very important to stress how

activists have agency and that the state does not entirely determine or eliminate choice from the individual. This is not to say that the U.S. government and its law enforcement officers conduct their acts legally; they do not. Officials admit that, willingly or not. A case-in-point is COINTELPRO, which aided in the assassination, torture, framing, and division of activists and groups between mid-1950s to the early 1970s (Churchill & Wall, 2002a; Churchill & Wall, 2002b).

It is true that it is sometimes impossible to win one's freedom or political campaign in the face of intense political repression where the government is not "playing fair." But one must never deny that s/he has agency, which is defined here as the power to determine one's own choice. This does not mean one always has the power to determine the outcome, but people have the choice to decide how to believe and act. Activists and groups throughout time have stressed their agency in many forms, including the use of quotations.

In the case of Shaka Sankofa, a Black, poor, male prisoner who was executed by the state of Texas, he defended his innocence, speaking brilliantly about the horrors of racism and classism in the U.S. Before being executed, Sankofa gave his last statement witnessed by Reverend Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, Bianca Jagger, and others, with thousands of supporters from around the world gathered outside the walls. He stated, "You can kill a revolutionary, but you cannot stop the revolution" (Mathúna, n.d.). Even knowing he would soon be strapped to a cold metal table with his arm pulled tight with a lethal injection, Sankofa eloquently and strongly proclaimed that he, and every revolutionary, has agency.



Each response by an activist group or activist depends on the political climate, available resources, perceived possible consequences (e.g., collapse of organization, imprisonment, or fines), and, most importantly, the tactic used by authorities. Practice Theorists, such as French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, argue that actions are not independent from systematic and individual motivations and practices (Bourdieu 1977). Further, the concept of cultural capital refers to the ability of an individual to move in and out of societies, groups, and communities that s/he affects and is influenced by not because of financial value, but because of his/her value s/he offer others, such as, his/her knowledge experience, or social relationships on a particular topic.

The 5Cs of political repression are not the final determinate to study one's response to political repression, but a beginning point for developing a general framework of identifying how one responds. Furthermore, each response, while dependent on the strategy and tactic of political repression employed by the state or private agency, is determined by the activist or group. Therefore, someone's agency cannot be entirely taken away or manipulated by external forces, even while one's physical body can be imprisoned or killed. This framework for response will help show how the members of a movement respond to the terrorization.

Although there exist many responses on repression in books, articles, videos, and online, these are not analyzed in an organized way together in a field of study. In this chapter, I have organized a specific sub-field of study on responding to political repression, *political repression response*. As repression becomes more advanced in the U.S. and abroad, social movements must become more sophisticated and systematic about their actions toward law enforcement and other agencies. The only way to fight and

exist in a continuously repressive society, advocated for the most part by corporations and carried out by governments, is logically and, more importantly, cohesively in a collaborative and respectful way.

Information on political repression from one organization or group is shared to another and then another, until that information on that event is spread throughout the world to every social justice activist. This information gives activists possible solutions on how to respond to similar situations. How does a movement respond to respond to a grand jury? Do we speak to cops? Do we call the media when our house is raided? Do we have a press release for when we are framed? To understand these questions we must understand the type of repression, how the victim responded to the repression, and the result of this response. From these factors we can determine what actions are best to take in the future. It is only through activists sharing their experiences that this information can be analyzed and written about, and then applied to social justice movements as a whole.

## **Conclusion**

The animal advocacy movement serves as the case study for my research. The animal advocacy movement has generated a great amount of criminal prosecutions because of its regularly-occurring actions of civil disobedience and its controversial underground militant organization, known as the Animal Liberation Front (commonly called the ALF). The ALF is an underground group labeled by U.S. law enforcement (Lovitz 2010), media (“FBI,” 2008), scholars, and think-tanks (“Ecoterrorism,” n.d.), as “eco-terrorists” (Arnold, 1997; Long, 2004). Brian Glick (1989) identifies four tactics of political repression, which I have simplified here as the *4 ‘I’s of Political Repression*: 1)

incrimination, 2) infiltration 3) interrogation, and 4) incarceration. While all of these tactics merit study and should be identified together, my research project only examines the first step, incrimination, as the focal point for describing not the criminalization, but in the post-9/11 era, the terrorization of dissent.

In the pre-9/11 era, criminalization of dissent existed, but in the post-9/11 era the official policies and practices of the “War on Terrorism,” have brought about the terrorization of dissent. My two central research questions are: (1) How does terrorization carried out in order to stifle political protest take focus off a particular movement?; and (2) How do activists, if at all, respond to being affiliated or directly identified as terrorists? These questions are based on the issue of whether social and political power can delegitimize dissent by labeling it as deviant behavior. Much of this dissertation is centered on the concept of labeling as a form of political repression and social control. My perspective gains inspiration from a statement by Martin L. King Jr. in his *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*: “So the question is not whether we will be extremists, but what kind of extremists we will be. Will we be extremists for hate or for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice or for the extension of justice?” (King p. 88, 1964). This quote stressed that yes society will label us, but our power in the label will be what will we do with this label. I argue that we claim it for peace rather than for violence.

Addressing these two critical concerns are important for six reasons: (1) it aids in building the study of terrorization of dissent; (2) it examines social control and label theory in a technologically advanced era; (3) it provides an examination of the animal advocacy movement, about which there is little; (4) it establishes the field of political

repression response literature; (5) it aids in the growth of critical criminology; and (6) it relates to the current growth of global capitalism and global environmental concerns.

Overall, the research seeks to generate findings that will not only contribute to scholarly knowledge, but will aid in creating effective strategies for political action in the U.S. and elsewhere for peace, social justice, liberation, and freedom.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Case Study: Critical Animal Studies**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter is dedicated to the case study of this dissertation – animal advocacy. In this chapter, after introducing the ALF and the group’s philosophy, I will introduce critical animal studies along with two fields of study that have aided in the construction of critical animal studies: anarchist studies and green criminology. The critical animal studies (CAS) section explains the theoretical foundation of the animal advocacy movement and why CAS supports the ALF. The Anarchist studies section explains the organizational structure of the ALF and why the ALF employ direct action tactics. Finally, the green criminology section explains the animal advocates’ and environmentalists’ perspectives toward governments, corporations, and individuals, who exploit and kill nonhuman species and ecosystems.

#### **Animal Liberation Front**

While my project is not directly about the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), the ALF is the reason this project originated. To a large extent, the ALF is the reason for the stigmatization of the animal advocacy movement as terrorists and associated with terrorists. The ALF has been identified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) as a top domestic terrorist organization in the U.S. Therefore, it is appropriate to shape this chapter dedicated to the animal advocacy movement around the ALF.

Established in 1976 in Britain, the ALF is an international decentralized underground militant organization with no leaders, open membership to all, and with

members of unknown culture, race, class, physicality, spirituality, sexuality, gender, ability, and mental identity. Activities range from burning down a research laboratory at University of California, Davis, to freeing thousands of minks from a fur farm. The “Animal Liberation Front Guidelines,” which serve as the ALF’s foundational doctrine, are as follows:

1. To liberate animals from places of abuse, i.e., laboratories, factory farms, fur farms, etc., and place them in good homes where they may live out their natural lives, free from suffering.
2. To inflict economic damage to those who profit from the misery and exploitation of animals.
3. To reveal the horror and atrocities committed against animals behind locked doors, by performing nonviolent direct actions and liberations.
4. To take all necessary precautions against harming any animal, human and non-human. (Best & Nocella, 2004)

Since the ALF’s establishment, the group has not harmed one human being.

By engaging in destroying property and causing economic sabotage to help free animals, the ALF provides a compelling critique of corporate capitalist society (Best & Nocella, 2004). The ALF’s critique of capitalism is rooted in anarchist and politically progressive literature and ideas, which is supported by the field of critical animal studies (Best & Nocella, 2004; Best, Nocella, Kahn, Gigliotti, and Kemmerer, 2007; Best, 2009a; Best, 2009b). Because it is a clandestine group, the ALF communicates its message to the public solely through communiqués.

## The Rise of “Eco-Terrorists”

The current post-9/11 U.S. political climate is entrenched by the government, media, and corporate community with fear and rhetoric about terrorism and security (Blum, 2004; Brasch, 2005; Chang, 2002; Chomsky, 2002; Chomsky, 2003; Chomsky, 2004; Chomsky, 2005; Chomsky, 2006; Chomsky, 2007; Del Gandio, 2008; Griffin & Scott, 2007; Johnson, 2004a; Johnson, 2004b; Johnson, 2006; Katovsky, 2006; Klein, 2007). This climate filled with propaganda about the fear of terrorism “... provides a false sense of fulfillment by telling people what they want to hear. We all want to feel good about ourselves, we all want to believe in what we are doing and we all want to feel proud of our country, culture and government. Propagandists know this and thus use language that fulfills our unmet desires” (Del Gandio, 2008, p. 120). With trillions of dollars backing this agenda of fighting the “War on Terrorism,” society has become a mass and total techno-panopticon in which, no matter where one is on the planet, a person is under surveillance by satellite cameras, identification cards, computers, and other technology (Ball & Webster, 2003; Parenti, 2003).

Intense controversy brews even today over who is a terrorist and what is the definition of one, but political hegemony (Gramsci, 1989) is ruled not by the government, but wealthy corporate interests specifically from the financial industrial complex, military industrial complex, and gas and petroleum industrial complex shaped (Chomsky 2004). And so the questions arise: Who and what are “terrorists”? And, conversely, who and what are “freedom fighters”? What is “violence,” and who are the main perpetrators of it? It is imperative for analysts (and citizens) to resist corporate, state, and mass media definitions and propaganda in order to distinguish between nonviolent civil disobedience

and “domestic terrorism,” or between ethically justified destruction of property and wanton violence toward life (Chang, 2007; Chomsky, 2005). Douglas Long (2004) writes, “The FBI categorizes ELF/ALF attacks as acts of ‘ecoterrorism,’ which it defines as ‘the use or threatened use of violence of a criminal nature against innocent victims or property by an environmentally oriented, subnational group for environmental-political reasons, or aimed at an audience beyond the target, often of a symbolic nature’” (p. 3-4). I argue the greatest reason the Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front are identified not as criminals, but rather as ecoterrorists and as a top domestic threat, is because of their ideological difference (Del Gandio, 2008, p. 119), which challenges capitalism by conducting economic sabotage toward corporations. The acts they commit are crimes, but they are nonviolent crimes, which are harming no one. Their crimes regularly are trespassing, vandalism, and arson. With hate groups throughout America wanting to harm people, the question asked over and over again by critical animal studies scholars, how is it possible that these right-wing hate groups are not more of a national threat? The answer for many in the animal advocacy movement is that these right-wing hate groups are conservative and not trying to create new change, but convert back to how things were, while the ELF and ALF are left-wing groups that wanting to create new social change. The important point is the change they want to make would affect both the entire nation and the world, because they want to end all exploitation of nonhuman animals and nature. Thus, their goal would end or alter almost every industry and company that exists.

Since September 11, 2001, the U.S. government has initiated a strategic campaign to eliminate this group. Liddick (2006) writes, “In labeling environmental and animal



rights radicalism the most dangerous domestic terror threat in the United States, the U.S. government in recent years has set the state for the application of the Patriot Act to the prosecution of so-called eco-terrorists” (p. 99). The USA PATRIOT Act signed into law by President George W. Bush on October 26, 2001, broadened the definition of terrorism, allowed the detaining of people on suspicion alone, greatly reduced the protection of privacy by law enforcement, and decreased the oversight by courts (Brasch, 2005).

John E. Lewis, Deputy Assistant Director, Counterterrorism Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), remarked that, “Investigating and preventing animal rights extremism and eco-terrorism is one of the FBI’s highest domestic terrorism priorities” Lewis May 18, 2005). In their efforts, the government has brought the whole animal advocacy movement under fire with regular investigations, grand juries, home raids, infiltration of organizations, congressional hearings, and arrests. Douglas Long (2004) writes, “The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) estimates that between 1996 and 2002, the ELF and affiliated organization, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), committed more than 600 criminal acts in the United States, resulting in damages in excess of \$43 million” (p. 3). It must be stressed that because of the ELF and ALF guideline “To take all necessary precautions against hurting any animal, human and non-human,” none of the criminal activity during that period harmed human or nonhuman animals, while much of the damages were property destruction and animal research being lost due to the liberation of nonhumans. Furthermore, the ALF has never represented a direct or overt threat to the U.S. government or American people, unlike the many right-wing groups that have virtually disappeared from the Department of Homeland Security terror lists, despite targeting and threatening human lives (Best & Nocella, 2004). Despite

these facts, the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA) signed by George W. Bush on November 27, 2006, revamped from the Animal Enterprise Protection Act (AEPA) of 1992, generally speaking makes animal advocacy illegal and ecoterrorism (Best, 2007a; Goodman, 2008; Lovitz, 2007; McCoy, 2008; Moore, 2005). It is not just the activities of the ALF that are targeted by the AETA, but so too is a wide range of activity, from protesting in front of a fur store to a letter writing campaign to a CEO of a grocery store. Bob Torres writes in his book, *Making a Killing: The Political Economy of Animal Rights* (2007),

In particular, two US laws, the Animal Enterprises Protection Act (AEPA) and the Animal Enterprises Act (AETA) are telling indicators of the way the capitalist state will support the interests of property holders exploiting their animal property unjustly. They also help to illustrate how the dynamics of exploitation are institutionalized in society. (p. 72-73)

If anyone ever doubted that the U.S. government defended the animal-industrial complex (Noske, 1989) the AETA and AEPA made it publicly clear that the U.S. government has the goal of protecting corporations in the business of nonhuman animal exploitation (Torres, 2007). To further stress this, the Center for Constitutional Rights writes, "... the AETA covers many First Amendment activities, such as picketing, boycotts and undercover investigations if they "interfere" with an animal enterprise by causing a loss of profits. So in effect, the AETA silences the peaceful and lawful protest activities of animal and environmental advocates" (Center for Constitutional Rights n.d.).

The AETA, a tool for political repression targeting animal advocates and environmentalists, has been challenged by hundreds of organizations including the American Civil Liberties Union, National Lawyers Guild, and American Legal Defense Fund (Equal Justice Alliance n.d.). If the AEPA established the criminalization of First Amendment activities, the AETA made way for the terrorization of the same activity and civil disobedience and affords nonviolent activists less protection under the law. It must be stressed that the AETA was lobbied into law, "... by wealthy biomedical & agri-business industry groups such as the Animal Enterprise Protection Coalition (AEPC), the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), and the Center for Consumer Freedom (CCF), with bipartisan support from legislators like Senator Dianne Feinstein and Representative James Sensenbrenner" (Center for Constitutional Rights n.d.).

The AETA, with its broad definition of "animal enterprise" and what constitutes "criminal activity" that interferes with animal enterprises, can easily end all social movements. There is not a cause that does not also relate in some manner with nonhuman animal enterprises. For instance, the prison abolition movement also would affect all companies that have contracts with prisons such as those that sell meat, eggs, and dairy to prisons. Another example would be protesting universities because of their tuition hikes. University contract out to companies for food and clothes, which use nonhuman animals. Hence, there is not a movement that indirectly or directly does not challenge an animal enterprise due to almost every company depending in some way on the exploitation and murder of animals, such as grocery stores, car dealerships, oil companies, shoe and clothing companies, and computer companies.

Of course law enforcement agencies, from their perspective, need to address groups engaged in criminal activities as criminals. Government must explain the difference between a criminal and a terrorist and define both, which has been a difficult and subjective endeavor. Yet, government and police need not vilify political activists as terrorists. Instead, they should attempt to understand the motivations and arguments of people advocating radical social change, i.e., animal activists. While officials argue that eco-terrorists are those that destroy McDonalds or free nonhuman animals from places of exploitation, *green criminologists* (Beirne & South, 2007) (see Green Criminology in this Chapter) argue that corporations as legal individuals are the real criminals and terrorists when they clear-cut forests, slaughter nonhuman animals for Big Macs, and pollute the water, air, and land.

#### Animal Liberation Front's Critique of Capitalism

The ALF targets companies, corporations, universities, and other institutions that exploit, torture, and kill nonhuman animals (Best & Nocella, 2004). Why then is this group at the top of the domestic terror list? The answer is simple: The ALF, an anarchist based decentralized underground organization, opposes harming any living creature, but engages in destroying property and causing economic sabotage to help free animals, thus providing a compelling critique of corporate capitalist society (Best & Nocella, 2004). The ALF's critique of capitalism is rooted in anarchist and politically progressive literature and ideas (Best & Nocella, 2004). Capitalism is rooted in competition, domination, and exploitation, values that are opposed by anarchism and the ALF (Best & Nocella, 2004).

Since the beginning of my graduate work at Syracuse University I dedicated to studying the concept of property in relation to animal liberation, from the destruction of it to the history of the term. Property has a long and important history, especially if one is concerned with social justice, freedom, and economics. Property is defined as anything that a person or group of people own. Throughout history, property included, but was not limited to, land, plants, bodies of water, air space, ideas, people in debt, people of color, women, children, nonhuman animals, concepts, and physical entities such as a phone, car, or home. Ownership is the legal claim, govern, state, and socially accepted fact of control of property. Ownership also includes the responsibility over the property, such as if the property was a dog and that dog attacked a child or if your home floods the neighborhood. Politically property was a way to dominate others by individuals, groups, and systems. The concept of private property has been strongly critiqued by anarchists, for the above reasons, but also because it provides an individual ownership, i.e., domination, over something or someone, rather than the community having rights to it. Private property ownership trumps the importance and needs of the community. Torres writes,

Much as the private property involved in human labor represents the exploitation of humans, the private property involved in human labor represents the exploitation of humans, the private property involved in animal production represents the systematic exploitation of [nonhuman] animals over time. (2007, p. 66)

Therefore, the labeling of human and nonhuman animals as private property allows for exploitation for economic, social, religious, and political profit and power.,History has proven the exploitation of children, women, people with disabilities, and People of Color.

Nonviolence scholar Gene Sharp of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (1973), along with the ALF and anarchists do not see property destruction as violent. Steve Best co-founder with me of the Institute for Critical Animal Studies and *Journal for Critical Animal Studies*, who also was the editor of the *Journal of Critical Animal Studies* and co-editor with me of numerous articles and books including *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters? Reflections on the Liberation of Animals* (Best & Nocella, 2004) and *Igniting a Revolution: Voices in Defense of the Earth* (Best & Nocella, 2006a), writes that critical animal studies, "...challenges not only the property status of animals, but the institution of (corporate controlled) —private property itself. Therefore, it is crucial that we continue to develop alternative, broader, alliance-based, bridge-building, anti-capitalist, anti-hierarchical social movements" (2009b, p. 44).

Whereas CAS and the ALF argue that nonhuman animals are not property from a moral and socio-political perspective, Gary Francione (1995), a lawyer, on the other hand, argues that animals are not property from a legal ground. Francione (1995) writes,

The normativity of the law as it concerns animals supports structures regulating animal use that focus our attention on notions like 'humane' treatment and 'unnecessary' suffering and away from the status of animals as property and the primary consequence of that status: that these terms have completely different legal meanings from the ones they have in ordinary language. (p. 199)

Anarchism argues that social change should be based on morality not law, which can write rights into effect and more importantly write them out.

The FBI identifies the animal rights movement as extremists due to the movement's challenge to the numerous multi-billion dollar industrial complexes serving as the foundation of much of Western society, including the agricultural industry, medical industry (featuring universities and the pharmaceutical industry), fashion industry,

technological industry (which test and use animal by-products to develop many types of plastics and computer boards), and the entertainment industry (such as SeaWorld, zoos, and circuses) (Best & Nocella 2004; Best & Nocella 2006a; Lovitz 2010). From the ALF's perspective, maintaining corporate power and the supremacy of capitalism is more important to the U.S. government and intelligence agencies than protecting the lives of nonhuman animals who are tortured and killed. The ALF resists and challenges the above dominative and oppressive roles and systems and it is for this reason they are considered a threat and identified as "eco-terrorists" and the top domestic terrorist threat; it is not because they threaten people, the government, or the democratic process. Yes, they break the law and are criminals under the law, but that should not warrant them being the number one top domestic threat in the U.S.

### **Critical Animal Studies**

The philosophical, moral, and ethical foundation of the animal advocacy movement can be dated back as far as the great religions of Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism, along with numerous philosophers such as Pythagoras ( ca 552-496 BCE), Hesiod (8th Century BCE), and Draco (621 BCE), each calling for the protection of nonhuman animals.

The mythical figure of Triptolemus, 'the most ancient of the Athenian legislators...established laws for the Athenians...Honour your parents; Sacrifice to the Gods from the fruits of the earth; Injure not animals.' Porphyry [c 245-305], *On Abstinence From Animal Food*, 'Book the Fourth.' (Animal Rights History, n.d.)

Religion has played a huge part in how others are treated including nonhuman animals.

Steve Wise, lawyer and professor at Harvard Law School, writes in the Foreword to Lisa

Kemmerer and my book, *Call to Compassion: Religious Perspectives on Animal Advocacy* (2011):

Religion has long been one important source for the principles integral to common law. Former George W. Bush presidential speechwriter, evangelical, and animal protection advocate Matthew Scully (2002, 12-13) writes that ‘at least here in America ... no moral cause ever got very far that could not speak to religious conviction, drawing on the deeper sensibilities that guide public opinion in our more secular era.’ Rice University Sociology Michael Lindsay believes religion to be ‘the single most important factor that drives American belief, attitudes, and behaviors. It is a powerful indicator of where America will end up on politics, culture, and family life. If you want to understand America, you have to understand religion in America’ (Bannerjee 2009, A1, A12). Not just in America, of course. (p. xiv)

The last sentence in this quote about America can be applied to all nation-states.

Mahatma Gandhi was quoted once stating, “One can measure the greatness and the moral progress of a nation by looking at how it treats its animals” (Gandhi n.d.). Religion’s power and influence over nation-states have always been great and one of the major contributing factors to their creation, government structure, and their type of rule.

While the foundation of animal advocacy is ancient, the actual movement dates only to the early 1800s with specific cruelty laws dating back to the mid-1600s. The movement started, for the most part, with the aid of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) in 1824. The animal advocacy movement asks that nonhuman animals should be respected and free from cruelty and exploitation of any kind (Regan, 1983; Singer, 1990). This profound concept of providing rights, protection, and



even liberation to all sentient beings, has been supported by many peacemakers including Mahatma Gandhi, Henry David Thoreau, Albert Einstein, and Leo Tolstoy.

It is not surprising then that this movement has developed in the recent decade not one, but a few fields of study that argue from different intellectual vantage points for the protection of nonhumans. These fields include human-animal studies established by the Animals & Society Institute, green criminology (Beirne & South, 2007), ecopedagogy (Kahn, 2010), humane education championed by the Institute for Humane Education, and critical animal studies spearheaded globally by the Institute for Critical Animal Studies.

Within the advancement of a modern social movement, activists become older and change their location of resistance from the streets to the classroom as teachers. The women's movement created women's studies programs, the Black liberation movement created Africana and Pan-African Studies programs, and the environmental movement created environmental studies programs, and so on and so forth. Today, critical animal studies, rooted in critical theory and the Frankfurt School, argues for an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary intersectional and multi-movement approach to the advocacy for total animal liberation, and is arguing for a field of study and programs.

Center on Animal Liberation Affairs (CALA) founded in 2001, co-founded by Steve Best and me, was renamed in 2006/7 the Institute for Critical Animal Studies (ICAS). As the ICAS website explains,

The term Critical Animal Studies (CAS) emerged out of a great deal of dialogue by many animal rights/liberation academics and activists around the world in 2006 and 2007 facilitated by Anthony J. Nocella, II, Steve Best, Richard Kahn of ICAS, and John Sorenson, a sociology professor at Brock University who founded the first Critical Animal Studies minor and concentration. (Institute for Critical Animal Studies, n.d.)

The field of critical animal studies developed to challenge two specific fields of theory: (1) animal studies, rooted in the realm of vivisection and testing on animals in the hard sciences and (2) human-animal studies, grounded in the reinforcement of the social constructed binary between humans and animals and the detached scholarships of “animals” as objectives that are here to be theoretically studied and examined. CAS promotes the liberation of all animals and does not reinforce the dominate relationship between nonhuman animals and humans. To challenge this domination, CAS argues against all systems of dominations such as capitalism, standardization, and normalcy. Best (2009b) writes, “CAS seeks to abolish not only animal exploitation, but also the exploitation of humans and the natural world” (P. 44). Best writes in 2007, in the Introduction of Volume V, Issue I (2007) of the Journal of Critical Animal Studies:

As a *critical* animal studies, however, we seek to avoid the scholasticism, jargon-laden language, apolitical pretense, and theory-for-theory’s sake style and mentality that infects so much academic writing, including the field of animal studies. A concept we have coined for an approach we hope to spread, “critical animal studies” takes shape in awareness of historically-constructed ideologies and systems of power and domination in which humans have oppressed and exploited animals. Rejecting the masks of objectivity and neutrality that in fact hide covert commitments and by default support systems of oppression, critical animal studies is informed by a normative commitment -- such as grounded in ethology, ecology, and the moral philosophy of animal rights -- to animal liberation. Critical animal studies has a broad and holistic understanding of hierarchical power systems (e.g., racism, sexism, classism, and speciesism) and their intricate interrelationships, explores the systemic destructive effects of capitalism on all life and the earth, and views animal liberation and human liberation as inseparably interrelated projects. Most generally, critical animal studies uses theory as a means to the end of illuminating and eliminating domination. (Best, 2007b, p. 1)

Helena Pedersen (2010) a member of ICAS in her book *Animals in Schools: Processes and strategies in Human-Animal Education* (2010), the first book that discusses critical animal studies, writes a clear, short, and to the point definition of critical animal studies. She writes, “Critical animal studies is a field of research dealing with issues related to the exploitation and liberation of animals; the inclusion of animals in a broader emancipator struggle; speciesism; and the principles and practices of animal advocacy, animal protection, and human-related policies (Brock University; ICAS 2008)” (p. 2).

In 2009, two years after he wrote the above statement, Best wrote:

CAS emerges in conditions in which positivism is still a prevalent ideology in academia, and sophisticated sociological critiques of positivism replicate its separation of theory from values and practice. Apolitical values reign, as even —radicals vie for respectability within the rules and logic of academia, and as the professionalization of discourse has transformed language from a potential medium of clarity into an opaque tool of obfuscation that ultimately reinforces systems of power. (Best, 2009b, p. 39)

Against positivism, CAS argues for an engaged critical praxis that promotes the listening and defending space and place for marginalized and silenced nonhuman voices to be heard. CAS argues against the notion that nonhuman animals do not have a voice. CAS stresses that nonhuman animals do have agency, thus arguing for an animal standpoint (Adams & Donovan, 1999; Best, 2009b; Donovan, 2006; Kahn, 2009).

In 2007, Steven Best, Richard Kahn, Carol Gigliotti, Lisa Kemmerer, and I developed “The Ten Principles of Critical Animal Studies,” which are as follows:

1. Pursues interdisciplinary collaborative writing and research in a rich and comprehensive manner that includes perspectives typically ignored by animal studies such as political economy.

2. Rejects pseudo-objective academic analysis by explicitly clarifying its normative values and political commitments, such that there are no positivist illusions whatsoever that theory is disinterested or writing and research is nonpolitical. To support experiential understanding and subjectivity.
3. Eschews narrow academic viewpoints and the debilitating theory-for-theory's sake position in order to link theory to practice, analysis to politics, and the academy to the community.
4. Advances a holistic understanding of the commonality of oppressions, such that speciesism, sexism, racism, ablism, statism, classism, militarism and other hierarchical ideologies and institutions are viewed as parts of a larger, interlocking, global system of domination.
5. Rejects apolitical, conservative, and liberal positions in order to advance an anti-capitalist, and, more generally, a radical anti-hierarchical politics. This orientation seeks to dismantle all structures of exploitation, domination, oppression, torture, killing, and power in favor of decentralizing and democratizing society at all levels and on a global basis.
6. Rejects reformist, single-issue, nation-based, legislative, strictly animal interest politics in favor of alliance politics and solidarity with other struggles against oppression and hierarchy.
7. Champions a politics of total liberation which grasps the need for, and the inseparability of, human, nonhuman animal, and Earth liberation and freedom for all in one comprehensive, though diverse, struggle; to quote Martin Luther King Jr.: "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."
8. Deconstructs and reconstructs the socially constructed binary oppositions between human and nonhuman animals, a move basic to mainstream animal studies, but also looks to illuminate related dichotomies between culture and nature, civilization and wilderness and other dominator hierarchies to emphasize the historical limits placed upon humanity, nonhuman

animals, cultural/political norms, and the liberation of nature as part of a transformative project that seeks to transcend these limits towards greater freedom, peace, and ecological harmony.

9. Openly supports and examines controversial radical politics and strategies used in all kinds of social justice movements, such as those that involve economic sabotage from boycotts to direct action toward the goal of peace.
10. Seeks to create openings for constructive critical dialogue on issues relevant to Critical Animal Studies across a wide-range of academic groups; citizens and grassroots activists; the staffs of policy and social service organizations; and people in private, public, and non-profit sectors. Through – and only through — new paradigms of ecopedagogy, bridge-building with other social movements, and a solidarity-based alliance politics, it is possible to build the new forms of consciousness, knowledge, and social institutions that are necessary to dissolve the hierarchical society that has enslaved this planet for the last ten thousand years. (Best et al., 2007, p. 1-2)

Having learned from so many other movements that have left the streets and moved into the academy, ICAS wanted to stress that critical theory promotes engaged activist scholarship in the community. ICAS argued for clear direct simple principles that cannot be misconstrued or misinterpreted, rather than a lengthy long, complex, analytical, theoretical article, only to be confused and become lost in academia. The Ten Principles of Critical Animal Studies were designed so activists in the community would be willing to reprint in books, articles, zines, flyers and repost them on their blogs and websites.

For me, CAS, beyond the ten principles, has two goals within higher education: (1) to abolition nonhuman animal exploitation and murder on campuses; and (2) to provide space and place for the advocacy for nonhuman animal liberations. CAS in the

face of stigmatization, theoretically supports the ALF's philosophy, tactics, strategies, and organization structure. Best (2009b) writes:

CAS is unique in its defense of direct action tactics, its willingness to engage and debate controversial issues such as anti-capitalism, academic repression, and the use of sabotage as a resistance tactic; its emphasis on the need for total liberation stressing the commonalities binding various oppressed groups; and the importance of learning from and with activists. (p. 13)

CAS demands that all nonviolent tactics are considered as a possibility for successful social change. Today, this nonviolent global movement made up of tens of millions of people, with thousands of nonprofit organizations, like many fringe social movements, has extremists (e.g., ALF) within it. The ALF has a controversial role in the movement. From some animal advocates' perspective, they stigmatize the movement, while others stress that they play an important role in showing the public the extreme conditions that many nonhuman animals are dealt.

CAS argues for solidarity and an alliance with human activists and academics with nonhumans for total liberation -- not in a theoretical way by only writing about alliance politics, but by directly organizing and participating in other movements beyond nonhuman animal liberation, such as, in my own personal experience, going to Mumia Abu Jamal rallies in Philadelphia with my students at SUNY Cortland in 2010, getting arrested for serving food to the homeless with Food not Bombs in Houston in 2000, repelling off a bridge in Houston and closing it down in a statement against the impending Iraq war in March 2003, co-founding a G.E.D. program in an Auburn, New York prison in 2007, speaking regularly at LGBTQ rights rallies in Cortland in 2010, co-founding the first hip-hop music studio in a youth detention facility in the U.S. in 2010, and providing conflict management and group-building workshops in the community and

incarcerated facilities from late 1990s to the present. Beyond these examples of my personal activism, I am very involved in writing and advocating for the prison abolition, Quakerism, disability rights, end to sweatshop clothing, anarchism, and of course the animal liberation.

ICAS is conscious of the institutionalization of social movements when they enter, are invited, or embrace academia; it for this reason they demand that CAS, grounded in anarchism, challenges imperialism, systems of domination, capitalism, and all other forms of authoritarian institutions in a multi-movement praxis approach, which I promote and have fostered within ICAS. As one of few activists who are highly committed to numerous movements and causes in a theoretical and practical manner, I recognize a large disconnect, misunderstanding, and lack of caring among social movements; it is for this reason that we must demand all activists be concerned and engage with other issues and end single issue activism. In order for systems of domination to be abolished, total liberation movements and activists must be fostered.

A few key aspects of becoming a total liberation activist is to respect other's experiences, not claim to understand one's experiences, and to never speak for, but rather with, those who are oppressed, and build genuine friendships rather than professional ones. Finally, be willing to take risks with other groups of oppression such as engaging in civil disobedience or not cooperating with police to politically repress and arrest them.

## **Anarchist Studies**<sup>8</sup>

Critical animal studies and the animal liberation movement are both greatly motivated by anarchism, an economic, social, and political ideology that has been, and continues to be, purposely and mistakenly misrepresented by the government, media, educators, and by activists. Torres a social anarchist, argues that anarchists need to be vegan, he writes, “As a needless and unnecessary form of hierarchy, anarchists should reject the consumption, enslavement, and subjugation of [nonhuman] animals for human ends, and identify it as yet another oppressive aspect of the relations of capital and a needless form of domination” (2007, p. 130). Furthermore, Brian Dominick who coined the term “vegan anarchist” in his article “Animal liberation and social revolution: A vegan perspective on anarchism or an anarchist perspective on veganism” (1997), writes that,

Likewise, many vegans and animal liberationists are being influenced by anarchist thought and its rich tradition. This is evidenced by growing hostility among some animal lib activists towards the statist, capitalist, sexist, racist and ageist Establishment which has been escalating the intensity of its war not only on non-human animals, but also on their human advocates.

...  
Besides our far-reaching vision, anarchists and animal liberationists share strategical methodology. .. But unlike liberals and progressives, whose objectives are limited to reforms, we are willing to admit that real change will only be brought about if we add destructive force to our creative transformation of oppressive society. (para. 2 and 3)

“Anarchist” is not easy to define because it does not have a single dogma; rather the theory is against dogma and domination of a single thought or ownership of a concept. Claiming to be an anarchist or being labeled an “anarchist” carries with it

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<sup>8</sup> Much of this section of this chapter, “Anarchist Studies,” was first written by myself as Abraham DeLeon titled “Anarchism and Peace” in The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace (2010) edited Nigel Young. While we were waiting for it to be published for two years, Abraham decided to publish it in an article, DeLeon, A. (2008). *Oh no, not the "A" word! Proposing an anarchism for education*. Educational Studies 44(2), 122-141.



serious stigmatization. Violent, destructive, dangerous, and chaotic are some of the descriptors that have been historically used to describe and categorize anarchist actions (Bowen, 2004; Chomsky, 2005; Day, 2004). Although some of the methods that anarchists use may alarm people (such as confronting police brutality at protests), they have been quite effective in calling attention to their causes (Best & Nocella 2004; Yuen, Burton-Rose, Katsiaficas, 2004).

All anarchists have two important points in common: (1) hierarchical structures of authority do not allow human beings to participate in social and political change via direct democracy; and (2) all anarchists are against capitalism because capitalism promotes divisions and hierarchies among people's identities, intellects, and abilities, as well as dividing people into classes and class strata based on their relationship to the means of production. (Berkman, 2003; Chomsky, 2005; Guerin, 1970). They believe hierarchies, like the State, are structured to oppress and subvert individual and group rights.

Historically, if we examine the atrocities that have occurred in the name of "States" and their "security," it is easy to understand why anarchists would contend with a system that helps perpetuate human suffering and misery. Noam Chomsky stresses that the difference between anarchism and Marxism, is that anarchism believes that the State has no use and is only oppressive, while Marx believes the State can be used as a tool for liberation of the proletariat. Friedrich Engels, in a letter in 1883, writes, "The anarchists put the thing upside down. They declare that the proletarian revolution must *begin* by doing away with the political organization of the state .... But to destroy it at such a moment would be to destroy the only organism by means of which victorious proletariat

can assert its newly-conquered power...” (Chomsky, 2005, p. 120). On the other hand, Chomsky in search of a respected view on the definition of anarchism in his book, *Chomsky on Anarchism*, (2005), he quotes Mikhail Bakunin, who writes:

I am a fanatic lover of liberty, considering it as the unique condition under which intelligence, dignity and human happiness can develop and grow; not the purely formal liberty conceded, measured out and regulated by the State, and eternal lie which in reality represents nothing more that [sic] the privilege of some founded on the slavery of the rest; not the individualistic, egoistic shabby, and fictitious liberty extolled by the School of J.J. Rousseau and the other schools of bourgeois liberalism, which considers the would-be rights of all men, represented by the State which limits the rights of each – an idea that lead inevitably to the reduction of the rights of each to zero. No, I mean the only kind of liberty that is worthy of the name, liberty that consists in the full development of all of the material, intellectual and moral powers that are latent in each person; liberty that recognizes no restrictions other than those determined by the law of our own individual nature, which cannot properly be regarded as restriction since these laws are not imposed by any outside legislator besides or above us, but are immanent and inherent, forming the very basis of our material, intellectual and moral being – they do not limit us but are the real immediate conditions of our freedom. (Chomsky 2005, p 121-122)

Chomsky, probably the most well-known American anarchist, is critiqued by John Zerzan, the most famous green anarchist/eco-anarchist, when he points out that Chomsky,

[w]hen asked point-blank, ‘Are governments inherently bad?’ his reply (28 January 1988) is no. He is critical of government policies, not government itself, motivated by his ‘duty as a citizen.’ The constant refrain in his work is a plea for democracy: ‘real democracy,’ real participation,’ ‘active involvement,’ and the like. (Zerzan, 2002, p. 140)

Besides excluding and coercing people, states also have complex and rigid hierarchies. Hierarchical systems also do not allow for communities to make their own

decisions without forced coercion. Hierarchies help sustain traditional power structures. Anarchists contend that human beings need to have the freedom to make decisions, participate in the political process, and opportunities to build community through activism and participation (Bowen, 2005; Purkis & Bowen, 2005; Guerin, 1970). Since 1999 protesting at the meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, Fortune 500, and World Trade Organization (WTO), sabotaging corporations that destroy our environment, liberating animals from cages in research facilities, or feeding the homeless on a Saturday afternoon have all involved anarchist conceptions of participation and resistance.

Power is another concept that has influenced anarchist theory (Rabinow, 1984). Power works through everyday interactions, the social roles we assume, and the decisions we make. Anarchists today have utilized methods to subvert and resist traditional power structures; from communal living to open relationships, power is often subverted in creative ways. Roger N. Baldwin, editor of *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings* (2002), by Peter Kropotkin, explains that control of morality by institutions is also a form of authority. He writes, “This natural moral sense [mutual aid] was perverted, Kropotkin says, by the superstitions surrounding law, religion and authority, deliberately cultivated by conquerors, exploiters and priests for their own benefit. Morality has therefore become the instrument of ruling classes to protect their privileges” (Kropotkin, 2002, p. 79).

Anarchism is against authoritarianism, domination and hierarchies, instead anarchists such as the notable Kropotkin, promoted equality (Kropotkin, 2002, p. 52). Equality on the other hand is a social constructed measurement, which promotes

sameness and normalcy (Ben-Moshe, Hill, Nocella, & Templer, 2009). Disability anarchism, rooted in anarchism and disability studies, challenges the social construction of equality which promotes normalcy because all are in need of difference not sameness. Disability anarchism, argues that all are different and therefore should be treated differently, but with respect, understanding, and importance.

When critiquing capitalism and promoting an alternative economic system, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon as well as the anarcho-communist Peter Kropotkin in his book *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (1972), argues that cooperation among one another, specifically animals, leads to survival and security mechanism, which critiques individualism, competition and the concept of evolution, and the notion of the strongest will survive. Kropotkin's research and studies of indigenous peoples in Siberia guided him to the conclusion that not all human societies are based on competition and individual, but rather on supportive and voluntary cooperation. Kropotkin writes:

ANARCHISM, the no-government system of socialism, has a double origin. It is an outgrowth of the two great movements of thought in the economic and the political fields which characterize the nineteenth century, and especially its second part. In common with all socialists, the anarchists hold that private ownership of land, capital, and machinery has had its time; that it is condemned to disappear; and that all requisites for production must, and will, become the common property of society, and be managed in common by the producers of wealth (2002, p. 46).

Anarcho-feminist Emma Goldman once stated that, "property is theft," originating from Proudhon's 1840 book *What is Property? Or, an Inquiry into the Principle of Right and Government*, who first coined the phrase. Proudhon writes:

Had I to answer the following question: What is slavery? And answer with a single word – Murder – my reasoning would be grasped immediately. I would not need any protracted discourse to demonstrate that the power to strip a man of his mind, his will, his personality, is a power over life and death, and that making a man a slave is tantamount to murder. So why

cannot I answer the other query: What is property? In similar vein – Theft – without being assured that I would not be heeded, even though this second proposition is merely a re-casting of the first? (Guerin, 2005, p. 48)

This theoretical argument of Proudhon has been put into action by the likes of many activists including, the famous anti-Vietnam War Berrigan Brothers who burned draft cards and military documents from a recruitment office (Lynd & Lynd 1995). Property destruction because of anarchism, I identify has been transformed into a tactic with four different motivations – 1) symbolic, e.g., burning of the flag; 2) means to liberate; e.g., destroying a cage; 3) to cause economic sabotage, e.g., burning down a McDonalds; and 4) resistance, e.g., gluing locks, destroying a computer, or burning documents. These four motivations can be sought simultaneously and are not incongruent.

In recent years, no two individuals have been more influential when discussing anarchist economics than Michael Albert, co-founder of *Z Magazine*, and Robin Hahnel, economist at American University. They have introduced Participatory economics (parecon), based on a number of economic goals that include: “equity, solidarity, diversity, and participatory self-management, plus efficiency, and, by implication, classlessness” (Albert, 1997, p. 25). In *Thinking Forward* (1997), authored by Albert, he explains in detail each of the economic goals. Other scholars include, of course, Murray Rothbard, David D. Friedman, Hans-Hermann Hoppe, and Rob Knowles author of *Political Economy from Below: Economic Thought in Communitarian Anarchism, 1840-1914* (2004).

Anarchist feminism, also referred to as anarcha-feminism and anarcho-feminism, critiques the exploitation of females through the means of capitalism and the domination

of patriarchal sexist societies that silence, marginalize, and repress women and other oppressed groups. Feminist anarchism is about engaging with one's work in a collective rather than individualistic manner (Brown, 2003) along with reshaping the traditional development of a family, where there is a man and that man has the ultimate dominating authority in the household (Goldman, 1969). Goldman (1969) writes, "Marriage and love have nothing to do in common; they are as far apart as the poles; are, in fact, antagonistic to each other" (p. 227). She goes on to write, "Marriage is primarily an economic arrangement, an insurance pact" (Goldman, 1969, p. 228). Goldman (1969), a huge believer in the power of love, concludes by writing, "Free love? As if love is anything but free! Man has bought brains, but all the millions in the world failed to buy love" (p. 236). L. Susan Brown (1996) writes, "As anarchism is a political philosophy that opposes all relationships of power, it is inherently feminist" (p. 208). But without doubt the most notable anarchist feminists included Goldman mentioned above, Voltairine de Cleyre, and Lucy Parsons. Goldman (1969) quotes Thoreau by stressing that even voting is a game of chance and should not be partaken in (p. 63). Politics is too serious to play games of chance with and therefore should not be taken seriously. Further, Goldman, a philosopher of schooling, was also a defender of prostitutes even though she was against the occupation. She writes, "Exploitation, of course; the merciless Moloch of capitalism that fattens on underpaid labor, thus driving thousands of women and girls into prostitution" (Goldman, 1969, p. 178). She goes on to write, "Whether our reformers admit it or not, the economic and social inferiority of woman is responsible for prostitution" (Goldman, 1969, p. 179). In discussing women's emancipation she writes,

Emancipation has brought woman economic equality with man; that is, she can choose her own profession and trade; but as her past and present

physical training has not equipped her with the necessary strength to compete with man, she is often compelled to exhaust all her energy, use up vitality, and strain every nerve in order to reach the market place. Very few ever succeed, for it is a fact that women teachers, doctors, lawyers, architects, and engineers are neither met with the same confidence as their male colleagues, nor receive equal remuneration. (Goldman, 1969, p. 216)

Like Kropotkin, Goldman was also against religion. She writes, “Religion, especially the Christian religion, has condemned woman to the life of an inferior, a slave” (Goldman 1969, P. 196).

Queer anarchism, a new concept and one that has little written on it, is becoming a popular topic. Most recently Terence Kissack (2008) wrote a book, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917*, which documents historical events, individuals, and changes for the LGBTQ community. As Kissack explains, “Several studies of anarchism, in particular biographies of Emma Goldman, have noted that the anarchists spoke out against the unjust treatment of gay men and lesbians” (2008, p. 7). Queer anarchism stresses the repressive and dominating role of society in relation to sexual orientation, which should be challenged and overthrown. They see that power is played out by the reinforcement of centering heteronormativity and sees this as a sexual authority and domination of sexual freedom. Also very recently, I found that in *Queer Youth Cultures: Performative and Political Practices*, edited by Susan Driver, anarchism and queer(ism) was briefly discussed, but still a great amount needing to be examined with the two fields of study. Anarchist scholars Christa Daring, Jen Rogue, Deric Shannon, and Abbey Willis are working on putting together an anthology on Queer Anarchism (Daring, Rogue, Shannon, & Willis, forthcoming); this will be the first book dedicated to the topic.

Finally, of anarchists of color, the most notable is Ashanti Alston, a former Black Panther Party member, author of the @narchist Panther Zine, and now the co-chair of The Jericho Movement, an organization for the liberation of all political prisoners. He sees systems of domination as interlocked with reinforcing slavery and the oppression of people of color. The most noted system that Ashanti discusses in his lectures and writings is the prison industrial complex, which is why he is also very involved with Critical Resistance, an organization against the prison industrial complex. Other very notable black anarchists include Lucy Parsons, Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin, Ricardo Flores Magon, Praxedis Guerrero, Martin Sostre, and Luisa Capetillo.

Today in the U.S., the organization, Anarchist People of Color was created in 2003, to unite anarchists of color together to challenge racism, white supremacy, and capitalism (Justice, 2003). Although anarchism is constructed as violent and reactionary, it is, on the contrary, a peaceful philosophy and guide for action. Anarchism is not based on domination or control, but rather is based on direct democracy and consensus. Anarchism is a communal desire where all people are respected and desired. Anarchism, commonly defined by governments, law enforcement, and media as chaos, violence, reactionary, and terrorism, is on the contrary a peaceful philosophy. Anarchism, from its Greek origins, is defined as an absence of rule. Further, it seeks organization that is not based on domination or control, but rather a consensus decision-making process. It is a communal inclusive based philosophy rather than a dogmatic ideology. As Chomsky further argues, "...anarchism isn't a doctrine. It's at most a historical tendency, a tendency of thought and action, which has many different ways of developing and progressing and which, I would think, will continue as a permanent strand of human history" (Justice,



2003). Anarchism rejects a hierarchical ordering of people based on ascribed differences in social rank and personal value.

With the help of Murray Bookchin in the 1950s, anarchism merged with environmentalism. Bookchin, with his new philosophy of social ecology, argued that all environmental problems stem from social ones, which were the cause of capitalism's goal of exploitation and competition. He linked issues of war, nuclear testing, pesticides, herbicides, and a diversity of other chemicals to social ills and environmental destruction. Social ecology saw that power and domination lay in the hands of capitalism. Critiquing the exclusion of nonhuman animals in Bookchin's philosophy, critical animal studies has argued for an anti-speciesist inclusion and consensus of society benefits of nonhuman animals on socio-political and economic change (Best, Nocella, Kahn, Gigliotti, and Kemmerer, 2007).

John Zerzan and Derrick Jensen, green anarchists or eco-anarchists, see civilization, capitalism, and the dominant authority as destroying all that is natural and wild. They see technology as the product of all civilization and the more we develop technology the more we are father from nature. They believe technology is not here to aid or assist us, which disability anarchists would argue, but to destroy us; our goal, they believe, is to "go wild" like indigenous and Native Americans. Here, cultural ethnic studies scholars critique eco-anarchists as racists, by romanticizing Native culture as simplistic, wild, and supporting armed struggle. Zerzan critiques Chomsky for a number of reasons, but specifically for being alright with the advancement of technology, which Zerzan sees as the destroyer of the environment. He writes (critiquing an interview Chomsky gave in *Anarchy* magazine in the Summer of 1991):

Chomsky actually declares that cars are fine; it's only corporate executives that are the problem. Likewise with robotics, as if that drops from heaven and has no grounding in domination of nature, division of labor, etc., etc. In closing, he [Chomsky] proclaims that 'the only thing that can possibly resolve environmental problems is advanced technology.' Yes: more of the soul-destroying, eco-destroying malignancy that has created the current nightmare! (Zerzan, 2002, p. 142)

Animal liberation anarchists argue that by placing humans as the only participants of value and consideration in determining how a community should carry out a task or develop rules is speciesist. Speciesism is the social constructed binary of human and nonhuman animals. Richard D. Ryder who coined the term speciesism in the early 1970s writes,

Speciesism and racism are both forms of prejudice that are based upon appearances- if the other individuals look different he is rated as being beyond the moral pale, ... Speciesism and racism (and indeed sexism) overlook or underestimate the similarities between the discriminator and those discriminated against and both forms of prejudice show selfish disregard for the interests of others, and for their suffering. (Ryder, 1983, p. 5)

Singer in *Animal Liberation* (1990) defines speciesism as "a prejudice or attitude or bias in favor of the interests of members of one's own species and against those of members of other species" (p. 6). Nonhuman animals are everything that is, of course, not human and are constructed as being inferior and therefore are oppressed and dominated. The term nonhuman animal, which I have adopted to identify species that are not the human in this dissertation reinforces the binary between human and nonhuman animals. This is problematic, as Joan Dunayer (2004) explains that, "Even the word *nonhuman* divides all animals into two, seemingly opposed categories: humans and everyone else. With equal

validity, we could categorize all animals as robins and nonrobins” (p. xi). The complex predicament is that it is impossible in a presentation, article, or conversation to identify trillions of species of plant, elements, and animals that are oppressed by humans when discussing speciesism. Therefore, the only way of addressing this mass oppression quickly, while holding to the meaning of speciesism is using the term nonhuman animals, because it is true, that all, not some, but all species that are not human are being oppressed by humans.

Animal liberation anarchists view power through authoritarianism and domination carried out by humans in acts of testing on killing for food, and exploiting for entertainment nonhuman animals. Anarchist animal liberationists support the Animal Liberation Front for their powerful critique first argued by Peter Kropotkin and Emma Goldman of property as a means to exploit and enslave. David A. Nibert, in *Animal Rights Human Rights: Entanglements of Oppression and Liberation* (2002) writes that those who relate speciesism to racism, sexism, homophobia, ageism, ableism, and other oppressions, “... are correct when they assert that speciesism and other forms of oppression are comparable” (p. 8). The oppressions are related because of authoritarian institutions and individuals and systems of domination not because the experiences of oppression are related. It is for this reason that many argue against relating slavery, Native American genocide, or the Holocaust to speciesism, they are all different experiences and should be treated and distinct and separate.

William Godwin, who wrote *Political Justice* in 1793, was the first person to introduce the theory of anarchism. Johann Schmidt, known commonly as Max Stirner, wrote *The Ego and His Own*, that discusses the relationship between the individual and

society. The next influential anarchist was Pierre-Joseph Proudhon who was involved in the French Revolution and who was involved in electoral politics. Anarchism became truly influential with the help of two Russian anarchists Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) and Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921). Early conceptions of anarchist theory have been the foundation for the modern anarchist movement. Mikhail Bakunin (1970) writes about freedom in his pivotal work, *God and the State*, “I cannot claim and feel myself free except in the presence of and with regard to other men. ...I am truly free only when all human beings around me, men and women alike are equally free” (Guerin, 2005, p. 151). This conception of individual freedom and community autonomy resonates powerfully with the modern anarchist movement.

In that same time period in Russia, novelist Leo Tolstoy, whose most famous writing is *War and Peace*, made an important contribution to anarchism even though he denounced the label of being an anarchist. Tolstoy was the first truly pacifist anarchist (also referred to as anarcho-pacifist) that challenged violence by writing *The Kingdom of God is Within You* (2010), which later influenced the development of many nonviolent movements and nonviolent leaders including Mohandas K. Gandhi with whom Tolstoy corresponded through letters, and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Pacifism is the philosophy of being against war and violence in all forms: personally and politically. Pacifism is most well-known to be affiliated with the peace churches which include the Quakers, Mennonite, Amish, and Brethren. Unlike spiritual nonviolence affiliated with pacifism, activists have recently seen nonviolence not as a way of life, but as a strategy or tactic. This has limited the power and understanding of nonviolence. The peace movement has had an anarchist presence and some early writers

embraced anarchist ideals. There are key affinities that anarchism and the peace movement share.

### **Green Criminology**

Green Criminology, first coined in 1990 by Michael J. Lynch, argues that crimes can be committed against the natural world. “At its most abstract level, green criminology refers to the study of those harms against humanity, against the environment (including space), and against non-human animals committed both by powerful institutions (e.g., governments, transnational corporations, military apparatuses) and also by ordinary people” (Beirne & South, 2007, p. xiii). Therefore, green criminology proposes that nonhuman animals, plants, and other elements of nature, demand respect and possess legal rights allowing for lawsuits against individuals, governments, and private firms. Some criminologists interchange the term green criminology with conservation criminology (Herbig & Joubert, 2006). Other’s will even interchange environmental criminology with green criminology (Clifford, 1998), but the problem with these comparisons is that environmental criminology is a highly developed subfield of criminology which specifically looks at the urban terrain and examines and maps crime scenes (Lynch & Michalowski, 2006; White, 2008).

Analysts argue over the title of this recent concept of green criminology. Nigel South (1998) and Rob White (2008) suggest that it has yet to emerge as a developed theory. Instead, it is a perspective. White (2008, p. 15) identifies three important principles of green criminology that must not be violated:

1. Environmental rights and environmental justice based on the protection of the natural world for its own sake and for the enhancement of human life.

2. Ecological citizenship and ecological justice based on humans as part of the natural world rather than the assumed human domination over nature.
3. Animal rights and species justice based on the protection of nonhumans against humans, including their exploitation as of entertainment, research subjects, food, and labor.

People and corporations, are to be accountable for environmental damage. This is a position shared by environmentalists and Native Americans. Because of their large-scale, worldwide activities that alter environments and their use of animals as products and research subjects, corporations are of special concern and seen by green criminologists as criminals (Beirne & South, 2007; Bruns, Lynch, & Stretesky, 2008; Clifford, 1998; Lynch & Michalowski, 2006; White, 2008; South, 1998). Corporations are seen by green criminologists as needing to take accountability for the massive global destruction caused by their quest for economic profit. Green criminology emphasizes that industrial capitalism not only kills birds, people, plants, and other elements in the ecosystem, but, ironically, also destroys the corporations and the people that run them.

Still in its adolescence, there is much new and diverse ground to examine in this field of criminology. To advance green criminology, classical terms in the field of criminology must be used, and adapted as needed. To add to the growing field of green criminology I have taken classic sociological and criminology terms and re-introduced them in hopes of expanding the importance of the green lens within the larger field. Green criminology, while interested in recognizing offenses and pursuing paths to justice, looks at identifying harms committed specifically on the global ecological system including human and nonhuman animals. There already exists an environmental

sociology, environmental politics, environmental anthropology, and environmental literature, so it is appropriate that today there is an environmental or “green” criminology. In this article classic criminological terms such as deviance, control, and terrorism have been revamped for the specific context of green criminology with new definitions and new pretext - eco, i.e., eco-deviance, eco-control, and eco-terrorism. In the following sections these three terms build upon each other.

#### Eco-Deviance - Division of Nature by Humans

Similar to classic criminal deviance, corporations recklessly destroy everything in pursuit of selfish interest to exploit the environment, ignoring its legal rights. In doing this, they intellectually and physically *divide* themselves from membership in a family they are part of, the environment. Instead, the environment is ideologically and economically converted into “natural resources” to be bought and sold. This socially constructed binary of human vs. nature, being associated with the rise of “civilization,” developed long before corporations emerged. Green criminology critiques corporations for their reinforcement of this socio-economic binary. Because it fails to recognize the need for environmental protection for its own sake and human benefit, eco-deviance violates White’s (2008, p. 15) first principle, *ecological citizenship and ecological justice*.

### Eco-Control - Domination of Nature by Humans

As corporations become globalized, seeking to dominate all corners of the Earth, they attempt to subjugate nature. Corporations have developed the global industrial complex (Best, Kahn, & Nocella, forthcoming), which may be subdivided into specialized industrial complexes such as the agricultural-industrial complex, the animal-industrial complex, the military-industrial complex, the academic-industrial complex, the prison-industrial complex, and the medical-industrial complex. These complexes act as domesticating institutions, which control, police, and observe, as Foucault often noted. Green criminology portrays the global industrial complex not only as a means to control, but to conquer nature. Because it assumes human domination over nature, eco-control violates White's (2008, p. 15) second principle, *environmental rights and environmental justice*.

### Eco-Terrorism - Destruction of Nature by Humans

While officials argue that those who destroy McDonald's or free nonhuman animals from places of exploitation are terrorists, I argue in this project that green criminologists and the emerging field of green security studies must also open up the possibility that corporations and governments as legal individuals can by definition also be identified as terrorists for actions such as clear-cutting forests, slaughtering nonhuman animals, and polluting the water, air, and land. Stressing that the term "terrorism" has no clear definition, the FBI writes:

There is no single, universally accepted, definition of terrorism. Terrorism is defined in the Code of Federal Regulations as "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (28 C.F.R. Section 0.85). (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005, P. iv)



The debate between green criminologists and the law, centers around one term in this definition, “unlawful.” If we were to get beyond that one term, causing “force or violence” on land and nonhuman animals (even though environmentalists and animal rights activists disagree with identifying them as property), which are property under the law (Francione, 1995), is terrorism. Further, if we do not want to claim that nonhuman animals, land, air, and water are property then they can be placed under “any segment thereof” in this definition. Finally, vivisection, factory farming, animals in entertainment, clear-cutting a forest for a mall or university, or dumping toxins in to a lake are all influenced by striving to create social and political change. For example, when the owner of a mall destroys a forest, which is a complex ecosystem (ecological social habitat) with many species of plants and animals, to make way for economic growth in a particular community, they have been influenced by “social or political objectives,” which are the political and community investors.

The first green criminologist to argue that the government could be identified as terrorists was Nigel South. In “Corporate and State Crimes Against the Environment,” South (1998) wrote:

States condemn 'terrorism,' but of course have always been perfectly capable of resorting to terrorist-type methods when in conflict with oppositional groups. A notorious example is the 1985 sinking of the Greenpeace flagship, Rainbow Warrior, in Auckland Harbour, New Zealand. This was a crime of terrorist violence carried out by Commandos from the French Secret Service (p. 447).

South goes on to write:

In his book *Eco-Wars*, Day (1991) charts a variety of state-sponsored acts of violence and intimidation against environmental activists or groups. His comments on these and the Rainbow Warrior affairs are highly relevant to

the idea of criminology which takes environmental issues and politics seriously. (1998, p. 447)

In the context of green criminology, terrorism committed by corporations is eco-terrorism. Currently, eco-terrorism is the label attached to the environmental and animal advocates whose activities cause economic loss to governments, individuals, and corporations (Arnold, 1997; Liddick, 2006; Long, 2004; Miller & Miller, 2000); this has been defined by U.S. law in the AETA. The term terrorism is problematic because it is used as a tool for political repression, hence the major, untold, selfish, subjective reason why there exists no agreed-upon definition – one's person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter. Acknowledging this as problematic, I would like to suggest that in the political discourse between animal advocates and environmentalists with governments and corporations, there, in fact, exists two types of eco-terrorists – economic terrorists that cause economic loss as noted above in this paragraph; and ecological terrorists developed by animal advocates and environmentalists (Best & Nocella, 2004), and articulated by critical animal theorists (Best & Nocella, 2004) and green criminologists (South, 1998; Best & Nocella, 2006a). Del Gandio (2008) writes,

Anyone tagged with the terrorist label is automatically deemed evil. It is becoming common, for instance, to label (and legally charge) radical environmentalists as eco-terrorists. This is quite puzzling since over-consumption, fossil fuels and corporate polluters are the ones actually terrorizing the environment. (p. 119)

Therefore, rather than the acts nonviolent direct action activists take to protect the environment and nonhuman animals, I define eco-terrorism as the “Systematic or premeditated killing, torturing, kidnapping or threatening destruction of the environment and non-human animals for social, political and economic purposes.”

Examples of ecological terrorism, i.e., eco-terrorism, can include clearcutting over half the Earth’s forests, removing monkeys from the wild to use in painful vivisection experiments, destroying our drinking water by factory farm runoff or dumping of chemicals, systematically killing over 10 billion non-human animals a year, or any other of the hundreds of terrifying corporate-sponsored violent acts to the environment and nonhuman animals. Therefore, corporations who destroy the environment to gain profit or power are not only criminals, which have been already argued by green criminologists, but eco-terrorists as well. Because it does not recognize the intrinsic rights and value of the environment, or the protection of nonhumans against humans, eco-terrorism violates White’s (2008, p. 15) third principle, *Animal rights and species justice*, as well as the first and second principles.

## **Conclusion**

As we begin the 21<sup>st</sup> century it is useful to look back and examine the historical events and ideologies that have shaped the world we live in today. The 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the latter half, was characterized by industrialization, globalization, and technological development. All of these processes have been driven by one ideological agenda that has been sold to the global community as not just beneficial, but inevitable; this agenda is capitalism. There is no choice anymore in drastically shifting from systems of domination feed by capitalism, what was inevitable is today immediately essential for

life to exist on this planet. The competitive “nature” of capitalism is to view everything as a resource to be bought and sold, hence the reason why capitalism is a global threat to the environment and human and nonhuman animals.

There is a direct and profound relationship between global capitalism and ecological destruction. The capitalist economy lives or dies on constant growth, accumulation, and consumption of resources. The environmental crisis is inseparable from the social crisis, whereby centuries ago a market economy disengaged from society and ruled over it with its alien and destructive imperatives. The crisis in ecology is ultimately a crisis in democracy, as transnational corporations arise and thrive through the destruction of popular sovereignty. (Best and Nocella, 2006b, p. 2)

The relationship between the capitalist economy and ecology are direct -- where one feeds off the other to survive while killing what is allowing it to live, similar to that of cancer. The perpetrators (i.e., corporations) of this destruction promoted by global capitalism must be held accountable by the law for their illegal actions, rather than protected. It is here the emerging field of green criminology is expanding in response to this need.

Through the theoretically grounded approach of green criminology, we can understand in a legal context which actions are offensive, and which actions are protecting rights holders. As I have proposed, in their violation of the three principles, green criminology identifies those who are *eco-deviant*, creating a division between nature, and those who participate in *eco-control*, creating domination of nature, to be *eco-terrorists*, causing threat or violence onto others for social or political objectives. This definition of corporations as eco-terrorists is converse to the definition of activists who nonviolently defend the Earth yet are deemed eco-terrorists by the FBI. I argue that, as

we spiral further and further towards a complete global ecological collapse, the FBI must begin to look at corporate crime/white-collar crime in a more complex manner. And rather than vilify political activists, governments and law enforcement agencies should attempt to understand the motivations and arguments of people advocating radical social change. If they do not work with activists in calling out the terrorist activity of corporations, the situation will only worsen.

In this dissertation, I have engaged with the animal advocacy movement and the ALF, who are taking action to stop these corporations, to illustrate not only the dire situation for the environment and nonhuman animals, but the activists protecting them. The harassment of ALF and other radical nonviolent activists threatens civil liberties and the constitutional rights of those who oppose the obscene growth of corporate power. It indicates a willingness to use any means necessary to protect and defend the current system that allows virtually indiscriminate corporate destruction of the natural world, legal or not. While it is true that the ALF uses tactics considered illegal by the government and that, when successful, cause millions of dollars in damage (Long 2004), they do this to stop exploitative practices which, according to green criminology, are illegal. Along with activists, citizens and politicians should be deeply concerned with the implications of corporate global takeover promoted and sponsored by capitalism. With political and corporate repression of groups like the ALF and legal and effective nonviolent activists, it allows corporations continued exploitation of the Earth, case in point is BP's spill in the Gulf coast which lacked serious response for weeks.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### **Critical Pedagogical: Reflections on Responding to Terrorization**

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter, I utilize case study and critical pedagogy methodologies to examine how the animal advocacy movement has been politically repressed by the government, law enforcement, and media stigmatizing activists as terrorists, which I refer to as terrorization. This chapter is dedicated to academic-activists in Canada and the U.S. (two colonialized and capitalist drive nations) who study and protest the repression on animal advocates. I conducted fourteen dialogues with individuals who are well-known and respected in the U.S. and Canada for their animal advocacy. These particular people were selected because they are not members of the underground movement, therefore avoiding any criminal risks. I also chose them because they are all scholar-activists, consequently they examine and become involved with a multitude of movements, including but not limited to feminism, anarchism, Black liberation, Earth liberation, immigration, disability rights, fair-trade, and anti-capitalism. It must be told that they are also all my friends, not to say this provides less legitimacy to this research, but rather I would argue I have the ability to ask more personal questions as well as take a good amount of their time up for my research, which they would not do for others. Further, the people I have chosen were strategically thought out and are a diverse selection of respected scholar-activists who are published. They live throughout the U.S. and

Canadian, heavily involved in the animal advocacy movement, and their ages are between the mid-twenties to the late forties.

This chapter first begins by explaining what case study methodology and critical pedagogy methodology are. After I explain the two methodologies of this chapter, I address the limitations of the methodologies and of this project. The next topic I cover in this chapter is, foundational questions I posed to individuals I dialogued with. After I conducted extensive analysis on the dialogues that I transcribed, I analyzed my data into five themes: (1) *Political Consciousness*, (2) *Defining Terrorism and the ALF*, (3) *Intersections of Oppression*, (4) *Responding to Terrorization*, and (5) *Inclusion of People with Disabilities*. I chose these five because first they were universally present in all of the dialogues except for the last topic, which addresses inclusion of people with disabilities. I chose the topic of inclusion of people with disabilities because of personal and scholarly interests, which is a significant theme throughout this dissertation.

The first theme of political consciousness was decided on because it was a rich area to ground my research and finding as well as I thought as a feminist and auto-ethnographer that I should politically locate the people I dialogue. The second examined theme, before moving forward in analyzing how the dialoguers responded to terrorization, was defining terrorism and the ALF. After the foundation of the definitions was stated and explained, the third theme that was universal with all the dialoguers was their intersectional and multi-movement approach, which allowed them to be educated and familiar with repression in other movements. The fourth theme, prior to the topic on inclusion of people with disabilities, was how the dialoguers personally responded to terrorization. Again, I define terrorization as a form of political repression, which

stigmatizes activists by labeling them as terrorists. Finally, the fifth theme as I have already mentioned was the inclusion of people with disabilities, which was spoken about by only a few of the dialoguers. I chose this final topic of personal, political, and intellectual interest. Furthermore, the stigmatization of people with disabilities is one of the greatest forms of repression in human history and should be noted and examined on how the disability rights movement responded to their stigmatization.

### **Political Consciousness**

It is important, just as I located myself in this dissertation in Chapter Three, that I locate the volunteer participants in the dialogue with me for my research. The fourteen dialoguers are Liat Ben-Moshe, Sarat Colling, Nick Cooney, Lauren Corman, Carol Glasser, Jennifer Grubbs, Stephanie Jenkins, Dara Lovitz, Leslie James Pickering, Michael Loadenthal, Dylan Powell, Craig Rosebraugh, Colin Salter, and Laura Shields. Eight of the people I dialogued with self identified as women while six of them self identified as males. Three of the dialoguers (Sarat Colling, Dylan Powell, and Lauren Corman) are Canadians, one dialoguer is Australian (Colin Salter), another Israeli (Liat Ben-Moshe), and the rest are citizens of the United States (Jennifer Grubbs, Leslie James Pickering, Craig Rosebraugh, Laura Shields, Michael Loadenthal, Nick Cooney, Dara Lovitz, Stephanie Jenkins, and Carol Glasser).

Based on my personal knowledge of the individuals I selected to participate in my research, I was aware that education was very important to them. They all reinforced this point when they told me about how they became involved in activism. Most of the participants became involved in social justice activism from anti-war to environmentalism through high school or college. Lauren Corman, who became involved



through college and is now the first professor in the world who was hired in the field critical animal studies told me:

I got involved with organizing and I became politicized through my undergraduate degree in women's studies at the University of Manitoba. I ended up falling into women's studies by accident. After dropping a full year course and then having to pick up a half year class, I got into women's studies and took an introduction to women's studies perspectives from the social sciences course. (L. Corman, personal communication, January 23, 2011)

Nick Cooney, author of *Change of Heart: What Psychology Can Teach Us About Spreading Social Change* (2010), received a degree in Non-Violence Studies from Hofstra University. Cooney is an organizer who has been involved in many issues from urban education and food politics to being a member of the organization Books through Bars. After being a lead organizer of many animal advocacy campaigns, Cooney is currently the co-founder and Director of the Humane League. He told me:

I became involved in social justice issues when I was in high school, I first became interested... when I was in high school and went to my first anti-war rally or two. Then I started college and founded a social justice organization there. (N. Cooney, personal communication, January 22, 2011).

Dylan Powell, who works at a local youth community center and has a bachelor's degree in history from Brock University, is one of the only people with whom I dialogued who comes from a place of poverty, which seems to be a rarity in the animal advocacy movement. Powell notes to me, most people in animal advocacy are white and come from social backgrounds of economic privilege, taught about activism through school and books. Their entry to activism was not through families and personal experiences of

ethnic/racial oppression or class-based concerns that sparked involvement in the civil rights or farm workers movements. This point was restated by Powell as he told me how he grew up poor and had a few social justice teachers:

For me, unlike most in the movement, I grew up in a rural town, a small population. I grew up really poor. I had a couple teachers in high school who kind of pulled me aside and mentored me. That really built the foundation I guess for my idea of justice and my interest in social justice. I saw the world as very unjust, from the perspective that I had lived it, as my experience. Even though a lot of things which in my rural life were promoted as normalcy, I would later learn to understand how that was racist, sexist, and hetero-normative. All these different things, such as growing up poor, gave me a perspective that kind of fueled me to want to learn more, but also allowed me to have a concern with other people who I felt I aligned with along class lines. I went to university and became interested in human rights issues, and issues around environmental degradation and animal rights which was the entry points for my activism. Prior to becoming aware of these three issues, everything kind of culminated as I entered into animal rights movement. I was lucky enough to live in the Niagara region in Canada, specifically Saint Catharine's Ontario because in this area there has been animal rights activism since the late '80s and there's a multi generational very diverse community... everything just kind of fell into place. (personal communication, January 14, 2011)

Another resident who now lives in St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada and who attends Brock University is Sarat Colling, originally from Hornby, a small gulf island on the west coast between Vancouver and Victoria, Canada. Colling is the only individual of non-European descent I dialogued with, which is significant because the animal rights movement, while very single-issue, is dominated mainly by people who are middle-class and white. Colling, a board member of the Institute for Critical Animal Studies, explained how she came to a political consciousness:

I was taking a political ideologies course at a college on Vancouver Island, and basically we were reading various ideologies including the animal liberation movement. When I read about their philosophy it just kind of made sense to me, and I'd never really thought about it before, making that connection between the product within factory farms, the animals' actual lives, and what I was consuming. So that led me to do more research on the internet and then I slowly started reading books. The internet played a big role because that's where I met a lot of people involved in activism. (S. Colling, personal communication, January 22, 2011)

Craig Rosebraugh, who recently finished his law degree, is also the co-founder with Leslie James Pickering of a radical social justice, all-volunteer publisher, Arissa Media Group. Rosebraugh, one of the most out spoken supporters of the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) in the world and former ELF Press Officer, who had his home raided, subpoenaed to grand juries, and who has committed many acts of civil disobedience, told me how he became involved in activism:

I was born and grew up in the Pacific Northwestern, Portland, Oregon area. I think the way that I grew up definitely had an impact on my later political consciousness. I grew up kind of half in an urban area and half in the country and most of my life playing as a child was out in the country. I was around a lot of wildlife and nature and I think that connection, I didn't know it at the time, but I think that connection definitely played a role in helping develop a political consciousness, especially with respect to environmental issues. During that time period I didn't have any grave idea on injustice in the world or justice issues or anything like that. (personal communication, January 31, 2011)

From the beginning of his activism, Rosebraugh was, by his own personal interest, involved in a diversity of movements. It was there that he sought total liberation, a philosophy rooted in participating and linking all social justice movements and causes

together in order to have a world completely free and liberated, and to further work toward a world free of authoritarianism and domination. A society based on direct democracy and total inclusion of all, not representation or majority vote, but a community that listens to all voices. From his interests, Rosebraugh would later in his life develop a strong philosophical understanding of total liberation and why organizations should focus on all causes rather than simply one. Total liberation fosters a society that must respect all and understand the importance of all in the global bio-community, void of punishment and control. Total liberation is more of a process than a state of being, meaning that we will never know if we are in the state of total freedom void of domination and authoritarianism. It is a critical theory to argue that who we include in society can always be re-evaluated and expanded to be more inclusive and respectful. After developing a strong philosophy toward total liberation, Rosebraugh disassociated from People for Animal Rights (PAR), an organization that did not support the ALF and only focused on animal advocacy. He and others developed an organization, Liberation Collective, in Portland, Oregon, which aimed to engage with as many social justice movements as they could. They wanted:

[the] ability to demonstrate and educate the relationship between animal rights issues, environmental concerns, and human rights issues. Educating people that there is a strong relationship between all those different categories makes sense if you want to advance any one of those particular categories. We're going to have to take into consideration all the justice issues and then really make it a point to try and work on as many as we can. Having that consciousness was something we weren't able to do in the animal rights group we were with before. (C. Rosebraugh, personal communication, January 31, 2011)

Stephanie Jenkins is one of a few scholars in the world who examines disability studies and critical animal studies together. Jenkins is a doctoral candidate at Pennsylvania State University and an associate with the Institute for Critical Animal Studies. She became involved in animal advocacy when she was 12 years old. Jenkins told me the story behind her transition to vegetarianism:

I was actually driving through a McDonalds with my parents and I just said out of the blue “I don’t want bacon with my pancakes” and it threw everyone at that point. I stayed a vegetarian and had a couple of instances in college where doctors told me that I needed to eat meat. So I ate fish for awhile, but gave that up too. When I went to graduate school I went vegan. That transition happened because I was looking for ways to deal with my health problems that I could have some kind of control over. (personal communication, January 18, 2011)

Colin Salter, who was born and raised in Australia in a working class predominately white community and now is a professor of peace studies at McMaster University, was very involved forest defense, adopting such tactics as protesting, blockading, and civil disobedience in Australia. He engaged in grassroots forest activism, including civil disobedience, often supporting organizations such as GECO and more mainstream groups like Friends of the Earth and The Wilderness Society. Like Powell, Salter grew up poor and involved in labor issues which influenced him a great deal on his outlook to society. Today peace studies is dominated by scholars who research and write on activism, nonviolence, social movements, and social change, but have engaged in it very little. Salter is one of the few peace studies scholars who has had a long rich personal history as an organizer and activist, beyond simply attending protests. He

organized, committed many acts of civil disobedience, and organized many actions that were met with mass repression and police brutality. Salter told me:

[the] earliest recollections of having an awareness of social justice issues was when I was in primary schools, in grade 5 or grade 6 when there was a proposal, when I lived in Australia, to slash education funding, there was a lot of outrage as a result. It was sort of the first recollection I had of having some sort of awareness. It was probably because of my parents. I came from a working poor family, when I was young, and my father was always a member of the union. (personal communication, January 30, 2011)

The awareness that arose from growing up in a working poor family, being the first in the entire family line to attend post-secondary education, having a father who would talk about strike action and worker struggles at the dinner table, and living in state housing when there was a clear demarcation socially and in attitudes at high school between those in state housing and those in private housing (in the context of labour struggles) directly affected Salter's outlook and understanding of social justice issues. Furthermore, Salter said that the area was predominantly white, with the few Aboriginal Australians very clearly racially positioned. Cognitive dissonance at this level had a profound impact on him early on. Peace and conflict studies began in the 1960s, dominantly by white able-bodied heterosexual male anti-war students. Today, it is still dominated by them, yet the field is much different, having become institutionalized, with departments and full-time professors who lack direct connections to community organizing or social justice activism. For this reason Salter, with his roots in activism, is a rare academic. He enriches his classes by including experiences from participating in social movements. The field of peace and conflict studies was developed to provide skills to students to become

professional activists and community organizers, but today students in this field are often being trained, educated, and prepared to be part of the government and international NGOs. What began as a socially progressive impulse now has become a feeder program for the government-academic-civil society organization establishment.

As the editor of the *Peace Studies Journal*, executive director of the Central Peace Studies Consortium, and having a master's degree in Peacemaking and Conflict Studies, I am well aware of the direction of the individuals who are involved in the field of peace and conflict studies, peace education, and social justice education are heading. There is no doubt that the people involved are dedicated to the field, but many of the courses have become more fitting for a student interested in working as a diplomat or mediator, rather than a person wanting to join People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, American Friends Service Committee, or Sea Shepherd Society. I know many of the professors in the field and they tend to lack a great deal of practical activist experience. Fifty years have passed since the founding of this field, but today three waves of academics have distanced themselves from such radical activism. Courses such as history of social movements, union organizing, and anti-racist action are taught by a few such as by George Lakey at Swarthmore College and Salter at McMaster University. Much of the field has been taken over by professors wanting to teach conflict management techniques such as mediation, negotiation, ethics and morality, interpersonal conflict, and conflict analysis.

This is not to say that these courses are not important; indeed, they are, but the activist-directed courses are often not available in the field of peace and conflict studies, because the field is not hiring or searching out academics with activist backgrounds. Furthermore,

courses that examine social movements and human rights can now be studied from a detached perspective in sociology and political science, not to motivate one to become an activist, but to strive to analyze the logic, motivation, rational, dependent and independent variables of social movements and actors. Marx argued this same point and stated, “philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it” (McLaren & Leonard, 1993, p. xiii). This quote promotes the concept of interweaving theory and action and academia with activism, to foster the activist-scholar/scholar-activist.

Salter, who regularly speaks about his activism and personal politics in his college class, told me about his first significant activism (personal communication, January 30, 2011). He told me that he became politically conscious in college through counter-culture movements, such as punk and skating. His first major action was a forest protest involving a blockade with a number of people who hid from police and loggers, while they were running closing off road ways to logging vehicles. During this action, he told me that the weather became close to zero degrees in the evening while they were sleeping in the bushes. He said that it was his experience with the police at this action that fundamentally changed his perspective on the role of police in society. He explained how the police willfully allowed logging to continue despite there being direct threats to the safety of activists. One officer ‘found’ him hiding in the forest as very large tree’s were being felled around the activists. Salter, who was using a large tree as cover and openly calling out that there were people in the felling zone, says the flippant attitude of the police made it clear that it was not the interests that were important to the protestors that were being protected. After this action, for which Salter was arrested, he committed to



becoming a life-time activist engaging in a diversity of social movements and participating in civil disobedience and facilitating nonviolent activist workshops.

Salter, an activist-academic, who brings activism into the classroom, a rarity in the peace studies field today, continued to tell me about his pedagogy: “My approach to teaching is rooted in my experiences of activism and community organizing. I draw first hand on my experiences with the police, watching police violence, state repression, why repression came about, and how people responded to repression” (personal communication, January 30, 2011). Salter’s PhD research, which he incorporates into his teaching, was focused on making white people aware of privilege and how they act (not necessarily intentionally) to perpetuate this. Salter provided me an example of a recent teaching experience, where he related his lesson to activism. He spoke about the mass protests that were receiving international attention in Egypt in 2011 in his Introduction to Police Studies course, in which he and the students had been talking about foundations of police and also directions and approaches towards achieving peace. He conveyed to students that, “[an] important part of social movements and protesting is the sense of empowerment that people get through taking action” (C. Salter, personal communication, January 30, 2011).

Salter works with scholars, activists, students, politicians, and community members throughout all levels of the economic ladder. Teaching activism, peace, and social justice in a safe and inclusive approach is difficult because it requires the professor to be respectful of each student and to provide space for all to share their opinions and to be willing to change one’s opinion and be willing to be challenged by students, without being reactionary.

## Defining Terrorism and the ALF

Terrorism is a central theme within this dissertation and for good reason: it is a powerful tool in the strategy of terrorization to marginalize as well as stress the seriousness of one's actions. This section of this chapter dives into the thoughts and political perspective of some of the individuals with whom I dialogued. While many of the political perspectives in this section of this chapter will be very similar such as being leftist, the analysis of, how, and why terrorism is used as a label differs. For instance, Powell believes that using the term terrorism to describe activists is a bullying tactic.

Powell explained that labeling is a form of bullying, and he provided an example where former President George W. Bush acted as a bully (personal communication, January 14, 2011). It is important to note how, in the following statement, he provided the example—which is rooted in disability studies critique—of normal-versus-abnormal, the latter being associated with terrorism:

President George W. Bush was saying the Other in that case are terrorists and if you challenge U.S. policies, society, culture, and traditions then you're a terrorists, that's kind of the bully mentality. But, instead, can I be with you, but also critique you as well? There's no, space for that, critical thinking. It is either or. You know, I think that's the dilemma; it is you are "normal" or you're abnormal, you're a terrorist or you're not a terrorist. (D. Powell, personal communication, January 14, 2011)

Lovitz, a law professor at Temple University Beasley School of Law and the author of the award-winning book, *Muzzling a Movement: The Effects of Anti-Terrorism Law, Money, and Politics on Animal Activism* (2010), explained from more of a legal perspective the justification of the terrorization of activists in the US and why this strategy was constructed:

Well, it's not justified, but with the word terrorism, the implication is that you're instilling fear in people and the animal rights "terrorists" are seen to instill fear in their enemies. So the demonstrations outside the homes of those being protested have instilled fear within the people who live in the homes. Most of the people being protested worked for HLS [an animal-vivisection facility] or were investors or provided insurance or somehow were connected to HLS. They became fearful, fearful for their life, fearful that they would be injured. Then there were testimonies, for example [at the criminal trial of the protestors], there was one kid who was around seven years old and yielded a chef's knife and said something like, "Oh I'll save you; I'll protect you Mommy against those scary terrorists outside." The idea that a little kid is carrying a knife around because he's scared and he feels like he has to protect his mommy from the animal rights activists out front, brings us to the principle of instilling fear in someone else, i.e., terrorizing them. So, I think that's where the notion comes from. (personal communication, January 22, 2011)

The Bush administration would not be able to pass the USA PATRIOT Act,<sup>9</sup> AETA, and start a war without the horrible event on September 11, 2001 in the US. Lovitz stated:

I think 9/11 introduced strong regulation and in the PATRIOT Act they expanded on the term 'domestic terrorism.' Actions that were legally known and protected under the First amendment as activism are now considered terrorism. Also other actions that were identified as trespass and vandalism can be now under these new laws seen as terrorism. (personal communication, January 22, 2011)

Activism therefore has become more able to be controlled and repressed within this new political climate. It is critical then, as new forms of repression are being created,

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<sup>9</sup> The USA PATRIOT Act, signed in to law on October 26, 2001, stands for "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001." The act allowed more power to law enforcement for investigating, surveilling, arresting, and imprisoning those that they deem suspects and terrorists. The act also allowed a broader definition of what a terrorist was in order to provide law enforcement the right to arrest and surveil more people and anyone they felt was a threat.

that new terms and definitions, within the field of social movements, are created to describe this repression. Those who once were able to be criminalized by society are today I argue *terroralized*, a term I have created out of this project that I feel is more fitting. Terroralized refers to the socio-political construction of stigmatizing a group, people, or individual into a terrorist for social, political, and economic interest, similar to that of those stigmatized as deviant, delinquent, disabled, and demonic. Those that support the ALF on the contrary see them as freedom fighters and revolutionaries and not as terrorists. Lovitz believes:

Activists and liberators are heroes and I think rescuing a life from death at the risk of imprisonment is heroic. It's a heroic act so I do consider them to be heroes. I mean the Animal Liberation Front. I'm talking about those who physically rescue animals; I'm not talking about those who just burn down a building. Although I see the value in that I don't call that heroic, I do call rescuing a life heroic. (personal communication, January 22, 2011)

From the perspective of such activists, rescuing animals from being tested on or murdered for food might be one of the ultimate ethical and moral acts today, but unless you have the political and economic power, you rarely have the ability to create massive social change. With hundreds of books by professors published on this manner and thousands of organized dedicated to this cause, it still is not enough to encourage the social and political consciousness to adopt this ethic and moral position.

The political and economic powers of those who exploit and murder animals, from medical industrial complex to the agricultural industrial complex, outweigh the capacities of the animal advocacy movement. This is not to suggest the animal advocacy movement is not creating social change; animal advocates are, but it is clear it will be

repressed more and more heavily as it seeks to cause significant impacts, affecting profits and loss of jobs within those industries. Instead what is occurring to a great extent is the animal advocacy movement is creating alternative jobs and calculations of profit, referred to as green washing or green capitalism. Green capitalism does not challenge the concept of exploitation; it simply argues for a more ethical form of exploitation and method of competition within the market place. Instead of cutting-down trees and filling land-fills, there is the development of the recycling industry. Further, the alternative to eating meat and drinking milk is eating soy-based fake meat products and drinking soy milk.

Capitalism allows for the exploitation of all because it categorizes everything into a resource with a value determined by the international economic market. Further, to defend this, Corman argues “that capitalism relates to animals as objects, as a resource, capitalism is a resource based system that’s about exploiting, not only human workers, but [nonhuman] animals both as workers and as resources - raw materials to be exploited” (personal communication, January 23, 2011). Corman’s Master’s research dealt with labour relations in historical and contemporary factory farms and slaughterhouses. She told me that when conducting research she read over and over again how human slaughterhouse workers referred to nonhuman animals as nothing more than “that” and other objectifying terms (L. Corman, personal communication, January 23, 2011). For example, “you need to skin *that* and kill *that* before the day is out.” Workers commonly do not give value to cows as living beings, maybe because it takes out the psychological recognition that they are murdering or killing. The objectification of the nonhuman animal by labeling them as a “that” detaches the worker(s) from the act they are committing.

Objectification is a form of stigmatization. In this dissertation there are two groups that are being repetitively stigmatized – nonhuman animals as property and nonhuman animal advocates as terrorists. It is not coincidence, but because all oppression is created by systems of domination and it is for this reason my personal activism is dedicated to no one specific cause or movement, but in relating oppressions together and bridging movements against systems of domination. Corman stressed that nonhuman animals are labeled as products, and she thought that “... the relationship between capitalism and animals is primarily one of commodification and objectification” (personal communication, January 23, 2011). She also viewed capitalism “fundamentally based on exploitation and [she] is concerned that the animal advocacy movement does not address more the relation between animals and capitalism” (L. Corman, personal communication, January 23, 2011).

Michael Loadenthal, who teaches at Georgetown University in their “Justice and Peace Studies” program, explained that in a capitalist economic system, commodification of the Earth and animals is argued by money-makers as appropriate (personal communication, February 16, 2011). Other interviewees explained that the commodification and exploitation are done by no greater force than how transnational corporations operate currently. Jenkins suggested that corporations by themselves are not exploitative (after all, nonprofits are a form of corporation) but it is what their business is, which makes them exploitative or not (personal communication, January 18, 2011). The Noble Peace Prize winning organization, the American Friends Service Committee, an international Quaker social justice organization that has provided health, food, and educational services to communities around the world would be an example of a positive

corporation. McDonalds on the other hand provides unhealthy cheap food, which is often bought by members of poor communities and aids in the clear-cutting of rainforests for raising cattle for meat is an example of an exploitative corporation.

Rosebraugh believes that because of “one’s own political philosophies, who’s funding their network, and who is behind them, who can figure out what their political motives are. They’re going to find a way to demonize or at least categorize the work in whatever way they deemed is useful for their own benefits to a degree” (personal communication, January, 31, 2011). When Rosebraugh became a spokesperson for the ELF, he heard from the media, the community, and activists that he was promoting and supporting terrorism and violence. On the contrary, he told me that he, “believe[s] that we should be able to talk about these things without getting so offended that we have to throw labels at one another” (C. Rosebraugh, personal communication, January 31, 2011). He argued that with so many think-tanks and books on counterterrorism and political violence from the right-wing that there needs to be those that have the courage and dedication to speak out in the face of terrorization. It is for this reason that Rosebraugh became a spokes-person for the ELF and later the co-founder of Arissa Media Group, a peer-reviewed fully-volunteer, academic-activist press. He told me, “[I have] “been a so-called spokesperson for what was viewed by some in society as a violent organization, but I studied nonviolence for a number of years and still believe in it, but I also at the same time believe just as Gandhi did in self defense” (C. Rosebraugh, personal communication, January, 31, 2011).

The purpose of labeling, Salter explained, is to develop a sense of otherness about those being labeled. He argues that, “Once terrorism is used for socio-political

explanation for one's action against another, anyone who is different is a threat to be labeled that as well. Within the discourse of terrorism I stress how it is a construction of the Other, but also the foundation term today within the politics of fear" (C. Salter, personal communication, January 30, 2011). Salter, like all of the other dialoguers and many others in society, believes that September 11, 2001 is the foundation of the construction of terrorism being the dominant discourse in media, politics, and society today (personal communication, January 30, 2011).

One of the main reasons that the ALF is identified as terrorists is because of their criminal acts of destroying property such as computers, burning down of laboratories, and free animals and their image of being masked up and sending communiqués from the underground. It is part their actions and part their image that they portray. Loadenthal explains that "how the attack is framed by the target as an act of terrorism, is important to deconstruction, because in reality it is not an act of terrorism, but an act of property destruction and/or liberation. These acts are done covertly in this manner because there's no venue given for people to express dissent" (personal communication, February 16, 2011).

Loadenthal argued that because of the repressive socio-political climate post September 11, 2001, with the PATRIOT Act and AETA and other laws in place today, there is little ability to conduct legal acts of dissent in the name of animal advocacy and environmentalism (personal communication, February 16, 2011). Loadenthal argues the reason that they are labeled as a terrorist group is because the stigma currently has so much cultural currency (personal communication, February 16, 2011). To use the label to benefit one's agenda is only logical. There is not today a more powerful word globally



that people are against. All you have to do is get a “legitimate” agency to identify a group as such, announce it on the media, and have a number of think-tanks and academics reinforce this claim, and you have a full on open legal search and destroy operation and war.

There are only a few people who have been associated with the ELF and ALF besides Rosebraugh, other press officers, and convicted ELF and ALF members more than Leslie James Pickering the author of *The Earth Liberation Front 1997 to 2002* (2007). Pickering, who grew up in Buffalo, New York, as a teenager, made his way to Portland, Oregon where he would find himself later in his life to become one of the leading voices of the underground movement for animal advocacy and environmental protection. Pickering, a former ELF Press Officer, who has been interviewed by almost every major media outlet from television to news print tells me that he and Rosebraugh, while taking many risks and putting themselves out voluntarily to be repressed, also received extreme criticism from leftist activists, such as being called egotistical, self promoters, supporters of terrorists and violence, and against peace (personal communication, February 3, 2011). While Rosebraugh stepped down September 5, 2001, Pickering stayed on. Pickering soon stepped down as well and sent out a press release stating that “it is time for somebody else to become a press officer of the ELF, but nobody did, nobody stepped up. I did not want to volunteer; I mean nobody really grows up thinking that they want to do this type of work” (L. Pickering, personal communication, February 3, 2011). Pickering is a dedicated activist and community organizer for social justice, but no one as he notes, grows up thinking that they are going to or wanting to be a spokesperson for a revolutionary underground organization

identified as a top domestic terrorist group. No one does for the main reason of knowing that political repression will be part of their life, including surveillance of law enforcement, personal home being raided, subpoenaed to the grand jury, and arrested trumped up charges. However, you do not have to be a spokes-person for the ELF or ALF to be stigmatized by activists or law enforcement.

Colling, a transnational feminist of color and the co-author of *Love and Liberation: An Animal Liberation Front Story* (Colling & Nocella, 2011), told me that she has considered that she might not be hired or may even be investigated “because of writing this short fiction piece” (personal communication, January 22, 2011). Colling discussed the cultural of fear and discussion of repression within the movement as promoting a climate of self policing which she has tried to resist against and not let herself be policed because, as she said, “I know that I am not a terrorist, just like no animal activist above or below ground is, but it can be hard when I am always learning of new cases of activist repression. I imagine that it scares some people off, but it shouldn’t” (personal communication, January 22, 2011). She stressed that while the label of terrorist may be fear-inducing for some people, it is crucial that the information is available because “there is just a reality that we must admit” (S. Colling, personal communication, January 22, 2011).

No one knows the perfect answer on how to respond to repression or if there is a perfect process of responding to repression, but many people are doing their best and trying to inform others on what they think and have done. Colling, an officer of the Institute for Critical Animal Studies, an organization I co-founded, stressed that she “feels like Institute for Critical Animal Studies is so important because it really is a way

to provide legitimacy for those who support direct action and are members of the ALF” (personal communication, January 22, 2011). She explained, “ICAS was founded out of *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters?* [(Best & Nocella, 2004)] which outlines the philosophy of the ALF, and is an excellent tool for understanding the ALF that helps people see their views and perspective” (S. Colling, personal communication, January 22, 2011).

Other people involved in the animal advocacy movement like academic-activist Carol Glasser who recently graduated with a Ph.D. from University of California, Irvine told me, “I can’t think of a time where anyone said to me animal rights activists are terrorists” (personal communication, January 22, 2011). Having fear of political repression and stigmatized as being associated with terrorists is not a universal experience within the movement, but one that people are aware of. Furthermore, Glasser pointed to an important issue when it comes to labels, specifically being called a terrorist or extremist. “While some sort of label is going to turn someone off, it’s going to turn someone else on,” Glasser told me (personal communication, January, 22, 2011).

When I asked Glasser to explain some strategies people can use to counter the claim that activists are eco-terrorists, she said that she does not “really concern [her]self in trying to convince people about a label because I don’t come across that many people that talk about that issue, and I don’t care about what people think about me, I just care that people stop hurting animals. So that’s kind of my focus now” (personal communication, January 22, 2011). While this is an important point that she does not care about what she personally is labeled, which is the sentiment of many activists, terrorization of the animal advocacy movement affects her and everyone within the movement and I would argue affects in some degree the greater society as well.

Therefore, there is a need for scholars to study and examine political repression and terrorization. A few current scholars include members of the Institute for Critical Animal Studies (ICAS) and Will Potter, author of [www.GreenistheNewRed.org](http://www.GreenistheNewRed.org) (a well-known blog within in the environmental and animal advocacy movement), who recently published the book, *Green is the New Red: An Insider's Account of a Social Movement Under Siege* (2011).

Glasser, on the subject of labeling the ALF terrorists said, “I don’t think that you can call a person or group that doesn’t hurt someone violent and I think that when we ask questions about violence I would instead talk about people that harm animate objects, turn the question of violence to people who hurt living beings, such as vivisectors” (personal communication, January 22, 2011). Again, Glasser, as many in the animal and earth liberation movements have done, redirects the attention of violence and terrorism on to those who harm the planet and nonhuman animals. A field dedicated to this perspective and philosophical strategy is green criminology (Beirne & South, 2007) and critical animal studies (Best, Nocella, Kahn, Gigliotti, & Kemmerer, 2007). Further, Glasser expanded on the label of violence:

when the average person says, your activism is violent, I don’t think it is. I don’t see anything I’ve ever done that you can pretend to misconstrue as violent. I do think engaging in eating animals or wearing the skins that were ripped off of their bodies is violence, there is no question about it. People might justify it by saying that these animals are ours to use, but they cannot argue that the actions of murdering nonhuman animals for coats and food are not violent, but that is violent! So when people tell me that neighborhood demonstrations are violent, I think that’s ludicrous. I say if that’s violent then how violent is torturing another living being so that’s the conversation that I have now with other animal [rights] activists telling me that something as benign as the neighborhood demos violent, I

usually have a conversation asking them where they got that idea. I inquire about whether that idea came from other people's brains or from their own. (personal communication, January, 22, 2011)

Glasser's critical methodology into this topic with animal rights activists is crucial and an important approach that must be adopted by others who want to challenge terrorization of any movement. She is simply asking people to think on their own and critically. She is asking them to investigate their claims, position, and perspective and figure out if there are any holes in their argument. Furthermore, to question why the argument was constructed and who were the first ones to suggest such a theory. If the animal advocacy movement can advance to become activist-scholars who are critical thinkers, which ICAS promotes, then they will have the most important tool to be able to explain to the world about the exploitation and murder of nonhuman animals, which will end the stigmatization of them being a threat and the oppression of nonhuman animals. Knowing how to protest boycott, picket, organize a conference, and commit civil disobedience is all important, but without the ability to communicate to others one's goals and theory, in a manner that the public can understand and relate to, social transformation will not be possible.

One strategy in reversing or flipping the script of the discourse of terrorism is the selling of shirts by animal advocacy groups that say, "All my heroes have FBI files" and "All my friends are terrorists." I asked Glasser if she thought they were affective in debunking the label and stigmatization of the animal advocacy movement as terrorists, and she told me, "I think the shirts are great, but honestly I think people are not aware of what's going on around them. The average person is not aware of what's going on

[activists being repressed] and they don't know how to interpret that shirt" (personal communication, January, 22, 2011). Furthermore, she explained that, "People, who benefit from labeling activists as terrorist, use that word as much as they possibly can and it eventually catches on and there's something like 9/11 happens and it becomes a buzz word and then everyone uses that to get what they want" (C. Glasser, personal communication, January, 22, 2011). Thus, she argued that a massive historical event can help develop a socio-political campaign, further this strategic campaign organized by law enforcement and think-tanks and promoted by media and politicians to the "average person" in society, who, noted by Glasser, are "too busy, not informed, or not interested in knowing this political issue" to resist, thus they join this campaign.

I asked Laura Shields, an activist and graduate student at Saint Louis University, her thoughts about the AETA and animal rights activists being labeled as terrorism. She replied:

The supporters of the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act capitalized on the political climate of fear surrounding terrorism during George W. Bush's time in office. It is an easy label to apply to political dissenters in order to maintain the animal agricultural structures. It is a very transparent government act to discourage people to voice an opinion or to support those who do. When you see the pharmaceutical companies and agriculture businesses that backed the AETA, it is obvious that they are attempting to protect their economic interests. It is unfortunate then, that those people that do want to take action on behalf of animals, have to take on the risk of being labeled a 'terrorist.' (L. Shields, personal communication, May, 2, 2011)

Further, Shields stressed how the AETA was supported by a relationship between agricultural corporations and politicians. When I asked for her view on why animal rights activists are labeled as terrorists, she answered:

Animal rights activists strive to relieve the suffering and mistreatment of humans and other animals. Big agriculture and 'big pharm' are built entirely on the suffering and mistreatment of humans and other animals. Therefore, in order to protect their businesses, they lobby for government acts that label those that threaten their economic interests as terrorists. It is a complete abuse of power and a bullying tactic to prevent people from dissenting. (L. Shields, personal communication, May, 2, 2011)

On the topic of examining the term, use, and defining of terrorism, Shields, like others that I have dialogued with, viewed terrorization as a form of bullying promoted in capitalist and competitive-based societies where conflicts are resolved on a win-lose basis. In addition, Shields stressed a point that I have also made from the position of critical animal studies and green criminology: that many of the laws against animal rights and environmentalists are actually set up to protect the agricultural-industrial complex, including the medical, pharmaceutical, entertainment, academic, military, and food sectors (personal communication, May, 2, 2011). These laws were drafted directly by these industries' lobbyists, demonstrating the close linkage and identification between private and public sectors in these industries (Lovitz 2010).

### **Animals as Property**

Capitalism is rooted in competition and in its valuing of all things as products has become one of the most individualist and exploitive economic systems in history (Amster, DeLeon, Fernandez, Nocella, & Shannon, 2009; Harvey, 2007; Klein, 2007).

Emphasis is placed on accumulating wealth, instead of on community interests,

collaboration, group-building, team building, or a win-win resolution (Kriesberg, 2007). Capitalism and war have many of the same characteristics, with war having militaries that work together and that are not out to take each other's jobs or in competition with one another, while groups, companies, and corporations in the capitalist mode of economics is even competitive among the group, thus self defeating and destructive (Harvey, 2006; Parenti, 1995; Yuen, Burton-Rose, & Katsiaficas, 2004). Participants in the capitalist system have become so competitive and interested in profit that they influence the system to put a value on everything including, but not limited to, birds, trees, water, air, people, and land (Best & Nocella, 2004; Best & Nocella, 2006; Bodley, 2005; Kahn, 2010; Kovel, 2002).

The defining of property is an important question for this dissertation, specifically because nonhuman animals are deemed legally as such, which animal advocates argue they are not. Many of those who support more radical forms of tactics such as civil disobedience and underground direct action are commonly associated with anarchism, which is identified by media and the government as terrorism (Amster et al., 2009). Anarchists have, like many other social justice activists, destroyed property, as I identified in Chapter Four, for four different reasons: 1) symbolic, e.g., burning of the flag; 2) means to liberate, e.g., destroying a cage; 3) to cause economic sabotage, e.g., burning down a McDonalds; and 4) resistance, e.g., gluing locks, destroying a computer, or burning documents.

Further, as I have already noted, while anarchists view property as theft; proponents of capitalism and other monetized economic systems identify everything including all nonhuman and human beings as property and having an economic value.



Liat Ben-Moshe, a scholar of disability anarchism, told me that “destroying property is a form of economic boycott” (personal communication, January 20, 2011). Loadenthal said that in defense of radical anarchist and underground activist movements, “even when these movements have used ‘extreme’ tactics such as use of explosives to destroy property, they’ve taken extreme efforts to not target people; to not injure people and to not instill fear in people” (personal communication, February 16, 2011).

The significant difference between anarchists and proponents of capitalism is that anarchists view property as anything that is not a living creature, while proponents of capitalism do include living creatures as property (Amster et al., 2009). Further, capitalism puts higher value on material goods such as cars, houses, and clothing than many living creatures, such as a redwood tree, endangered owl, or seal. Lovitz, in the tradition of anarchism stated, “If you’re just destroying property and no persons are harmed, I don’t think that’s violent” (personal communication, January 22, 2011). To defend this argument, Salter provided the example of Nazi resisters destroying property such as fences, train tracks, and military equipment (personal communication, January 30, 2011). He said that factories used to support the German war machine were a target of Danish resistance. Colling gave another example of members of the Underground Railroad in the US who destroyed property such as chains and living quarters in order to free people (personal communication, January 22, 2011). To add to what Loadenthal said about not instilling fear, Lovitz stressed, “I don’t want to restrict violence to just when your actions result in physical harm [of a being], but threatening physical harm, I think also could be considered violent” (personal communication, January 22, 2011). Lovitz explained more precisely:

... harming could mean the body of a human or nonhuman, so if you're kicking the dog you're causing physical harm to the body of the nonhuman, so that's violent. But as for the destruction of property -- *other* property because technically your dogs are your property and when I say property I'm talking about non-living property -- the destruction of non-living property I don't see as violent, again unless you do it in a way that causes the person to think that you're going to hurt them next. For example, throwing a vase at somebody's head and missing -- just because you missed, it shouldn't be called a nonviolent act. (personal communication, January 22, 2011)

While Lovitz is a lawyer, her philosophy of nonhuman animals not being property and that destroying property is not violent can be rooted by to anarchist-rooted theories. Grubbs, an anarchist and animal liberationist, believes that the notion of property stems from the legal system and speciesism (personal communication, January 30, 2011). She argued why nonhuman animals should not be considered property, which slaves and all living beings that have been dominated in human history have been labeled as such, for the purpose of economic exploitation or simply domination such as in the case of "wives to their husbands" or "dogs to their human owners" (J. Grubbs, personal communication, January 30, 2011).

Another important example of a relationship in which one party is identified by the other as property is the state and prison system. The 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment abolished slavery but allows slavery in the US if someone has been convicted of a crime. Slaves, identified in American history as the property to an owner, have the same relation today, but the owner is the State. Prisons in the US, which make up more than two million people, are in the custody of the state (Davis, 2003). This is why the prison industrial complex is one of the largest growing domestic industries in the US and contracts out

cheap labor to corporations (Davis, 2003; Gilmore, 2007). People with disabilities have been historically also stigmatized as property and have even been tested and experimented on (Corrigan, 2006). Labels have been used to stigmatize for the purpose of controlling, dominating, oppressing, and repressing throughout the world and history from people with disabilities (Corrigan, 2006) and people of color to trees and nonhuman animals.

### **Intersections of Oppression**

An important part of successfully responding to political repression I have learned through autoethnography and dialoguing with activists for this dissertation is examining other social movements through an intersectional approach. This is important for two strategic reasons: first, it relates movements together so there is more support for one another and, second, it allows activists to educate themselves about other social movements' goals, purpose, tactics, history, and campaigns. Many activists who begin to study and analyze social movements for their own social causes and identity have often joined those other struggles after finding out about their own experiences of oppression. It is through this process that people become aware of multiple experiences of oppression and that no one has a single identity. Out of this process came the rise of the theory of intersectionality established by feminist sociologist Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), which stresses that groups, movements, and people often have multiple experiences of oppression related to their different identities, such as ability, gender, sexuality, race, class, age, nationality, and religion. Therefore, intersectionality highlights the need to understand feelings of oppression as a phenomenon rooted in people's diverse, overlapping socio-political economic identities and locations in relation to social power

and cultural hegemony. Intersectionality is both a methodology and theory that speaks to “the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations” (McCall, 2005). The development within social movements embracing intersectionality aided in the initiative of multi-movement alliance politics.

Intersectionality emphasizes that oppression is related by systems of domination (hooks, 1994). This concept was made well-known by feminists of color (Collins, 2000; Collins & Andersen, 1998), who explained to white women that being a woman is difficult in society because of patriarchy, but it is even harder to be a Black women, and harder for those Black women who are poor and may also be lesbians and/or have disabilities. Examining oppression and relating experiences of oppression together is a strategy of organizing people together in order to massively resistance, deconstruct, and challenge multiple systems of domination. Many intersectional social justice activist-scholars, (some who also identify themselves as total liberationists, which I will speak about later in this chapter) argue that only when everyone in the world understands and respects they are not one dimension (Marcuse, 1964) and are related through identity and experience, can we end domination of one another through massive social transformation (Lederach, 2003). Intersectional social justice activist-scholars believe people are inherently good and will be more unlikely to harm and dominate others if they understand they are related. This mass social transformation will lead to transforming individual acts and perspectives as well, influenced by an oppressive society that promotes sexism, homophobia, ableism, racism, ageism, and classism (Morris, 2000).

Intersectionality, a theory that examines subjects from a multi-standpoint perspective, arose greatly out of the efforts of interdisciplinary studies. A great deal of

interdisciplinary fields of study emerged out of successful social movements, for example, the civil rights movement fostered Africana studies and the women's rights movement fostered women's studies. Most often intersectional scholars will be found within an interdisciplinary field. Interdisciplinary studies is the examining of a topic from typically two to three academic fields across traditional disciplines. Many individuals within traditional fields of study such as sociology, political science, history, economics, anthropology, and philosophy at first resisted. For some time this resistance with classic academics on one side and academic-activists on the other created a divide within the academy. As time moved forward to show the benefits of interdisciplinary scholarship beyond the budgetary benefits, fewer classic academics resisted and while the divide still persists today, it is not a great destructive force to academia. There are even interdisciplinary fields of study that did not emerge out of social movements such as public administration and international studies.

Beyond interdisciplinary studies, there has emerged what I refer to as super interdisciplinary fields of study. I define super interdisciplinary as an interdisciplinary field that fuses more than five areas of study together such as gender, race, age, disability, and class; an example of these would be cultural and ethnic studies. The first wave of interdisciplinary studies endeavored to unite two disciplines such as gender and class. Today it is common to merge three fields such as gender, race, and class, a subtitle of too many books. Consequently, these specific areas of study have become a popular catch phrase for many academics to attract scholars and the general public, while not challenging racism, sexism, or classism.

I argue that there are emerging critical scholars and fields that are wanting and willing to approach all areas, issues of concern, and fields such as ecopedagogy (Kahn, 2010), green criminology (Beirne & South, 2007), critical animal studies (Best, Nocella, Kahn, Gigliotti & Kemmerer, 2007), and disability studies (Davis, 1997). Beirne and South (2007) write that, “Green criminology has the potential to provide not only a different way of examining and making sense of various forms of crime and control responses (some well known, others less so) but can also make explicable much wider connections that are not generally well understood” (pg. xx). Steve Best (2006) who unifies social justice movements through his scholarship writes:

Animal liberation requires that the Left transcend the comfortable boundaries of humanism in order to make a qualitative leap in ethical consideration, thereby moving the moral bar from reason and language to sentience and subjectivity. Just as the Left once had to confront ecology, and emerged a far superior theory and politics, so it now has to engage animal rights. As the confrontation with ecology infinitely deepened and enriched Leftist theory and politics, so should the encounter with animal rights and liberation. (para. 29)

I asked Laura Shields, an animal rights activist and doctoral student in American Studies at Saint Louis University, to tell me about her activism. She stressed that her activism, “is intersectional, from animal liberation to prison activism” (L. Shields, personal communication, May 2, 2011). Similar to Shields, all of the other individuals with whom I dialogued agreed that much of their activism occurred within the realm of academia and much of their academic work occurs within the realm of activism. Further, Shields, responding in a manner similar to each of the academic-activists with whom I dialogued, stressed that she, “bring[s] the oppression of animals into the conversation

about American culture as a way to show that looking at attitudes about animals is an important approach to understanding culture at large” (personal communication, May 2, 2011). Moreover, she believes that the academy is “a place to tackle difficult issues in our society and that it becomes important when it actually addresses the actual lived experiences of humans and other animals” (L. Shields, personal communication, May 2, 2011).

Whether in academia or radical activism, there are those who make connections between different struggles to learn from them, but also who, more importantly, join the struggle and resist together, such as Pickering and Rosebraugh, former members of the classic 1990s Liberation Collective in Portland, Oregon, which was one of the first groups in the animal advocacy movement that was dedicated to stopping social and political injustices throughout society and around the world. While the term did not exist at that time, the group was dedicated to a total liberation philosophy, referring to organizing with and for multiple social movements and stressing the belief that “when one is oppressed, no one is free.”

Most activists focus on one or two issues through their lives or move through movements, without any serious involvement in any of them. Pickering has brilliantly done what few others have: bridging the huge gap between Black liberation and Earth liberation. He truly became involved and dedicated himself to other causes. He made true friendships and while he did not understand their experiences as a white male he respected other struggles of color and worked with them. He today is engaged in community organizing and working to end violence, racism, police brutality, and poverty, while also caring about the Earth, nonhuman animals, and peace through the world. It

bears emphasizing that Pickering accomplished this collaboration in a long-term practical community sense and not merely as an academic gesture. Shields brought up slaughterhouses as a great example of an intersectional location of oppression – environmental pollution, the murder of nonhuman animals, unhealthy food being produced for the public to consume, and the exploitation of human labor (personal communication, May 2, 2011). Powell stressed that, “Social justice is a universal concept that everyone wants and it should be afforded to all” (personal communication, January 14, 2011). Powell, a member of the Live Free Collective, does not put anything on the group’s literature tables that does not address two issues at the same time. So there is no pamphlet, book, shirt, button, or flyer that only promotes one single-issue. This effort is being repeated with great seriousness to other social justice collectives and organizations, website, blogs, newsletters, magazines, zines, twitters, and radio shows around the world. Colling, the founder of Political Media Review (PMR), which is an online clearinghouse for social justice media reviews, covers a diversity of topics related to peace and social justice. Colling tells me that having PMR focus on media that covers all topics related to peace and social justice, “helps people who may be very involved in one cause become more informed about other social movements” (personal communication, January 22, 2011).

Powell and many others involved in the radical segment of the animal advocacy movement are straightedge, a philosophy dedicated to not drinking, doing drugs, smoking, or engaging in promiscuous sex. Powell believes that part of being intersectional is to understand how drinking and drugs ruin many types of communities, and relationships (personal communication, January 14, 2011). For instance, drugs,



specifically crack-cocaine, were strategically placed into the Black community in the 1970s by groups and government agencies including the CIA to destroy them (Schou, 2006; Scott & Marshall, 1998; Webb, 1999). It is an interesting coincidence, if it was a coincidence or a strategic act by law enforcement, that I was framed for crack-cocaine for protesting dolphins in captivity in Texas and crack-cocaine was used to destroy the Black community. Crack-cocaine since day one of its creation has been a powerful tool to destroy and repress political and social groups by U.S. law enforcement within the U.S.

It does not need to be said that smoking is harmful to individuals, those around them, and the environment because of air pollution. There are many in social movements who drink, smoke, and do drugs, and for this reason, Powell mentioned that he feels lonely and frustrated that people do not make the connection among drugs, smoking, and drinking, but are against nonhuman animal tested products because they kill and exploit nonhuman animals (personal communication, January 14, 2011). He argued that drugs, drinking, and smoking kills and exploits human animals, but also those products are harmful to the global biosphere because of the harmful chemicals, clearing-cutting for growing crops, and also the air and water pollution during the production of the product (D. Powell, personal communication, January 14, 2011).

Grubbs suggested that industries such as the agricultural, medical, financial, academic, prison, and military which are supported through the capitalist economic system, need to be examined through an intersectional approach, rather than a disciplinary or single-issue approach (personal communication, January 30, 2011). When addressing systems of domination that create oppression, Glasser told me, “people can’t agree that there is one way that oppression works; yes there are all different types of

oppression - it plays out differently in society for all different groups, but the structure [system] that causes oppression is the same” (personal communication, January, 22, 2011). Hence, we must look at larger macro systems, rather than look at the specific factory farm down the road or laboratory at the state university. Activists must strive to relate this oppression to other forms of oppression, to make a more solid argument as to why these places need to be closed down because of their oppression on the Earth, nonhuman and human animals.

### **Terrorist as a Label**

Throughout this dissertation I have spoken about the need to learn from others how they strategically and directly respond to terrorization, i.e., the stigmatization of being labeled a terrorist. So far in this chapter, I have identified through my research three methods of responding to terrorization; the first is redefining what terrorism and violence is, the second is that nonhuman animals are not property and therefore should not be exploited and that the laws should change, and third is to challenge through an intersectional analytical approach the systems of domination involved in capitalism. In this section we dive into how personally on a daily basis the activists-scholars respond to the labeling of activists as terrorists.

I asked Shields how she responds to being associated with individuals identified by the US government as terrorists, whom are members of the animal advocacy movement, she told me:

Whenever I speak or write about the AETA and issue of labeling animal rights activists as terrorists, I make it clear to define the difference between the two. Once we dismantle that linguistic bond and reveal the absurdity of the terrorist label then it will lose its power to frighten people

away from taking action. Terrorists employ terror tactics that often rely on violence, bullying and fear to achieve their goals. Animal rights activists do not support bodily harm in any manner or rely on scare methods to achieve their goals. Often just revealing the treatment of animals through videos or photographs is considered shocking and violent, but that is due to the nature of the material, not the method. Therefore, I suggest asking people what terrorism means and what acting to stop animal oppression means to them and it becomes very clear that they are not the same thing. (personal communication, May, 2, 2011)

To take this one step further, Loadenthal suggested to me in our dialogue that a great method to debunk the idea that animal rights activists are terrorists is to present this argument at academic and professional conferences, write articles in peer-reviewed journals, and publish books on this perspective in hopes of fostering credibility. Further, to expand on Loadenthal's strategy, one can develop organizations and committees that claim the dominant discourse such as Counterterrorist Taskforce for Animal Protection, an organization that does not exist, but could receive credibility by the media, public, and law enforcement, because of the terms used, while subverting the system.

Loadenthal chose to receive his master's degree in Terrorism Studies from the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at University of St Andrews a conservative university for this exact reason. He wanted a chair at the table where people were defining the ALF as terrorists; he wanted to argue against those with degrees, dressed in a certain way, and using specific language to provide him credibility. This includes, Loadenthal argued, publishing books and using mainstream media to redefine the terms, as language is powerful and that "who is defined as a terrorist is all about language" (personal communication, February 16, 2011). Loadenthal continued,

They call every guerrilla underground group a terrorist organization and they're going to call every underground revolutionary effort violent and terrorist until they [underground revolutionary groups] win. And when they win they're not going to be terrorists anymore; they are going to be heroes and that's just the way that the system goes. (personal communication, February 16, 2011)

Loadenthal's concern with directly engaging mainstream academics led him to articulate this strategy for promoting the ALF, rather than spending time trying to redefine terrorism. He explained, "I don't really see it worth my energy to feed into the terrorism debate. I say to those that label the ALF terrorists, 'ok I know where you're coming from, but this is where I'm coming from'" (personal communication, February 16, 2011), which is a place that argues that the ALF are not terrorists, but social justice activists that are committing crimes. I feel that this statement by Loadenthal is profound, really getting to the heart of the matter in destroying labels and stigmatization. He argued for respect for all. We can enter into a critical dialogue and conflict transformation within society that is not defensive, hostile, or judgmental, for the purpose of listening and understanding one another (Kriesberg, 2007). If we get to know people and respect them, Loadenthal along with the field of peace and conflict studies argues, it becomes more difficult to insult and stigmatize them and establish stereotypes (Fisher & Ury, 1991; Kriesberg, 2007; Lederach, 1997). Critically dialoguing using methodologies such as critical pedagogy, conflict transformation, and transformative justice we will be able to make the world a more inclusive and peaceful place (Freire 1997; hooks 1994; Kriesberg, 2007; Lederach, 1995; Morris, 2000). When we do not listen and respect, it is easier to point fingers, make unfair judgments, and misleading generalizations, actions which breed violence, repression, and marginalization (Kriesberg, 2007).

Rather than dialoguing, but engaging in academic scholarly discourse still, Ben-Moshe argued from a disability perspective that we need to reclaim the maybe and make a possible term that is positive, which in fact it was first understood as (personal communication, January 20, 2011). The word terror comes from Latin roots, meaning to frighten; it was seen as a great honor to be a terrorist; hence began as a positive term. During the French Revolution the Jacobins promoted a campaign titled the Reign of Terror that lasted from September 5, 1793 to July 28 1794, which was against their perceived enemies of the government. The enemies included not the aristocrats, but common people. In 1793, a law was put into place for those associated with enemies of the state, the “Law of Suspects.” Today worldwide, terrorism is viewed as evil and extreme causing violence to people and governments with negative connotations. This can be best demonstrated with President Bush’s campaign “Operation Enduring Freedom” the title of the war in Afghanistan sparked by the events on September 11, 2001. This was a specific campaign under the umbrella of the “Global War on Terror” (GWOT).

So if words such as terrorism, can become negative, Ben-Moshe argues, that words which were once negative can become positive (personal communication, January 20, 2011). She provided a few words that have been changed from derogatory terms of into empowerment identities such as, queer, mad, and crip. Explaining more about crip, she said,

I mean with crip, you know obviously it came from the word crippled and it was very derogatory and you definitely don’t want to use it if you are not within the crip community. But, within people who are crips who self-identified, talk about crip culture, they talk about cripness as a verb and as

an adjective. It's something that has been reclaimed to say, disability pride. I am cripp and proud of it! So, I think those are kind of reclaiming terms, which is important and really significant in creating change. (L. Ben-Moshe, personal communication, January 20, 2011)

Loadenthal, when asked by friends, academic colleagues, and the media about his political identity, is very proud of being an anarchist and tells them so. Commonly, when the media is covering mass alter-globalization protests such as the G20 in Toronto in June 2011 they claim anarchists are violent. One article on the G20 in the Toronto Sun is titled, "Anarchists leave trail of destruction." with a picture that has a number of activists around a police car burning (Toronto Sun Staff, June 26, 2010). In response to this stigma that anarchists are violent, Loadenthal believes that, "Anarchism is a public, community centered movement, that seeks to reduce the amount of coercion, violence, and hierarchy in human and nonhuman animal societies" (personal communication, February 16, 2011). Anarchists, which are different than activists have a large socio-political and economic theory with rules, values, structure, and a justice system. Anarchism is not chaos and violence, while stigmatized as such. Further, it is not against authority, but against authoritarianism and domination. Anarchists have been identified in the US as violent since the end of the 1800s notably with the Haymarket Riots on May 4, 1886 in which eight police officers and an unknown number of protesters died (Zinn, 1995). Cooney keeps it really straight-forward and simple; he said, having many years of activism, "I just try to know who I am trying to reach" (personal communication, January 22, 2011). When Cooney gives community presentations, they are based on the goal of building a winning campaign. His workshops (of which I have participated) feature topics such as campaign mapping, knowing your allies, developing a strategy, and affective tactics.

Lovitz's personal strategy is dedicated to a research and legal approach regarding the animal advocacy movement. As a lawyer, she thought the topic was important, so she began her quest by writing on it. After a while she realized that she could "gather enough information to support a book" (D. Lovitz, personal communication, January 22, 2011). Lovitz mentioned that she is now working on writing a position paper with Odette Wilkens, the Executive Director of Equal Justice Alliance, for Congressman Dennis J. Kucinich who is publicly opposed to the AETA. The joint goal of Lovitz, Wilkens, and Congressman Kucinich is to overturn the AETA, which essentially legalizes the terrorization of the whole animal advocacy movement.

Grubbs said that Will Potter's writing on his blog [www.greenisthenewred.org](http://www.greenisthenewred.org) about the political repression toward the environmental and animal advocacy movements in the US is important because it debunks the label of terrorism. She appreciates the work by those who re-shift the discourse from terrorism to nonhuman animal exploitation and stress how that exploitation, not the liberation of nonhuman animals from torture, is terrorism (personal communication, January 30, 2011). She stated that those acts by the ALF are nonviolent acts, and acts against terrorism and violence.

Colling and I co-authored *Love and Liberation: A Story on the Animal Liberation Front* (Colling & Nocella, forthcoming), a fiction love story of a couple that joins the ALF. The book's narrative counters terrorization of the animal advocacy movement. Colling stated "it is important to hear stories from former animal liberation front political prisoners and fictional narratives ... because they expand the story of the ALF" (personal communication, January 22, 2011). It is also important because she shows the ALF in a liberating and nonviolent social justice light and rather than as a stigmatized violent

terrorist group, which they are not. Stories are important because they offer another way to look at how tactics and strategies that can be successful or that have failed.

Colling went to Toronto, Canada to attend G20 in June 2011, the day after the mass arrests of many activists. She told me, “I went because I wanted to show the world that people won’t be scared away, and are in solidarity with those arrested. I also wanted to go for myself as a witness of political repression in Canada and prove to myself I was not scared” (S. Colling, personal communication, January 22, 2011). Colling goes on to say, “One reason people may leave, or not being as active as they want to be, in the animal liberation grass-roots segment of the animal advocacy movement is because they are fearful that law enforcement will arrest them. Political repression is a reality in every social movement” (personal communication, January 22, 2011). Repression does not need to be a blockade, but rather an obstacle, that can be creatively maneuvered around, if activists know how to respond affectively, which is the purpose of this dissertation.

Rosebraugh the author of *The Logic of Political Violence: Lessons in Reform and Revolution* (2004), told me during my dialogue with him, that the Sinn Féin', a political party in Ireland that rose to power from the legitimacy given to the Irish Republican Army (IRA), provided a platform to the world to explain the position of many citizens in Northern Ireland that wanted independence from Britain. Before that, there was very little respect given to those who defended Northern Ireland from being claimed by Great Britain (personal communication, January 31, 2011). The IRA, an underground revolutionary organization, many argue, forced the world to listen to the marginalized voices of Northern Ireland. To prove this argument, the 1981 Irish hunger Strike by the IRA political prisoners received international sympathy. Bobby Sands, one of the striking



political prisoners, was elected as a Member of Parliament before dying from starvation. Today there are memorial ceremonies and memorial statues around the world to remember them. Therefore, armed revolutionaries, including the IRA and Nelson Mandela former President of South African and former member of the African National Congress (ANC), have forced doors to be opened and laws to be changed in the name of their movements.

Salter explained that receiving respect of a group's legitimacy is similar to that of a professor, "if you do not have tenure in the academy you are generally not listened to or valued until you become a tenured professor" (personal communication, January 30, 2011). The academy is a highly repressive place (Nocella, Best, & McLaren, 2010) and a place rooted on titles that can work for and against staff, faculty, and students. The academy is a place that reinforces standardization, normalcy, and control and has, since its creation, not been welcoming to people with disabilities (Ben-Moshe & Colligan, 2010). Those with disabilities today are just beginning to make strong inroads with developing the field of disability studies, in which a handful of universities, including Syracuse University, have programs.

### **Inclusion of People with Disabilities**

With Chapter Three dedicated to political repression and disability studies examining stigmatizing through labeling as a tool of political repression, it is important to connect once again the social construction of ableism and speciesism. Ableism a term created by activists with disabilities, is the discrimination of people with disabilities through promoting normalcy carried out through structural barriers, personal actions, and theories (Davis, 2002). Speciesism is discrimination of nonhuman animal species by

arguing that humans are more important and superior to nonhuman animals (Dunayer, 2004). Both speciesism and ableism are social constructions are interwoven into a society promoting civilization, normalcy, and intellectualism grounded in modernity, which arose out of the Enlightenment period. Modernity is “a progressive force promising to liberate humankind from ignorance and irrationality” (Rosenau, 1992, 5). Therefore the intellectual movement’s goal was to create theory after theory to divide themselves from everything that is savage and what they would soon deem abnormal and deviant, i.e., nature, nonhuman animals, and disability. Snyder and Mitchell (2006) explain how the narrative of modernity was “key” to constructing disability as deviant and undesirable:

Modernity gives birth to the culture of technology that promises more data from less input. This unique historical terrain is characterized by Bauman as ‘the morally elevating story of humanity emerging from pre-social barbarity’ (2001b, 12). This progressive narrative is key to the development of disability as a concept of deviant variation. In a culture that endlessly assures itself that it is on the verge of conquering Nature once and for all, along with its own ‘primitive’ instincts and the persistent domain of the have-nots, disability is referenced with respect to these idealized visions. As a vector of human variability, disabled bodies both represent a throwback to human prehistory and serve as the barometer of a future without ‘deviancy.’

In other words, for modernity, the eradication of disability represented a scourge and a promise: its presence signaled a debauched present of cultural degeneration that was tending to regress toward a prior state of primitivism, while at the same time it seemed to promise that its absence would mark the completion of modernity as a cultural project. (p. 31)

To challenge this movement of domination over nature, nonhuman animals, and disability, I united the three groups together to create the field of study, eco-ability (Nocella, Ducan, & Bentley, forthcoming). Eco-ability is the theory that nature,

nonhuman animals, and disability promote collaboration not competition, interdependency not independence, and respect of difference and diversity not sameness and normalcy.

Ben-Moshe stated that the value of people with disabilities sometimes fall between humans and nonhumans, but also depending on their physical or mental disability less than nonhuman (personal communication, January 20, 2011). Many of us in the US have heard the demeaning sayings toward humans that are exploitive of nonhuman animals such as – “you are such a pig,” “what are you, an animal?,” “stop acting like a bitch,” “you are such a dog,” and “you are as fat as a whale.” Similar to these, there are those insulting sayings toward people that do not have disabilities, that marginalize and stigmatize those with disabilities such as “you are so retarded,” suggest a person is not being cool, “you are such a freak,” suggesting a person has uncommon sexual behaviors, “why are you acting so lame?,” suggesting that a person is boring, and “you are acting crazy” suggesting that a person is not in control of one’s actions (Snyder & Mitchell, 2006).

Within the animal advocacy movement and all movements and segments of society we can notice homophobic language, racist language, classist language, and sexist language. While those acts of oppression are important to address, this dissertation is addressing the stigmatization of nonhuman animals as property, activists as terrorists, and people with disability as abnormal or less than human.

An example that has caught on internationally within the animal advocacy movement that has connected ableism and speciesism together is “Vegan Freak,” first coined by Bob Torres and Jenna Torres, authors of *Vegan Freak: Being Vegan in a Non-*

*Vegan World* (2010). Torres and Torres, both dedicated animal advocates and vegans, developed the title and term ironically to spot-light the social deviance of veganism as marginalized and “abnormal” behavior. Torres and Torres write,

So, regardless of how ‘normal’ you are, in a world where consuming animal products is the norm, you’re always going to be seen as the freak if you obviously and clearly refuse to take part in an act of consumption that is central to our everyday lives, our cultures, and even our very own personal identities. (2010, p. 8)

Torres and Torres are social justice scholar-activists who, like most animal advocates who challenge the norm that veganism is an “oddity,” do not address the use of the term freak or other ableist language. In the book, a possible example that connects animal advocacy and disability is the reference of disorganization of trying to plan ahead when cooking and being vegan. Torres and Torres write, “If you’re like Bob, planning ahead is something for organized people without ADHD, so it may strike you as incredibly dull” (2010, p. 33). This sentence, which was not critically unraveled in the book, suggests that people like Bob Torres that have ADHD are disorganized and that being disorganized is not a dull life. Further, because this sentence is not examined, it is not clear if Bob has ADHD or is simply making an ableist “joke.”

Freak is a term historically associated with those with disabilities. As defined by Robert Bogdan in *Freak Show* (1988), freak can refer to either (1) a “non-Western world then in progress” (Bogdan, 1988, p. 6), which brought back uncommon and unfamiliar descriptions of people and cultural traditions of indigenous groups or (2) “the second major category of exhibit consisted of ‘monsters,’ the medical term for people born with a demonstrable difference,” (Bogdan, 1988, p. 6).i.e., “freak of nature” (Bogdan, 1988, p.

6). Bogdan provides a summary of the human condition toward people with physical disabilities (i.e., freaks) which he is critical of, but uses the term in order to examine the historical social construction of it. He writes,

Our reaction to freaks is not a function of some deep-seated fear or some 'energy' that they give off; it is, rather, the result of our socialization, and of the way our social institutions managed these people's identities. Freak shows are not about isolated individuals, either on platforms or in an audience. They are about organizations and patterned relationships between them and us. 'Freak' is not a quality that belongs to the person on display. It is something that we created: a perspective, a set of practices – a social construction. (Bogdan, 1988, p. x-xi)

Therefore, the cause of someone to be vegan from an ableist perspective can be justified for two reasons, (1) veganism is a behavior that people with disabilities adopt or (2) people become disabled when they adopt a vegan diet. Another important ableist term to critique common in the academic realm of the animal advocacy movement is, *moral schizophrenia*, introduced by Gary Francione, a law professor at Rutgers University, in his book *Introduction to Animal Rights: Your Child or the Dog?* (2000). Moral schizophrenia is the action of caring for nonhuman animals such as dogs and cats, but also exploiting them for food, product testing, clothes, and entertainment. In short, moral schizophrenia is hypocrisy, saying one thing, but doing the complete opposition of what one said. Francione used the term schizophrenia not in a medical manner, but to stigmatize those who are not for animal liberation. While most members of the animal advocacy movement agree with term and argument, there are a few that do not agree with the term, but do agree with the argument. After a number of critiques on the internet by

people who argued Francione's use of the term schizophrenia is ableist, Francione published on his blog a defense of the use of schizophrenia. He wrote,

Some people accuse me of confusing moral schizophrenia with multiple/split personality.

When I talk about moral schizophrenia, I am seeking to describe the delusional and confused way that we think about animals as a social/moral matter. That confusion can, of course, include conflicting or inconsistent ways of looking at animals (some are family members; others are dinner) but that does not mean that I am describing a classic split or multiple personality. Our moral schizophrenia, which involves our deluding ourselves about animal sentience and the similarities between humans and other animals, and an enormous amount of confusion about the moral status of nonhumans, is a phenomenon that is quite complicated and has many different aspects. (Francione, 2009)

Francione begins his argument in the blog with the first statement, stating that schizophrenia is a "personality," which people in the field of disability studies would agree with; but quickly he changes his description of schizophrenia to a "condition," as seen in the following section. He then apologized to those people who are offended for using the term in a stigmatizing manner, but continued to defend his rationale in the same blog post in stating:

Some people think that by using the term, I am stigmatizing those who have clinical schizophrenia because it implies that they are immoral people. I am sincerely sorry—and I mean that—if anyone has interpreted the term in that way and that is certainly not what I intended. Schizophrenia is a recognized condition that is characterized by confused and delusional thinking. (Francione, 2009)

Now instead of identifying schizophrenia as a personality, he identifies it as a "condition," which quickly snowballs into a condition that people "suffer" from and that it is not a "desirable" condition, as stated in the following passage from the same blog post:

To say that we are delusional and confused when it comes to moral issues is not to say that those who suffer from clinical schizophrenia are immoral. It is only to say that many of us think about important moral matters in a completely confused, delusional, and incoherent way. I am certainly not saying that those who suffer from clinical schizophrenia are immoral!

To say that moral schizophrenia stigmatizes clinical schizophrenics is like saying that to talk about “drug use spreading like cancer” stigmatizes cancer victims.

I hope this clarifies what I mean when I talk about our moral schizophrenia when it comes to animal ethics. I also hope that it is clear that I am not using that term in a way that does or is intended to convey that clinical schizophrenics are immoral. (Francione, 2009)

Francione goes on to provide some additional response to the criticisms he has received on the original blog posting. He notes that,

Some critics argue that it is sufficient to say that our moral views about nonhuman animals are contradictory or confused. No, it’s not sufficient. When it comes to nonhuman animals, our views are profoundly delusional and I am using that term literally as indicative of what might be called a social form of schizophrenia.

Some critics claim that it is sufficient to use “delusional.” But delusion is what characterizes the clinical form of schizophrenia and anyone who objected to the use of schizophrenia as ableist would have the same, and in my view groundless, objection to “delusional.” (Francione, 2009)

Some critics claim that schizophrenia is different from cancer because no one would think that having cancer is a good thing. I confess that this objection is puzzling. I am unfamiliar with anyone who argues as a general matter that cancer or clinical schizophrenia are desirable conditions to have. Yes, there are people who claim that their schizophrenia has led them to great insight; but the same is true of cancer victims. In any event, if “moral schizophrenia” is ableist, then so is the expression “drugs are a cancer on society” or “our polices in the Middle East are shortsighted” or “we are blind to the consequences of our actions” or “when it comes to poverty, our proposed solutions suffer from a poverty of ambition.” (Francione, 2009)

Francione in the above quote make an important critique of the public stigmatization of animal advocates as “profoundly delusional.” While Francione understands the ableism when using the term delusional, in his conclusion of this blog post, he strives to defend his use of the term schizophrenia to stigmatize those that eat meat and exploit nonhuman animals, by arguing that using terms such as “cancer,” “shortsighted,” and “blind” to describe a negative topic, event, or action is not ableist. On the contrary, they are ableist; whenever someone is describing someone in a negative or humorous manner by using labels that have been historically or currently meant to describe people with physical or mental disabilities it is ableist (see Chapter Three). Francione strove to make the parallel between cancer and schizophrenia, where one is a disease, while the other is a personal characteristic that makes up who that person is. In this ableist society, both of them are disabilities. Therefore, this term demeans those who have schizophrenia and reinforces that people should not be schizophrenic and that there is something wrong with it, rather than simple a characteristic that makes someone different. Francione is not the only person who is ableist in the animal advocacy movement, there are many that use phrases such as, “we must cripple capitalism,” “society is blind to the exploitation of animals,” “vivisectors are idiots” and of course many even at the latest Conference for Critical Animal Studies at Brock University in St. Catherine, Canada, used the term Francione coined, “moral schizophrenia,” which I addressed publicly. People who used the term at the Conference took accountability and recognized their ableism.

Disability, a problematic term, addressed in Chapter Three, values difference and argues that all are different and should be respected as such. Disability studies promote inclusion and accessibility for all including nonhuman animals, for example making all



doors motion sensitive so they open by all, from those in a wheel chair to a bird. I dialogued with Jenkins for this dissertation a few weeks after the shooting in Arizona on January 8, 2011. She mentioned that the shooter, twenty-two year old Jared Lee Loughner, was from the media, without any investigation, identified as a possible person with a mental disability (S. Jenkins, personal communication, January 18, 2011). She went on to say that this was a common practice by media, society, and the government to justify that these types of violent actions are not terrorism and therefore have no validity, rationality, or reason for them (S. Jenkins, personal communication, January 18, 2011).

It is also a common practice throughout society to label constructed social, political, interpersonal or communal enemies with disabilities (Davis, 1997; Davis, 2002; Corrigan, 2006; Nocella, 2008; Snyder & Mitchell, 2006). A quick Google search can prove this, as people call each other retarded, idiot, crazy, insane, mentally ill, freaks, mentally disturbed, mentally unstable, lame, crippled, and so much more for the goal of the four Ds of Dissent is to construct the individual into a deviant, delinquent, demon, or disabled. Jenkins said that there is a long history between the relationships of the medical, criminal justice, legal and psychiatric fields supporting each other's work (personal communication, January 18, 2011). She further said that the largest minority group in the world are those with disabilities (S. Jenkins, personal communication, January 18, 2011). They stratify all classes, nations, ages, genders, and races, are not violent, but for the most part are nonviolent people, yet they are portrayed as violent dangers to society.

Loadenthal gave another example of the shooter James Jay Lee, who wrote a manifesto about Discovery Channel promoting environmental destruction and deemed by CBS as an "environmental militant" (Efron & Goldman, 2010) (personal

communication, February 16, 2011). CBS's article on the event, "Environmental Militant Killed by Police at Discovery Channel Headquarters" has witnesses describe the activities in the event using ableist language such as "INSANE!," "crazy," and "nuts."

Loadenthal stated:

Whether Lee's critiques are valid or not, whether or not the Discovery Channel is contributing to global over population or not was made kind of irrelevant. Immediately upon his attack, where he walked into the Discovery Channel building in Silver Spring, Maryland with two non-lethal starter pistols, held four hostages and was eventually killed by police, HIS POLITICAL ARGUMENT WAS MADE IRRELEVANT. How someone can be so angry about issues of over population, and whether issues of over population are a threat, and whether or not the Discovery Channel are to be blamed, were not examined. The analysis immediately was why is this man 'crazy' and 'insane' why has this man gone this far, what lead this man to this 'extreme' end.  
(personal communication, February 16, 2011)

Grubbs mentioned the horrible shooting at Virginia Tech as another example of an individual who was stigmatized as having a mental disability, but with little attention on his video manifesto (personal communication, January 30, 2011). It seems that too often these shooters in the U.S. are dismissed by identifying them as a person with mental illness and not as a terrorist. This only reinforces the stigma that people with mental disabilities are violent and a physical threat to society, not to mention the social threat of being "abnormal."

Salter brought up the important point that many homeless people are people with disabilities who are regularly arrested and jailed (personal communication, January 30, 2011). Swan (2002) writes, "In the earlier scheme, disability described the degree to which one was restricted in performing an activity; handicap described the degree to

which one could no longer fulfill a social or economic role” (p. 293). The term handicap reinforces that idea that people who have disabilities are poor and furthermore are dependent on others and are beggars. Ben-Moshe’s doctoral dissertation and much of her scholarship and activism is around the connection between the prison industrial complex and imprisoning people with disabilities. I asked her to tell me about the incarceration of people with disabilities and she said, “Besides being labeled for life you could be in a psych ward for life. You know until the doctor pretty much says that you can go. So there is no end date for your imprisonment, unlike a criminal” (L. Ben-Moshe, personal communication, January 20, 2011). Jenkins suggested that people with disabilities are “labeled as being inferior, not happy, and being associated with certain kinds of pain, that is always assumed to be a negative” (personal communication, February 16, 2011). Stigmatization is a powerful tool to imprison, silence, murder, test on, and, of course, repress (Corrigan, 2006).

## **Conclusion**

This chapter was dedicated to listening through a process of critical pedagogy to selected scholar-activists who have dedicated their lives to critically examining how to respond to terrorization. This chapter provides insight to number of tactics in responding successfully to terrorization, they include:

1. Be intersectional. The value of this tactic is to provide space and place for individuals of different identities to express, relate, and critically examine their experiences of oppression in hopes of eliminating it.
2. Dismantle systems of domination and authoritarianism such as capitalism and relate all oppressions together to achieve this goal for a multi-movement approach

for social justice. Too often activists spend a great deal examining and critiquing one another, but not examining and understanding larger macro issues, this will decrease internal movement conflicts and unify movements for social justice.

3. Support projects, groups, and community initiatives that promote collaboration, interdependency, and mutual aid. The goal of this tactic is for community and group building.
4. Support and be knowledgeable of scholarship such as books, articles, and forums for social justice movements. The goal of this is to educate oneself and the public about these causes in hopes of social change.
5. Relate terrorization to stigmatization and labeling. The purpose of this tactic is to stress the universal experience throughout history with other marginalized groups that fought for rights and freedom.
6. Redefine terrorism and violence and give examples. This tactic can be viewed as defensive and offensive: defensive because it argues against the group/movement as being violent and terrorists, and offensive because redefining both terms will put attention back on the target of the group/movement.
7. Argue from a legal and philosophical perspective that nonhuman animals are not property. This tactic challenges the exploitation of nonhuman animals and the identification of them as resources.
8. Understand how history of the disability rights movement is related to challenging labeling and stigmatization. This tactic is valuable because it is important to examine an international group of people that were constructed from a label, “disabled,” to stigmatize those identified as abnormal and a threat to normalcy.

9. Acknowledge that a diversity of tactics is important to adopt for social change.

Too often social movement groups, society, and the government argue against certain tactics because of their illegality and nontraditional methods.

These suggestions are not the only methods to responding to terrorization, but they are proven successful tactics, by veteran activists. There are six measurements of determining success of a given response to repression by a movement, person, or group, which are rooted in the 5Cs of Responding to Repression, they include:

1. Reducing the amount of public fear of the particular movement and/or group.
2. The increase of members of the particular movement and/or group.
3. The winning of a campaign by the particular movement and/or group.
4. The decrease of arrests, investigations, and surveillance of particular movement and/or group.
5. The particular movement and/or group is rewarded by the public, private and nonprofit sectors.
6. Laws, rules, and structures are put in place to support the goals of the particular movement and/or group.

When reading this dissertation and chapter, it is likely that you will find other possible methods in responding to terrorization. My goal was to begin the dialogue on a much-needed topic; it was not to conclude the dialogue. Finally, it is important to note that these tactics and strategies will not always be successful immediately and even might be counterproductive and work against one's goals depending upon numerous variables. Tactics and strategies have always been and will always be dependent on socio-political

and economic climate, individual and group dynamics, skills, and multitude of other factors.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Conclusion: Eco-Ability and Transformative Justice

#### Introduction

As I conclude this research project, the final chapter is dedicated to hope, respect, collaboration, and inclusion. This chapter has four sections, which bring together the main fields of study and topics within this dissertation. The first section in this chapter is dedicated to discussing the overall structure of this dissertation. The second section of this chapter introduces eco-ability, a philosophy that ties together the three main oppressed identities discussed in this dissertation (disability, nonhuman animals, and ecology). Eco-ability also promotes respect of diversity and interdependency, and challenges normalcy and domination. The third section introduces an alternative to the current US criminal justice system that does not include repression, stigmatization, or punishment; rather it includes transformative justice, a holistic approach addressing interpersonal and socio-political economic conflicts that are not punitive, adversary, or retributive. Transformative justice addresses social inequities, injustices, and oppression, while seeing the importance of accountability, transparency, forgiveness, responsibility, and commitment. Finally, the last section of this chapter is dedicated to the conclusion not only of this chapter, but to the whole dissertation.

#### Summary of Dissertation

This intersectional and interdisciplinary dissertation took a great deal of shaping, reshaping, and focusing. My doctoral work started more than seven years ago, and my research during this period stayed dedicated to three topics featured prominently in this

dissertation: (1) the Animal Liberation Front; (2) political repression; and (3) the philosophical concept of property. Mid-way throughout my dissertation proposal, I was determined to study five different tactics of political repression: (1) assassinations; (2) framing; (3) severe prison sentences; (4) grand jury; and (5) raids, but found out quickly I could not study all of these tactics, and had to narrow my focus to one topic, the stigmatization of dissent as terrorists and people with disabilities.

With a growing research interest in disability studies I struggled to figure how disability studies related to animal rights activism. With time, I realized stigmatization post-September 11, 2001 was the political repression strategy I was concerned about most, which was a form of political repression that easily connected disability studies and critical animal studies. I did not only document political repression, which one could argue causes more social fear, but provide the reader tactics and strategies to respond to it. Finally, I was “educated” by many professors throughout my many years in academy that poetry and personal narratives do not have a place in dissertations and true academic scholarship; thankfully enough, however, I had a great critical advisory committee who understood the value of poetry and personal narrative and who argued that they were legitimate methodological and theoretical approaches.

There are a number of topics being examined in this project, such as critical animal studies, critical pedagogy, disability studies, critical criminology, political repression, stigmatization, peace and conflict studies, social movement organizing, environmental studies, anarchist studies, green criminology, feminism, qualitative methodology, and transformative justice. This dissertation grounded in three general fields of study - education, criminology, and peace and conflict studies - is an



interdisciplinary project that interweaves at least two critical fields of study together in each chapter.

Chapter One is an introduction to global ecological conditions and post-September 11, 2001 US political repressive conditions toward environmental and animal advocates. Chapter Two introduces the three methodologies that have employed for this dissertation. Chapter Three is dedicated to examining stigmatization as a form of repression through the fields of autoethnography, disability studies, and critical criminology. In Chapter Four, I introduce the case study of this dissertation: critical animal studies, a field that I co-founded and was/is influenced by green criminology and anarchist studies. Chapter Five, the methodological section of my dissertation, employs two methodologies for this dissertation, critical pedagogy and case study, where I engage in dialogue rather than interviews with activist-scholars to examine the stigmatization of activists as terrorists. Finally, in this Chapter Six, I introduce a new concept that interweaves while fostering disability studies, critical animal studies, and ecology. Chapter Six also introduces a holistic inclusive process for social change, transformative justice, which brings all together in a respectful dialogue where there are no enemies, but addressing issues of injustices, inequities, and systems of domination.

### **Eco-Ability**

Being “the voice for the voiceless” is a saying that has been used repeatedly by animal rights activists, disability rights activists, and environmentalists. This common slogan on websites, names of organizations, and messages on posters and banners at protests, takes agency from the oppressed, by silencing their voice and marginalizing them more. Nonhuman animals, the ecological world, and people with disabilities do in

fact have voices, for example the barking of a dog, the crashing of the waves, and sign language can be argued as all types of voices. For the oppressed, having a different language and different voice makes the task of being an ally more difficult and sometimes influences the ally to make decisions for the oppressed, without knowing if that is what the oppressed would want. These oppressed groups, nonhuman animals, people with disabilities and the ecological world, sharing much in common, have arguably been marginalized more than any other segment of in the world.

In today's colonialized, capitalist-driven civilized world, the worst thing is to be considered "animalistic," "wild," or a "freak" (Snyder and Mitchell 2006). If you are not recognized as human by "normal society," you are either an animal or disabled, as was the case for women and people of color less than fifty years ago, which have also been identified by law as property. When people of color and women asserted that they were human, white patriarchal science, using the theory of eugenics, retorted that they had smaller brains, were mentally disabled, and were less than human. The only theory to repeatedly argue by environmental ethicists that everyone and everything are interdependent and diverse, and that there exists no norm or normal, is the philosophy of the ecosystem; the ecological world or biosphere is itself an argument for the respect of differing abilities and uniqueness. The philosophy of the ecosystem also argues against humans being more important, dominant, or valuable to the world than any other species; humans are just one of many members of the "animal kingdom."

The intersectional theory of interweaving disability studies, critical animal studies, and ecology together is what I have coined eco-ability (Nocella, Bentley, and Duncan, forthcoming). I define eco-ability as respecting difference and understanding

that equal, same, and normal are all socially constructed measurements that fail to respect the uniqueness of individual abilities and differences, which, as the ecological and ability community realizes, are interdependent. Nature, nonhuman animals, and people with disabilities have experienced institutionalization, torture, and murder not because they have committed a crime, but just for being born different than the norm. Different, as labeled through institutions, becomes the 4Ds of Dissent – demonized, deviant, delinquent, and disabled (Nocella, forthcoming). If you are not labeled normal, you are therefore identified as deviating.

Even to this day, some counselors, doctors, and religious leaders will state that if an individual has committed a horrible unthinkable act or a highly controversial act to challenge socio-economic or political conditions, s/he is determined to be evil and demonized in the news and official reports. If you are deviating, researchers can determine that you are a delinquent. If after many tests are conducted and doctors have determined you are not “rational,” doctors will diagnose you as being disabled.

The marginalization of those who are different was first fostered and reinforced by the concept of civilization with its divide between nature and human. Those considered wild, savage, primitive, or illiterate are situated on one side, with those considered civilized or normal on the other. This corresponded to the mode of foreign relations which Kees van der Pijl called “empire/nomad relations” (2007, p. 24). In time, civilization took the further step of establishing state borders in what we know today as Europe, amidst the project of global conquest which we today call colonization. Beyond establishing an elitist anti-natural culture at home (i.e., civilization), with colonization, the goal was to conquer and destroy or assimilate every non-colonial, non-European

influenced culture. Where there were other religions, a Christian church was built on top of them.

With colonialism spreading across the world, an economic system that held the same values - capitalism - was created, placing a value on everything and everyone; whites were more valuable than people of color, birds, trees, water, and even land. All of nature was viewed as a natural resource, and typically marked as property -- something that was owned by someone -- to be used any which way by its owners. The concept of property, critiqued by anarchists, created the haves and the have-nots; thus class society developed in the form of owning and working classes. With the establishment of natural resources and ownership of goods, the producer and consumer relationship was forged. This symbiotic relationship was the foundation of the industrial world, and the system was buttressed by institutions ostensibly developed to care for others, keep the public safety and order, and develop “scientific” treatments to benefit the common good. Institutions such as colleges, prisons, and religion centers worked closely with the political and educational system to justify their violent acts such as experimentation, dissection, and vivisection toward people with disabilities, nonhuman animals, plants, water, and other elements.

Like eco-feminism (Gaard, 1993), and critical scholarship of eco-racism (Bullard, 1999; Pellow 2004) and eco-colonialism (Best and Nocella, 2006; Shiva, 2002), which focus social manifestations of oppression and domination such as patriarchy, racism, and colonialization, eco-ability interrogates normalcy, ableism, and civilization. Eco-ability advocates for nature as diverse and interdependent; not equal, but different. Just like the human who cannot climb Mount Everest or the bird who cannot swim, one is always

going to be “disabled” because of limitations in approaching one’s physical landscape. Life is not about the “survival of the fittest” or living life like one is the only resident of an island, or in a social Darwinist notion of competition, where there is a winner and a loser. We can promote a bio-community that promotes a win-win situation, and end the win-lose relationship with other species, in which humans for the last hundred years whipped out thousands of species from existence. The global ecosystem will only be healthy, sustainable, and balanced, if all understand, (1) the value each element and species *provides* to the global community, (2) respect all’s *differences*, and (3) recognizes how each element and species is *interdependent* on one another to be live fully.

Of greater importance is that the survival of humans and nonhuman animals and biosphere is intertwined. When a natural disaster or massive oil spill by a corporation, such as BP in the Gulf Coast of the US, wipes one species off this planet, that extinction and event affects us all. Therefore, the theory of ability employs the concept of the web of life, which stresses that all are different, unique, with differing abilities (e.g., flying, walking, swimming, slithering, and jumping), inter-relationships, and interdependent, and therefore must be respected.

Respect is to understand and value the need of another being or element because it liberates, frees, and completes one’s self. Respect is greatly different than tolerance or acceptance, both of which are from places of domination. The action of respect is mutual for all parties involved and not simply for the “other” that is being referred to. Further, we must respect all for their value toward the larger bio-community and strive for a global inclusion of all. A global inclusion is a critical theory that is more of a process and a perspective than a state of being, which is always challenging one’s notion of

community and the barriers, borders, and boundaries we construct. These barriers, borders, and boundaries foster a devaluing and exclusionary relationship to others; for example, there are many urban parks, buildings, apartments, schools, and public transportation vehicles that do not allow dogs and other nonhuman animals.

While disability studies is a powerful emerging field of study, which is receiving attention throughout the academy and beyond, it has not made a formal connection with environmental studies. One of the few attempts made to discuss the complex connections between the two disciplines was during a panel I co-organized with Dr. Judy Bentley at the Central New York Peace Studies Consortium's Peace Studies Conference in 2007 at SUNY Cortland. In "Disability Studies and Social Construction of Environments," by Robin M. Smith and Jack P. Manno (2007) (one of the papers presented on the panel), Smith and Manno stressed how disability as well as the environment are both social constructions developed through relationships, stating that, "These relationships are institutional, cultural, and interpersonal social structures" (Smith and Manno, 2007, p. 2). They continued, "The social construct of the 'environment' is defined through a web of socio-economic relationships that privileges commodities over relationships, where a tree is regarded far more as timber and paper pulp than as oxygen producer, shelter for beings, builder of soil or the many other roles it plays in a complex set of ecosystem relationships (Manno, 2000)" (Smith and Manno, 2007, p. 3).

Rather than being recognized as members of a large and complex eco-community, domesticated animals such as cows, monkeys, and horses are viewed by human society as mere resources to be exploited for profit. This is promoted in the ideological interests of capital, according to which people are either producers or consumers. Capitalists and

Marxists view people with disabilities as limited consumers, never able to be useful enough to be part of the means of production. On the contrary, people with disabilities are huge consumers of medicine, technology, and therapy.

Eco-ability argues for the respect of difference and diversity. Diversity and difference challenge social constructions of normal and equal. Eco-ability also challenges labels and categorization which divide and separate rather than unify and collaborate. Eco-ability stresses imperfection and the value of “flaws.” Perfection suggests an ideal of not having a flaw or an imaginary ideal, whereas everyone can be defined through the eco-ability lens as unique and different. Perfection is what normalized society has dreamed up and believes can be reached: purity. Perfection and purity are two notions that Nazism and the Eugenics movement thrived for, failing to recognize that the human capacity for difference in thinking and behaving formed the essential ingredient for human and global survival. It must be noted that the first to be tortured and killed by the Nazis were those with disabilities, as they were the “abnormal” and “less than” (Davis 2002). People with disabilities are the true reality of what nature was based on: difference and uniqueness.

Every living creature has different abilities: some can climb trees or burrow into the ground, some have exceptional hearing, vision or sensing of movement, and others can swim, slither or fly. To remove our difference removes the value of diversity. By erecting a standard of normalcy, society devalues diversity. While technology can be a wonderful tool to aid people, some technology destroys at the expense of difference, such as by making a paved path through a forest to accommodate everyone instead of making a wheelchair that is meant for off-roading or admitting that some people simply cannot go

down that path. Not everyone with his/her own abilities can climb Mount Everest, but that does not mean we need to make a road to the top. While some environmentalists believe that society should destroy urban areas, and that technology is the cause of ecological destruction, others argue that “going back” to a primitive lifestyle would cause a mass amount of waste and wear on the ecological system.

Inclusion means access and assistance, which might be allowing others with technological assistance like wheelchairs, glasses, special computer software to allow one to be included. It is important to make the difference between technological tools that allow one to be included and technology that is destructive to the bio-community. This initiative is subjective and can cause a destructive rippling effect, but I would argue that tools can be a very beneficial part of the bio-community today, for example instead of flying to conferences in Europe or across the US, I have used Skype on the internet to provide my presentations, which eliminated altogether my carbon footprint had I traveled.

With everything, we must measure the beneficial and harmful impacts that a type of technology produces. The most difficult part of figuring out this ethical equation is acknowledging that inclusion is terminated by the dominator. The dominator is a socio-political, economic, and ecological gate keeper, determining who is included and excluded. This decision comes with great ignorance; for example, humans only until recently would include people of color, people with disabilities, women, children, and nonhuman animals. Social justice activists and the oppressed fight to take down barriers, borders, and boundaries, which exclude those who are dominated, while dominators support and construct those divisive tools to oppress. To deconstruct these exclusionary



structures, institutions, systems, and tools, we must critically examine, resist, dismantle, and transform the global community.

We must move forward rather than backwards, utilizing renewable eco-technology and non-polluting resources. Unfortunately, corporations and governments have promoted destructive technologies through “greenwashing,” (Tokar, 1997) while their domination is globalized through industrialization, institutionalization, civilization, and capitalism. Eco-ability is against GMOs and other science, technologies, and theories that control and manipulate life, a stance that they share with green anarchists. Eco-ability favors respect and inclusive change rather than conservationism, which frames the ecosystem as resources and property. Eco-ability is rooted in anarchist principles, which oppose competition, domination, and authoritarianism. The development of sustainable technology and resources must be implemented from a non-hierarchical community in which everyone recognizes the interests of all – human and nonhuman – as priority over personal profit.

Some technology has the potential if used to advance peace and to give people opportunities to reduce fossil-fuel use and clear-cutting. Technology can also aid a person to read a book, walk across the street, roll to class, and see the birds in the air. These advances toward human simplicity – a decrease in consumption and materialism – and global sustainability cannot be advanced through acts of domination such as testing on fellow humans, species, or ecological communities. Eco-ability argues for social transformation away from acts of domination, towards compassion; there is no need to imprison fellow humans to teach a lesson, drop bombs on other countries for freedom, or put chemicals in the eyes of animals to protect humans from illness. Vivisection, testing,

experimentation, and dissection dominate, divide and create a false construction of social and ecological individualism, emphasizing our nonhuman, non-animal, and non-natural identities. Assisting disability through technology allows us to be self-reliant, and reinforces that disability is a valued quality which should be respected and praised. This assistance stresses the ecological importance of interdependency that the life system is based on, but from which, throughout human history, we have been moving away as fast as we can.

In summary, in order to challenge any system or institution of domination, all life must work together in a respectful and harmonious relationship with the hope of global transformation toward a peaceful planet, void of violence toward all elements and life on and off this planet. For the day may come as with those envisioned by Hollywood when Earthlings will create a socially constructed dominating divide between ourselves and those from another planet,<sup>10</sup> defining them as abnormal, freaks, or a danger, which must be tested on, imprisoned, and destroyed. Let it be that the day when we meet other non-Earth life forms, we come together in a peaceful welcoming manner, rather than a scene from the film “The Day the Earth Stood Still” (Derrickson, 2008), where guns were pointed at the aliens that came to the Earth to protect it from humans. In the film, Klaatu (played by Keanu Reeves) expressed what disability advocates and environmentalists have been saying all along, “The universe grows smaller every day, and the threat of aggression by any group, anywhere, can no longer be tolerated. There must be security for all, or no one is secure.”

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<sup>10</sup> As Dr. Stephen Hawking suggests in a new documentary, extraterrestrials are almost certain to exist, see <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/science/space/article7107207.ece> retrieved July 13, 2011.

Through the colonial mentality, humans have striven to deny themselves as being part of nature and as animals. But those who promote civilization as such deny their interdependence with fellow members of the ecological world. The colonial mindset is a mindset of striving and conquering, but little do its adherents know, they are only dominating and conquering themselves. Once the oppression caused by economic, social, and political factors is overcome, the values of intra/inter-dependent life, global inclusion, respect of difference and bio-diversity, and the transformation from domination, marginalization, manipulation, and control, can be used to bring about a world of peace, love, and respect for others' beliefs, abilities, and identities. We must acknowledge and transform our relationships with fellow Earthlings and elements into a respectful and peaceful community or else we will find ourselves traveling down the road of destruction.

### **Transformative Justice**

This dissertation addresses the need for a new criminal justice system within the US -- a criminal justice system that does not view nonviolent activists as a threat or uses repressive, punitive, and adversarial tactics and strategies to discipline and control the public. Within the field of critical criminology, which argues against the current dominant US criminal justice system, there are many subfields, one of which is peacemaking criminology, rooted in a faith-based and holistic approach to addressing crime and justice (Magnani & Wray, 2006). Peacemaking criminology "regards crime as the product of a social structure that puts some groups at a disadvantage, sets people against one another, and generates a desire for revenge." (Conklin, 2007, p. 5.3.2.1). Peacemaking criminology has a long history grounded in social movements and

influenced by such individuals as Martin L. King Jr., Fred Hampton, Mahatma Gandhi, Dorothy Day, Leo Tolstoy, Malcolm X, and many other peace activists throughout history from environmentalists to anti-war activists. Even with this long history, it has not been adopted or even accepted by the larger field of criminology or criminal justice. “The problem with the peacemaking perspective’s lack of acceptance by criminal justice practitioners and the general public is the boundaries of peacemaking have not been staked out, and its many facets have not been clearly articulated and fastened by criminologists” (Fuller, 1998, p. 54). Furthermore, it has not been accepted because it challenges the dominant ideology within the field and society such as capitalism, retributive justice, normalcy, and standardization.

Peacemaking criminology challenges critical criminology for not relating to the field of peace and conflict studies, which stresses the relationship values such as collaboration, respect, forgiveness, accountability, and responsibility. Morris, Lederach, Zehr, Claassen, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) are unique in that those involved with the peace churches provide both social services and activism, which, while protesting systems and institutions, they work within to reform at the same time. Quakers who also take a position not to protest people, while support the protesting of systems, and institutions. This mode of action (predominantly by Mennonites and Quakers within the realm of peacemaking) of working as a social service group and an activist group confuses many within in the criminal justice system and activist community. Mennonites and Quakers often work with judges, lawyers, probation, politicians, law enforcement, and bureaucrats to create reform, while protesting the institutions that they are working in so as to create reform.

Because many times the criminal justice system and activists are not sure where AFSC (1971) and MCC locate themselves on a particular policy, these peacemakers are forced to work among themselves as praxis-oriented people writing theory and conducting practice.

In the late 1970s, peacemaking criminology, an alternative to the US retributive criminal system, emerged from peace churches—Mennonites, Quakers, and Brethren. Peacemaking Criminology, co-founded by Hal Pepinsky, is rooted in the area of radical criminology. Pepinsky is the author of *Peacemaking: Reflections of a Radical Criminologist* (2006). The most well-known theory within the field of peacemaking criminology is Restorative Justice (RJ), founded by Howard Zehr (1995), a Mennonite who teaches at Eastern Mennonite University and worked for many years prior with the MCC around the world as a mediator, peace educator, and community organizer. Zehr developed RJ out of aboriginal and Native American practices in North America and New Zealand, which has community circles and brings victims and offenders together to heal, forgive, and take accountability. Ron Claassen, author of *Restorative Justice - Fundamental Principles* (1995), stresses the following points:

- RJ is grounded on the belief that punishment hurts relationships, the victim(s) and the offender(s).
- RJ views crime as wrong and after it occurs, there exist dangers and opportunities.
- RJ believes that crime should be addressed as soon as possible to make things right again.
- RJ includes the victim and their friends, family, etc. into the process of justice.
- RJ believes that, after everyone is safe, the event should be made a teachable moment and to have the offender learn new ways of acting in the community.
- RJ promotes volunteer involvement in the justice process and not coercive measures.
- RJ promotes a collaborative and cooperative process.

- RJ recognizes that not all offenders are willing to cooperate; therefore, there is a need for outside authority to decide for the offender in a coercive manner.
- RJ considers that, while prison should not be used as a result of the process, prison might need to be used in situations where the offender is a risk to him/herself and/or others until the time comes where s/he is willing to voluntarily meet with the victim(s).
- RJ stresses following up with those involved in the crime in order to know if all parties are holding to their agreements.
- RJ stresses the role of religious institutions in aiding in justice among people and to promote moral and ethical values within communities. (Claassen 1996a)

Claassen explains in an article the difference between restorative justice and retributive justice:

I think that our whole system could be based on the purpose of restoration of victim, community, offender, families, friends, restorative justice officials and any other individuals or relationships that might have been damaged by the crime. In a restorative system, the primary focus would be on the human violations and need for healing and restoration of individuals and relationships. Focusing on the violation of law would be a backup for those unwilling to be cooperative ... A Restorative Justice System would use cooperation as much as possible and coercion as little as possible. A goal of the use of coercion would always be to encourage the offender to decide voluntarily to become cooperative. (Claassen, 1996b)

Therefore, restorative justice praises nonviolence, cooperation, and only uses coercion in rare situations to encourage the offender to participate in resolving the conflict.

Restorative justice was meant to be a peacemaking, cooperative, and voluntary alternative criminal justice system void of punishment.

In the late 1990s, Ruth Morris, a Quaker in Canada, challenged restorative justice because it did not address issues of oppression, injustices, and social inequities within

conflicts. She argued that it challenged the retributive justice system and brought people together, but it did not recognize socio-political and economic issues, but rather focused specifically on the conflict. Morris established transformative justice, which emerged also out of the work of John Paul Lederach, a Mennonite and founder of conflict transformation.

Conflict transformation and transformative justices have their roots in *transforming power* coined by the internationally-respected, Alternative to Violence Project (AVP), a Quaker based organization, established in Green Haven Prison, New York and now in hundreds of prisons in the US, more than twenty different countries, and four different continents (AVP/USA, 2005). AVP is dedicated to providing a specialized nonviolence group-building, community building, and conflict transformation workshop oriented for violent communities, regularly in adult male and female prisons. Transforming power is the core philosophy of AVP. Transforming power:

Is the force in the universe[sic ,] which can burn away the crud. And it always begins within. I cannot burn away crud that hides your jewel. What I can do is allow Transforming Power to do its work within me, to burn away the layers of fear and prejudice and pain which hide my shining core, and then let my light shine forth as an invitation for you to do the same.

When I can free my soul of the layers of crud which over it (which I must continually do, day after day – for the business of living in this world, has a tendency to lay down new layers by the hour), and I let the light shine forth, that light stretches out to those around me and reaches for its mirror in their soul: reaches – and with that reaching the jewel in the soul of the other person answers, through all the crud, and reaches back.

Being connected is the true state of being human. Transforming power is that force in the universe which shows us how to do that. (AVP/USA, 2005, p. c-5)

Further, transforming power is about changing a negative or violent situation into a positive and peaceful one. It is about looking for the good within a conflict and searching for peace within oneself and others. “Every person has an inner wisdom that knows what’s right and wants to do what’s right, and it can be called forth, as Martin Luther King, Jr. once said, “There are laws of harmony at work in the world” (AVP/USA, 2005, p. c-6). AVP has created “four basic principles” (AVP/USA, 2005, p. c-6):

1. Everyone has an inward goodness. Realize that people’s actions and words are sometimes mistaken, wrong or violent. People themselves are good. In your understanding, separate the person from the behavior. There is goodness within. Look for it. Find it. Judaism, Christianity, Islam and other religions all teach this.
2. We can start out realizing a violent reaction is only one way of responding in a conflict. Somewhere in every conflict situation there is the possibility for a nonviolent solution. ...
3. To change situations in positive ways, start with ourselves, our attitudes, beliefs, manners of speaking, tone of voice and behavior. ...
4. Non-violent conflict resolution is a skill. ... There can be a win/win outcome – no one is the loser. (AVP/USA, 2005, p. c-6)



Figure 5.1 - Transforming Power Mandala (AVP/USA, 2005, p. c-6).



After being an AVP facilitator for seven years at Auburn prison in New York, I decided after many critical conversations with men at Auburn prison, that I should work with youth in secure detention facilities. With the support of AVP, Syracuse Quaker Meeting, and the men at Auburn prison, I began to do AVP workshops at Hillbrook Youth Detention Facility in 2007. In 2009, at Hillbrook Youth Detention Facility, I, with a few other adults and a group of kids in Hillbrook, created an organization named by the kids, “Save the Kids.” Save the Kids, an organization dedicated to fostering a national movement to keep kids away from violence and out of incarceration, is grounded in transformative justice. Save the Kids works with kids who are targeted by the juvenile

justice system and who are incarcerated. Save the Kids works with all kids who are targeted and oppressed including, but not limited to, kids who are LGBTQ, of color, with disabilities, immigrants, and poor. Save the Kids performs its goal by providing education and mentoring programs that address oppression, domination, social justice, healing, accountability, forgiveness, and peacebuilding. Save the Kids' *Ten Point*

*Principles* are:

1. We believe that all youth need support, love, and skills in order to achieve their goals.
2. We believe that all youth are amazing and wonderful no matter their actions they have committed.
3. We make a clear distinction between actions and kids; actions can be bad, but not kids.
4. We are committed to helping youth because they are our future and if we do not help them, we will not have one.
5. We believe in respecting all no matter what their gender, ability, race, economic status, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, health, age, or nationality.
6. We hope one day all youth will be placed in community-based programs rather than incarcerated or institutionalized.
7. As a transformative justice based organization we strive to promote alternatives to incarceration and methods of transformation of incarceration.
8. We believe in peace and nonviolence in resolving and transforming all conflicts.
9. We believe in not labeling, but rather being inclusive in all of our activities.
10. We promote that everyone in the community should work together in making a peaceful world and not to exclude anyone. STK will work with everyone and anyone in-order to achieve that goal. (Save the Kids n/a)

Only two years old, Save the Kids is now one of the leading international organizations that promotes transformative justice as its foundational philosophy. Common principles by organizations such as Save the Kids, American Friends Service Committee, and generation Five (see Appendix 2.) of transformative justice (TJ) are:

- TJ stresses that notion that the current criminal justice system in the U.S. separates the victim and the offender, which re-victimizes the victim and changes the offender into a victim of the state.
- TJ is based on prison abolition.
- TJ brings issues of identity back into the realm of justice addressing socio-political injustices toward Women, People of Color, Gays, Lesbians, Trans, and Queer, Poor, Immigrants, People with Disabilities, and other oppressed and marginalized groups.
- TJ believes that crime is framed by the state and not by the community.
- TJ believes in de-institutionalization.
- TJ is against violence and punishment.
- TJ believes in the value of mediation, negotiation, and community circles to transform conflicts.
- TJ values conflict as an opportunity.
- TJ identifies crime as conflict, where society and the government are also involved as a possible offender.

Transformative justice, unlike restorative justice, not only focuses on specific conflicts between victim and offenders, but addresses within the specific conflict social injustices and oppression established by systems of domination. For instance, if a 14-year old boy, who is queer and from a poor neighborhood, robbed a store when it was closed at 2:00 a.m., transformative justice would not only look at the crime of burglary, but why the boy did it. Was the boy kicked out of his home from a father who was homophobic? Was the boy needing money for food, clothes, and a place to stay? While restorative justice addressing only the specific conflict between the victim and offender,

transformative justice strives to use the conflict as an opportunity to address larger socio-political injustices. So because society oppresses those who are poor and queer, there are two victims and therefore the conflict must be addressed using larger community-based approaches rather than interpersonal mediation. Transformative justice challenges the division between the oppressed and oppressor by bringing the two groups together, while recognizing exploitation, abuse, and violence toward the oppressed. Generation Five a transformative justice based organization located in Oakland, California is dedicated to ending child sexual abuse. Generation Five believes that transformative justice has three core beliefs, they include:

1. Individual justice and collective liberation are equally important, mutually supportive, and fundamentally intertwined—the achievement of one is impossible without the achievement of the other.
2. The conditions that allow violence to occur must be transformed in order to achieve justice in individual instances of violence. Therefore, Transformative Justice is a both a liberating politic and an approach for securing justice.
3. State and systemic responses to violence, including the criminal legal system<sup>6</sup> and child welfare agencies, not only fail to advance individual and collective justice but also condone and perpetuate cycles of violence. (generation Five 2007)

When fighting with the oppressed social justice activists will often identify the oppressor as the enemy. Transformative justice, while addressing oppression and the role that groups, institutions, and agencies have in creating and maintaining oppression, does not view anyone as an enemy, but rather argues that everyone needs to be involved in a voluntary safe constructive critical dialogue where people take accountability, responsibility, and initiative to heal. It means that law enforcement, judges, lawyers,

prisoners, community members, teachers, politicians, spiritual leaders, and activists, among others, come together. It is for this reason that I am willing to work for peace with a diversity of people, whether they are law enforcement, judges, politicians, activists, educators, or community organizers. This collaboration and openness to build bridges is one of the Ten Point Principles of Save the Kids. Transformative justice is dedicated to working for peace, thus it is opposed to helping someone get arrested, imprisoned, fired from their job, repressed, or oppressed. It is about looking for the good within others, while also being aware of complex systems of domination and oppressive and repressive agendas. If the world is to transform we need everyone to transform and everyone to be voluntarily involved in critical dialogue together.

Restorative justice stresses that the system is flawed, overworked, and retributive, but does not address why it exists, how it is racist, sexist, abelist, and classist, whom it benefits, and how it was developed. Conflicts must be seen as an opportunity not only to resolve the particular conflict, but the injustice that might have fostered the conflict. Transformative justice was developed out of the work from, simply speaking, restorative justice and social justice activist-scholars.

In my recently-written article, *Healing Our Cuts: Transforming Conflict* (Nocella, 2010), I provide transformative approaches in working through conflicts among activists within social movements:

Within a social movement, conflict must be transformed into positive and constructive outcomes wherever possible. Activists should strive to:

- Seek opportunities to engage openly, empathetically and respectfully with other activists. This means entering into a committed dialogue that emphasizes the willingness to listen and understand.
- Respect individual experiences due to unique identities of race, gender, economic status, sexuality, ability, culture, or spirituality.
- Recognize that activists are not perfect (or impartial) due to being raised within systems of domination that promote competition, retribution, sexism, homophobia, ableism, ageism, nationalism, classism.
- Acknowledge that corporations, security, and law enforcement infiltrate organizations and movements, in order to divide and destroy them.
- Refrain from “hanging the laundry” of the movement out for the broader public and law enforcement to see and exploit. This means not posting negative, defamatory and insulting information about those within the movement on websites, blogs, list serves, or social networking sites.
- Handle communication in person, whenever possible, rather than on the phone or via e-mail. Not only does this minimize the risk of communication being limited or tapped, it also prevents information being misread, misinterpreted, or taken out of context.
- Avoid personal debates that drain energy and resources which should be directed towards shared goals.
- Avoid talking about others behind their backs when not in the position to defend or justify their point.
- Avoid supporting any scenario where someone is punished or excluded. Only support that which leads to mutually beneficial opportunity.
- Take a moment to step back and reflect rather than react negatively when faced with a provocation or challenge.
- Respect the diversity of opinions, tactics, and strategies within social movements.
- Encourage debates and arguments that can be resolved in a constructive and mutually acceptable manner.

These hopefully accessible, inclusive, and helpful points can, if followed, help minimize the opportunities for divisive and destructive conflicts to manifest themselves. In the long term these negative conflicts will destroy and divide the movement to the extent that it will lose all potency and dynamism, and ultimately will fall far short from achieving the ultimate goal. Conversely, being aware of the causes of conflict, and how to transform them – such as committing to resolve debates and arguments in a constructive and inclusive manner – waters the soil on which a social movement grows and encourages others to join in, thereby developing and strengthening the movement. (Nocella, 2010, p. 186-187)

In resolving interpersonal or group conflicts, conflict transformation, similar to transformative justice, addresses issues of inequities, injustices, oppression, and domination. Conflict transformation, unlike conflict resolution, requires larger socio-political concerns to be addressed, while conflict resolution is only about addressing the specific incident. Lederach, the founder of conflict transformation, began using the term after his work with his Latin colleagues in Central America. In his book, *The Little book of Conflict Transformation* (2003), Lederach addresses in the beginning of chapter one that his colleagues had great concerns with terminology and purpose of conflict resolution and management. Lederach about this concern writes:

I soon found, though, that my Latin colleagues had questions, even suspicions, about what was meant by such concepts [conflict resolution and conflict management]. For them, *resolution* carried with it a danger of co-optation, an attempt to get rid of the conflict when people were raising important and legitimate issues. It was not clear that *resolution* left room for advocacy. In their experience, quick solutions to deep social-political problems usually meant lots of good words but no real change. ‘Conflicts happen for a reason,’ they would say. ‘Is this *resolution* idea just another way to cover up the changes that are really needed?’ (Lederach, 2003, p. 3)

Conflict transformation is about addressing all types of conflicts including interpersonal conflicts, which influence socio-political and economic change, while also bringing socio-political and economic change to the dialogue of the specific interpersonal conflict. Conflict transformation is not meant only for social movement interventions or international disputes, but for all conflicts. In recent years, conflict management and resolution, which are prominent in the liberal arts, have found homes in law schools and business administration departments. Peace and conflict studies, a growing academic

field, has in its forty years or so of existence become institutionalized and lacks professors in given departments with direct connections to peace activism (see Chapter Five on my dialogue with Colin Salter). With peace and conflict studies' more recent departure from activist in the last decade or two, conflict resolution and management is as Lederach's colleagues have noted become co-opted. It has been a quick method of resolving a dispute with a legal contract; without going to the court system, mediators and arbitrators are the new peacemakers. In the business world, conflict resolution and management have been co-opted as a tool to "deal with others" rather than develop communication, group-building, and team building skills or to foster accountability, responsibility, forgiveness, and healing.

The goal of the business sector in adopting conflict management and resolution is to have within the professional environment a stable workplace. A stable environment is important within professional settings because it allows everyone to be efficient and effective in meeting the goal of the agency. Therefore, conflict management is not about caring and respecting those with whom you work, but rather having a method to tolerate, deal, and, most importantly, manage your work relations and environment so you can do your job.

Conflict resolution is commonly practiced and adopted in professional settings such as nonprofits, businesses, and the government because it addresses the individuals involved in the conflict as parties and not people. Conflict resolution, interchangeable with dispute resolution, has been adopted by the field of law, where contracts and agreements are employed, hence the reason why conflict resolution is result-based (Ury, Brett, & Goldberg, 1988). Conflict resolution has begun to look at conflict not at as an



opportunity, but as a problem to solve. Conflict management, on the other hand, is more concerned with process than with figuring out how to come to a contract agreement or resolution. Many scholars within the fields of conflict management and conflict resolution are concerned with culture, identity politics, and issues of social and political power (Avruch, 1998; Avruch, Black, and Scimecca, 1998; Castro and Nielsen, 2003), when analyzing a conflict. The largest different between conflict resolution and conflict management with conflict transformation is conflict transformation rooted in radical social movements and activism against prisons, the death penalty, and other retributive and punitive methods is dedicated to social justice.

Conflict transformation is the field that activists and social advocates have been adopting at the same time as letting go of the use of conflict resolution and conflict management. Conflict transformation is not about problem-solving and “is more than a set of specific techniques; it is a way of looking as well as seeing” (Lederach, 2003, p. 9). It is about creating structural and systemic change within society. Lederach believes that “conflict impacts us personally, relationally, structurally, [and] culturally” (2003, p. 23). Lederach views transformation as a holistic undertaking that “requires us to reflect on multiple levels and types of change processes, rather than addressing ourselves only to a single operational solution” (2003, p. 38).

Transformation is larger than two individuals, but stresses that all are connected similar to *total liberation* discussed in Chapter Five of this dissertation. Lederach, who is involved in many peace and social justice programs in Central and South America, was influenced by Paulo Freire (see Chapter Two). Lederach suggests that “transformation as a concept is both descriptive of the conflict dynamics and prescriptive of the overall

purpose that building peace pursues, both in terms of changing destructive relationship patterns and in seeking systemic change” (Lederach, 1995, p. 18). Transformation is not about destroying and building anew and a win-lose resolution such as a revolution (Skocpol, 1995; Tilly, 1978), but demands everyone in the world, systems, and structures to change as well.

Transformative justice promotes a win-win resolution, where no one is a loser and where everyone is directly involved in decision-making and social change. Further, when social change occurs, every individual within society changes as well. Transformative justice argues against a good and an evil or right and a wrong, but views conflict as something that everyone is part of and related to. Lederach writes:

I have found it useful to step back and look at the big picture related Freire’s pedagogical framework. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) he uses literacy, learning to read and writing, which seems to be a uniquely individual and personal agenda, as a tool for exploring and promoting social change. He [Freire] refers to this as *conscientization*, awareness of self in context, a concept that simultaneously promotes personal and social transformation. (1995, p. 19)

bell hooks, an internationally-respected scholar-activist in the field of education who was also greatly influenced by Freire and a leader in transformative pedagogy, emerging out of the field of critical pedagogy, writes, “Making the classroom a democratic setting where everyone feels a responsibility to contribute is a central goal of transformative pedagogy” (hooks, 1994, p. 39). Transformation, a value embraced by Quakers who believe that god is within everyone, argues that each individual has something important to contribute. hooks goes on to write, “As the classroom becomes more diverse, teachers are faced with the way the politics of domination are often

reproduced in the educational setting. For example, white male students continue to be the most vocal in our classes” (hooks, 2003, p. 39).

It is with hooks (1994), Lederach (1995), and Morris (2000) that my work and interests in the fields of education, peace and conflict studies, and education all come together under the umbrella of transformation. Within education, hooks (1994) fosters transformative pedagogy; within criminology, Morris (2000) promotes transformative justice; and within peace and conflict studies, Lederach (1995) promotes conflict transformation, which together inform and are interdependent on one another so social transformation can be possible.

## **Conclusion**

This interdisciplinary dissertation with six chapters building upon the next, while interweaving fields of study together within each chapter, argued one specific point: that activists must creatively and critically respond to the stigmatization of activists as terrorists post-September 11, 2001. This argument laid the foundation of investigating what were successful and used strategies and tactics to respond to the stigmatization, which is a form of political repression.

This project begins with addressing the global ecological crisis and the current US political climate and how those two concerns are directly connected. Rather than keeping my socio-political location out of this dissertation I adopted as my methodology autoethnography to introduce my experience of being stigmatized as an activist and a person with mental disabilities. I then introduced a growing field of study: critical animal studies, which argues for a radical intersectional, activist-scholarly critical strategy for nonhuman animal advocacy. In Chapter Five, I get to the heart of how activists respond

to the stigmatization of activists being labeled as terrorists by employing a critical pedagogical approach which enters me into dialogue with activists. Finally, my concluding chapter introduces to the reader to eco-ability, a philosophy that interweaves and promotes the value and significant importance of disability studies, critical animal studies, and ecology. The final chapter leaves the reader with hope of an alternative to the current repressive and retributive U.S. criminal justice system. The alternative is a transformative system to assist those people who are caught as cogs in complex systems of domination – a system which must be challenged and dismantled. Transformative justice separates the act from the person, while stressing that it is important to take accountability for one's actions. People are not the actions that they have taken and cannot be defined as such. Further, transformative justice seeks to not view one as an enemy, which is the foundation of revolutions, but to view everyone as a community member, who must participate in critical dialogue for social change.

The unknown founder of the classic saying, “Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me” never knew the power of stigmatization. Words are weapons and healers, but how we decide to use them is an important concern that this project stresses. With words, we can either liberate and empower groups or oppress and marginalize them. The final chapter of this dissertation stresses the value of people with disability, nonhuman animals, and the ecological world, while also introducing a system that heals instead of hurts and uplifts instead of represses. This dissertation or any one project cannot be the answer; rather, the answer, which transformative justice believes, is within each and every person, nonhuman and human, to transform and build a peaceful inclusive world, respectful of all. This is only possible if everyone strives to learn about

one another by entering into a praxis of critical methodology, which will take a great deal of time, dialogue, energy, self reflection, empathy, hope, and understanding.

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## APPENDIX

### Appendix 1. - Interview Consent Form



**SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY**  
The Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs  
PH.D. Program in Social Science

**What Do You Do When They Come for You? A Study of Activists' Responses to Political Repression Employed by Law Enforcement Within the U.S.**

#### INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

My name is Anthony Nocella and I am a doctoral student in Social Science at Syracuse University. I am inviting you to participate in an interview for a study of how nonviolent legal activists respond to political repression in the U.S. by law enforcement post-September 11, 2001. This project falls in the academic fields of peace, conflict, criminology and security studies and examines the political conflict between legal nonviolent activists/dissenters and law enforcement. The case study for this project is between U.S. law enforcement and U.S. nonviolent legal animal rights activists who support underground militant action in the name of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). Involvement in the study is voluntary, so you may choose to participate or not. This sheet will explain the study to you and please feel free to ask questions about the research if you have any.

If you decide to participate, we will have a conversation about your background and experiences regarding your involvement as a nonviolent legal activist who supports the ALF in the U.S. I will only ask and stress we discuss only legal activity and statements, therefore not discussing any illegal activity that is being investigated; to occur in the future; or could re-open a closed case. I ask that only the interviewee discuss their activities and minimize other's involvement or descriptions of others. If others are addressed I will ask to contact them or destroy the information about them. The interview will take place at a location convenient for you. With your permission, I will record this conversation and sometimes make notes. The conversation will last 1 to 2 hours. You must be 18 years of age to participate. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may stop the interview at any time or refuse to answer any question without penalty. Finally, you will be allowed to review the transcript of the interview to approve the content of what was said.

This research will contribute to the completion of my doctoral dissertation, and may be published in articles, books, interviews, and presentations. It is important to note that your identity and all information you provide me will be made public through publications and presentations as noted above. I will NOT use aliases, pseudonyms, or codes to protect the identity of a person, event, place, time, activity, or group. While interviews and final publications will be public, all audio recordings from this study will be destroyed upon completion of the research.

The benefit of this research is that you will have the opportunity to speak about your experiences and thoughts and feelings on political repression, animal rights, and other socio-political concerns and issues. This research is also intended to assist policy-makers, publicize animal rights issues, and promote public discussion on political repression in the U.S. The risk you will take conducting this interview is exposing your views, actions, and the events you discuss to the public. Consequently, law enforcement may increase surveillance and/or question you and/or any groups that you may be involved with. The risks of this study you are exposed to as a participant are possible feelings of

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discomfort you may feel when discussing issues and experiences relating to your legal nonviolent support of ALF.

While there has been much written on political repression throughout history, starting with the trial of Socrates, there has been little on how activists/dissenters have responded. With a significant amount of literature on political repression, there are only a few books that provide advice to activists on how to respond to political repression (Glick 1989; Sharp 1973; Lichbach 1987). Thus, this has led to a gap in literature covering analytical research on individual/group responses to political repression.

If you have any questions later, please feel free to contact me:

**Anthony J. Nocella**  
Syracuse University  
Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts (PARC)  
400 Eggers Hall  
Syracuse, NY 13244  
315-657-2911  
[ajnocell@maxwell.syr.edu](mailto:ajnocell@maxwell.syr.edu)

You can also contact my faculty advisory of this dissertation if you have any questions, concerns, or complaints about the research:

**Dr. A. Peter Castro**  
Syracuse University  
Department of Anthropology  
411B Maxwell Hall  
Syracuse, NY 13244  
315-443-1971  
[ahcastro@maxwell.syr.edu](mailto:ahcastro@maxwell.syr.edu)

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, questions, concerns, or complaints about the interview, research, or researcher, please feel free to contact:

**Institutional Review Board (IRB), Syracuse University**  
Office of Research Integrity and Protections  
Syracuse University  
Syracuse, NY 13244  
315-443-3013

\*You have been given a copy of this form.

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Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty, that you are at least 18 years old, that you have received a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

I agree to allow Anthony Nocella to audio record the interview.

I do not agree to allow Anthony Nocella to audio record the interview.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Print name of participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of investigator

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Print name of investigator

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## **Appendix 2. – Suggested Resources**

### Transformative Justice Organizations

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA  
(215) 241-7000  
[www.afsc.org](http://www.afsc.org)

Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP)  
St. Paul, Minnesota, USA  
(888) 278-7820  
<http://www.avpusa.org/>

generation Five  
Oakland, California, USA  
(510) 251-8552  
[www.generationfive.org](http://www.generationfive.org)

Ontario College Graduate Certificate in Transformative Community Justice  
Toronto, Ontario, CA  
(416) 253-1918 ext. 3484  
<http://communityservices.humber.ca/contact/contact-us>

Philly Stands Up!  
Philadelphia, PA, USA  
<http://www.phillystandsup.com/>

Prison Dharma Network  
Providence, Rhode Island, USA  
(401) 941-0791  
[www.prisondharmanetwork.org/](http://www.prisondharmanetwork.org/)

Project South  
Atlanta, Georgia, USA  
(404) 622-0602  
[www.projectsouth.org](http://www.projectsouth.org)

Race on the Agenda  
London, England  
(020) 7842-8533  
[www.rota.org.uk](http://www.rota.org.uk)

Save the Kids  
Syracuse, New York, USA



(315) 849-6619  
[www.savethekidsgroup.org](http://www.savethekidsgroup.org)

Transformative Justice  
[www.transformativejustice.eu/](http://www.transformativejustice.eu/)

Transformative Justice Law Project of Illinois  
Chicago, Illinois, USA  
(773) 272-1822

Young Women's Empowerment Project  
Chicago, Illinois, USA  
<http://ywepchicago.wordpress.com/>

#### Prisoner Support Organizations

Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group  
London, United Kingdom  
[www.alfsg.org.uk](http://www.alfsg.org.uk)

Bite Back  
West Palm Beach, Florida, USA  
[www.directaction.info](http://www.directaction.info)

Center for Constitutional Rights  
New York, New York, USA  
(212) 614 6464  
[www.ccrjustice.org](http://www.ccrjustice.org)

National Jericho Movement  
Elizabeth, New Jersey, USA  
[www.thejerichomovement.com](http://www.thejerichomovement.com)

North American Earth Liberation Prisoner Support Network  
[www.ecoprisoners.org](http://www.ecoprisoners.org)

Vegan Prisoners Support Group  
London, United Kingdom, USA  
[www.vpsg.org](http://www.vpsg.org)

#### Civil Liberty Organizations

Civil Liberties Defense Center  
Eugene, Oregon, USA  
(541) 687 9180  
[www.cldc.org/index.html](http://www.cldc.org/index.html)

Coalition to Abolish the AETA

New York, New York, USA

(212) 614-6481

[www.abolishtheaeta.org/web](http://www.abolishtheaeta.org/web)

Equal Justice Alliance

New York, New York, USA

[www.noaeta.org](http://www.noaeta.org)

Green is the New Red

[www.greenisthenewred.com/blog](http://www.greenisthenewred.com/blog)

National Lawyers Guild National Office

New York, New York, USA

(212) 679-5100

[www.nlg.org](http://www.nlg.org)

Disability Rights Organizations

ADAPT

Austin, Texas, USA

(512) 442-0252

[www.adapt.org](http://www.adapt.org)

Beyond Compliance Coordinating Committee (BCCC)

Syracuse, New York, USA

(315) 443-3343

<http://bccc.syr.edu>

Disability Rights Advocates

Berkeley, California, USA

(510) 665-8644

[www.dralegal.org](http://www.dralegal.org)

Disability Rights California

Sacramento, California, USA

(916) 388-9955

[www.disabilityrightsca.org](http://www.disabilityrightsca.org)

Disability Rights Legal Center

Los Angeles, California, USA

(213) 736-1334

[www.disabilityrightslegalcenter.org](http://www.disabilityrightslegalcenter.org)

Disability Rights International  
Washington, D.C., USA  
(202) 728-3053  
[www.disabilityrightsintl.org](http://www.disabilityrightsintl.org)

National Disability Rights Network  
Washington, D.C., USA  
(202) 408-9514  
[www.napas.org](http://www.napas.org)

Society for Disability Studies  
Huntersville, North Carolina, USA  
(704) 274-9240  
[www.disstudies.org](http://www.disstudies.org)

Animal Advocacy Organizations

Animal Liberation ACT  
Civic Square ACT, Australia  
[www.al-act.org/](http://www.al-act.org/)

Compassion Over Killing  
Washington, D.C., USA  
301-891-2458  
[www.cok.net](http://www.cok.net)

The Humane League  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA  
(484) 904-6004  
[www.thehumaneleague.com](http://www.thehumaneleague.com)

Hunt Sabs  
Camden, London, UK  
(+44) 0845 4500727  
[www.huntsabs.org.uk](http://www.huntsabs.org.uk)

In Defense of Animals  
San Rafael, California, USA  
(415) 448-0048  
[www.idausa.org](http://www.idausa.org)

Institute for Critical Animal Studies  
Syracuse, New York, USA  
[www.criticalanimalstudies.org](http://www.criticalanimalstudies.org)

Mercy for Animals  
Chicago, Illinois, USA  
(866) 632-6446  
[www.mercyforanimals.org](http://www.mercyforanimals.org)

Physician's Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine  
Washington, DC, USA  
(202) 686-2210  
[pcrm.org](http://pcrm.org)

Sea Shepherd  
Friday Harbor, Washington, USA  
(360) 370-5650  
[www.seashepherd.org](http://www.seashepherd.org)

Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty  
Camden, London, UK  
0845 458 0630  
[www.shac.net](http://www.shac.net)

United Poultry Concerns  
Machipongo, Vermont, USA  
(757) 678-7875  
[www.upc-online.org](http://www.upc-online.org)

The Vegan Police  
St. Catherines, Ontario, CA  
[www.theveganpolice.com](http://www.theveganpolice.com)

### Appedix 3. – Contact for Dialogue Participants

1. Liat Ben-Moshe	n/a
2. Sarat Colling	saratcolling@gmail.com
3. Nick Cooney	nick@thehumaneleague.com
4. Lauren Corman	laurencorman@gmail.com
5. Carol Glasser	cglasser@gmail.com
6. Jennifer Grubbs	jennygrubbs@gmail.com
7. Stephanie Jenkins	scjenkins@gmail.com
8. Dara Lovitz	dara.lovitz@hotmail.com
9. Michael Loadenthal	Michael.Loadenthal@gmail.com
10. Leslie James Pickering	leslie@lesliejamespickering.com
11. Dylan Powell	theveganpoliceradio@gmail.com
12. Craig Rosebraugh	craigrosebraugh@gmail.com
13. Colin Salter	colin@salter.id.au
14. Laura Shields	LauraAShields@hotmail.com

## VITA

NAME OF AUTHOR: Anthony J. Nocella II

PALACE OF BIRTH: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

DATE OF BIRTH: February 2, 1977

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## EDUCATION

---

**SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY,**  
Maxwell School, Syracuse, New York

❖ **Doctorate in Social Science**

December 2011

Concentration: Peace and Conflict Studies, Foundation of Education,  
Social Justice, and Criminology

Doctoral Dissertation: *A Disability Perspective on the Stigmatization of Dissent:  
Critical Pedagogy, Critical Criminology, and Critical Animal Studies*

**SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY,**  
School of Education, Syracuse, New York

❖ **Masters of Science in Cultural Foundations of Education**

2008

Concentration: Disability Studies

Master's Thesis: *Speaking Out for Disability Studies and Pedagogy*

❖ **Certificate in Advanced Studies in International Conflicts and their  
Management**

2005

❖ **Certificate in Advanced Studies in Women's Studies**

2005

**FRESNO PACIFIC UNIVERSITY,**  
Peacemaking and Conflict Studies Program, Fresno, California

❖ **Master of Arts in Conflict Management and Peace Studies**

2003

Master's Thesis: *Using The Critical Pedagogy Approach for Peacemaking with  
Revolutionaries*

- ❖ **Graduate Certificate in Mediation**  
2002

UNIVERSITY OF ST. THOMAS, Houston, Texas

- ❖ **Bachelors of Arts in Political Science, Pre-Law, and Public Administration**  
2000  
Bachelor's Thesis: *Organized Justice: Analysis of the Strategies and Organizational Methods of the Social Justice Movement in America*

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## **AREAS OF ACADEMIC INTEREST**

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### **Education:**

- Inclusive Education
- Foundations of Education
- Urban Education
- Ecopedgogy
- Disability Pedagogy/Studies
- Critical Pedagogy
- Queer Pedagogy/Studies
- Feminist Pedagogy
- Punk and Hip-Hop Pedagogy
- Critical Animal Pedagogy
- Recreation and Environmental Education
- Critical Race Theory

### **Peace and Conflict Studies:**

- Experiential Learning
- Group and Team -Building
- Mediation and Negotiation
- Peace and Social Justice Education
- Nonviolent Tactics, Strategy, and History
- Community Organizing
- Conflict Transformation, Management, and Resolution

### **Sociology/Criminology:**

- Juvenile Justice
- Critical Criminology
- Transformative Justice
- Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality
- Prison and Punishment
- Social Movements
- Gender and Sexuality
- Policy Reform
- Drugs and Gangs
- Deviant Behavior

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## **PROFESSIONAL TEACHING EXPERIENCES**

---

**HAMLIN UNIVERSITY**, Saint Paul, Minnesota  
Visiting Professor – School of Education

Fall 2011, Schools and Society, EDU3150  
Fall 2011, Exceptionality, GED 7972

**SUNY CORTLAND, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK**  
Adjunct Professor - Education; Criminology and Sociology; Women's Studies  
Departments

Spring 2011, Foundations of Education FSA 400-606  
Spring 2011, Deviant Behavior, SOC/CRM 373-001  
Spring 2011, Prejudice, Discrimination, and Morality, PHI 140  
Fall 2010, Deviant Behavior, SOC/CRM 373-001  
Fall 2010, Education and Freedom, SOC 329/WS 329  
Spring 2010, Deviant Behavior, SOC/CRM 373-001  
Fall 2009, Deviant Behavior, SOC/CRM 373-001  
Fall 2009, Education and Freedom, SOC 329  
Spring 2009, Deviant Behavior, SOC/CRM 373-001  
Fall 2008, Deviant Behavior, SOC/CRM 373-001

**LE MOYNE COLLEGE**, Syracuse, New York  
Adjunct Professor - Peace and Global Studies; Sociology, Anthropology, and  
Criminology Departments

Spring 2010, Conflict Resolution, CJS/SOC 245  
Fall 2009, Peace and Global Studies, PGS 201  
Spring 2009, Criminology CJS/SOC 201  
Fall 2008, Criminology CJS/SOC 101  
Summer 2008, Criminology CJS/SOC 101  
Spring 2008, Criminology CJS/SOC 221  
Spring 2008, Peace and Global Studies, PGS 201  
Spring 2008, Conflict Resolution, CJS/SOC 245  
Fall 2007, Conflict Resolution, CJS/SOC 245

**SUNY CORTLAND, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK**  
2008-2009, Visiting Scholar of SUNY Cortland's Center for Ethics, Peace and Social  
Justice (CEPS)



2007-2008, Visiting Scholar of SUNY Cortland's Center for Ethics, Peace and Social Justice (CEPS)

**UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY**, Syracuse, New York

Instructor - Public Affairs; Social Science; Conflict Studies

Fall 2008, Instructor, Interpersonal Conflict Resolution, PAF 420

Fall 2007, Instructor, Negotiation: Theory and Practice, PAF 422

**HILLBROOK JUVENILE DETENTION FACILITY**, Syracuse, New York

Teacher of Life Skills and Program Director - May 2007 – September 2011

Inclusive Elementary and Secondary Classrooms, 5<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> grade,  
Teaching Method – *Inclusive Education*

**SAVE THE KIDS**, Syracuse, New York

Education Program Director - 2009 – 2011

HIPP Workshop Facilitator (group-building and team building workshop)

Editor of Poetry Behind the Walls

Producer of Spoken-Word Behind the Walls

Director of Hip-Hop Music Studio

**AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE**

Facilitator - Group-Building, Conflict Transformation, and Nonviolence Workshops  
In Syracuse School District, Syracuse, New York

Institute of Technology 2009 – 2010

Corcoran High School 2009 – 2010

Nottingham High School 2009 – 2010

Henninger High School 2009 – 2010

**SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY**, Maxwell School, Syracuse, New York

Graduate Teaching Assistant - Public Affairs, International Relations, Public  
Administration, Sociology, Political Science, Social Science

Spring 2007, Instructor, Fundamentals in Conflict Studies, SOS 601; IRP 601;  
PPA730

Fall 2006, Instructor, Fundamentals in Conflict Studies, SOS 601; IRP 601;  
PPA730

Summer 2006, Teaching Assistant, Conflict Resolution in Groups: Facilitation  
and Conflict Management, PAF 424; SOS 624

Spring 2006, Instructor, Nonviolent Tactics and Strategies for Social Change,  
PAF 400; SOC 400; POS 400

Fall 2005, Teaching Assistant, Fundamentals in Conflict Studies, SOS 601; IRP  
601; PPA730

Fall 2005, Teaching Assistant, Negotiation: Theory and Practice, PAF 422; SOS 622; IRP 400; IRP 600  
Summer 2005, Teaching Assistant, Negotiation: Theory and Practice, PAF 422; SOS 622; IRP 400; IRP 600  
Spring 2005, Instructor, History of Nonviolent Protests in America, PAF 400; SOC 400; POS 400  
Summer 2004, Teaching Assistant, Social Activism: Organizing for Power, PSC 400-U700; PAF 400-U700; PSC 600-U700; SOS 600-U700  
Fall 2004, Teaching Assistant, Fundamentals in Conflict Studies, SOS 601; IRP 601; PPA730