How big are risks from non-state actors? Public Appendices

Main post here.

Appendix 1: Northern Irish nationalists

Category	Number	Year	Number per million nationalists	Source
Nationalist voters	757,000	Average 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019	1,740,000	Wikipedia [a]
Sympathy with republican violence	566,000	2007	1,300,000	NILT [a]
Nationalists	434,000	Average 2010-2019	1,000,000	NILT [b]
Tomorrow would vote to join ROI	415,000	2016	956,000	Ipsos MORI, p. 6
Pro reunifying with Ireland	331,000	Average 2010-2019	763,000	NILT survey via Wikipedia
A lot of sympathy with republican violence	94,300	2007	217,000	NILT [a]
Republican attacks	24.7	Average 2010-2019	57	GTD

Appendix 2: Northern Irish unionists

Category	Number	Year	Number per million unionists	Source	Notes
Pro remaining in the UK, devolution/direct rule	1,230,000	Average 2010-2019	2,130,000	NILT survey via Wikipedia	
Tomorrow would vote to stay in the UK	1,190,000	2016	2,060,000	Ipsos MORI, p. 6	
Unionist voters	910,000	Average 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019	1,570,000	Wikipedia [a]	
Unionists	578,000	Average 2010-2019	1,000,000	NILT [b]	
Sympathy with loyalist violence	547,000	2007	946,000	NILT [a]	
Pro remaining in the UK, direct rule	287,000	Average 2010-2019	497,000	NILT survey via Wikipedia	
A lot of sympathy with loyalist violence	56,600	2007	97,900	NILT [a]	
Marching band members	30,000	2013	51,900	Wikipedia [b]	NB this is 'an all-time high'
Loyalist paramilitaries	12,500	2020	21,600	BBC	NB CFR thinks it's only several hundred
Loyalist attacks	4.6	Average 2010-2019	8	GTD	

Appendix 3: US Muslims

Category	Number	Year	Number per million Muslims	Sources
Muslims	2,550,000	Average 2007, 2011	1,000,000	Pew Research (a)
Suicide bombing and other forms of violence to defend Islam is sometimes justified	179,000		70,000	
Suicide bombing and other forms of violence to defend Islam is often justified	25,500	Average 2007, 2011	10,000	Pew Research (b), p. 2
Charged with jihadi terrorism	40	Average 2007, 2011	16	Statista
Attempted to join ISIS	60	One fifth of the cumulative total in 2018	24	NPR
Terrorist incidents	4.2		1.7	
Groups involved	0.2	Average 2010-2019	0.1	GTD

Appendix 4: UK Muslims

Category	Number	Year	Number per million Muslims	Sources	Notes
Muslims	3,230,000	Average 2015-2016	1,000,000	ONS Wikipedia	Slight underestimate because the Scottish data is from 2011.
Sympathy with violence organised by groups to protect their own religion	762,000		236,000		
Support for establishing a Caliphate	222,000		68,800	Ipsos MORI, p. 69	The survey emphasised that this was ISIS' goal.
Sympathy for suicide bombing	127,000	2015	39,300		
Sympathy with people organising radical groups/making threats of terrorist actions/committing terrorist actions	65,700	2016	20,300	Ipsos MORI, p. 70	Sympathy for all three statements came out at 2%.
In custody for terrorism	151	Average 2015-2016	47	UK government	
British nationals who have fought in Syria or Iraq	150	One sixth of the cumulative 2019 figure	46	Parliament	
Islamist terrorist attacks	1.5		0.5		
Groups involved	0.2	Average 2010-2019	0.1	GTD	

Appendix 5: US right

Category	Number	Year	Number per million on the right*	Sources	Notes
Republicans who think political violence is sometimes justified [a]	77,400,000	Average 2017-2021	1,000,000	Washington Post PRRI Statista	Some of the numbers from eyeballing.
Faith and flag conservatives plus populist right [b]	69,700,000	2021	901,000	Pew research	
Faith and flag conservatives [c]	33,200,000	2021	429,000	Pew research	
Devoted conservatives [d]	20,000,000	2018	258,000	Hidden Tribes	
Hate groups	938	Average 2017-2020	12.1	SPLC (a)	
Extreme antigovernment groups	571	Average 2019-2020	7.4	SPLC (b)	
Militias	175	Average 2019-2020	2.3	SPLC (b)	
Terrorist plots	45	Average 2015-2020	0.6	Washington Post	
Terrorist attacks and plots	42	Average 2017-2019	0.5	CSIS	Numbers from eyeballing.
Right wing terrorist attacks	16.4	Average 2010-2019	0.2	GTD	

* See [a].

[a] The average responses to a few different questions over a few different years:

- Do you think it is ever justified for citizens to take violent action against the government, or is it never justified?
- True American patriots might have to resort to violence in order to save our country
- "feel somewhat justified in using varying levels of violence to achieve their political goals" (my source isn't reasoning transparent about the questions that build this up)

[b] “Populist Right, who have less formal education than most other typology groups and are among the most likely to live in rural areas, are highly critical of both immigrants and major U.S. corporations.” 11% of the population. Plus [c].

[c] “Faith and Flag Conservatives are intensely conservative in all realms; they are far more likely than all other typology groups to say government policies should support religious values and that compromise in politics is just “selling out on what you believe in.”” 10% of the population.

[d] “Devoted Conservatives (6 percent of the population) are deeply engaged with politics and hold strident, uncompromising views. They feel that America is embattled, and they perceive themselves as the last defenders of traditional values that are under threat.”

Appendix 6: US pro-lifers

Category	Number (average 2010-2019)	Number per million pro-lifers	Sources	Notes
Pro lifers	150,000,000	1,000,000	Gallup	US only.
All violence excluding threats	536	3.6		Includes things like trespassing, stalking, vandalism, burglary. US and Canada to 2013, then US, Canada and Colombia.
Arson/bombing and attempted	2	0.01		US and Canada to 2013, then US, Canada and Colombia.
Arrests at clinical blockades	1.8	0.01		US and Canada to 2013, then US, Canada and Colombia.
Murders and attempted	1.2	0.01	NAF	US only.
Terrorist incidents	1.3	0.01	GTD	US and Canada to 2013, then US, Canada and Colombia.

Appendix 7: UK right

Category	Number	Year	Number per million far right people	Source
Voters for right wing parties [a]	14,400,000	Average 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019	2,500,000	BBC 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019 Wikipedia 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019
Voters for far right parties, inc Brexit parties [b]	1,690,000	Average 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019	292,000	
Voters for far right parties, exc Brexit parties [c]	171,000	Average 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019	29,600	
Right wing people	5,770,000	2013	1,000,000	Ipsos MORI
Terrorist related convictions	12	Average 2019-2020	2.1	Hope not Hate 2018, 2020, 2021
Terrorist attacks [d]	3.6	Average 2010-2019	0.6	GTD

[a] Voters for the following parties: Conservative, Democratic Unionist Party, Ulster Unionist Party, Ulster Conservatives and Unionists - New Force, Traditional Unionist Voice, Christian Peoples Alliance, UKIP, The Brexit Party, Independence from Europe, English Independence Party, Democratic Nationalist Party, Christian Party, English Democrats, Libertarian, National Front, BNP

[b] Voters for the following parties: UKIP, The Brexit Party, Independence from Europe, English Independence Party, Democratic Nationalist Party, Christian Party, English Democrats, Libertarian, National Front, BNP

[c] Voters for the following parties: English Independence Party, Democratic Nationalist Party, Christian Party, English Democrats, Libertarian, National Front, BNP

[d] I included attacks by: Anti-Muslim extremists (and suspected), Anti-Semitic extremists, English Defense League (EDL), Neo-Nazi extremists, Right-wing extremists, White supremacists/nationalists

Appendix 8: US left

Category	Number	Year	Number per million on the left*	Sources
Democrats who think political violence is sometimes justified [a]	57,500,000	Average 2017-2021	1,000,000	Washington Post PRRI Statista
Progressive left plus outsider left [b]	53,100,000	2021	923,000	Pew research
Progressive left [c]	19,900,000	2021	346,000	Pew research
Progressive activists [d]	26,600,000	2021	463,000	Hidden Tribes
Left wing terrorist attacks [e]	2.2	Average 2010-2019	0.04	GTD

* See [a].

[a] The average responses to a few different questions over a few different years:

- Do you think it is ever justified for citizens to take violent action against the government, or is it never justified?
- True American patriots might have to resort to violence in order to save our country
- "feel somewhat justified in using varying levels of violence to achieve their political goals" (my source isn't reasoning transparent about the questions that build this up)

[b] “Outsider Left, the youngest typology group, voted overwhelmingly for Joe Biden a year ago and are very liberal in most of their views, but they are deeply frustrated with the political system – including the Democratic Party and its leaders.” 10% of the population. Plus below.

[c] “Progressive Left, the only majority White, non-Hispanic group of Democrats, have very liberal views on virtually every issue and support far-reaching changes to address racial injustice and expand the social safety net.” 6% of the population.

[d] “Progressive Activists (8 percent of the population) are deeply concerned with issues concerning equity, fairness, and America's direction today. They tend to be more secular, cosmopolitan, and highly engaged with social media.”

[e] I included attacks by the following groups: Anarchists, Anti-Fascist Activists, Anti-Police extremists, Anti-Republican extremists, Anti-Trump extremists (and suspected), Left-wing extremists, Students For Insurrection.

Appendix 9: UK left

Category	Number	Year	Number per million left wing people	Source
Left wing people	5,770,000	2013	1,000,000	Ipsos MORI
Voters for leftist parties [a]	26,800	Average 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019	4640	BBC 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019 Wikipedia 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019
Terrorist attacks [b]	1.8	Average 2010-2019	0.3	GTD

[a] Voters for: Respect-Unity Coalition, Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition, Scottish Socialist Party, Respect Party, Socialist Labour Party, Workers Party, Class War, Workers Revolutionary Party, Workers Party, Socialist Party, Communist, Socialist Alternative, People before profit

[b] Attacks by: All Coppers Are Bastards (ACAB),Angry Foxes Cell, Anarchists (and suspected), Borderless Solidarity Cell (BSC), Informal Anarchist Federation, Random Anarchists

Appendix 10: US environmentalists

Category	Number	Year	Number per million active environmentalists *	Source	Notes
Protecting the environment should be a top priority for the president and Congress	213,000,000	2020	3,640,000	Pew Research	
Environmentalists	136,000,000	2021	2,330,000	Gallup	Self reported
Make an effort to live in ways that protect the environment all the time	62,500,000	2019	1,070,000	Pew Research [b]	
Active participant in the environmental movement	58,500,000	Average 2010-2017	1,000,000	Gallup [b]	
Vegetarian	9,700,000	2021	166,000	The Vou	
Vegan	1,000,000		17,100		
Ecoterrorism indictments	7.5	Average 2005-2008	0.1	FBI	
Terrorist attacks	0.8	Average 2010-2019	0.01	GTD	Including animal rights related attacks.
Groups involved	0.3		0.01		

* Defined as 'active participants in the environmental movement', self-reported.

Appendix 11: UK environmentalists

Category	Number	Year	Number per million environmentalists	Source	Notes
Environment affects purchase decisions	28,500,000	Average 2019-2021	1,510,000	YouGov (a)	Self reported
Environment affects donation decisions	23,800,000		1,260,000	YouGov (b)	
Environment most important issue	18,900,000		1,000,000	YouGov (c)	
Environment affects career decisions	15,300,000		808,000	YouGov (d)	Self reported
People who would vote green tomorrow in general election	4,270,000	Average 2019-2021	226,000	YouGov (e) YouGov (f)	
Green voters general election	850,000	2019	45,000	Wikipedia	
Said they'd go meat free	5,670,000	Average 2019-2021	300,000	Finder (a)	
Did go meat free	270,000		14,300	Finder (b)	
Vegetarians	4,350,000	Average 2019-2021	231,000	Finder (b)	
Pescatarians	2,900,000		154,000		
Vegans	1,440,000		76,300		

XR mailing list	168,000	Average 2019-2021	8,900		
Read XR emails	50,400	2022	2,670	XR	Extrapolating their current open rate
XR protestors	7,000		371	James Ozden, correspondence	This is a rough number of people per year attending an in-person protest. James was an XR member at the time.
XR arrests	1,380	Average 2019-2021	73	Independent Guardian Standard Huffington post	Probably doesn't include all arrests. James thinks these constitute most of the relevant arrests.
Animal Rebellion arrests	115	Average 2020-2021	6	James Ozden, correspondence	James ran Animal Rebellion at the time, and thinks Animal Rebellion arrests constitute the vast majority of animal rights arrests in the period.
Terrorist incidents	0.3	Average 2010-2019	0.016		
Groups involved	0.4		0.021	GTD	Including animal rights related attacks.

Appendix 12: Worldwide terrorist attacks

Category	Average number 2010-2019	Number per million	Source
Global population	7,340,000,000	1,000,000	Wikipedia
Terrorist attacks	10,600	1.45	GTD

Appendix 13: Western terrorist attacks

Category	Number	Year	Number per million	Sources
Population	906,000,000		1,000,000	World Bank
Terrorist attacks	274	Average 2010-2019	0.30	GTD

Countries included: Australia; Austria; Belgium; Bulgaria; Canada; Croatia; Cyprus; Czech Republic; Denmark; Estonia; Finland; France; Germany; Greece; Hungary; Iceland; Ireland; Italy; Latvia; Lithuania; Luxembourg; Malta; Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Poland; Portugal; Romania; Slovak Republic; Slovenia; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; United States; United Kingdom.

Appendix 14: various terrorism related offences per million

Group/Subgroup	Offence type	Number of offences per million group members	Notes
US Muslims who think suicide bombing and other forms of violence to defend Islam is sometimes justified	Charged with jihadi terrorism	223	
US Muslims who think suicide bombing and other forms of violence to defend Islam is often justified		1569	
UK Muslims with sympathy with violence organised by groups to protect their own religion	In custody for terrorism	198	
UK Muslims with sympathy for establishing a Caliphate		680	
US devoted conservatives	Terrorist plots	2	
UK far right voters	Terrorist related convictions	7	
US vegetarians	Ecoterrorism indictments	1	
US vegans		8	
UK vegetarians	XR arrests	317	These aren't really terrorism related, but give an indication of rates of commitment.
UK vegans		958	
UK green voters, 2019 general election		1624	
UK vegetarians	Animal Rebellion arrests	26	
UK vegans		80	
UK green voters, 2019 general election		135	

Appendix 15: rates of attacks for Northern Irish unionists and nationalists

Category	Attacks per million	Source
Nationalists	57	NILT [b]
Sympathy with republican violence	44	
A lot of sympathy with republican violence	262	NILT [a]
Unionists	8	NILT [b]
Sympathy with loyalist violence	8	
A lot of sympathy with loyalist violence	81	NILT [a]

The data used for this table is from various years between 2007 and 2019.