

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 | Average 2007, 2011 | 70,000 | Pew Research (b), p. 2 |
| Suicide bombing and other forms of violence to defend Islam is often justified | 25,500 | | 10,000 | |
| 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 | Average 2010-2019 | 1.7 | GTD |
| Groups involved | 0.2 | | 0.1 | |

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 | 2015 | 236,000 | Ipsos MORI, p. 69 | The survey emphasised that this was ISIS' goal. |
| Support for establishing a Caliphate | 222,000 | | 68,800 | | |
| Sympathy for suicide bombing | 127,000 | | 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 | Average 2010-2019 | 0.5 | GTD | |
| Groups involved | 0.2 | | 0.1 | | |

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 | NAE | 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 | | 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 | CTD |

[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 You | |
| 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) Finder (b) | |
| Did go meat free | 270,000 | | 14,300 | | |
| 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 2019-20 21 | 8,900 | XR | |
| Read XR emails | 50,400 | 2022 | 2,670 | | Extrapolating their current open rate |
| XR protestors | 7,000 | Average 2019-20 21 | 371 | James Ozden, corresponde nce | 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 | | 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 2020-20 21 | 6 | James Ozden, corresponde nce | 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 2010-201 9 | 0.016 | GTD | Including animal rights related attacks. |
| Groups involved | 0.4 | | 0.021 | | |

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 | Average 2010-2019 | 1,000,000 | World Bank |
| Terrorist attacks | 274 | | 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 | NILT [a] |
| A lot of sympathy with republican violence | 262 | |
| Unionists | 8 | NILT [b] |
| Sympathy with loyalist violence | 8 | NILT [a] |
| A lot of sympathy with loyalist violence | 81 | |

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