

TRUTH OR DARE: THE ANONYMOUS COLLECTIVE-- A SELF-PROCLAIMED
CYBER ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

TRUTH OR DARE: THE ANONYMOUS COLLECTIVE --A SELF-PROCLAIMED CYBER ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

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This study is based on a content analysis of 85 “Anonymous Official” YouTube videos posted online between January 2012 and July 2016. Anonymous is an amorphous hacktivist collective that challenges corporate media and threaten to expose political corruption and civil rights abuses in the United States and countries abroad. I organized the data around the Snow and Benford (1988, 2000) diagnostic, prognostic and motivational social movement framing concepts, and further analyzed the messages considering variations in adherence to anarchist conceptualizations of the State. In bringing together these literatures, this research explores Anonymous identity as a cyber-anarchist movement. I found that the Anonymous Official videos constructed a movement identity based on three major themes: censorship, government corruption and police brutality. Yet the narratives lacked a consistent articulation of an anarchist identity. The U.S. video messages primarily proposed State reform, instead of revolution. The U.S. video narratives also denounced the use of violence as a tool for self-defense in the face of State violence. In comparison, 12 Spanish language videos did not oppose the use of violence and acknowledged both nonviolent and violent forms of revolution. Overall,

the Anonymous Collective remains a counter-hegemonic cyber movement in the 21st Century Digital Age.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Greetings world we are Anonymous. We have a message: anarchy, anarchy, anarchy is not chaos...Anarchy is peaceful coexistence between everyone. For those who say anarchy is chaos think of this, if government dropped off of the earth would you start killing everyone? Would your family start killing everyone? Anarchy is the biggest step in human history to ever happen. Anarchy will lead the world to a better future. (Old Page Don't Visit 2014).

Anonymous is the final opposition between the civilians of the world and the raw power of the elite. We are the last ones who can destroy these villains once and for all. They want chaos, but we must give them anarchy. Anonymous fights for peace and freedom of every individual. No government. No rulers. We stand for peace. It is time for anarchy to rise. (AnonymousXenc 2016).

Anarchy is coming you better expect it. We just need to bring that anarchy to reality. We are Anonymous. We are gamers. We are activists. We are reformers. We are anarchists. We are revolutionaries. We are world changers. We are legion. (Ravengade Enchanted 2017).

Greetings citizens. They are Anonymous. They are legion. They will never forgive. They will never forget. Anonymous is a cyber collective that threatens to expose government and police corruption, secrecy, infringements on civil liberties and other abuses of power. The collective publicly opposes authoritarian repression of democratic values, while upholding freedom of speech and access to information. Maintaining a counter-hegemonic ideal, the collective presents itself as tool for resistance and a cure to corruption. As a hacktivist collective, they promote themselves as a force “united as one divided by zero, led by none cause none of us is as cruel as all of us” (Ravengade Enchanted 2017). As a cyber collective, they produce YouTube video messages to

awaken the global consciousness of the citizens of the world. Their intention is to inform the masses of the many government officials and government institutions of power that threaten civil liberties.

Anonymous began as a group of cyber pranksters and Internet trolls whose cyber pranks, raids and hoaxes were just for the “lulz,” an unfettered form of entertainment founded on cyber libertarian paradigm (Massa 2013). Once they transformed into a politically active “hacktivist” group, the corporate mainstream media, and the American government, began to investigate them as “cyber terrorists.” This “terrorist” counter-frame initiated the public vilification of Anonymous as a vigilante collective in need of suppression.

Many associate Anonymous with the mask of Guy Fawkes from the film *V for Vendetta* based off an Alan Moore graphic novel with the same name. Both tell the story of the 1605 Gunpowder Plot and attempt to assassinate King James I of England. Guy Fawkes became a revolutionary martyr and a symbol for anarchy as he rebelled against the corrupt Protestant state rule of England (Burford 2013). For the Anonymous Collective, the Guy Fawkes mask is a symbol of the technological rebellion and the act of revolt against State repression of civil liberties. The mask personifies the amorphous anarchist movement, an embodiment of their vigilante persona, a revolutionary identity that symbolizes the aggregate and potential power of the collective.

In this thesis, I ask: How do Anonymous Official video narratives frame, contribute to, or confuse an Anonymous anarchist movement identity?

To explore this research question, I conducted a content analysis of 85 Anonymous Official video messages. In the remaining part of Chapter One I provide a history of Anonymous to provide the reader with the context for this research. In Chapter Two I review the literature on Anarchy, part of the Anonymous identity, and introduce social movement framing theory to provide a theoretical lens for my analysis. Chapter Three presents the methodology and data collection for the thesis. Chapter Four focuses on the data analysis of Anonymous' YouTube video transcripts. Chapter Five concludes this thesis with a discussion of Anonymous' anarchist shortcomings. This chapter also presents the limitations and suggestions for future research of the Anonymous hacktivist collective.

Anonymous + Hacktivism

As a leaderless and amorphous cyber movement, the Anonymous Collective was birthed as a protest against State censorship, the impending suppression of civil liberties and the restriction of the free flow of information in cyberspace. Söderberg (2013) asserts that hacking practices stemmed from an engineering culture that mobilized against the expansion of intellectual property laws that led to their politicization.

Hacktivism “is a nonviolent use of illegal or legal digital tools for political influence” (Burford 2013:9-10). Juris (2005) regards hacktivism as various forms of “electronic civil disobedience” that take the forms of digital trespass, blockade tactics, “virtual sit-ins,” “email bombs,” and “hijacking” to re-route surfers to other sites (p. 203),

including “website defacements, information theft, website parodies, DDoS attacks” (Hampton 2012 quoted in Burford 2013:10). Furthermore, hacker cyber politics encompass the struggle over freedom of information, State surveillance, intellectual property versus private property, consumer rights, freedom of speech, individual liberties and consumer rights (Söderberg 2013). In cyberspace, technology is a tool for social change, a mechanism for disseminating information, as well as a new-networked mode of production seen in the free and open source software development. Since “capitalism is a surveillance apparatus” that has commodified the Internet, then "hactivism can be a politically constructive form of civil disobedience as an anarchic gesture; it can signal anti-capitalist protest or commercial protectionism; it can denote spammers or antiabortion activists, counter-surveillance experts or open source-code advocates" (Krapp 2005:73). In the realm of cyber activism, hactivism is the new frontier for challenging the State: it knows no boundaries when protecting civil liberties and freedom of information.

The Origin of Anonymous: The Mother of All Boards

Anonymous’ emerged in 2003 (Pendergrass 2013; Burford 2013; Massa 2013) on the website www.4chan.org in /b/ board, an image and discussion board accessible to any online participant (Massa 2013; Pendergrass 2013). Christopher “moot” Poole, a 15-year-old boy, created this seemingly innocuous forum to celebrate Japanese anime through unlimited image posting and commentary (Massa 2013). The allure of this open Internet

forum was that it replicated a Japanese anime website “2chan,” a commentary image-board¹ for anime aficionados who were able to post anonymously because it “protected the identity of the person posting” (Pendergrass 2013:25-26).

It was this freedom to post with anonymity that became the catalyst for the disembodied identity of the Anonymous Collective as a hacktivist movement (Pendergrass 2013; Massa 2013). As Anonymous evolved into a hacktivist movement, the mainstream media began to delegitimize their identity by depicting them as a league of spies, traitors, and as threats to national security. These mainstream counter-frames instilled the narrative that “hackers are a danger to everyday citizens” (Klein 2015:382). However, the Anonymous reputation was not always perceived as impending threat to national security.

The inherent anonymity of 4chan quickly gained traction; it was “permissive of lewd and illegal content which would normally trigger ejection in mainstream forums” (Massa 2013:64) because all participants are aware that they cannot be blamed, traced, or linked to any posts (Pendergrass 2013). Anonymity is guaranteed to 4chan users, since there is no registration, no username, no personal identifiers, nor permanent accounts required to post any content, images or messages. Thus, no participant can be traced (Massa 2013). Within 4chan.net, /b/ board was uncharted territory. It was a no man’s land, as it was a “random” board where anything goes on any subject. They did restrict

¹ A type of Internet forum that generally consists of posting images.

“child pornography or posts which can do harm to others” (Pendergrass 2013:27). As an ingenious Internet space that pushed the envelope of impropriety through self-expression, /b/ board set new standards for an unregulated form of freedom of speech experienced through cyberspace (Pendergrass 2013).

Massa (2013) outlines three typologies of entertainment that stemmed from this forum:

(1) the production of a broad range of ‘memes’, i.e., entertaining artifacts that are propagated across the internet and that sometimes make their way outside of 4chan and into the mainstream Internet (e.g., Lolcats, Rickrolling); (2) the exchange of various forms of pornography and gruesome photographs; and (3) the conduct of a series of ‘raids’ or hacker-style attacks of online targets. (P. 65-66).

The provocative and vulgar culture that /b/ board revered, generated the beginnings of a “collective consciousness” (Pendergrass 2013) and a tolerance of “behaviors that were against the law” (Massa 2013:28).

During the period of October 2003 through December 2007, these /b/ board anonymous participants had no interactions with the public and remained “relatively secluded,” yet they reveled in their culture of “recreational pranksterism” (Massa 2013). Their prankster activities consisted of posting 40 fake threats regarding the detonation of seven bombs at the NFL, hacking the online game Habbo Hotel by interfering with characters and exhibiting swastikas, and DDoSing (Denial of Service attacks) the self-proclaimed nationalist Hal Turner (Pendergrass 2013). During this period they remained apolitical as their prankster activities were just for the “lulz,” hacker language that

translates into “the laughter and amusement” (Burford 2013; Massa 2013; Pendergrass 2013) and were yet to be recognized by the public.

The Evolution of Anonymous: from Pranksters to Hacktivists

Anonymous first debuted in popular media on the Los Angeles Fox 11 News on July 26, 2007 (Pendergrass 2013). This corporate media broadcasting launched an investigation on the Anonymous Collective and framed them as “hackers on steroids,” “domestic terrorist” and “hacker gang” who were “treating the web like a real life video game sacking websites, invading MySpace accounts, disrupting innocent people’s lives” (NegativeNigra 2007). Aside from the Anonymous Collective media counter- framing as “terrorists” and “vigilante,” they were also cast as “the cyber Robin Hood, the kids in the basement, the angry mob in the street, the Internet Savior, and video gamers” (Burford 2013:108). In defining the Anonymous Collective, Klein (2015) discovered a disparity in journalist representations based on completely negative terms such as “global threats” and “malicious pranksters.” These negative labels persisted even though 82% of Anonymous’ operations and actions were about protecting freedom of speech or political causes (Klein 2015:379). The Anonymous Collective frames itself as “vigilante media,” which Klein (2015) defines as “grassroots movement” whose expression goes “beyond the realm of traditional activism” because they advocate through acts of retribution in the cyber world (Klein 2015:384). Regardless of these counter-framings, Anonymous have gained a substantial following because of their counter-hegemonic YouTube videos.

In 2008, the political identity of Anonymous developed further when they mobilized against The Church of Scientology. The Church of Scientology removed a video from YouTube of Tom Cruise professing the church's ideology, and declared it was based on copyright infringements (Pendergrass 2013; Massa 2013). On January 27, 2008, Anonymous released a video message titled "Call to Action" (Pendergrass 2013). This video urged viewers to protest Scientology centers worldwide on February 10, 2008 (Pendergrass 2013) as an act of solidarity in the name of free speech, human rights, family and freedom (Church of Scientology 2008). February 10, 2008 marked the Anonymous transition from online recreational prankster to offline political activity. This date also marks the inception of the Anonymous Collective Guy Fawkes persona (Pendergrass 2013; Massa 2013; Burford 2013). The Guy Fawkes mask now provides a unifying symbol for the hacktivist collective. Burford (2013) asserts that "the image of the Guy Fawkes mask has come to symbolize Anonymous, the online group of hacktivists who use disruption and surveillance in a radical attempt to overthrow, not simply the English state, but an integrated global empire of surveillance and bodily regulation" (p. 3).

Seven thousand masked Anonymous protesters in 100 cities around the world united offline to challenge the technological repression exemplified by the Church of Scientology (Pendergrass 2013; Massa 2013). This action became a pivotal moment in Anonymous online history. It transitioned their movement into the offline world where they united to address a perceived injustice. It grew out of a cyber imperative that

information should flow freely “no matter how offensive or independent of ownership by a private party” (Massa 2013:70). This ideal was incepted in 4chan and established a cyber culture of freedom of self-expression that reigned supreme. It took a life of its own, just like its creators, no matter how lewd or lascivious. Ultimately, this principle became their impetus for political activism.

During the era Massa (2013) categorized as “Period 4” from June 2009 through February 2011, Anonymous announced their support for WikiLeaks and Julian Assange. Anonymous launched “Operation Payback” in December 2010 after PayPal announced they were suspending funding services to Julian Assange (Pendergrass 2013:78), and “decided to punish MasterCard, Visa, Paypal and other [sources] using LOIC (Low Orbit Ion Cannon) software and other ‘Denial of Service’ tools,” while also garnering “new attention to Anonymous” (Massa 2013:83). This action marked the first time that Anonymous hacktivists were arrested due to their participation and association in illegal hacking activities (Massa 2013; Pendergrass 2013). However, these arrests did not deter Anonymous’ continued attacks on behalf of Wikileaks, as well as efforts to raise awareness of the content in the State department documents leaked under Operation Leakspin (Massa 2013). Their hacking operations, Klein (2015) argues, “appear to be as socially conscious as they are globally directed” (p. 380), and thus were marginalized by mainstream news outlets because they challenge the contemporary dominant discourse.

On the contrary, Mansfield-Devine (2011) is highly critical of the Anonymous hacktivist collective. If Anonymous claims that their hacktivist movement is there to

preserve the free flow of information, then he questions if their data sharing activities align with social justice principles, and if they contribute to improving technological security of personal data (Mansfield-Devine 2011). As a journalist specializing in technology and security, Mansfield-Devine (2011) argues "the group's ambitions are often couched in terms of uncovering corruption and fighting oppression and use the vocabulary of revolution, even though their activities are commonly perceived as little more than juvenile stunts or vandalism" (p. 5). Yet, Klein (2015) argues that Anonymous embodies the Gramscian concept of a counter-hegemonic movement as they challenge dominant systems oppression, as well as the conventional means for expressing dissent. He concludes "as a movement, Anonymous could be understood as a digital form of oppositional discourse that is challenging the elite establishment of politics, industry, media, law, and other power circles of the global community" (Klein 2015:397). Klein (2015) contends this is evident as Anonymous is unwilling to use "the established media of radio, television, or newspapers as instruments in its efforts is an indication of how it regards such media as part of the same hegemonic system it opposes" (p. 397). Moreover, Anonymous' do-it-yourself (DIY) YouTube videos can be interpreted as their conscious strategy to subvert the ideological apparatus of the State due to being a self-proclaimed anarchist collective.

The Anonymous Collective began as apolitical cyber pranksters who evolved into political maturation in 2010 in support of WikiLeaks (Massa 2013; Pendergrass 2013; Burford 2013). This maturation can be attributed to their decentralized leadership

(Pendergrass 2013; Massa 2013; Burford 2013), and their commitment of embodying an idea that can transform into various forms of expression as they employ a hacker's ethics, the foundation of their political activities. Levy (1984) defined the hacker's ethics as an unlimited and total access to computers, "the belief that information wants to be free" because any restrictions to the access of information is "abhorrent" (quoted in Steinmetz and Gerber 2015:31). As hackers, their dedication is founded on learning and dabbling with technological systems which leads to the "the creation of new or improved systems [and their] ability to manipulate them" (Steinmetz and Gerber 2015:31). Thus, in 2010 they began their quest as hacktivists fighting for freedom and access to information as a basic human right.

Hacker's ethics resist State control and their intrusion of the technological realm by challenging the State's coercive surveillance attempts to centralize databases and retain data on the public (Steinmetz and Gerber 2015). A hacker's ethic also contributes to a "do-it-yourself mentality" that advocates the disruption of State and corporate secrecy and extends beyond the technological into the social realm (Steinmetz and Gerber 2015). This hacker's ethic also resonates throughout the Anonymous Collective's hacktivist activities as "a multifaceted and dynamic movement that does not promote one idea or piece of legislation but rather serves to protect and to deconstruct any authority that attempts to regulate access to information" (Burford 2013:27). Anonymous is a hacktivist force to be reckon with because their collective threatens "the media-industrial

complex” and dominant national narratives (Burford 2013), that serve as knowledge production institutions.

The extant literature on the Anonymous Collective acknowledges their anarchistic nature based on its decentralization of authority, informal structure and as a counter-hegemonic leaderless movement (Mansfield-Devine 2011; Massa 2013; Burford 2013; Pendergrass 2013). However, the literature has yet to explore how Anonymous applies anarchistic principles to its hacktivist movement that contributes to their self-proclaimed anarchist movement. To expand the scholarship around the Anonymous self-proclaimed anarchist hacktivist collective, this study will combine an anarchist lens to a framing analysis of social movements to examine Anonymous’ anarchist claims.

The following chapter presents a literature review of anarchist theory, theorizing the State and social movement frame analysis to establish the theoretical framework for studying Anonymous through these theoretical lenses. I also review a feminist critique of anarchist theory that will inform a critical analysis of Anonymous’ depictions of anarchist principles such as Emma Goldman’s anarcho-feminism.

CHAPTER TWO: ANARCHY, THE STATE AND THE MOVEMENT FRAMING

Cyberspace and Transnational Anti-Globalist Movements

Cyberspace carves pathways to new forms of information and knowledge. It supports new digital identities and unprecedented forms of civic engagement. Digital media contribute to "spreading protest messages, driving coverage by mainstream broadcasters, connecting frustrated citizens with one another, and helping them to realize that they could take shared action regarding shared grievances" (Howard and Hussain 2011:41). With alternative media sources, the public can discover counter-hegemonic ideas not publicized by mainstream media. For instance, Indymedia, a transnational open publishing network, reports on socio-political issues and mobilizes protests against anti-corporate globalization, while also circulating alternative news and information (Juris 2005).

Cyberspace also provides an alternative source of self-expression for aggrieved citizens:

social media ha[s] become the scaffolding upon which civil society can build, and new information technologies give activists things that they did not have before: information networks not easily controlled by the state and coordination tools that are already embedded in trusted networks of family and friends. (Howard and Hussain 2011:48).

However, Tufekci (2014) reminds us digital media establishes more possibilities to evade censorship, such as in the case of the Tahir Square protests and the Occupy Movement in the United States, governments have fiercely responded by demonizing and attacking

social media, while contributing to polarized environments where dissidents have access to a very different set of information compared to those who are loyal to the regime. These digital forums also support the generation of disinformation, propaganda and, most recently “fake news.” Although cyberspace thrives on the free flow of information, the power of the State remains pervasive in regulating and eliminating spaces of opposition. Thus, the dissemination of democratic ideas and values through online communication depends on a relationship with offline mobilization, while it transcends space and time through rapid growth of mobilization on a global scale (Turner 2013). For social movements to evade State surveillance and co-optation, the need the transnational breadth inherent in the digital world.

In postmodernity, borders are obscured as global capitalism increases the possibilities for global markets of oppression. Brown (2005) argues neoliberalism expands free market capitalism on a global scale as it extends and disseminates market value to all institutions and social action as a way to maximize free trade and corporate profits through a transnational accumulation of wealth. As economic rationality is globalized, Brown (2005) contends it places the State in direct service to the economy and establishes a neoliberal governmentality that “undermines the relative autonomy of certain institutions-law, elections, the police, the public sphere from one another and from the market” (p. 45). A neoliberal governmentality intertwines the State to capital while it makes outdated traditional “modalities of resistance,” and thus requires the development of innovative modalities of resistance to effectively challenge it (Brown

2005:45). To challenge this globalized neoliberal governmentality, the new modalities of resistance require the same expansive characteristics present in a globalized world. Moreover, transnational social movements become integrated through “digital connectivity [...] for organizing, gaining publicity, and effectively communicating,” while capitalizing on the strength of digital infrastructure through their horizontal and leaderless organization (Tufekci 2014:1). Anti-corporate globalization activists have used new digital technologies to coordinate actions, build networks, practice media activism, and physically manifest their emerging political ideals (Juris 2005).

Langman describes three types of online movements: “alternative media, alternative politics oriented toward global justice and peace, and online cyber-activism” (quoted in Turner 2013:376). From these three types, Langman argues the global justice peace movements, such as anti-World Trade Organization or anti-G8 groups, are short-term and episodic form of alternative politics that pressure corporations and government organizations (quoted in Turner 2013). Turner (2013) reminds us that Langman’s three types of online activism were conceptualized before 2007 when Internet mobilization was limited and disputed within academia, as it still lacked a long-term and offline basis.

Turner (2013) analyzed the role of new media and social movements through its spontaneous organizing strategies as Internet-based mobilizations. This “new approach to Internet mobilization is more pragmatic and stresses the importance of juxtaposing online and offline communication and mobilization tools” (Turner 2013:378). These contemporary transnational movements are led by anti-capitalist and anti-political

identity as new forms of radicalism that question the interconnection of global politics and the mechanism of representation (Turner 2013). Turner (2013) contends "the Web lends itself to more radical and oppositional forms of campaigning, sometimes progressive, and often unconventional and extra-institutional" (p. 380). These forms are present in hacktivists cultures who base their political activism on a hacker's ethic. Through "new egalitarian radicalism," cyberspace fosters "new models of direct democracy by creating an environment where rapid institutional adaptation and experimentation are common" (Turner 2013:380). As a global neoliberal governmentality subjects all aspects of the socio-political realms to an economic rationality, modes of resistance also require the experimentation of renewed socio-political relationships that can challenge its transnational authority as transnational anti-globalist movements (Brown 2005).

Anti-corporate globalization movements target neoliberal globalization and establish a vehicle for "communications internationalism" to resist this transnational form of oppression and domination (Juris 2005:191). Anti-corporate globalization activists have not only used digital technologies as tools to express alternative political imaginaries in a networking platform, but are also influenced by anarchism and peer-to-peer networking logics (Juris 2005). This open source networking is considered a post-capitalist form of socio-political organization critical for challenging a neoliberal global governance, as it utilizes "the internet as crucial tool for 'activist-hackers' to carry out relay and exchange operations, receiving, interpreting, and distributing information out to

diverse network hubs and nodes;" which also contribute to their horizontal structured collaboration (Juris 2005:196). Open source networking become experimental spaces for "anarchist methods [to] share similar political orientations to methods of inquiry with an overt commitment to research in the furtherance of social justice with specific attention to structures of authority and the state" (Lewis 2012:229). As the information society struggles against intellectual property laws and State censorship (Söderberg 2013), hacktivists become politically engaged through collective action against the State (Massa 2013). As discussed in the introduction, Anonymous is a hacktivist group who challenge corporate media by exposing political and government corruption through their hacking activities and YouTube video messages. In the following section, I will consider research that has theorized the action of anarchists, their conceptualization of the State, what anarchist political practices entail, a feminist critique of anarchism, and how social movement theory has analyzed anarchist social movements framing to further understand how the Anonymous Collective, as a self-proclaimed anarchist movement, applies anarchist principles.

Theorizing Anonymous

Anonymous as a hacktivist collective is known for its multifaceted identity. Some suggest it is anarchistic due to its decentralized structure and loosely coordinated work of online activists (Burford 2013). Devoid of a formal membership list, they are largely composed of technologically savvy hacktivists (Pendergrass 2013). Aside from being

birthed in cyberspace, the Anonymous non-bureaucratic and non-hierarchical organization sets it apart from other types of online and offline collective action (Massa 2013). Even though Anonymous is classified as having anarchist values (Mansfield-Devine 2011), none of the studies have explored Anonymous YouTube messages.

The academic literature on the Anonymous Collective is scant, which could be attributed to their unique amorphous “organization” that only exists as an idea in cyberspace, and sporadically materializes offline without a proper means of validating their membership. Two studies attempted to understand Anonymous’ inception as a hacktivist collective and their creation of a hacktivist online community. Pendergrass (2013) traced the epistemology of Anonymous history to understand its participants, their activities as a collective, its functions and operations. Massa (2013) analyzed Anonymous as a dynamic non-traditional online community that employs diverse modes of civic engagement to coordinate collective action. She traces the evolution of their online community as formed through four periods, which demonstrates their shift into their cyber activist engagement (Massa 2013). The first period, October 2003 through December 2007, outlined their arrangement and coordination of small-scale raids. The second period during January 2008 included coordination of a large-scale hacktivist project against Scientology. The third period, February 2008 through May 2009, expanded their repertoire of traditional protest activities. And, the fourth period, June 2009 through February 2011, saw them combining their coordination of activism with Internet-relay chat (IRC) recreational activities (Massa 2013).

Burford (2013) was interested in exploring Anonymous through the lens of chronotopes and “the public screen.” He incorporates Bakhtin’s (1981) analysis of chronotopes to study “the spatio-temporal relationships of traditional social movements” as he contends that Anonymous challenges these traditional relationships by establishing new chronotopes that influence contemporary movements (Burford 2013). A chronotope is a representation of language and discourse through particular configurations of time and space. He combines the chronotope with DeLuca’s and Peebles (2002) analysis of “the public screen” to understand the rhetoric and aesthetic credibility of the Anonymous movement based on their protest images (Burford 2013). Burford (2013) depicts Anonymous as a disembodied character in cyber world whose emerging chronotopes blur the distinction between the protestor and the hacker. Both the protestor and the hacker function “outside of state suppression tactics and normative restraints,” while posing a threat to those in power (Burford 2013:ii). The frame of visual symbolic systems of cyberspace also corroborated Anonymous visual rhetoric whose images challenge the State’s control and “surveillance over the protesting body” (Burford 2013:53). Burford’s (2013) study also acknowledges that the Anonymous Collective is a hacktivist force that challenges State authority and surveillance. As long as Anonymous poses a threat to the status quo by threatening to expose the corrupt government and corporate powers, it is valuable to assess its potency as a self-proclaimed anarchist movement in a neoliberal global capitalist modern world. As Gil Scott-Heron’s (1970) poem asserts, “‘the revolution will not be televised.’ But it will occupy the Internet. And it will do so through

its own aesthetic reality” (quoted in Burford 2013:114). As the State's authority invades cyberspace and threatens cyber freedom, techno-libertarianism and anarchy become an acceptable digital form of resistance against the State.

Theorizing Anarchism and the State

Anarchism can be regarded as the black sheep of progressive change since this counter-hegemonic theory and its principles are immediately disregarded as too radical or too revolutionary. However, this dominant anarchist counter-frame may be derived from a deficient understanding of what anarchism represents and what it values as an equitable form of freedom. To conceptualize anarchism is to discover that it challenges all forms of dominance and authority that subjugates personal autonomy for the sake of reinforcing the status quo. This revolutionary theory attributes all repression and authoritarianism with the rise of a statist governmentality. Moreover, to understand why anarchism inherently rejects the authority of the State, it is important to theorize the State as a sovereign power that permeates the dynamics of all forms of interrelationships. This literature review explores the foundation of anarchist theory to dispel the common misperceptions that anarchism equates to perpetual disorder, chaos and violence, as portrayed by the mainstream media and the State who influence its disapproval and repress it through all institutions of power. Since the foundations of anarchism were inspired by White heteronormative men, a feminist critique of anarchy is presented to examine any analytical shortcomings in relation to power and theoretical framework.

As social movement organizations (SMOs) mobilize groups of disenfranchised from mainstream politics, they contest institutions, laws, and policies through collective action to influence the State and acquire political benefits political acceptance (Amenta et al. 2002). Amenta, Caren, Fetner and Young (2002) explain that the State becomes the SMOs key target as it seeks social change by directly influencing the State or by inducing pressure on other major state institutions. The authors critique social movement theorists for failing to conceptualize the State beyond the convention of "political opportunity structure." This concept only measures the success or failure of social movements according to the political context they face. An SMO may birth from a political opportunity or a rupture in the political system; however, its success depends on mobilizing adherents and activating them through extended social action. According to Amenta et al. (2002), the State's authority influences SMOs through its structure of polity, its level of democratization, its electoral rules, the level of bureaucratization, and its policies, which in turn can diminish the size, the level of power of its resources, and the claims that SMOs can make through the State (p. 48). Because of the State's powerful authority over the political structure that impacts SMOs, Amenta et al. (2002) assert that the State establishes the guidelines in which SMOs can exist. Since the State controls the structure of social movements, and as social movements strive to influence the State, the State must be more fully conceptualized to allow a more effective analysis of SMOs.

The State serves as a dominating force of authority with differing levels of control through state institutions that influences/ coerces citizens to conform to its socio-political

order (Neocleus 2003; Painter 2006; Newman 2007; Turner 1998; Amenta 2002; Lerner 1970; Grocott et al. 2015; Knight 2012; Raekstad 2016; Kanuga 2010; Gelderloos 2015; Rossi 2015). Rossi (2015) writes that levels of state power derive from two specific sources: as an "exclusionary power that declares those outside its borders as aliens" and as "a repressive power that transforms those within its borders as subjects" (p. 102). The State then, through its political authority, has legitimated its legal power by defining its territory and its subjects (Amenta 2002; Neocleus 2003; Beck 2006; Painter 2006; Rossi 2015; and Gelderloos 2015). Neocleus (2003) expands on Rossi's conceptualization of the State by personifying it as the body politic that shapes geographical political territories as it also imposes its "state of mind" and its "personality" upon its society. The State becomes reified into existence as its institutions normalize its authoritarian mode of governance and uphold its laws and policies that define public relations. Neocleus (2003) explains this reification as dimensions of the "political, psychic, and cultural constitution of the State as a subject possessing a will of its own" through the notion of the body (politic), mind, personality and its definition of what is "home" (Neocleus 2003:46). Moreover, the State expands its political power and further reifies itself as a mental state that permeates the psyche of its citizens (Neocleus 2003). He also posits this state of mind manifests intentionality through state reason, where the State constantly defines the purpose of its actions against its citizens and constantly refines its modes of oppression (Neocleus 2003:46), as seen through its excess use of force in the face of unarmed African-American women and men which ignited the Black Lives Matter. By controlling

the political imaginary, state power becomes legitimized under juridical law reifying the State as an “artificial person” and transforming itself into a new technology of power (Neocleus 2003:21). Neocleus (2003) further theorizes the State by explaining that it purposely establishes a sense of “order” and unity within its borders, as seen under the guise of “nationalism” and “patriotism” after the infamous 9/11 terrorist attacks, to impose legitimacy and authority as a force of state sovereignty. The State, Gelderloos (2015) asserts, “only has the territory and the people it rules over,” and, thus, “it'll be damned if it lets them go free” (p. 240). This type of “instilled mentality” is characterized beyond institutions (Bookchin quoted in Shantz 2006) as it justifies state repression through violent institutions such as the police force and the military-industrial-complex against dissidents. The State, as repressive mechanism of power, transforms itself into new forms of authority by overriding juridical imperatives and suspending civil and political liberties for the sake of “political order” as exemplified by the U.S. Patriot Act of 2001. The State is ultimately a force of authority and control that dominates the political sphere and permeates the psyche of its citizens.

The authority of the State also exerts control over society through taken-for-granted conventions that organize social relations in what Painter (2006) calls “prosaic practices.” Painter (2006) applies Bakhtin's concept of “prosaics” as he argues it “reveals heterogeneous, constructed, porous, uneven, processual and relational character” of the State when it intersects with the mundane, state institutions and practices that create state effects (p. 754). An example of a prosaic practice is as basic as giving birth and child

rearing, where under the domination of the State. We are monitored and regulated, as we are not able to easily defy conventions without State repercussions, thus defining this mundane experience as state process of legitimization (Painter 2006). He conceptualizes this structure of domination as "the establishment of state control" because it arranges society to become gradually dependent on, and dominated through, relations of the State that go largely unquestioned by citizens because it has become a pervasive force of social control (Painter 2006:755). Just like Neocleus, Painter (2006) also theorizes the State as a symbolic presence that is reified through "statization," a process that transfers different sectors under state ownership or control, as another means to legitimize and normalize its socio-political power (Painter 2006). Moreover, since it forges state relations with society through prosaic practices, Painter (2006) contends that "there can be no limit, or in principle, to the State's activity and encroachment in the realm of the individual and the private realm" (p. 758). This is highly problematic as most citizens accept the State's prosaic form of socio-political control because they do not question the State's source of authority in their private life. As the State's source of power derives from demarcating its geopolitical boundaries and subjugating its subjects to its authority (Rossi 2015), under the guise of "national security" after 9/11, it translates into indiscriminate surveillance of the public and the private that justifies repression under a police state. Newman (2007) considers this intersection of state power "as an abstract machine of domination that has its own logic and rationality" (p. 13). Althusser (1972) conceptualizes the State as an "apparatus" because it contributes to the reproduction of its authoritarian conditions and

establishes the ideal circumstances for the expansion of its ideological dominance and power. According to this conceptualization, the institution of public education serves as an ideological state apparatus because it rewards those who obey authority, it disseminates state-regulated knowledge, while it punishes anyone who deviates or questions its knowledge-producing authority, as it reproduces socio-political order that compliments state domination (Althusser 1972). Conclusively, the State is conceptualized as a powerful structural force of modern governance that penetrates all levels of social reality comprising of the private and the public dimensions of modern citizenship that effectively establishes the status quo through mundane practices and repression. However, this form of state governmentality had to first establish itself and proclaim itself sovereign (Turner 1998; Güven 2015).

How the State Became Sovereign

The State is a mode of governance that superseded ecclesiastical power, as it marked the evolution into modernity where political power centralized and transformed itself into state sovereignty (Turner 1998; Güven 2015). Güven (2015) references Bookchin to provide a historical context of the rise of state sovereignty as a force that usurped direct democracy of civically engaged Athenian citizens in late fifth century B.C. During this period, Güven (2015) reveals "Athenian citizenship meant that every citizen would be able to take a role in policy making and administration," as "direct democracy relied on citizens that acquired administrative skills such as reasoning and problem

solving skills through discussions and debates in popular assembly" (p. 181). He argues Athenian democracy collapsed as a result of being invaded by Rome, and as cities and country sides dissociated in Europe, the country sides became dominated by feudalism (Güven 2015:183), a catalyst to the formation of nation-states. This dissociation increased and demarcated the poor classes from the bourgeoisie contributing to the empowerment of this elite class, and the political transformation of democracies into republics (Güven 2015). Ultimately, Güven (2015) declares this established the emergence of nation-states under the arbitrary rule of kings. Turner (1998) then specifies the emergence of state-centered governance as he traces it to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. He explains this treaty resolved the religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics in Europe "by declaring that religious affiliation was to be determined by the ruler of secular state" (Turner 1998:26). Since then, Turner (1998) asserts, "the State has been the central locus of governance since the mid-seventeenth century" (p. 25). This is essential to recognize as the State is contextualized as an evolution in political organization where the State developed into a sovereign form of governmentality in a secular modernity. Moreover, as Turner (1998) indicates, its geographical expansion gained all the while normalizing the central role of violence as a crucial aspect of its external relations. The demarcation of nation-state territories solidifies Neocleus' notion of "home," and as Rossi (2015) indicates, the State is able to impose its power within its borders by interpolating its citizens as subjects. Presently, the State defines those who are

"threats" to its governmentality as "terrorists" and labels them a "danger" to its socio-political order (Neocleus 2003; Rossi 2015; Beck 2006; Gelderloos 2015).

How the Planner State Evolved into a Crisis State

The public may interpret the authority of the State to fulfill a paternal role as it protects its citizens within its borders from foreign and domestic threats (Neocleus 2003; Rossi 2015; Newman 2007; Shantz 2006). However, Anarchist theorists acknowledge the State's coercive and repressive characteristic manifested through exclusive laws and regulation, the military, and the police force and its prisons as a leading cause of social injustice and oppression (Shantz 2006; Gelderloos 2015; Turner 1998; Amenta et al.2002; Newman 2007). Shantz (2006) argues the State functions in a repressive manner as it legitimizes itself as the only mechanism for addressing or solving disputes, while rendering citizens dependent because it diminishes their self-determination. He alludes to the Marxist concept of "Planner State" where in the twentieth century the State, fearing the rise of militant working-class movements, reacted by immersing itself as a Right State by securing the conditions for the free market and capitalizing on social citizenship (Shantz 2006). Illuminati defines social citizenship as it "administratively distributes legality so as to reintegrate the underprivileged classes within the fiction of a guaranteed community in exchange for renouncing the virtual subversiveness of difference" (quoted in Shantz 2006:62). This guarantees that the State manages social institutions such as the

schools, hospitals and welfare programs as a welfare state without massive public dissidence, also characterized under an ideological state apparatus.

During the Civil Rights era, the corrosion of the welfare State was framed as social struggles highlighted in the emergence of new social movements during the 1960's through the 1970's (Shantz 2006). To explain the effects of these social struggles Dyer-Whiteford argues, "in the realm of government, the Planner State is replaced by the 'Crisis State' --a regime of control by trauma" where this Crisis State "governs fundamentally by planning or, more commonly, simply allowing crises within the subordinate classes" (quoted in Shantz 2006:65). The "subordinate classes," as Dyer-Whiteford asserts, are the recipients of a crisis state because they are left unprotected and without a safety net to guarantee their recovery. Beck (2006) exemplifies the level of crisis state through his theory of world risk society as he argues our "modern society has become a risk society in the sense that it is increasingly occupied with debating, preventing, and managing risks that itself produced" and achieved "through hysteria and politics of fear instigated and aggravated through the mass media" (p. 332). Beck's analysis addresses the socially constructed effect of a world risk society that anticipates risk even when the uncertainty of not knowing begets the need for security and control from the State. He then admonishes us as citizens and argues "the risk we have taken as citizens that trust the State to protect them from dangers of terrorism while their civil liberties are restricted where an open society is abolished, the State becomes more authoritarian and terrorist threats aren't averted" (Beck 2006:330). According to Beck's

argument, we as citizens surrender our autonomy and our civil liberties giving permission to the State to become more authoritarian because we blindly trust the State to protect us from state manufactured risks. As citizens, we become pawns to the State as it devises new ways to expand its authoritarian power. Gelderloos (2015) reminds us that even under socio-political struggle, the State expects the disenfranchised groups to participate in nonviolent social movements despite our proclivity to defend ourselves against state repression. When the underprivileged classes suffer from the decisions of the State apparatus, Gelderloos (2015) argues, the necessity to seek solutions outside the State become rational solutions.

The Third Revolution

To contest the national identity that has been imposed by a state-centric governance, Rossi (2015) asserts "a revolutionary transformation of society requires a revolutionary transformation of human identity and self-perception" because if people are not able to create their own histories, they will not adopt an active role in who they are (p. 93-94). Moreover, the State has been a great proponent of erasing histories and identities that do not serve to legitimize its authority and domination (Gelderloos 2015). Güven (2015) agrees that the people need to oppose bureaucratic governments and statehood to ignite a Third Revolution to "clarify the concepts of government and power" (p. 188). The Great French Revolution led to the creation of the American Constitution in 1789, which Güven (2015) classifies as the First Revolution. This was followed by the Second

Revolution in 1792 where constitutional monarchy was overthrown in France (Güven 2015). Both of these revolutions eliminated the power of the monarchy and transferred political power to the National Convention at the expense of direct democracy. A Third Revolution is to envision a new society absent of centralization of power where power is shifted into the hands of the people who engage in direct democracy, reminiscent of Athenian democracy. He argues it "aims for the elimination of the intertwined domination of class, gender, state, nation and the idea of domination of nature," as a new multidimensional citizenship emerges in a transformed society that includes marginalized groups of people (Güven 2015:189). The "anarchist vision," as Gelderloos (2015) defines it, is "a federated or interconnected world in which no structure has power over the individual or the free associations and communities created by free individuals" (p. 261). This vision is definitive within the anarchist community as the power of authority and the centralization of power within the State requires a complete eradication to allow free associations of groups of people to thrive (Gelderloos 2015; Rossi 2015, Ferreti 2016; Honeywell 2011; Bookchin 1998; Newman 2007). Gelderloos (2015) asserts "we will not be free as long as states exist" because "states are intrinsically aggressive, colonizing structures and therefore the destroyer of the freedom of their subjects" (p. 265). To theorize the State is to understand the basis of anarchist theory, as it exhibits why anarchists target the State it represents repressive authority and domination that needs to be abolished in order to rebuild a society free of to determine and define its own future. I

now turn to the literature review on anarchist theory to outline the main themes that guide this movement.

Conceptualizing Anarchism

To shift away from a state-centric governance, anarchists argue social movements must experiment with spaces to dispel internalized notions of authority and hierarchy (Graham 2011; Gelderloos 2015; Kanuga 2010; Bookchin 1998; Ferreti 2016; Knight 2012; Honeywell 2011; Newman 2007; Lerner 1970; Williams 2007; Grocott et al. 2015). Yet, Kanuga (2010) illustrates tensions arise within autonomous spaces as they struggle to confront contradictions learned under a capitalist system based on commodity relations and internalized authority. However, these autonomous spaces can only succeed when there is transparency of power used as a mechanism to resist capitalist exploitation and capitalist integration, based on the exclusion of a racialized class and gender hierarchies, in collusion with state structures of police and prisons. Their aim is to eradicate identities and conditions of belonging, based on perpetual statist principles of domination and control, within experimental spaces that can lead to transformation of global power relations.

Spaces like Bluestockings experiment with anarchist notions of cooperation, mutualism, autonomy, collective decision-making, while eliminating authoritarian positions of power. Landauer contends these anti-authoritarian notions are imperative as "the State is not something which can be destroyed by a revolution, but is a condition, a

certain relationship between human beings, a mode of human behaviour; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently” (quoted in Graham 2011:87).

However, to appreciate these ideas, anarchism must be conceptualized to understand why, as a theory, it is founded on counter-hegemonic ideals that pioneer a revolutionary conceptualization of freedom and self-determination.

Anarchism, as a radical left philosophy, has a foundation based on the principle of self-governance sustained through decentralized structures of voluntary associations. Kropotkin was a classical anarchist theorist who challenged social Darwinism through his theory of mutual aid. He recognized that William Godwin as the first to define the political and economic principles of anarchism (Kropotkin 1970). Kropotkin (1970) argued that although Godwin did not explicitly use the word “anarchism,” he established the principles that attacked state laws to prove that the State was useless. He also advocated for the abolishing of the courts to allow “true justice” to prevail as “the only real foundation” of society based on anarchism (Kropotkin 1970:160). It was this precise anti-authoritarianism that influenced various schools of anarchist thoughts: Bakunin’s collectivist anarchism, Kropotkin’s anarcho-communism, and Goldman’s anarcho-feminism, as well as many postmodern forms of anarchism.

Proudhon is the first theorist credited for using the word anarchy (Kropotkin 1970). He questioned the government’s authority as a ruling body over society because it reduced the sovereignty of individual will and reason. Proudhon (1876) contended, “as

man seeks justice in equality, so society seeks order in anarchy” (p. 77). He defined anarchy as “the absence of a master, of a sovereign,” an anti-authoritarian realization of justice and equality only achieved by abolishing the State (Proudhon 1876:277). Bakunin (1971) expanded this radical form of anti-authoritarian anarchist order to support a collectivist vision of anarchism. By eradicating the State as an authority and force, eliminating capitalist private ownership, and collectivizing the means of production, anarchy allows for the acknowledgement of the freedom and equality of all members of society through collective and social labor (Bakunin 1971). Moreover, Kropotkin (1902) also advocated for freedom emancipated from the State and its centralized authority, where small federations of voluntary associations, mutual aid, support and cooperation could thrive. His theory of mutual aid originated as a critique to social Darwinism and its notion of biological competition for survival. Instead Kropotkin (1902) proposed an inherently communal perspective of survival based on cooperation and mutual aid evident in the animal kingdom, which led him to “suspect in it a feature of the greatest importance for the maintenance of life, the preservation of each species, and its further evolution” (p. 6). He argues, the State as a capitalistic enterprise “took possession of the best parts of the communal lands, and did its best to destroy the communal institutions” (Kropotkin 1902:221). Moreover, as long as the State exists our inherent predisposition of mutual aid and mutual support will continue to be subverted.

Goldman (1910) also argues that the “vital lesson” of unity and cooperation has been subverted as “the long process of history has taught man that division and strife

mean death” (www.theanarchistlibrary.org). However, unity and cooperation are only incorporated if the State uses it as a tool to advance its interests (Goldman 1910). For Goldman (1910), to oppose the State through anarchism is to restore the theory of social harmony and the philosophy of the sovereignty of the individual. To reinforce our sovereignty, anarchism also exemplifies “direct action, the open defiance of, and resistance to, all laws and restrictions, economic, social, and moral” even when defiance and resistance are deemed illegal by the State (Goldman 1910:49). Accordingly, this “spirit of revolt” is morally justified in the face of an immoral State that suppresses, persecutes, punishes, resorts to every form of violence and force, while it is supported by every institution that serves to preserve its existing order (Goldman 1910). Thus, Goldman (1910) argues anarchism, as direct action against authority of the State, will lead to a revolution because “no real social change has ever come about without a revolution” as experienced throughout history (www.panarchy.org).

Within its fundamental definition, anarchism opposes the existence of the State as an authority of governance and domination (Williams 2007; Gelderloos 2015; Lerner 1970; Grocott et al. 2015; Knight 2012; Honeywell 2011; Bookchin 1998; Raekstad 2016; Venturini 2015; Eryilmaz 2015; Williams 2007). Moreover, Shantz (2006) reveals the word "anarchy" derives from the Ancient Greek word "anarchos" meaning "without a ruler" (p. 16). He also indicates there is a misconception that authoritarian rulers argue anarchy equates to chaos and disorder, while anarchists understand that ruling authorities are not required for the preservation of order (Shantz 2006; Gelderloos 2016; Ferreti

2016). Lerner (1970) historically contextualizes anarchism as a protest movement against the rise of the modern state to reclaim the "primitive" and "simplified" life. Anarchists, he claims, opposed the post-feudal states as they understood its structural mechanism of functioning such as that of centralization, bureaucratization, specialization, and the subordination of the individual to market forces (Lerner 1970; Ferreti 2016; Amenta et al. 2002; Gelderloos 2015; Turner 2016; Gould et al. 2004; Newman 2007; Rossi 2015). Malatesta argues that anarchism exists to remedy the State of affairs because the masses are oppressed and exploited by a small privileged group and, thus, require a means of mutiny (quoted in Ferreti 2016). Goodman perceives "decentralization" to be synonymous with anarchism, as he interprets it "is not lack of order or planning, but a kind of coordination that relies on different motives from top-down direction, standard rules, and extrinsic rewards like salary" (quoted in Honeywell 2011:6), as seen in capitalistic corporate culture that thrives in principles like the bottom line that puts profits over people. Moreover, Honeywell (2011) agrees that anarchism means there is no overarching authority or law that governs relations. Bookchin's defines anarchism based on four tenets: "a confederation of decentralized municipalities; unwavering opposition to statism; a belief in direct democracy; and a vision of libertarian communist society" with an aspect of metaphysical values (quoted in Williams 2007:302). These four tenets outline the foundations of classical anarchism promote a decentralized form of governmentality devoid of a statist mentality of authority and power to participate in genuine direct democracy that supports non-hierarchical self-governance. Ward's

approach to anarchism is a theory of organization "a description of a mode of human organisation, rooted in the experience of everyday life, which operates side by side with, and in spite of, the dominant authoritarian trends of our society" (quoted in Graham 2011:85). Furthermore, for Ward "anarchism 'is not a programme for political change but an act of social-determination', and 'an assertion of human dignity and responsibility'" (quoted in Graham 2011:90). Accordingly, anarchism is based on an innate sense of cooperative organization that all human beings have the capacity to engage in and thrive. All across anarchist theories there is a consensus that anarchy encompasses a sense of harmony based on the decentralization of authority and power (Knight 2012; Grocott et al. 2015; Gelderloos 2015; Williams 2007; Raekstad 2016; Nightingale 2015; Bookchin 1998; Tokar 2015; Eryilmaz 2015; Rossi 2015; Turner 1998) the creation of new relationships that are cooperative founded on voluntary or free associations (Gelderloos 2015; Ferreti 2016; Honeywell 2011; Graham 2011; Newman 2007; Bookchin 1998; Kanuga 2010; Tokar 2015; Eryilmaz 2015; Rossi 2015), on bonds of mutual aid (Bookchin 1998; Ferreti 2016; Gelderloos 2015; Shantz 2006; Kanuga 2010), solidarity (Ferreti 2016; Raekstad 2016; Venturini 2015), spontaneous action (Knight 2012; Graham 2011; Bookchin 1998; Honeywell 2011), redefinition of citizenship (Nightingale 2015; Tokar 2015; Eryilmaz 2015; Güven 2015; Rossi 2015) to achieve social change through self-autonomy (Shantz 2006), self-realization (Honeywell 2011), self-valorization (Shantz 2006), self-determination (Graham 2011), to be able to redefine freedom and equality outside the confines of an authoritarian state (Gelderloos 2015;

Bookchin 1998; Rossi 2015; Venturini 2015; Newman 2007; Raekstad 2016; Honeywell 2011). This conceptualization of anarchism assessed the fundamental premise as to why it promotes self-governance as a mechanism to achieve self-determination and freedom liberated from the repression of state authority and power. However, to understand the anarchist vision, it is valuable to explore how anarchists present this theory as a form of order and organization, based on cooperation, to dissolve the common misconception that anarchy begets chaos and complete disorder.

Anarchy Equals Organization and Order

Classical anarchists established anarchy as a theory of cooperation founded on mutual aid to achieve ultimate freedom through anti-authoritarian self-organization (Lerner 1970; Ferreti 2016; Shantz 2006; Knight 2012; Honeywell 2011; Williams 2007; Graham 2011; Raekstad 2016; Nightingale 2015; Eryilmaz 2015; Rossi 2015). Ferreti (2016) interprets anarchy through Reclus' definition that "anarchy is the highest expression of order" (quoted in p. 727). This natural order, Ferreti (2016) explains, requires no political organization established through domination and violent coercion under the State and Capitalism as an ultimate mode of governance. As mutual aid and solidarity permeate anarchist theories, order and organization are the foundation of its free societies and free associations (Bookchin 1998; Williams 2007; Shantz 2006; Venturini 2015; Raekstad 2015). Ferreti (2016) indicates organizational anarchists strive to become publicly visible as viable social movements that exude an organized presence

during social struggles. Kropotkin critiques the misconception that "whenever there is no government there is disorder," as he, and anarchist theorists, conclude that chaos resides within the capitalist system because its form of order relies on a strong government and a strong police force that subjugates and oppresses the masses (quoted in Ferreti 2016: 729). Kropotkin offers the argument that "there is plenty of order in many bunches of human activity where the government happily does not interfere" (quoted in Ferreti 2016: 729). His faith in cooperation and order derived from a "rational logic" endowed through biology enabled animals and humans to struggle for the preservation of its species as an inherent morality (Newman 2007; Shantz 2006).

Shantz (2006) also concedes that anarchy is order; he asserts anarchists organize social and political movements to transform social relations based on egalitarian principles as they engage in direct democracy. Order, through organization, is critical method to experiment with new social relationships when resisting state domination and control that oppresses and disenfranchises the masses (Shantz 2006; Gelderloos 2015; Ferreti 2016). Williams (2007) agrees that anarchism requires organization as "it is about creating and enacting horizontal networks instead of top-down structures like states, parties or corporations" (p. 312). To propose a radical alternative to statist modes of relations is to understand that another organic form of organization is needed. Ultimately, anarchists oppose bureaucratic centralist modes of organization, which is the mode of modern state governmentality that seeks to preserve the interests of the privileged few over the oppressed masses.

Anarchy is to be against the State

The significance of anarchy is that anarchists remain critical when evaluating the efficiency of the modern state apparatus and its promise of "security," thus, anarchists are prepared to endure alternative modes of governance (Lerner 1970). Proudhon's interpretation of the State is that of an artificial order founded on contradiction, making it ineffective as it engenders oppression, poverty and crime (Shantz 2006). Proudhon argues the State's authority is not capable of serving as an adequate basis for social relations because it does not inherit principles of mutualism and cooperation (Shantz 2006). Raekstad (2016) indicates "anarchist's refusal to participate in existing state structures is the result of a descriptive analysis of how they work to co-opt and subvert radical movements" (p. 409), especially movements that challenge the authority and dominance of the State such as that of the Black Panther Party who became infiltrated by the State through the undercover operation CoIntelpro. Anarchists acknowledge that the State infiltrates and subverts social movements as a mechanism of intimidation designed to suppress dissidents that pose a threat to the status quo (Gelderloos 2015, Raekstad 2016). Moreover, anarchist social movements must be tactful and strategic as Graham (2011) asserts "the role of anarchists is not to create ideological anarchist organisations or to recruit people into them, until they are large and strong enough to supplant the State and capitalism, but to work with people in creating their own human-scale, functional groups, through which they can take control over their everyday lives" (p. 89). As Gelderloos (2015) reminds us, the State has been a movement towards centralization of power. In

order to free ourselves from its authority, we must seize spaces to experiment with new relations based on cooperation and self-governance.

Reclaiming Spaces

Anarchists understand to subvert the State and its ideological impositions; spaces need to be seized to establish new forms of relationships based on freedom and equality (Gelderloos 2015; Bookchin 1998; Lerner 1970; Ferreti 2016; Knight 2012; Kanuga 2010; Honeywell 2011; Newman 2007; Williams 2007). Springer argues "spaces and social organisation are linked to the opposition of central authority principle" as "anarchism opposes all systems of rule of forms of –archy (i.e. hierarchy, patriarchy, monarchy, oligarchy, anthroparchy, etc.) and is instead premised upon cooperative and egalitarian forms of social, political, and economic organization, where ever evolving and autonomous spatialities may flourish" (quoted in Ferreti 201:736). However, Gelderloos (2015) argues "the only way to open up space to create something wholly new and sustaining is to seize that space, to disrupt the control of the agents of law and order" (p. 251). To seize spaces, Gelderloos (2015) argues, combative practices must be undertaken through "the use of sabotage, a capacity for self-defense, an ability to confront the forces of law and order, and a determination to attack the existing power structures, allows people in struggle to seize space in which the seeds for a new world can begin to take root, and helps prevent those experiments in freedom from being co-opted by the dominant system" (p. 252). These spaces can take the form of forums such as seen in the

Gezi forums (Eryilmaz 2015), counter-cultures such as communes (Lerner 1970), autonomous zones where a number of resources are developed to resist the State (Bookchin 1998; Shantz 2006; Gelderloos 2015), organizations such as The Circulo de Obreros (the workers circle) in Gibraltar, Spain (Grocott et al. 2015), voluntary associations (Graham 2011), and what Shantz (2006) calls "DIY" (do-it-yourself) experiments where people cooperate in anti-authoritarian spaces to forge new relationships.

In DIY spaces, Shantz (2006) argues, autonomy and self-organization are the motivating principles of its organization where self-education and reskilling can develop. He utilizes post-structuralist anarchist theorist Bey who asserts anarchism comprises of networks of communication in what he calls "the web." The web is "a support system" where information sharing occurs between different autonomous zones through zines and marginal publications, pirate radio, websites, listservers, and even hacking (Shantz 2006:168). Shantz (2006) asserts anarchists resist the mainstream media and thus use counter-media to represent their own stories, while using the Internet as a space for activism outside politics and the State. Duncombe argues "doing it yourself is at once a critique of the dominant mode of passive consumer culture and something far more important: the active creation of an alternative culture" (quoted in Shantz 2006:180). Despite, DIY movements and the reclaiming of spaces to experiment with cooperative, non-hierarchical, mutualism and direct democracy, anarchists still employ practical forms of political practices that SMOs use to mobilize adherents to activate social action.

Anarchist Protest Actions

Kinna (2005) explains when compared to igniting a revolution, protest is a very practical form of political practice, yet anarchists still engage in various forms of protests "when they believed that there was little potential for revolution and in the hope that the protest would increase it," that is, increase the chance of a revolution (p. 147). To resist and dismantle the *illegitimate* authority of a bureaucratic state, classical anarchism operates under moral obligation to overthrow the authoritarian regime of the State, as it is the ultimate source of oppression. However, as Kinna (2015) highlights Ward's assertion that "practical anarchism is more attractive to more people than strategies that promise revolution and civil war," thus it is the primary reason why anarchists strategically engage in pragmatic forms of protest political practices (p. 147). Fundamentally, anarchism is a theory of revolution that seeks to overthrow the highest form of authoritarian domination of the State. Inherently, anarchism is a counter-hegemonic movement who also needs to mobilize adherents to activate social action and thus strategically employ different types of political protest practices. She asserts "protest provides a means of mobilizing peoples" a means of "provoking counteraction" because of its potential "of illustrating the truly repressive character of authority," and although it is not directly affecting the overthrow of state power, it generates "expression and development of plural ways of acting" (p. 147). Kinna (2005) distinguishes 4 types of protest that anarchists engage in: constitutional action, symbolic action, direct action and civil disobedience. These protest practices are not specific to anarchist movements, but

are employed by anarchists in the anticipation that it advances the potential of a revolution, by attempting to transform public consciousness through counter-hegemonic notions of freedom and equality outside of the purview of the State (Kinna 2005).

Constitutional action

Kinna (2005) contends that anarchists are not usually associated with this type of action because it translates into orthodox legal forms of protest that follow the rules and regulations of the State. The State regulates protest action by enforcing a law that forces SMOs to request permission to peaceably assemble. To petition the State for permission to exercise their first amendment is counterintuitive to anarchist principles because anarchism is dedicated to subverting every aspect of centralized power and imposed authority, "yet anarchists make good use of the legal framework and the liberal freedoms of speech, press and association" (Kinna 2005:147). To engage in this type of political practice provides the opportunity for anarchists "to produce books, leaflets and journals" to raise the public consciousness and potentially "organize public meetings, lecture series, summer schools, conferences and discussion groups" (Kinna 2005:147). This practices' framework invests in transforming political consciousness and disseminating counter-hegemonic informative political education. A prominent contemporary issue that anarchists have undertaken as an arena for constitutional action is that of cyberspace (Kinna 2005), as we have seen with the self-proclaimed anarchist collective, Anonymous.

Symbolic action

Kinna (2005) defines this action as "those acts that aim to raise awareness of an issue or injustice, but by themselves do not attempt to resolve it" because it serves as a

symbolic act (p. 148). Kinna (2005) applies Lindsay Hart's two forms of symbolic action: bearing witness and obstruction. An example of the first form symbolic action of "bearing witness" is visiting and/or attending locations of injustices, such as holding vigils or protests in spaces where citizens have been killed by police brutality to appeal to the public's consciousness as "protestors aim to exploit media coverage to raise awareness of abuse and provoke outrage" (Kinna 2005:148). This political practice has been the case during the Black Lives Matter movement, where even though the Blacks Lives Matter Movement is not an anarchist movement, it does exemplify how the symbolic action of bearing witness can be an effective form of protest. This action may be interpreted as an appeal to resonate with the public's emotions, since it is aimed at provoking outrage based on moral responsibility to seek justice. Examples of the second form of symbolic action of "obstruction" entails actions that prevent: "road building, tree clearing, the movement of traffic and of arms and it demands of activists that they use their bodies to block unjust or oppressive actions – locking-on (to heavy machinery, transport, etc.) or sitting down in front of trains, tanks and bulldozers" (Kinna 2005:148). These actions were prominent in the radical environmental campaign of Earth First! As they contested national environmental organizations who were highly professionalized and thus corporatized, they became significantly reformist at the expense of further endangering the environment (Bevington 2009). Kinna (2005) contends that although symbolic actions seem "innocent," based on anarchism, these symbolic actions can become aggressive and provocative such as assassinating a dictator/ a tyrant or defending

terroristic acts as a form of viable protests against repressive authoritarian forces (p. 149). The potential impact of these symbolic actions, can lead to enhancing the public's morale in the face of repression and establish a sense of empowerment within the protesters, as illustrated with the example of assassinating a dictator or tyrant. The inherent violence behind this act symbolizes that they are directly engaging in social action by sending powerful messages to the oppressive perpetrators (Kinna 2005).

Direct action

Kinna (2005) distinguishes two characteristics for this form of action. The first characteristic is to induce empowerment of those being oppressed as she argues it is "about breaking from dependency on others to run our lives" (Kinna 2005:149). "Direct action repudiates such acceptance of the existing order and suggests that we have both the right and the power to change the world" (Sparrow 1997), thus agreeing with Kinna that the oppressed take the lead when employing this type of political practice. The second characteristic is "intended to succeed, not just to gain publicity" as "it describes an act intended to present 'a partial or temporary solution to a larger set of practices'" (Franks quoted in Kinna 2005:150). Engaging in direct action can be intended to provide a partial or temporary solutions to a larger set of practices, however, Sparrow (1997) asserts:

This is an activity which is inescapably revolutionary in nature and which is best carried out collectively in an organisation dedicated to that purpose. While anarchists remain without a political organisation of their own, the main avenue for promoting anarchism is to participate in, contribute to and provide leadership in other political movements. Our objective in participating in other political movements and campaigns should be to show that anarchist methods and ways of organising work. The best advertisement for anarchism is the intelligence of the contributions of our

activists and the success of our methods. Anarchists should strive to provide living examples of anarchy in action (<http://www.spunk.org/texts>).

What is particular to anarchy is establishing horizontal forms of political participation and as Sparrow (1997) reminds us that anarchists embody living examples of anarchy in action. Since anarchists are not afraid to exercise violent tactics, Kinna (2005) explains direct action also contain elements of criminality and illegality, such as the anarchists who supported acts of shoplifting and bank robbery during the nineteenth century, and symbolism such as the use of small bomb attacks during by anti-Francoist Spanish anarchists in the 1960's (p. 150). This also includes actions such as squatting, cooperatives, and co-housing (Kinna 2005; Sparrow 1997). Anarcho-syndicalist extended direct actions as a form of sabotage: tree-spiking, blockades, lockouts, rolling strike (Sparrow 1997). To employ direct action, be it for environmental reasons or to oppose workplace conditions, is to use their bodies in ways that deny and obstruct the profits of capitalist industries or “to deny employers the profits from their exploitation of their wage-slaves” (Sparrow 1997). Another prominent example of direct action is exemplified by "hacktivism" which Kinna (2005) defines as "the jamming or infiltration of computer systems and the subversive use of domain names to attack well-known corporate brands," as popularly portrayed in the political practice of the self-proclaimed anarchist Anonymous movement (p. 151).

Civil disobedience

This type of action refers to nonviolent resistance of lived injustices that have the potential to lead to arrest (Kinna 2005:152). Although this form of action is used by many

social movements, Kinna (2005) contends anarchist civil disobedience is distinguishable from orthodox forms of civil disobedience as it "does not imply an acknowledgment of the State's legitimacy," because "anarchists disobey with the long-term commitment to its overthrow (some anarchists prefer the term 'social' to 'civil' disobedience in order to emphasize this difference)" (p. 152), that is, the overthrow of the State. Kinna (2005) distinguishes between Thoreau's form of civil disobedience that engages either violent or nonviolent acts, to that of Tolstoy's condemnation of violence as immoral and "rejected the appeal to conscience as a justification for anarchist terrorism" (p. 152). In terms of Thoreau's support of violent acts being an acceptable form of civil disobedience, Gelderloos (2015) reminds us that revolutionary rebels such as in the Spanish revolution have predominantly employed tactics as means of attacking their oppressors, which has been essential practices throughout history. He argues "because the State does the most to criminalize combative tactics, because democracy has successfully stolen from us the history of our rebellions and a knowledge of the methods used, a priority of our struggle must be regaining the skills of attack" (Gelderloos 2015:297). Whereas, Tolstoy argues violence is immoral and during a revolution an "act of violence was more likely to perpetuate than overcome an injustice based on the exercise of violence" (quoted in Kinna 2005:152). As we can distinguish an anti-authoritarian, as an anti-statist, supports the use of violence as form of self-defense in the face of state repression because as Gelderloos (2015) asserts combative practices are:

a capacity of self-defense, an ability to confront the forces of law and order, and a determination to attack the existing power structures, allows people

in struggle to seize space in which the seeds for a new world can begin to take root, and helps prevent those experiments in freedom from being co-opted by the dominant system. (P. 252).

Regardless of these two philosophical distinctions of civil disobedience, Kinna (2005) argues anarchists still employ both of these types of tactics with an anti-authoritarian approach, a complete rejection of the State as a legitimate source of authority.

A Feminist Critique of Anarchism

There are theorists who have interconnected the theoretical principles of feminism to anarchy (Maiguashca 2014; Ehrlich 1994; Thomas 2002; Moody 1990) assuming that the anti-authoritarianism of anarchism, and its inherent repudiation of domination as its tool of power, is reminiscent of feminist liberation. Ehrlich (1994) has even questioned which came first--feminism or anarchy--due to their theoretical similarities. Despite Anarchism's core principle of anti-authoritarianism, Gemie (1996) writes that this is not enough to challenge the oppressive authority inherent in patriarchy, thus leading to its "double paradox." Theorists (Thomas 2002; Gemie 1996; Wright 1994; Dupuis-Déri 2009) contend that regardless of the similarities between feminist and anarchist framing, we cannot disregard that anarchism was founded by white heterosexual males who treated the "woman question" as a force of nature, even if their point of views were a product of their historical era (Gemie 1996). Moreover, they theorize since the fore fathers of anarchism, Godwin, Proudhon, Kropotkin and Bakunin, were white men, their proposed egalitarian vision for a revolutionary future neglected to encompass women as

an equal part of their anti-authoritarian politics. It required the first publicly self-identified anarchist woman, Emma Goldman, who vocalized her alliance with the "anarchist vision" to challenge anarchism inherent anti-feminist principles. As an infamous icon for "anarcha-feminism," Goldman was outspoken about her dedication to anarchy and her anti-nationalist and anti-authoritarian resistance of the heteronormative institution of gender and sexuality, including feminism (Hemmings 2013). In this chapter I will discuss how anarcha-feminism was a necessary evolution within the paradigm of anarchism, because it declared a resistance against the anti-feminist, sexist, male dominated, and, thus, inherently patriarchal political arena. This feminist critique of anarchism will serve to inform the analysis of this thesis.

The Anti-Feminist Beginnings of Anarchism

There is a fundamental distinction between European and American theories of anarchism (Moody 1990). Moody (1990) argues European anarchism is based on "communitarian or communist" principles as they promote a unified community, whereas anarchism in the United States is individualistic because they are "basically libertarians who believe in the smallest possible state "as individualistic ideals" (p. 161). Regardless of this geographic distinction of anarchism's theoretical principles, its classical foundations were incepted with that which Dupuis-Déri names "anarcho-patriarchy," also known as "anarcho sexism" (Gemie 1996) and "manarchism" (Gavin-Hebert 2011).

During Victorian period from 1880 through 1914, the gender divide was very prominent as the public sphere of politics was designated an entirely masculine arena, relegating the private domestic sphere as the feminine arena (Thomas 2002; Gemie 1996). Considering the classical anarchist theorists-- Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin--Gemie's (1996) research revealed Proudhon was the only one who flagrantly supported the gender divide. Proudhon's "explicit and extreme misogyny and anti-feminism" is rarely exposed in anarchist's studies where he argued against the equality of the sexes and asserted the "physical, intellectual, and moral inferiority of women" (Proudhon 1945 quoted in Dupuis-Déri 2009:43). In the case of Proudhon, Gemie (1996) argues, "he did not oppose all power, only illegitimate powers," while he considered patriarchy to be a legitimate source of power (p. 422). This is because "the ethical power of the father in the family was more than acceptable to Proudhon," as he perceived women to be "chained to nature," where only through marriage women were able to enter society and learn the "masculine sense of honour and independence" (quoted in Gemie 1996:423).

The anti-feminist foundations of classical anarchism demonstrate a lack of power analysis as it did not scrutinize patriarchy as a source of ideological hegemony that reigned over the socio-political interrelations of gender. Even if the anti-feminist notions of classical anarchy theorists were under analyzed, women during the Victorian period still found "the primacy of personal autonomy" politically appealing (Thomas 2002). The appeal was because "many of the central beliefs of anarchist ideology: individual liberty,

the responsibility to refrain from limiting the freedom of others, and the rejection of all hierarchy, provided a unique opportunity for women who felt restricted by conventional gender roles" during this historical era (Thomas 2002:2). The theoretical foundations freedom and equality of anarchism potentially benefit all marginalized and oppressed groups of people, despite the fact that individual liberty was not equally applied to women by classical anarchist theorists (Thomas 2002; Gemie 1996; Wright 1994; Dupuis-Déri 2009).

Theoretical Similarities of Anarchism and Feminism

The oppressive forces of statist authoritarian forces are mutually reinforced by relations based on domination that warp our freedom as citizens and obstruct our self-determination. Anarchists resist these types of relationships in the face of a centralized power. Ehrlich (1994) contends anarchists and feminists "view social and economic inequality as rooted in institutionalized power arrangements; [as] both stress the necessity of changing those arrangements as a precondition for liberation," a step towards achieving freedom and self-autonomy (p. 3). Historically, under a patriarchal socio-political order, women are relegated as second class citizens because they have been predominantly excluded from the public sphere of politics, and ultimately, positions of power. Hence, women have the capacity to be more receptive in associating the institutionalization of masculine power to be interchangeable to the institutionalization of gender discrimination as a system of inequality. Moreover, both anarchism and feminism

have roots in resisting notions of hierarchy that serve as tools of oppression over marginalized groups. They promote change through mutual aid and cooperation.

Ehrlich's (1994) research outlines basic feminist core statements that exemplify a feminist vision of change in his endeavor to establish the argument that feminism and anarchism both comprehend oppression and thus promote similar notions of freedom. Since "the social roles ascribed to women and men are primarily culturally determined," the core feminist statements assert: "women are discriminated against in all sectors of society — personally, socially, occupationally, and politically; Women are physically objectified, "and serve as testaments to the many of forms of discrimination that women endure as it ultimately suppresses their attainment of socio-political equality (Ehrlich 1994:3). As these feminists core statements explain how gender discrimination is perpetuated in the public sector, their vision of change proclaims:

The individual working collectively with others is the locus of change; Alternative institutions built on principles of cooperation and mutual aid are the organizational forms for this change; All people have a right to be free from coercion, from violence to their mind or body; One should neither submit to nor exercise power over other people. (Ehrlich 1994:5-6).

This feminist vision of social change addresses the need for transforming our existing relations of power and are congruent to anarchist principles based on mutual aid and cooperation, free from the threat of state violence and state repression. As Gavin-Hebert (2011) argues "anarchist politics encompass feminist politics because they are committed to abolishing hierarchy and domination" (p. 21). Maiguashca's (2014) research on the global justice movement also suggests that feminist ideals are resonant to anarchism as

they "have a common goal to the extent that they both seek to bring about comprehensive, radical transformation of the current social order in line with the principles of equality, self-determination and diversity" (p. 83). The global justice movement promotes radical social change as it understands that global capitalism has evolved into a transnational form of oppression that has permeated different nations; thus, feminist activists are promoting a transformation in the global socio-political order (Maiguashca 2014).

Though feminism and anarchism share similar "ethos" founded on "principles of self-determination, diversity, decentralization and accountability," Maiguashca (2014) notes that anarchism lacks a nuanced analysis of power leading to an insufficient understanding of relations of domination. Due to anarchism's failure to question its patriarchal foundations, it fueled the need to connect anarchist theory with feminist ideals, which later merged to create anarcho-feminism promoted by Emma Goldman. Gavin-Hebert (2011) writes "anarcho-feminism emerged in response to sexism within the anarchist movement" (p. 6). This feminist response to the male-centric foundation of anarchism demonstrates the patriarchal order has penetrated all levels of social relations including that of liberatory movements, which despite their radical rejection of all imposed forms of domination, failed to also reject the authority that the institution of patriarchy demands.

The "Double Paradox" of Anarchism

While the Women's Liberation during the early 1900's resonated with anarchists, Gemie's (1996) reminds us that a "double paradox" permeates the liberatory theory of anarchism. Anarchists have been so proud of their genuine commitment to anti-authoritarian politics, were yet so blind to the oppressive effects of patriarchy "within this generally male-orientated culture, there were still ambivalences in anarchist politics, with some pockets of real sympathy for feminism" (Gemie 1996:417).

The fore fathers of anarchy theory such as Bakunin supported the notion of women in the public sphere (Wright 1994). Kropotkin, and other key figures, promoted the liberation of women from domestic work as his commitment to communitarian anarchism (Thomas 2002). Even though these fore fathers supported women's emancipation, classical anarchy as an emancipatory theory still reproduced the hegemonic gender divide that relegated the "woman problem" as a natural order (Gemie 1996; Thomas 2002; Wright 1994; Dupuis-Déri 2009). Based on the "logic" that "nature provided women with a nurturing instinct and desire for motherhood, [and] to have her act in accord with those feelings would not violate her freedom because they would be an expression of her natural self" (Thomas 2002:2). Most of the fore fathers of anarchy also reserved the public sphere as a masculine arena and the private domestic realm as the feminine arena. Thomas (2002) argues rationality of gender was adopted because "much socialist writing on the evolution of the family during the late nineteenth century drew on studies by anthropologists whose analyses of the changing status of women were not part of liberatory schemes, but were instead efforts to understand the family structure that the

next stage of history required in order to insure social stability and an improved race" (p. 2). Informed by these seemingly innocuous patriarchal values, classical anarchists dismissed women when they theorized a revolution of liberation and freedom that contributed to the gap of gender politics (Thomas 2002; Gemie 1996).

Dupuis-Déri (2009) contends that "there are five hypothetical explanations of why anarchist men are anti-feminist and sexist in both their general political stance and in their sexual and affective relationships with women" (p. 49). His five explanations are:

(1) The effects of non-anarchist and patriarchal socialization; (2) the effects of sexist anarchist tradition; (3) anarchist machismo and anti-feminism; (4) strategic priority (anti-capitalism must come first); (5) the interests of men as a class. (Dupuis-Déri 2009:49).

All of these reasons he argues are mutually reinforcing as these explanations highlight how historically masculine domination has prevailed and perpetually promoted the prevalence of men in positions of power in the public sphere of politics, its source of sustaining a patriarchal order.

Although the literature demonstrated there were "pockets of real sympathy for feminism" within anarchist circles as seen with Bakunin (Gemie 1996) and Kropotkin's support of women's emancipation from domestic work (Thomas 2002), Proudhon's anti-feminist ideals prevailed throughout anarchist political culture (Gemie 1996), leading to a split in anarchism (Wright 1994). This split ensued as "the state socialist and anarcho-syndicalist societies that were to materialize in the 20th century, failed to challenge the public/private dichotomy that often ended up doubling women's workload" (Wright

1994:10). Ultimately, classical anarchism predominantly remained a male-centered liberatory arena as they failed to incorporate a critical analysis of power to patriarchal values (Wright 1994; Gemie 1996; Thomas 2002; Maiguashca 2014; Dupuis-Déri 2009; Gavin-Hebert 2011).

Anarchy's Deficient Analysis of Power

Since the fore fathers of classical anarchy held privileged positions in the male-dominated public sphere and, as previously argued, did not critically analyze their alignment to Victorian patriarchal values, they did not perceive patriarchy to be the source of domination when attempting to discuss women's issues (Gemie 1996; Thomas 2002; Dupuis-Déri 2009). Maiguashca (2014) contends "while anarchists, like feminists, recognise the manifold as well as structural nature of oppression, they need to work out in more substantive detail what kinds of power relations they are fighting against and how these relations of domination actually operate" (p. 88). Gordon (2008) conceptualizes power as: "1. Power-over as domination, 2. Power- to as capacity, and 3. Power-with as non-coercive influence" (quoted in Shannon 2009:69). According to Gordon's conceptualization of power, hegemonic gender relations established through patriarchy is a form of power because it institutionalizes male-dominated hierarchy over women. Moreover, since patriarchy proves to be a valuable source of authority over women, it begets anarchism to understand patriarchy by applying a critical power analysis. Maiguashca (2014) recommends anarchists use a feminist intersectional analysis of

oppression to understand how power intersects with various sources of oppression.

Kimberlé Crenshaw, an African-American feminist critical race theorist, coined the term “intersectionality” to explain a matrix of power that intersects multiple levels of oppression, producing oppression as a multidimensional source of domination.

Maiguashca (2014) also recommends that an analysis of power incorporate a feminist understanding of "internalised oppression" as it leaves an imprint in our psyche that influences us to harm others (p. 106). Because we internalize oppression,

a more expansive and detailed empirical blueprint is needed of the multiple flows and intersections of power and its concrete impact not only on our life chances, but also on the very strategies that anarchists call upon to sustain democratic, allegedly participatory, decision-making procedures. (P. 106).

As presented earlier in this chapter, the fore fathers of anarchy theory failed to apply a critical analysis to their replication of patriarchal values even when they promoted complete emancipation from statist domination. Furthermore, Wright (1994) argues, "many anarchist analyses continue to ignore the reality of male domination, directing their critiques to commodity relations, capital and state, or civilization" (p. 3).

Nevertheless, anarchist ideals appealed to the 1900's women's emancipation movement and led to the marriage between anarchist principles to feminist resistance. This union led to the rejection of patriarchal values within the male-dominated anarchist movement and the development of anarcha-feminism (Thomas 2002; Shannon 2009; Gemie 1996; Ehrlich 1994; Wright 1994), and leaders such as Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre,

Milly Witkop, and the *Mujeres Libres*, the 1930's Spanish women's liberation movement.

Why Anarcha-Feminism?

The most prominent classical anarcha-feminist was the passionate Emma Goldman (1869-1940) who, even though she did not identify as a feminist, questioned the patriarchal foundations of anarchism and mobilized campaigns for women's issues and women's liberation from all male institutions, including the State (Farmer n.d.). Wright (1994) argues:

Not only were women minimally involved in the creation of both liberalism and anarchism, but also anarchism carried over from liberalism a series of hierarchical dualisms [...] But while social anarchists and socialists recognized that the working class would never gain substantive equality in a liberal political system, feminists came to realize that women would never gain gender equality in a patriarchal system that shut women out of public life. (P. 10).

Thus, Wright (1994) argues that a split between anarchism and feminism ensued as a feminist lens was required to question the omission of women from the predominantly masculinist public arena of politics. Shannon (2009) describes the contribution of anarcha-feminists to the socialist movement and their notion of an egalitarian society:

In its classical phase, anarcha-feminism argued for a view of domination and revolution that avoided class reductionism. They saw a need for a separate revolutionary organization for women to see to their specific needs. They used education as methods of consciousness-raising and empowerment towards this end. From the socialist movement, they argued for a future egalitarian society and from anarchism, they argued for a

consistency of means and ends, recognizing that one cannot create a non-hierarchical society through inherently hierarchical structures. (P. 62).

Anarcha-feminist realized that an emancipation for women meant also to challenge the male-centric liberatory theory of anarchy, because to free themselves from all forms of domination translated into achieving equality under the anarchist vision of social change that dismissed their oppression from patriarchal values. Furthermore, Thomas (2002) argues anarcha-feminists rejected the interpretation of male theorists who treated "the woman question" as a gendered issue because these male theorists applied a patriarchal interpretation to the domestic sphere as a matter of "nature" (p. 3). Anarcha-feminist "appropriated for themselves the dogma of absolute individual liberty, reminded their male comrades of their responsibility not to impinge on the liberty of women, and rejected patriarchal as well as governmental authority" (Thomas 2002:3). Anarcha-feminist daringly accomplished what classical anarchists failed to achieve: they applied an intersectional analysis of power that analyzed patriarchy as an inherently oppressive force that relegates them subordinate under the domination of men.

For anarcha-feminist Emma Goldman, anarchism was the answer to all forms of domination as long as the theory was applied equally to both men and women. For her, anarchism was defined as "the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion, the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraints of government" (quoted in Farmer n.d.:6), because her commitment to anarchism translated into questioning the State and the patriarchal

structure of the family as oppressive sources of domination. Goldman's anarchist vision embraced freedom from *all* external tyrannies including that of patriarchy (Farmer n.d.). Thus, Farmer (n.d.) contends Goldman's "insistence on making sexuality a central concern of her politics that distinguished Goldman's anarchism from most of her contemporaries" because she understood "all these tyrannies as morally self-supporting [as] she made it clear that women's oppression was distinct from men's oppression and she showed an understanding of the pressure and conditions under which women uniquely suffered" (p. 9). Goldman argues because "intellectual and psychological differences are not gender based, [...] the first step to equality for women [...] was economic, psychological and sexual independence from men and male dominated institutions" (Farmer n.d.:16). It is important to realize that even though anarcho-feminism promotes gender equality, they are theoretically different to than classical feminism because, since they birthed from anarchist theory, they reject the imposed authority of the State.

Feminism and the State

For anarcho-feminists, gender-based tyrannies also encapsulate the relationship women have with the State (Shannon 2009; Gemie 1996; Ehrlich 1994; Farmer n.d.) Thomas (2002) contends "the nature of the State between 1880 and 1914 was such as to give many women little reason to believe that their best ally in the socialist struggle was law and the machinery of electoral power" (p. 16). During that historical period, women

were fighting for representation in the masculinist public sphere through the suffragist movement. Gemie (1996) contends "while noting the oppression perpetuated by the State, and denouncing this situation, many proposed the mass entry by women into the State's structures as the means to transform and reform society" (p. 420). Consequently, there are two differing political perspectives: anti-statist liberal feminists and pro-statist socialist and radical feminists (Gemie 1996). An anti-statist liberal feminist recognized the State was founded in patriarchal values because its "culture is radically different in its morality and its forms from feminist cultures, and therefore the State is unable to work for feminist causes" (Gemie 1996:420). Yet, they propose "women must rely on their own institutions and powers to achieve such goals" (Gemie 1996:420), to establish these institutions in congruence with the public sphere which is inherently a statist masculine space. Whereas, pro-statist feminists attempt to make the State accountable to women's equality, as seen in the global justice movement. Although they recognize the State is an oppressive power, they realized that in targeting the State through a politics of demand, the State becomes instrumental to progressive change (Maiguashca 2014). Although classical feminists support the eradication of patriarchy they perceive the State as a crucial tool that would lead to progressive social change. Anarcha-feminists recognize the State is inherently patriarchal and thus needs to be eradicated to abolish the ultimate source of oppression (Shannon 2002; Ehrlich 1994; Farmer n.d.). For anarcha-feminists "to destroy the State is to destroy the major agent of institutionalized patriarchy; to abolish patriarchy is to abolish the State" (Ehrlich 1994:7). Accordingly, Ehrlich (1994) argues "anarchist

feminists go further than most radical feminists: they caution that the State by definition is always illegitimate,” and thus should not petition the State for change. (p. 7).

Pro-statist Feminist Political Practices

Maiguashca's (2014) research of the global justice movement (GJM) interconnects the philosophy of anarchist revolution to feminist politics of social change. She proposes six feminist political practices based off of Kinna's (2005) typology of anarchist political protest practices. The six categories were defined by interviews, documentary analysis and participant observations she conducted during her research of feminist global justice activists in the GJM (Maiguashca 2014). The six types of feminist political practices are:

- (1) protest actions, including symbolic actions of civil disobedience and direct action;
- (2) advocacy, including lobbying state officials;
- (3) knowledge production, encompassing the production of original research, dissemination of this knowledge through newsletters and journals, and setting up documentation centres;
- (4) service provision, aimed at improving women's life chances and quality of life, including economic aid, medical help and emotional and psychological support;
- (5) popular education, comprising, among other things, consciousness raising workshops;
- (6) movement building, including the establishment and running of feminist groups, as well as the creation of alliances between them. (P. 86).

Maiguashca (2014) reveals that feminist activists in the GJM multi-task by engaging in these protest actions as they aim to resist the State, while also lobbying state officials as state representatives (p. 86). As classical feminists lobby the State it sets them apart from anarchist because when anarchists engage in protest practices against state, they do so

with the comprehension that state power is illegitimate (Kinna 2005). Sociologist and political philosopher Richard J. F. Day (2004) contends a revolution based on anarchist principles does "not wag[e] a targeted war against specific, fixed political institutions of domination 'out there', the model of revolution purported by anarchists is 'viral' and potentially 'contagious' in nature, to the extent that it depends on the localised actions of multiple actors who, refusing to believe in the State's restorative power, empower themselves to bring about change within their own specific communities" (quoted in Maiguashca 2014:85). In comparison, Maiguashca (2014) argues feminist practices are "committed to the principle of women's self-determination, [as] this ethos inspires forms of action that encourage dialogue, active participation and respect for women as sources of knowledge and potential agents of change" (p. 86). Her research reveals that feminist activists engaged in the GJM do not emphasize transforming themselves into agents of revolution, because they interpret defining themselves as autonomous women is the ultimate form of self-empowerment (Maiguashca 2014:86). Even though the feminist activist in the GJM seem to be committed to social change and gender-based justice, they value pragmatism and state reform as their ultimate goal is to make the State accountable to women's social justice issues, a practice that anarchists are averse to.

Framing Social Movements

As we examine the political message of anarchist movements, it is beneficial to consider social movement literature beginning with the concept of "framework,"

conceptualized by Erving Goffman, because an SMO's framework defines a cause as an urgent matter in need of a resolution. Even if an SMO defines a socio-political issue through a meaningful framework, they have to adhere to a process of mobilization that can generate a consensus mobilization, but to create social change; the SMO needs to strive for action mobilization. Ruptures in the political structure provides political opportunity frameworks that enhance an SMO's impetus and mobilization for justice and change in the face of wavering distrust in political authority. During a political opportunity, an SMO can develop new meanings and perspectives to analyze socio-political issues leading to successful master frames. If the master frame generates high levels of resonance, the larger the adherent pool and the active participants. However, a framing process is involved that entails a diagnosis, prognosis and a motivational framing that impacts an SMO's adherent recruitment and retention of movement participants. All three levels of core framing tasks need to be strategically engaged to avoid framing hazards, which can decrease an SMO's recruitment and retention rates. At the same time the SMO also has to combat counter-frames generated by the media and other opponents that challenge the movement's aims and attempts to discredit them. By exploring the literature on social movement framing process, it will inform how to engage in frame analysis of the hacktivist Anonymous Collective and their application of anarchist principles.

Origin of Framing and Framing Types

The concept of framing was inspired by symbolic interactionist theorist Erving Goffman who explained that a "primary framework allows its users to locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms" that assist in establishing a sense of meaning to experienced occurrences (Goffman 1974:21). These "concrete occurrences," Goffman theorized, are meaningless until the occurrence has been framed in a way where the individual can perceive it as meaningful and thus personalize it (p. 10). Using frameworks to define an individual's particular situation can make "sense out of events" so the individual can "analyze the vulnerabilities to which these frames of references are subject [to]," because if there is no frame of reference then the occurrence may not be defined as something meaningful (Goffman 1974:10). In terms of a social movement mobilization, a framework, or schemata of interpretation, gears the cognitive process of adherents to facilitate personal identification with a particular movement's grievances. When the individual engages in what Goffman designated as "the framing perspective," the individual is able to analyze a personal situation or occurrence as a political matter that requires a solution. It becomes imperative for SMOs to engage in framing process in order to incite collective action to address public injustices. And, as Goffman's (1974) framing perspective explained, the cognitive process an individual engages in to transform a seemingly innocuous occurrence into a meaningful one depends on the level of identification conjured through the movement's framework.

Consensus Mobilization versus Action Mobilization

There are two types of mobilization strategies--consensus and action mobilization-- that can significantly influence a movement's success (Klandermans 1984). Consensus mobilization is a process that attempts to generate support for its proposed frameworks by defining a collective good and a movement strategy, to confront its opponent and achieve its goals (Klandermans 1984). Whereas, action mobilization aims to motivate the people to participate in the organization by engaging in the SMO's calls to action (Klandermans 1984). An action mobilization motivates adherents to become active participants in SMO's as a crucial component for achieving social change. However, the literature on social movement framing reveals movement participation is contingent upon an adherent's resonance to the SMO's framework (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988, 1992, 2000; Zuo and Benford 1995; Jenness 1995), regardless if the SMO relies on consensus or action mobilization.

Political Opportunity Frames

Ruptures in the stability of the political-institutional structure lead to opportunities for the emergence of new social movement organizations (Ho 2010). Ho (2010) references political process theory to explain emerging opportunities in the political structure. When there is dismal governmental control over the public due to conflicts among the political elites, divisions among political parties, or a dysfunction in the administrative system, social movement organizations can rise to challenge the waning

authority (Ho 2010). An effective diagnosis that defines political opportunities during ruptures in the political system has the potential to garner a substantial amount of support from a public disillusioned by a defective power structure. In the late 1980's Chinese government officials and the bourgeoisie class had adopted capitalistic ideals of economic growth and political power exacerbating political corruption and leading to a rupture in the political structure. The Chinese Communist Party invested during this political opportunity to mobilize for democratic reforms. Chinese student activists began by promoting modernization principles that "advocated for more democracy, an end to the persecution of political dissidents" as well as other democratic and educational reforms (Zuo and Benford 1995:142). They used the slogans: "LONG LIVE DEMOCRACY!," "STOP POLITICIANS FROM ENGAGING IN ILLEGAL TRADE!" and "ELIMINATE CORRUPTION!" and also targeted soldiers with their framing tactics such as "Soldiers, Look How Profiteering by Government Officials Is Eating You Up" (Zuo and Benford 1995:142). Their movement framing action was based on traditional Chinese narrations of Confucianism, communism, and nationalism as a means of appealing to cultural narratives that exemplified Chinese patriotism (Zuo and Benford 1995). As seen in the emergence of the Chinese Communist Party in the late 1980's, lapses in the political structure had the potential to contribute to successful framing of political opportunities combined with resonant collective action frames.

Master Frames

Benford (2013) reminds us that "the term 'master frame' was originally conceptualized in order to account for the empirical observation that cycles of protest occasionally emerge in the absence of a favorable political opportunity structure" (p. 1). Snow and Benford (1992) remind us Tarrow originally defined cycles of protest are "sequences of escalating collective action" [...] "that determine the spread and dynamics of the cycle," and combine traditional organization structures with new techniques of protest and new forms of organization (quoted in p. 141). If during a cycle of protest, a salient master frame originates, the master frame itself can provide the impetus for the emergence of movement clusters during a historical period where there seem to be no ruptures in the political system (Benford 2013). This is because "master frames include overarching ideas or large-scale social currents that can generate new meanings and interpretations of societal issues and give rise to specific movements and organizations" (Warren 1997:66). Snow and Benford (1992) define a master frame as "a generic type of collective action frame that is wider in scope and influence than run-of-the-mill social movement frames (quoted in Benford 2013:1). Benford (2013) extends this definition by arguing "whereas most collective action frames are context specific (e.g., drunk driver frame, cold war frame, exploited worker frame, environmental justice frame, etc.), a master frame's articulations and attributions are sufficiently elastic, flexible, and inclusive enough so that any number of other social movements can successfully adopt and deploy it in their campaigns" (p. 1). Benford (2013) offers the example of the equal

rights campaign during the Civil Rights era that influenced the emergence of master frames such as: injustice, justice, oppositional, hegemonic, imperial, anti-imperial, and market choice (p. 1). As historically experienced during the Civil Rights era, a master frame has the potential to significantly influence cluster of movements.

Frame Resonance

A social movement can be measured by the effectiveness of its frame resonance because the greater the resonance the larger the adherent pool in mobilizing active support (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000). Frame resonance is produced by successful frame alignment processes that influence mobilization consensus (Snow et al. 1986). Snow and Benford (1988) explored the conditions that "resonate within the targets of mobilization" and success depends on four factors:

[...] the robustness, completeness, and thoroughness of the framing effort. Does it attend to both consensus and action mobilization, as conceptualized by Klandermans (1984), or is it partial and incomplete? A second set deals with the internal structure of the larger belief system with which the movement seeks to affect some kind of cognitive/ ideational alignment. The third set concerns relevance of the frame to the life world of the participants. Does it resonate phenomenologically? The fourth set concerns with Tarrow (1983a; 1983b) has referred to as "cycles of protest." (P. 199).

Frame resonance has the potential to mobilize adherents and participants by resonating with their belief system, as long as it is situated in the relevance of their biography and their current historical context. In the Civil Rights era many politically marginalized communities were able to connect to the master framing of equal rights and equal

opportunities. Injustices surrounding civil rights were rampant and these frames resonated in their biographies. Snow and Benford (1988) also remind us when all three core tasks of the framing process are strategically devised to complement each other, "the more they are robust or richly developed and interconnected, the more successful the mobilization effort" (p. 199). These core framing tasks are diagnostic framing which defines what the problem is, prognostic framing provides a solution to the diagnosed problem, and motivational framing is the call to action (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000). The stronger a participant cognitively aligns with a social movement's framing, the stronger a movement participant resonates with the movement's collective action that leads to successful consensus mobilization.

Framing Process

Social movement framing processes are essential tools to mobilize supporters because a movement's framing allows adherents to apply meaning to public issues, problems and events. Snow and Benford (1988) utilized the verb "framing" in their research to signify that social movements engage in the process of framing to activate social movement participants (p. 198). In their perspective, social movements "frame or assign meaning to and interpret, relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, and garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (Snow and Benford 1988:198). They set out to explore the process through which social movement frames rendered different responses, what

conditions garnered substantial frame resonance of movement supporters, and the key determinants of successful movement framing (Snow and Benford 1988:198-199). They endeavored to elaborate Klandermans' (1984) contention that successful mobilization of movement participants is based on the effectiveness of their consensus and action mobilization efforts (Snow and Benford 1988:199). Snow and Benford (1988) also employed Wilson's (1973) component elements of ideology and proposed three core framing tasks: diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing. They contended "diagnostic and prognostic framing tasks are directed towards achieving consensus mobilization," whereas motivational framing influences the potency of an SMOs action mobilization (Snow and Benford 1988:199). Ultimately, Snow and Benford (1988) argued "that variation in the success of participant mobilization, both within and across movements, depends upon the degree to which these three tasks are attended to" (p. 199).

Diagnostic framing

Consensus is frequently achieved when a social movement effectively identifies a problem that resonates with an aggrieved population (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000). Snow and Benford (1988) define diagnostic framing as the "identification of a problem and the attribution of blame and or causality" (p. 200). For instance, the nuclear disarmament movement diagnosed that the nuclear threat stemmed from four causal factors: technological, political, economic and moral (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000). In the Spanish anti-Franco movement, the anarchists diagnosed it was the Franco regime that was the cause of all socio-political repression (Romanos 2014). And in 2009, anarchists in Pittsburgh diagnosed the disinvestment in local communities to be attributed

to the maximization of global corporate investments by the transnational capitalist class as represented by the G-20 (Kutz-Flamenbaum and Duncan 2015). An SMO must first clearly identify the social or political problem in order to contribute to a valid solution (Benford 1988, 2000).

Prognostic framing

Once a solution is proposed to a specific problem, a prognostic framing specifies the exact strategies, tactics and targets (Snow and Benford 1988:201). In the nuclear disarmament movement, they originally deduced that the nuclear threat was attributed to technological or political reasons and required a specific proposed solution such as: rejecting technology and returning to nature, or “preventing the production and deployment of particular weapon systems” seem the most dangerous, or shifting “political power from sovereign states to international institutions,” including advocating bilateral arms control negotiations and treaties” (Snow and Benford 1988:201). During the 1990’s, a proliferation of breast cancer activism mobilized the public by diagnosing breast cancer as a “major social problem” leading them to the prognosis that the federal government needed to provide more federal funding for research (Kolker 2004). Furthermore, Snow and Benford (1988) argue that there is a connection between diagnostic and prognostic framing even if a movement's proposed solution to a problem may not have been influenced directly by causal attribution (p. 201). When a diagnostic frame clearly defines causality or attributes blame, its prognosis delineates the required solution that would directly solve the problem.

Motivational framing

A motivational framing expands beyond the diagnosis and prognosis. Solely defining a specific problem and proposing a solution do not automatically motivate adherents to mobilize towards collective action (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000). Motivational framing is "the rationale for action" (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000). Furthermore, Snow and Benford argue, "participation is thus contingent upon the development of motivational frames that function as prods to action" (Snow and Benford 1988:202). The disarmament movement mobilization based upon it being "a public good" did not suffice as a call to action. In comparison, the peace movement emphasized a sense of moral imperative based on the diagnosis that the nuclear problem confronted humankind as a "second death" the capacity to hold the future of our species in our hands (Snow and Benford 1988:202). This moral imperative enhanced their rationale for a moral call to action to wake up to truth and "cleanse the earth of nuclear weapons" (Snow and Benford 1988:232). Samorna (2013) demonstrated during Northeastern Thailand gold mining projects, two movements ensued to mobilize against these mining projects, which emphasized community culture concepts to convey the dangers these mining industry could impose that could seriously harm their daily life, community way of life and their health and environment (p. 304). All these movements engaged in rationales for action that motivated adherents and participant supporters to execute their collective action frames.

Framing Hazards

Cohesive core framing tasks enhance a social movement organization's capacity for recruitment and member retention, but if the tasks do not present a rational argument that justify the movement's proposed social action, adherents become reluctant to participate. The four framing hazards are: 1. a framing that emits a sense of hopelessness or fatalism; 2. a one-dimensional prognostic approach to a diagnosed problem when it can be approached through various levels; 3. an excessive or redundant framing that impairs mobilization; 4. or a global or grandiose framing that diminishes micro level participation. However, as Benford (1987) reveals, the core framing tasks "can be executed in a manner such that they hinder the intended functions of the others" leading to a four latent forms of framing hazards (p. 107). Since core framing tasks are essential in diagnosing a socio-political issue, attributing blame to the culprit(s) and sustaining motivation throughout the movement's span impacts the effectiveness of an SMOs mobilization. Furthermore, it is highly detrimental when a movement does not strategically interconnect all core framing tasks in a manner that will increase mobilization.

The first frame hazard is one of no hope. In the case of the disarmament movement, Benford (1987) argued a "first, the problem can be framed so cataclysmically and hopelessly that ameliorative action seems highly improbable, thus giving rise to a sense of fatalism" (p. 107). Continuously reminding the public of the "doomsday possibilities" creates a sense of despair and hopelessness leading to "nuclear nightmares"

(p. 107). Such fatalistic framing does not motivate adherents to dedicate their efforts to join a movement that cannot resolve the diagnosed impending socio-political issue.

The second framing hazard results from identifying a problem as a one dimensional prognostic approach leading to unclear guidelines for action even if "there may be widespread concern and consensus with respect to the nature and the causes of the problem" (Benford 1987:108). This was experienced in Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) whose singular prognosis did not encompass a full repertoire of actions nor solutions (Benford 1987). The third framing hazard results from a diagnosis and prognosis being "framed in such a way that public debate is rendered superfluous and the prospect of rank-and-file participation is impaired" (Benford 1987:109). As experienced in the nuclear disarmament movement, exclusivity was established as only technological experts were able to address and solve the issue costing a reduction in movement participants (Benford 1987). Lastly, "prognosis can be framed on such a global or grandiose scale that individuals find it difficult to discern how they can have any impact on affecting the changes advocated" (Benford 1987:109-110). When solutions are framed on a macro level it diminishes the sense that local and individual efforts could have any significant impacts, leading adherents to become dissuaded to join a movement. For instance, in the Texas Mobe Movement, new recruits became "disenchanted" by "the lack of opportunities to take action" (Benford 1987:110), as the limited forms of actions did not convince them they were solving the issue. Although Benford (1987) mentions

there can be other types of framing hazards, he contends they can be mitigated by employing frame alignment strategies.

Counter-Frames

Social movement organizations are continuously being challenged by counter-movements, the media, political leaders and any social actors who oppose the organization's aims (Ho 2010). This leads to "framing contests" that can "create either opportunities or constraints for social movements" who "in order to defend and sustain the protests, movement organizers have to compete for media attention" (Ho 2010:11). Employing successful core framing tactics and framing strategies is not sufficient to sustain movement participation nor movement support. Social movement organizations become vulnerable to opposition from powerful players who operate under counter-frames to derail public support from salient social movements. Thus, "successful mobilization depends on the persuasive articulation and amplification of shared grievances and motives, as well as the development of compelling vocabularies of motive or rationales for taking action" (Zuo and Benford 1995:138).

Zuo and Benford (1995) reference Benford and Hunt (1994) by arguing "movement actors must respond effectively to antagonists' 'counter framings' --that is, to opponents' attempts to rebut, undermine, or neutralize the movement's collective action frames--by developing 'reframings'" (p. 139). In the Chinese Democratic movement, student activists framed their movement away from a counter-revolutionary framework as

an anticipation of the Chinese government's opposition to impose state repression (Zuo and Benford 1995). Just as the Chinese government is a powerful player, so is the media who can threaten a social movement organization by sensationalizing counter-movements, resulting in a public demobilization of movement support (Ho 2010). Furthermore, it is important for a movement's framing to engender worldviews based on participant's observations, experiences and cultural wisdom (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000; Zuo and Benford 1995).

Theorizing Anarchism: Framing Social Movements

The academic research that combines framing analysis to anarchist social movements is sparse. Below I consider related research on anarchist movements to movement framing process of how collective memory framing impacts the recollection of anarchism in the printing industry depending on occupation and the impression that anarchist traditions were preserved (Riot 2014). The movement framing process is strategically applied to the Spanish anarchist movement by using emotions of “hope” and “indignation” fighting fascism alongside anti-franco Spaniards (Romanos 2014). Moreover, how the Pittsburgh anarchists contests the corporate elitist neoliberal cosmopolitanism of the G-20 by promoting an open-community cosmopolitanism that values equality and democratic rights, localism and community values. Though anarchism continues to be extended as a theoretical framework and applied to contemporary social movements and spaces of resistance, it is valuable to analyze

anarchist movements through frame analysis to explore how they apply anarchist principles.

The Collective Memory of Anarchism

First, we can understand the research on collective memory, anarchism as related to frame analysis this work looks at the actual identification or self-definition of the idea of anarchy. Riot (2014) explores how collective memory influences value systems in existing and new forms of organizations established within anarchist traditions. Riot adopts the Halbwachs (1997) theory of collective memory as "made up of encounters within the spatial framework of physical surroundings, whereas historical memory is more abstract and mostly shared by historians and intellectuals" (p. 825). Riot (2014) discovered the collective memory of publishers, multimedia worker and actors displayed more knowledge of traditions within their print unions and printers and understanding of their physical environment, whereas, the historical memory of software developers and technicians in the publishing industry shared a more abstract connection based on "a lasting impression on "post-enclosure history" (Riot 2014:825). There was a significant difference in remembering anarchism through collective memory based on a physical environment associated with traditional printer spaces, to the association of abstract ideas within spaces of advanced technological development.

The history of print unions in France originated under anarchist traditions among printers who participated in the print union movement dating back two centuries ago

(Riot 2014:811). Riot's (2014) research examined the level of impact collective memory has on actions, as anarchism has gained popularity in a neoliberal era. She interviewed college educated software developers, who emerged when most printers became obsolete, and discovered contrasting perspectives in regards to anarchism among different types of developers. The new technology professionals perceived anarchism "as a relief on norms unrelated to technological expertise," whereas software developers who work in large corporations often identified "anarchism with the skills of the founding fathers of dominant corporations such as Apple" (Riot 2014:823). These software developers resonated with notions of freedom and connected them to California and technological icons like Steve Jobs. These developers perceived the culture of California and technological icons as representing high technological innovation based on "American Libertarian culture" as a new form of counterculture (Riot 2014:823). However, according to Riot (2014) small entrepreneurs who identified with defending property rights and who conform to technology and rules, lack collective memory of anarchism because they connect it to the end of private property, and thus exuded ambivalence or hostility towards anarchist ideals. The open source developers perceived anarchism as a style and not a commitment and thus support hackers and online pirates (Riot 2014). Her research discovered "all the professionals I interviewed tend to perceive anarchism as a radical an ideological strand rather than a set of practical solutions" (Riot 2014:825-826). This leads her to agree with Boltanski and Chiapello (1999) who concluded that although capitalism has appropriated anarchist ideas of individualism and libertarianism, it has

contributed to the weakness of its anti-capitalist dimensions (p. 827). Riot (2014) also agrees that anarchism's attempt to combine individual freedom with collective peace has failed, and identifies it as the reason why collective memory becomes an essential mechanism for sharing anarchist perspectives and practices (p. 831).

Strategic Framing, Emotion Work and Cosmopolitanism

Spanish anarchists during Franco's 1939 through 1975 dictatorship reignited their anarchist campaign to activate activist networks as a strategy for mobilization (Romanos 2014). Spanish anarchists engaged in motivational framing by emphasizing the emotions of “hope” and “indignation” during their movement against Franco's dictatorship (Romanos 2014:545). Spanish anarchists incorporated an evaluation of their challenge to authorities.

Romanos (2014) argues that their appeal to emotions as strategic framing sought to alter "the degree and quality of emotions among potential supporters in order to inspire action" (p. 545). The significance of strategically embedding emotions in their framing process ignited a sense of cognitive liberation.” By operating under the emotion of hope, anarchists were able to conjure a sense of moral duty as they connected it to the exiled Spanish anarchists who fought against fascism in Europe, in collaboration with anti-Franco Spaniards (Romanos 2014:551). The emotion of indignation established an "obligation to repair" the injustice based upon a moral exigence that influenced its transformation “into the political objective of collective action" (Romanos 2014:554).

Romanos (2014) argues that “in high-risk activism, hope is generated [...] when members of a social movement perceive the vulnerability of their opponent and after subsequent 'cognitive liberation' accelerate their mobilisation" (p. 556). And by strategically enhancing their movement framing with the emotions of hope and indignation, anarchists were able to increase mobilization against Franco's repressive dictatorship.

Romanos (2014) applies Debra King's theory on cognitive liberation to explain the emotional framework of indignation activates notions of political agency that contributes to an "emotional liberation" followed by "cognitive liberation" (p. 556). This leads to what King defines as "liberation" through "emotional liberation as a part of the individual and the construction of new emotional links" (Romanos 2014:556).

Ultimately, Romanos (2014) concludes anarchist strategic framing of emotions during Franco's dictatorship "contributed to the recruitment of activists to the clandestine movement" (p. 562). However, it was ultimately the political opportunity that emerged and activated their campaign's collective action frame during a highly visible repression that "added [to] the effects of infighting and factionalism, which converted what previously had been feelings of loyalty and solidarity into resentment and lack of trust towards the movement's leaders" (p. 562). Although Romanos' research argues emotion work was a strategic framing process in the Spanish anarchist movement during 1939 through 1975, his research does not highlight how this movement resonated and enacted anarchist principles.

A maximization of global corporate investments by the transnational capitalist class around the world has led to a massive disinvestment of local communities creating a visible rupture in the political structure and cycles of protest. Pittsburgh anarchists contested the 2009 G-20 meetings and induced political awareness of how global corporate investments contributes to the struggles of local communities (Kutz-Flamenbaum and Duncan 2015). Their movement framing applied the notion of "open-community cosmopolitanism that prioritizes the local over the global as a site of struggle and also embraces the expansion of rights and commitment to diversity and inclusivity" (Kutz-Flamenbaum and Duncan 2015:188). Open community cosmopolitanism emphasizes local issues and frames global issues by defining them in local terms, it rejects globalization processes and reflects an "open-community disposition that values non-hierarchical and community-based mobilizations as ways for activists to improve their own neighborhoods and draw connections between global processes and local lived experiences" (Kutz-Flamenbaum and Duncan 2015:192). This is "equality and expansion of rights within a global democratic society" (p. 192), that contest a globalist cosmopolitanism based on elitism, a freedom through self-interest; that is institutional, as it claims corporate citizenship, world government, and legal pluralism; that is civic, as it incorporates both activists creating a global civil society as well as neoliberal projects to privatized law (Strydom 2012 quoted in Kutz-Flamenbaum and Duncan 2015:192). By strategically framing their opposition to global corporatism, Pittsburgh anarchists gained positive media attention and support as they highlighted the benefits of investing in

"neighborhoods, support local businesses, and place value on local connections within their community" (Kutz-Flamenbaum and Duncan 2015:189). This also brought attention to the inherent elements of elitism and inequalities that perverts global capitalism (Kutz-Flamenbaum and Duncan 2015). Because economic and political marginalization was prevalent in local communities in Pittsburgh, residents had the opportunity to resonate with open-community cosmopolitanism and support the local anarchist movement. Kutz-Flamenbaum and Duncan (2015) argue that the anarchist strategic framing was successful as they the open-community framework values local neighborhoods, anti-corporatism, working class values, local and community political agency, which bridges particular-territorial frames that local newspapers dominantly emphasize as they are more conscious of the lower economic classes in Pittsburgh. The open-community framing disputes the dominance of the G-20 global framing that unjustly promotes the expansion of economic and political rights and liberties for the neoliberal globalists, and positively frames themselves through media while engaging in "a discursive challenge to the meaning of cosmopolitanism" (Kutz-Flamenbaum and Duncan 2015:204). Their strategy of emphasizing their identity as local community members of Pittsburgh circumvented the negative narrative that portrays anarchists as violent, chaotic and lawless.

As I have demonstrated, there is an evident gap in frame analysis of anarchist movements, social movement framing theory with anarchist movements. Though anarchism continues to be extended as a theoretical framework and applied to contemporary social movements and spaces of resistance, anarchist movements have yet

to be analyzed as how they frame themselves through anarchist principles. This gap lays the foundation for my research on Anonymous. The Anonymous Collective is a self-proclaimed contemporary online social movement who employ DIY (do-it-yourself) anarchist counter-hegemonic cyberspaces as their strategy for collective action mobilization. As they have gained significant media attention and attempt to disseminate anarchist resistance to political authority online and offline, it is pertinent to examine how Anonymous portrays itself as anarchist movement by analyzing their framing process. This frame analysis is attempt to understand how self-proclaimed anarchist movements frame themselves. In the next chapter, I will discuss my methodology for approaching this study.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS

This study is based on content analysis of 85 “Anonymous” YouTube videos downloaded during July 2016 from the channel "Anonymous Official." The Anonymous Collective uses YouTube to disseminate socio-political and educational messages, as well as to promote cyber hacker operations and calls to action. These messages have established the Anonymous Collective political stance and their signature hacktivist calls to action. Their texts are available as video messages that address social, cultural and political issues in the twenty-first century, a globalized capitalist neoliberal world.

Sample Selection

At the time of the data collection, there were several “official” YouTube channels linked to Anonymous. On July 20, 2016, I searched for Anonymous YouTube channels and received two hyperlinks indicating they were "official Anonymous" channels. The first channel had been active since January 24, 2012, containing 302 uploaded videos with 932,284 subscribed followers. The second channel had been active since November 1, 2015 with only 12 uploaded videos and no known subscribed followers. Since the literature review revealed that Anonymous has been politically active since 2008 (Massa 2013; Pendergrass 2013; Burford 2013), I selected the channel activated in 2012, which contained the most uploaded videos with the largest subscribed followers.

After selecting the main Anonymous site, I gathered all available videos using their nine “playlists” (Table 1). The playlists categorize each video under specific topics, as a way of making videos more accessible to the audience. I logged 302 videos into an excel spreadsheet, entering for each a title, date posted (uploaded), URL link and duration (time) (Appendix A).

Table 1. Anonymous Video Types

Playlist Themes	Number (#)	Percent (%)
Anonymous Videos	134	44.4
Liked Videos	102	33.8
Anonymous Operations	24	7.9
Anonymous on Politics	13	4.3
Anonymous Documentaries	7	2.3
Anonymous on Ferguson	6	2
Anonymous on Hillary Clinton	6	2
Anonymous on Israel and Palestine Conflict	6	2
Anonymous on ISIS	4	1.3
Total	302	100

I watched 302 videos and engaged in an elimination process to exclude duplicate and inaccessible videos. I also eliminated third party produced documentaries, music videos with Anonymous branding, and videos with audio disabled due to copyright infringement. After this process, the sample was reduced to 89 videos. During the coding process, described below, I lost four transcripts. The remaining 85 videos became my final sample.

Each YouTube video contains a “More” scroll down section that displays an option for “transcripts,” when a transcript for a particular video is available. I used this feature to download 62 associated transcripts for my sample videos, which I also edited for accuracy. For the remaining videos, I created my own transcripts. Twelve videos were in Spanish and addressed political issues facing citizens from Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador and Spain. I translated 11 of the Spanish videos into English based on my bilingual background, which also allowed me to verify the existing transcripts. All these transcripts built a test database for this research.

Sample

This research is based on 85 Anonymous YouTube videos found during July 2016 in the channel <https://www.youtube.com/user/AnonymousWorldvoce>. All of these videos were uploaded to the channel between January 24, 2012 and July 30, 2016. The video length ranged from one minute to the longest which ran for 77 minutes. Almost half of the videos were between 1 to 3 minutes (Appendix A).

I initially coded the videos based on topical messages (Table 2). I categorized the data as “Spanish non-U.S. videos” and “U.S. videos in English.” This language distinction highlighted differences in political issues based on their geography. For instance, political corruption in the Mexican videos attributed blame to voting fraud during Enrique Peña Nieto’s presidential campaign; whereas U.S. videos approached government corruption based on various reasons ranging from corrupt politicians like

Hillary Clinton to blaming the global financial collusion of corrupt governments. Most of the videos focused on government corruption in the U.S. and foreign countries (30.6%).

About 18 percent of the sample addressed police brutality in the U.S. and in foreign countries. Moreover, about 18 percent of the sample addressed censorship and surveillance laws in the U.S. and in foreign countries.

Table 2. Anonymous Video Sample by Topical Themes

Topical Themes	Non-US Videos (Spanish)*	US Videos	%
Government Corruption in Foreign Countries	8	5	15.3
US Political/Corporate Corruption		13	15.3
US Censorship/ Surveillance Laws		10	11.8
US Police Brutality/Corruption		10	11.8
Holiday Messages		6	7.0
Police Brutality in Foreign Countries		5	5.9
Censorship Laws in Foreign Countries	4	1	5.9
ISIS		4	4.7
Palestinian Justice		4	4.7
Economic Corruption		4	4.7
Interstellar Exploration		2	2.3
Response to Media Counter-framing		2	2.3
Terrorist Attacks in Foreign Countries		2	2.3
Anonymous Triumphs		1	1.2
Trans-Pacific Partnership		1	1.2
US Constitution Reform		1	1.2
Ku-Klux Klan		1	1.2
Animal Brutality		1	1.2
Total	12	73	100

* All non-U.S. videos were in Spanish.

Data Analysis

I printed each transcript with the title, date and URL link. I then used line-by-line coding (Charmaz 2006) and highlighted and coded the transcripts using diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing to help me organize the data (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000). As I identified text that aligned with these concepts, I highlight and marked the text in margins indicating the frame type. I further coded for the particular target identified as the problem or source for blame (diagnostic text) or the solution, strategies and tactics to accomplish the solution (prognostic text). For motivational text I noted “rationale for action” (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000).

Lastly, I searched for anarchist ideas and language based on Kinna’s (2005) seven characteristics of anarchy (Table 3), and the six characteristics in which anarchists conceptualize the State. These helped me to identify areas where Anonymous adopts these anarchist ideas in their YouTube video narratives (Kinna 2005) (Table 4). I used the letter “A” to indicate when the data contained anarchist language or anarchist ideas. I also searched for any textual language that implied or stated anarchist ideas or principles as explored in the literature review of anarchism and the State. This textual coding process drew from social movement framing processes (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000) and anarchist discourses to explore the extent to which, and how, Anonymous engages with Anarchist ideals.

Table 3. Characteristics of Anarchy Theory

6 Characteristics of Anarchy Theory
Liberation from political domination and economic exploitation
No party politics

6 Characteristics of Anarchy Theory
To be without government or without authority
Free federations
Mutualism (mutual aid)
Order through cooperation, unity and equality

Table 4. Anarchist Conceptualization of the State

6 Characteristics of an Anarchist Conceptualization of the State
Immoral because is violent and aggressive
Repressive because it stifles creativity
Inefficient because it obstructs local initiatives
Unjust as it exists to maintain inequalities
Exploitative because it is a) coercive and parasitical in its relationship with its citizens; b) reproduces class inequalities
Institutionalized crime because it steals property from individuals by threat of violence

Ethical and Epistemological Considerations

Markham (2008) contends that "for any researcher studying life online, the traditional challenge of understanding other-in-context is complicated by the blatant interference of the researcher into the frame of the field and by the power of the researcher in representing the culture" (p. 250). The research is further complicated by the availability of the existing data as qualitative internet research depends on the cultural construction of the disembodied environment of cyberspace. Especially, in the context of

studying an online amorphous entity such as the Anonymous Collective, members cannot be traced or verified due to legal repercussions.

One of my greatest challenges as a researcher is the representation of cultural knowledge of what the Anonymous Collective politically represents. As Markham (2008) indicates, there is an inherent power dynamic once a researcher "interferes" and reproduces cultural knowledge as "every choice we make about how to represent the self, participants, and the cultural context under study contributes to how these are understood, framed, and responded to by readers, future students, policy makers, and the like" (p. 272). To address these ethical concerns, I will engage in reflexivity, reflecting on any preconceived notions that may obfuscate my qualitative analysis of Anonymous as a hacktivist collective influencing the popular culture.

As Markham (2008) emphasizes, "although technologies facilitate visual and audio simulations and representations [...] text remains a primary unit of analysis for the qualitative researcher" (p. 251). I chose this methodology precisely to understand the political messages the Anonymous Collective disseminates through Do-It-Yourself (DIY) experimental videos based on this new media platform. Markham (2008) also contends that it is essential to acknowledge computer-mediated-communication (CMC) exist in the elusive platform of cyberspace, where "the decisions that a researcher makes at this level directly influence the way the researcher later represents the context and the participants, which ultimately impacts our academic conversations of and knowledge about computer-mediated communication environments" (p. 259). Moreover, it is important to

acknowledge the ethical considerations when studying computer-mediated-communication platforms. However, as it was explored in the literature review, Bey, a post-structuralism anarchist theorist, defined "the web" as a network of communication that enables anarchists to establish a support system of information (Shantz 2006). Thus, analyzing the content of the text of the Anonymous Collective self-produced videos, which are uploaded to an online platform such as YouTube, allows for public accessibility of their political resistance of the perpetuation of mainstream media.

Limitations

As a researcher making statements about Anonymous as represented in Anonymous Official videos, I must bracket my theorizing as limited to the ideas represented on the single forum. Furthermore, the Anonymous Collective is an amorphous movement that accepts anyone who declares themselves as a member, even if their ideologies conflict with other Anonymous perspectives. So even the usual "behind the scenes" struggles of movement identity formation and crystallization become moot with the decentralized and open organizing of this movement. Their self-proclaimed anarchist identity depicts only one element of their multifaceted movement identity. As cyberspace becomes their platform for activism, it is beneficial to examine the type of counter-analysis they present of the State and its politics, to the online public. The next chapter analyzes and discusses the data findings.

CHAPTER FOUR: MOVEMENT IDENTITY FORMATION-- ANARCHIST FRAMING CHALLENGES AND INCONSISTENCIES

In this chapter, I present my analysis of the “Anonymous Official” YouTube videos. My analysis is organized around three main themes: censorship, government corruption, and police brutality in the United States and in countries abroad. I used Snow and Benford’s (1988, 2000) framing process, specifically the framework of core framing tasks--diagnosis, prognostic, motivational framing--to further organize Anonymous Collective messaging within these themes. In my analysis, I consider the role and challenges of these frames to Anonymous overall movement identity, particularly as it relates to their self-proclaimed anarchist identity.

As noted in Chapter One, Anonymous has declared and been known in other spaces as an anarchist movement leading “the world to a better future” (Old Page Don’t Visit 2014). Their hacktivist subculture is founded on a hacker’s ethic that declares “information wants to be free,” a foundational principle and the source of their techno-libertarianism and crypto-anarchy standpoint (Steinmetz and Gerber 2015). While the sample used in my research did not include explicit declarations of Anonymous anarchist identity, one video directly promoted anarchy as an alternative solution of the current neoliberal global capitalist system. As discussed in Chapter Two, prior research has characterized the Anonymous Collective as anarchistic in nature based on their decentralized structure as leaderless and non-hierarchical movement (Mansfield-Devine 2011; Massa 2013; Burford 2013; Pendergrass 2013). Moreover, as I demonstrated in

Chapter One, Anonymous has declared themselves to be an anarchist movement and thus my research sets out to explore the extent of this self-proclaimed radical identity. In considering the presence of anarchy in Anonymous Official narratives, I draw on Kinna's (2005) conceptualization of basic anarchy elements, and her conceptualization of State authority and power through the lens of anarchy theory. My analysis also considers differences of themes between U.S. and Spanish language Anonymous video narratives.

Censorship

As a hacktivist collective, Anonymous video messages posted in 2012 addressed U.S. censorship and surveillance laws that potentially affected and influenced countries abroad. The Spanish language subsample directly addressed these U.S. surveillance laws in the context of Mexico, Ecuador, Spain, and Colombia. In 2011, the United States congress introduced the Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) and the Protect IP Act (PIPA), also known as "Preventing Real Online Threats to Economic Creativity and Theft of Intellectual Property Act." These were congressional efforts to enforce copyright infringement laws and to counter online trafficking of counterfeit goods.

Both U.S. and Spanish language videos diagnosed censorship as an issue of freedom of internet access and framed it as a matter of civil liberties. However, the subsample narratives differed in the way that Anonymous framed State repression. After 2012, there was a decrease in addressing censorship and surveillance laws. Between 2014 through 2016, only five videos addressed censorship in the context of the military

industrial complex, as implemented by universities, and as the proliferation of government and corporate surveillance. Only one video in 2016 addressed censorship outside the United States, as suppression of education and the media in Turkey.

Diagnostic framing: “they threaten our cyber liberty and freedom”

A diagnostic framing identifies a problem and attributes blame to the source of causality (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000). Anonymous 2012 U.S. video narratives identified the problem of surveillance based on congressional support of S.O.P.A., P.I.P.A and music businesses who were shutting down file sharing websites in the corporate struggle against piracy. This impelled the Anonymous Collective to frame online censorship as a suppression of first amendment freedom of speech, which included the unrestricted freedom of internet access. This framing is consistent with the hacker’s ethic, prevalent in the hacking subculture, which honors the principle that “information wants to be free” (Steinmetz and Gerber 2015:31). The video narratives between 2014 through 2016, attributed blame to a tyrannical government and the proliferation of corporate surveillance, perceived as a “threat to privacy” whose purpose was to increase government power. In a 2016 video, the Anonymous spokesperson begins by stating:

Technology has driven our world to a drastic state of vulnerability with the proliferation of government and corporate surveillance, personal information is targeted and tracked with unimaginable reach.

This video goes on to frame this pervasive government-led technological surveillance as an “age of rapidly eroding privacy,” which serves as an example of how Anonymous attributes blame to “the proliferation” of government and corporate surveillance.

Although the subsample does not use the specific concept of the State, the recurring

diagnostic framing does implicitly acknowledge the source of censorship as caused by the ideological State apparatus that targets and tracks its citizen through legal mechanism.

In comparison, the sample of Anonymous Spanish language videos provided a more descriptive diagnosis when framing the issue of censorship. They went beyond just stating that censorship “threatened” internet access, their freedom and their liberties. A 2012 video begins with a clip from the film *V for Vendetta* and mentions justice has been usurped by an impostor. Afterwards, the Anonymous spokesperson directs the message to the “detested corrupt plutocrats” who are responsible for drowning their town in ignorance and misery for supporting industrial lobbyists and legislation that “destroyed” their country. The Anonymous spokesperson proceeds to argue:

Our industrial capacity is destroyed, one of the best health care systems in the developed countries ends, and the public educational system continues to be trampled, a guarantee to minimize the development of reason, a critical skill for individuals.

This narrative is an example of Anonymous implicit understanding that the State apparatus is a covert force that enforces censorship. They acknowledge State agents as “psychopathic” rulers who attempt to censor citizens managed by the repressive State apparatus. In another 2012 video, the Anonymous spokesperson begins by promoting a music-downloading site to counter the U.S. government’s restriction against music file sharing sites and claims:

This, in part, is a protest of the current political projects like the laws S.O.P.A., P.I.P.A., C.I.S.P.A. and others. We won’t allow the government

to take away our liberty to file share over the internet just so they can enrich themselves more than what they are.

This video segment is similar to U.S. diagnostic framing that attributes blame to the government and its laws for “taking away” their liberty that, allows them to share information in cyberspace. However, the former Spanish language video identifies the problem of censorship developed and progressed as a series of events starting with the suppression of their industrial capacity to the minimization of critical thinking capacity, for the purpose to keep their community ignorant. Anonymous presents all these events as an insidious mechanism to sustain the status quo that preserves the authority and power of the State.

Another 2012 video from Colombia attributed blame to the government for enforcing censorship laws that restricted media outlets, such as the radio and television airwaves, to intercept the citizen’s main source of information. Anonymous framed this media suppression as a direct threat to internet access, as well as a mechanism used to criminalize dissent. Furthermore, Anonymous expanded the framework as a threat to authorship rights and a violation of their constitutional and human rights. This subsample of Spanish language video narratives demonstrate that Anonymous recognizes that State authority and power as an ideological State apparatus, rewards those who obey authority and punishes dissidents who question its knowledge-producing authority and domination (Althusser 1972). Thus, these narratives imply that the State is the source of censorship. However, compared to the U.S. videos narratives, the Spanish language videos are more overt in exposing the ideological State apparatus.

Prognostic framing: “let’s stand together and wake up!”

Once a diagnosis framing is defined, a prognosis framing provides a proposed solution -- a plan or strategy to address the diagnosed problem (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000). The main prognostic framing throughout the U.S. 2012 videos proposed tamed solutions that promoted tactics permitted by the State as conventional constitutional practices outlined in Kinna’s (2005) work in Chapter Two.

Within this U.S. subsample, Anonymous prognosis proposed tactics such as protesting in front of corporations who supported the 2011 piracy acts, as well as raising awareness to defend the freedom of internet access. Both of these types of political practices are conventional forms of constitutional political practices that support exercising the first constitutional amendment of freedom of speech and assembly, which Kinna (2005) argues demonstrates solidarity among movement participants

During Anonymous 2014 video narratives, the prognostic framing continued to be vague as it implored citizens to “stand against censorship and tyranny” as means to protest government corruption. Since Anonymous solutions rely on constitutional political practices, their prognostic framings do not exude a sense of urgency and advocate the use of conventional legal and political structures that work within the confines of the State apparatus. Anarchists argue against the dependence of conventional forms of protest that petition the State for permission to use public spaces to exercise our civil liberties (Gelderloos 2015). Kinna (2005) contends that when anarchists decide to engage conventional forms of protest, they do so with the intention of creating ruptures to State authority and power with the purpose of igniting revolution through incremental

acts of protest. However, these Anonymous video narratives do not allude to promoting an incremental form of revolution or overthrow of State authority and power as an anarchistic solution to State tyranny.

The subsample of narratives that addressed censorship in countries outside the United States also lacked a prognosis that advocated solutions based on anarchist principles. A 2012 video from Spain urged, “we need to wake up the global consciousness to the fear of corrupt mentalities, censorship and manipulation.” The term “global consciousness” relates to the Marxian term of “class consciousness,” a reference that expands the social class system to the global arena under a neoliberal global capitalist world. This video narrative advocates for a Marxist awakening of global consciousness as means to lift the veil of false consciousness imposed by “corrupt mentalities” that have also infiltrated cyberspace and repress their cyber freedom. Anonymous implementation of counter-hegemonic Marxist ideas does demonstrate that they challenge the State’s hegemonic power as the source for the neoliberal global capitalist system. This prognosis confuses Anonymous self-proclaimed anarchist identity because they fall short in advancing an anarchist vision of radical socio-political, a revolution to overthrow the State to materialize a new world based on anarchist principles of self-governance, self-autonomy, and order through mutual aid and cooperation.

Motivational framing: “let’s take back the country in the name of cyber freedom”

Motivational framing is the rationale for action, the impetus required during a social movement to mobilize adherents to execute the proposed prognosis (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000). The 2012 U.S. video narratives mainly addressed the major themes

of censorship and framed collective action as a fight against censorship and a fight for liberty. Anonymous motivational framing was based on the rationale that the government was “taking advantage” of its citizens while it also restricted their internet access, and thus required the people to defend themselves and their homes. After 2012, the subsample presented a prognosis framing based on a sense of civic duty, as a means to “take the country back” because, Anonymous argued, political representatives “failed” the people. This notion of civic duty is in turn the motivation to establish solidarity against a corrupt system, and to challenge the State apparatus that failed constituents. The use of the phrase “take back the country” is an ambiguous rationale that can be interpreted to contain undertones of the notion of revolution. However, if the Anonymous Collective has declared themselves anarchists, then by using implicit anarchist concepts fails to promote an autonomous empowerment, the essence of anarchism.

Anonymous rationale for action also alluded to the hacker’s ethic. In a 2015 video, the Anonymous spokesperson declared:

They’ll never stop the free flow of information. The internet is one of the last truly free vessels that we, the citizens, have access to.

This motivational framing is a valuable example of how the Anonymous Collective exudes their hacker identity. Based on the hacker’s ethic (Steinmetz and Berger 2015), the unrestricted access of information becomes the new frontier for freedom within cyberspace, and thus becomes the impetus for their hacktivism. The video narratives indicate that Anonymous hacktivist framing is more concrete and, thus, more apparent when compared to their anarchist movement framing. As the 2012 video message made a

vague reference to the notion of revolution, it allows Anonymous identity to be openly interpreted as aligning to an anarchist identity.

The motivational framework within the Spanish language videos on censorship also exalted the hacker's ethic, since it was framed as a threat to internet access. In a 2012 Ecuadorian video narrative, the Anonymous spokesperson acknowledged that repressive presidential regimes "betray" constituents with laws that violate privacy and their access to information. Thus, this video narratives rationale for action used pragmatic language as the Anonymous spokesperson declared, "don't allow political censorship from perverse legislations take away our liberty that the internet generously offers." This motivational framing does not exude a sense of urgency, rather implies that censorship can be resisted through practical means where people could easily impede censorship laws from diminishing civil liberties within cyberspace. However, this practical rationale lacks a more in depth analysis of how the State also permeates all levels of social relations based on prosaic practices (Painter 2006), as an abstract machine of domination (Newman 2007), and as a state of mind (Neocleus 2003). These unsuspected forms of State control and authority obscure the perception of citizens living under a statist mode of governmentality. When Anonymous presents a perfunctory rationale for action does not account for how the State's authority perpetuates itself as an internalized form of oppression. Thus, Anonymous displays an insufficient recognition of what anarchism offers in terms of the anarchist vision of radical socio-political change of self-governance

based on decentralized grassroots power, sustained by voluntary associations through cooperation and mutual aid.

In contrast, a 2012 Colombian Spanish language video advocated the use of constitutional political practices while also alluding to techno-libertarianism. The Anonymous spokesperson argues:

Anonymous understands that authors, just like all the workers, have the right to live off of their work by elaborating new ideas, creative business models, and activities associated with their personal creations. To intent to sustain legislative changes within an obsolete industry that doesn't know how to adapt itself to this new environment, it's not just nor realistic if the business model focuses on controlling the copies of work that circulate the internet or that are in the possession of the users.

This Colombian video is the first to invoke anarchist principles where it connects freedom to individuality based on libertarian ideals of creative expression. It further asserts anarchist principles by declaring they “believe in freedom of internet access without government interference and control by institutions” because, as a hacktivist collective, Anonymous perceives information sharing within cyberspace establishes everyone as “equal.” Based on a hacker lens, surveillance equals a culture of control that leads to monitoring and infringes personal privacy, thus a hacker ethic supports a technological utopianism that combines techno-libertarianism and crypto-anarchy (Steinmetz and Gerber 2015). This new cyber frontier becomes their technological utopianism as it promotes a form of freedom outside of authoritarian control, a space where they can experiment with do-it-yourself projects devoid of government control through censorship.

The subsample of both the U.S. video narratives compared to the Spanish language videos motivational framing, have present contrasting anarchist interpretations. In the U.S. 2012 video narrative's motivational framing used vague language that advocated the "taking back of the country," whereas the Spanish language 2012 video explained its support of creativity within cyberspace based on a techno-libertarian framework. This framework contains an element of an anarchistic freedom: the ability to explore our individual creative potential outside of the control of the State (Kinna 2005). The Spanish language video narratives exhibit more distinguishable anarchist alignment as opposed to the U.S. motivational framing, which used ambiguous language left open to interpretation and seemed to lack a deeper understanding of anarchism.

Bad Apples or Bad Barrel? A Corrupt Government on Trial

This second major theme addresses Anonymous framework of the "broken system" led by corrupt politicians and proliferated by "systems of oppression." The video narratives present Anonymous argument that corrupt political leaders are also a part of oppressive governments that betray citizens, while also threatening their civil liberties and freedom. In this subsample, both, U.S. and Spanish-language videos, discussed political corruption as a form of oppression. Both subsample of video narratives attributed blame to individual corrupt politicians who influence citizen's political powerlessness. Examples of "these corrupt" politicians are Obama and Hillary Clinton in the United States, and in the Spanish language video narratives, the example of the

Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto. Both subsamples also acknowledge that the source of oppression stems from a larger systemic problem. The prognosis framing for the U.S. video narratives offered contradictions based on their anarchist identity as they proposed government reform and disapproved of violent resistance. The Spanish language video narratives also presented contradictions because, although their prognostic framing promoted revolutions, they claimed that constituents were not ready to undertake it. The framing process presented by both subsamples address government corruption and contribute to my frame analysis surrounding Anonymous self-proclaimed anarchist movement.

Diagnostic framing: “corrupt governments ignore us and enslave us”

The U.S. video narratives were explicit in attributing blame to a corrupt government, who, according to Anonymous, perpetuates suffering and enslaves its constituents. Anonymous acknowledges that the government is the most powerful political entity responsible for perpetuating an oppressive political system. In a 2015 U.S. video, the Anonymous spokesperson begins by saying:

Greetings citizens of the world, throughout history the world has been controlled by big ideologies such as religion, socialism, and capitalism, to name just a few. These are all forms of slavery that have stopped evolution and removed our freedom. Anonymous see these ideologies for what they are: systems of oppression.

This video narrative shows that Anonymous has an understanding that dominant ideologies suppress freedom and establish a form of “slavery” because they perpetuate the systems of oppression, a mode of historical control. This diagnosis aligns with Althusser’s (1972) theory of ideological State apparatuses, which works as a mechanism

to reproduce its authoritarian conditions and expands its ideological dominance and power through prominent knowledge production institutions of authority. Furthermore, this framing also exhibits Anonymous counter-hegemonic critique of the State's hegemonic power and authority outside of corporate media.

When referring to the dominant governing body, Anonymous uses the language of "the government" rather than the "State." However, the theory of anarchy has adopted the language of "the State," a form of governmentality that evolved from feudalism into nation-states, establishing the State into a sovereign authority and mode of governance since the mid-seventeenth century (Turner 1998). In a 2014 video, Anonymous frames the government as "a broken system" because they claim, "our governments commit violent acts against the people they claim to serve and protect." This diagnosis acknowledges that Anonymous perceives the government as a system, in other words, a State apparatus that is "broken." However, this use of language connotes that it suffices to address this pervasive systemic problem by reforming it, thus negating the most prominent principle of anarchism that the State can never be reformed because no matter what shape or form it adopts it will continue to be the source of all oppression. Thus, by using the framework of "broken system," Anonymous delimits its comprehension of an anarchist conceptualization of the State as immoral, repressive, inefficient, unjust, exploitative, and as institutionalized crime and violence (Kinna 2005), which anarchists radically oppose and urge it must be overthrown.

In another 2014 video, the Anonymous spokesperson begins by calling out leaders in power:

Greetings citizens of the way world, this is a message to the various men and women of power who claimed the positions of national leaders and government officials. Enough. It's long past time to stop playing the blame game. This pointless bickering is doing nothing but tearing our species apart.

The “pointless bickering” Anonymous is alluding to is the perpetual political wars that the United States instigates which they argue has led to “the senseless deaths of innocent people.” This statement is an example of how Anonymous also attributes blame to the bad apples in power who they claim are “playing the blame game,” as they gamble with the future of the human species.

In a 2016 video narrative that addressed the presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton and Trump, Anonymous attributes blame to “the corrupted body that is the U.S. government” and proclaims:

We are opposed around the world by a monolithic and ruthless conspiracy that relies on covert means for expanding its sphere of influence. It is a system which has conscripted vast human and material resources into the building of tightly knit, highly efficient machine that combines military diplomatic intelligence, economic, scientific and political operations.

Again, Anonymous uses the language of “system” to explain the authority and power of the State apparatus, which they call a “machine” that integrates numerous institutions of legal and political power that reproduce itself by increasing its resources. As previously argued, although Anonymous does not use the concept of the State to explain power and domination, they still seem to recognize that “the system” is composed of the ideological

State apparatus. Furthermore, these characteristics of domination are consistent with Kinna's (2005) anarchist conceptualization of State authority that uses its legal and political power structure to enact repression, control, deceit and coercion against any State-defined dissidents.

Although Anonymous does seem to define government authority in similar terms to an anarchist conceptualization of the State, they fail to use anarchist language to clarify this form of a modern nation-state governmentality. Anonymous presents the power of the government as corrupt and immoral because it is this oppressive government body that continues to perpetuate "pointless" wars that threatens to "tear" the human species apart. By framing the government as corrupt and immoral, Anonymous challenges the grand narratives of the corporate mainstream popular media that promote the status quo and the hegemonic power of the State.

The subsample of Spanish language videos was mainly from Mexico and particularly addressed the political climate during July 2012. Enrique Peña Nieto was inaugurated as the new Mexican president in 2012, a majority of Mexican constituents opposed his inauguration based on his alleged voting fraud. The Spanish language videos narratives framed the problem based on Mexico being a "failed State," since Anonymous argued the "fraud" was due to on an alliance between the drug cartels and corrupt politicians. Another 2012 Mexican video informed viewers that during Enrique Peña Nieto's electoral race, there was a surge in kidnappings and murders of political dissidents, as Anonymous claimed major political parties were responsible for 60,000

deaths. A separate 2012 video narrative claimed that the disappearance of members of the Mexican “Movement 132” were connected to police kidnappings because the members of this movement were prominent informants who investigated and exposed fraudulent political activities. One of the 2012 videos states:

We blame responsibility of these horrendous actions against democracy by the I.F.E., P.R.I. and A.F.A.N. The federal institutional electorate are complicit with federal government and the P.R.I. who committed a great fraudulent election.

This video narrative’s diagnostic framing attributes blame to electoral institutions whom Anonymous believes were responsible for the voting fraud. Moreover, this particular diagnosis directly challenges the Mexican government’s authority by exposing their political corruption that drove them to “disrespect” the constitutional process and infringe on the Mexican citizen’s human rights. This diagnostic framework also alludes to the State apparatus use of coercion and deceit as a political institution of power.

Similar to this political corruption framing, a 2012 video from Spain exposed Spanish authoritarian leaders who Anonymous argued, “don’t take into consideration [their] opinions or how [they] feel.” This Anonymous video questioned why the mainstream media does not deem their authoritarian leaders as “criminals” who have illegitimately acquired “an exorbitant amount of money and commit crimes without impunity; all the while the world population lose jobs, homes, starve, and endure sickness.” This diagnostic framing proposes a counter-hegemonic perspective, a critical analysis not provided by the mainstream media to question political corruption perpetuated by a world systems theory of global capitalism. Although, these video

narratives do not use the language of the State nor do they analyze state authority and power through an anarchist lens, Anonymous still implicitly seems to recognize the coercive and deceitful power of the ideological State apparatus. Moreover, as previously noted, Anonymous provides an insufficient anarchist diagnosis based on the framework of the State being a “broken system,” which implies it can be solved by repairing it through reform. This framework also negates the internalization of the State as state effects, prosaics, and as a form of mentality that dominates our everyday interactions and interrelationships, as explored in Chapter Two.

Prognostic framing: “we can wake up and take control without violence”

This theme’s prognoses proposed ambiguous calls to action devoid of an anarchistic solution. This subsample of U.S. video narratives advocated for the public to “take action,” as well as “wake up.” As a self-proclaimed anarchist movement, Anonymous contradicts itself as the video narratives demonstrated their denunciation of violent tactics and strategies. Gelderloos (2015) contends that throughout history, oppressed people have taken up arms against colonialism as a collective tool for self-defense, and thus through an anarchist lens, the use of violence is legitimated in the face of State repression. While the video narratives argued against the use of violence as a viable tool of defense, Anonymous still claimed their calls to action were revolutionary. This confuses their anarchist identity since they do not apply an anarchist analysis to understand how strategies of nonviolence are used to benefit the State (Gelderloos 2015).

In a 2016 video, the Anonymous spokesperson expressed disillusionment in U.S. presidential campaign. Anonymous present the argument that statewide uprisings are thus

inevitable, but condemns the solution of a violent revolution because they contend it “will only destroy the very fabric of the founding fathers.” The Anonymous spokesperson then then continues to argue:

[...] if America has a bloodless revolution, not only will it unite the masses, the citizens of other nations will see this as possible and a realistic choice if the citizens of the United States do decidedly deploy a bloodless revolution.

This prognosis seems to support an anarchist solution as it promotes the concept of a revolution as an inevitable overthrow of a corrupt political party system and oppressive government. However, this video narrative demonstrates an obvious contradiction of Anonymous anarchist identity because they support and advocate for state reform, while also conforming to the use of nonviolence, which they argue is “the highest form of dissent.” The basis of anarchy theory is to understand that the State is the ultimate form of all oppression incapable of accountability through reform. However, this prognostic frame exhibits Anonymous endorsement of State reform as a viable solution to counter State oppression as this prognosis shows they are more concerned with working within the system to ensure “the fabric of the founding fathers,” as opposed to advocating for the anarchist solution of overthrowing the State through any radical means necessary. As previously explored, the Anonymous Collective claims to be revolutionary and a self-proclaimed anarchist movement, yet they seem to lack a comprehensive understanding of what anarchism stands for because anarchy theory does not “the fabric of the founding fathers” to be the highest order of governance. On the contrary, anarchism is founded on

the principle of self-governance as the highest order of governance that eradicates any remnants of statist authoritarianism.

The Spanish language video narratives framed their solutions as a means to resist the political corruption led by politicians who renounced democratic values for the sake of personal financial gain. This subsample advocated for the use of constitutional and symbolic political practices of protest, marches to demand change, and a world strike to demonstrate the power of global solidarity.

In a 2012 video, Anonymous framed global oppression by using the language of the Occupy Wall Street Movement, which established the narrative of the oppression of one percent over the ninety-nine percent in the neoliberal global capitalist world. Based on this narrative of disparate economic oppression, Anonymous prognostic framing demanded that viewers “end this political era to gain back the control of the government.” While this prognosis seems to allude to the anarchist principle of decentralized grassroots power as a top-down socio-political governance, it negates Anonymous understanding of anarchy theory because it promotes big government as the dominant source of centralized political power. However, this video narrative contains anarchist undertones as the Anonymous spokesperson proposes the power should lie in the people:

We should choose how our government is run, we should choose how the money is spent, where it goes, who we help, and how. We are convinced there are citizens who can take these roles.

Anarchy as a theory of self-governance and autonomy promotes direct democracy led by the people outside of a State governmentality. Although this video narrative does assert Anonymous support of grassroots power, it lacks an analysis of State power as an internalized form of suppression that surfaces even in experimental anti-capitalist spaces as seen in the experience of the Bluestockings radical bookstore reviewed in Chapter Two (Kanuga 2010). Although intersectional feminists have engaged in a more multifaceted analysis of hegemonic power, anarchists still perceive the source of all oppression derives from the power of an authoritarian statist governmentality; thus, in principle they would never promote reforming the State.

The prognostic framing proposed in the Spanish language video narratives, promoted the use of conventional constitutional political practices such as protests, marches, strikes, while also supporting a revolution. In a 2012 video from Spain, Anonymous prognostic frame addressed an impending global economic corruption and motivated citizens to:

Disobey this rotten authority however you can; who have made you believe you are a miniscule grain of sand, insignificant; an ant in the middle of a human ant farm; who have made you believe you shouldn't be different, that you shouldn't make decisions for yourself without asking for permission; that you can't defend yourself.

Although, this prognostic framing does not explicitly advocate for the use of violence, it is implied when the spokesperson asserts, "disobey this rotten authority however you can." By stating this, Anonymous is promoting any forms of disobedience because they do not implicitly nor explicitly denounce the use of violence, as seen in the prognostic

framing of U.S. videos. This video narrative also outlines the many ways in which the system has led people to accept the idea they cannot defend themselves. In the context of this video, the use of the word “defend” can be interpreted to also promote any type of defense mechanism since this video does not negate the use of violence. In another 2012 Spanish language video, the prognostic framing proposes a Mexican Spring as well as a revolution. This specific video distinguishes between violent and nonviolent revolutions and argues:

Their distinctive marks can be seen in revolutions all over the world [...] these forms of rebellions are economic boycotts, civil disobedience, protests, they are the counterparts of the different types of arms and military bombs in the military fight. In that form they are distinct from violence and war and always will.

Although this video narrative’s prognostic framing does discuss both types of revolutions, it does not denounce violent revolutions. However, it does offer the argument that nonviolent forms of revolutions will always be distinct when compared to violent revolutions. This video also promotes do-it-yourself videos on how to start a revolution. Compared to the subsample of U.S. videos, which explicitly opposed violence as a viable tool for self-defense, the Spanish language video narratives exhibited a more accepting diversity of tactics which aligns with anarchist principles (Gelderloos 2015).

Motivational framing: “we are but one species, we must fight for our country!”

Anonymous framed U.S. corruption as a form of “misplaced” power, a “broken” government that has contributed to a “broken system.” In a 2014 video, Anonymous presented a motivational framing that invoked intergenerational responsibility and appealed to a sense of moral responsibility as the spokesperson claimed:

Humanity has the opportunity to expand well beyond the boundaries of this world. The universe is ever expanding and its resources are vast. You can either see it that we all die on this rock or that we prosper as a species in this universe. The choice is yours. One thing is certain, if this pointless fighting doesn't stop, more innocent lives are inevitably going to be lost and their deaths will be on your hands.

This motivational framing shows that Anonymous seems to recognize the world is globally interconnected as it alludes to intergenerational responsibility when the spokesperson argued, “you can either see it that we all die on this rock or that we prosper as a species in this universe.” Through this motivational, Anonymous connects the concept of intergenerational responsibility to the “prospering of the species” as based on being a “choice” in terms of influencing change by ensuring that no more “innocent lives” are lost. Moreover, this video narrative is also an example of Anonymous as counter-hegemonic movement who challenges dominant neoliberal global capitalist narratives that neglect to acknowledge the importance of preserving the human species, and becoming accountable by not contributing to massive amounts of deaths. In another 2016 video, their motivational framing promotes social change through unity by using the example of the truce between the U.S. rival gangs in the west coast, the Blood and the Crips. The Anonymous spokesperson uses cultural icons to assert:

We have a voice and one voice can shatter the world. Martin Luther King and Tupac have proven such a feat. Together to we can bring necessary change in a stable balance of power between government and citizenry. Cooperation is key.

This motivational framing is a positive message; however, this is contradictory to anarchist principles because the theory of anarchy is founded on the belief that statist

governmentality will never reach a balance with its citizenry, as its authority and power is based on violence, coercion and repression (Gelderloos 2015; Kinna 2005). An anarchist movement would not promote change that upholds State authority because anarchy means self-governance based on complete self-autonomy (Shantz 2006). Yet, Anonymous promotes balancing the power of government with the power of the citizenry through cooperation. As reviewed in Chapter Two, an anarchist theory believes cooperation and mutual aid will thrive once outside of an authoritarian State governmentality. Thus, to advocate balancing State authority through reform contradicts Anonymous anarchist movement identity. In another 2016 video, Anonymous further fuels their movement's contradiction as the spokesperson claims the rationale for taking back power is because:

The power is with the people and always has been. Your governments know very well that they cannot control free minds. A small group of fearless individuals can achieve far more than you can believe.

This motivational framing exudes anarchist principles as it supports the decentralized grassroots power and the leadership of small groups of "fearless individuals." However, the contradiction lies in Anonymous promoting power in the hands of the people, as well as promoting the cooperation of the government and the citizenry as a means to restore a balance of power. As reviewed in Chapter Two, an anarchist theory, conceptualizes State power as inherently repressive, violent, coercive and deceitful, that perpetuates inequalities and oppression where the authority of the State is supreme. To claim that the power is with the people, yet advocate to balance this power with big government, shows

that Anonymous lacks an understanding of the profound impact of an authoritarian State. Because, according to anarchy theory, grassroots power cannot exist in peaceful balance with an oppressive and violent state governmentality. Although, Anonymous professes that the U.S. government is corrupt because they “kill innocent people” and “divide our species,” their motivational framing does not fully integrate an anarchist framing that completely repudiates the authority of the State and its violent and coercive power.

In the context of addressing government corruption and oppression in countries outside the United States, Anonymous rationale for action appealed to a sense of honor, a fight of good and evil, liberty and democracy. As the diagnostic framings emphasized political corruption by those who “seek power for the sake of power,” the Spanish language narratives used a motivational framing that reinforced democratic ideals and argued democracy becomes obsolete when people lose their liberties since political corruption denounces democracy.

In a 2012 video, Anonymous proposes a rationale for action based on morality:

We know that for evil to prevail, it is enough for good people not to do anything. This rationale defines political corruption as evil which prevails on inaction of good people. Mexican community, remember those who live in fear are not free.

This video narrative’s motivational framing does invoke the concept of freedom and connects it to the emotion of fear. However, it does not explore the many ways freedom is stifled by the authority of the State as reviewed in Chapter Two. In another 2012 video, Anonymous also reminds Mexican citizens of their civic duty to defend Mexico:

You need to have motivation to change the trajectory of the country with love for our nation. Mexico is our home. Let's fight for it. Let's hope for a better place. Fighting for your country is the greatest honor we can ever have.

This rationale for action based on civic responsibility to fight for the country contains undertones of patriotism, an ideology used by the State to control constituents. However, these motivational framings continue to lack advocating for anarchist principles of self-governance, cooperation and mutual aid outside of the statist authoritarian governmentality.

State Violence and Militarization of the Police

As hacktivists, the Anonymous Collective framed police brutality in the United States and countries abroad as a battle for civil liberties and freedom. The U.S. video narratives during 2014 through 2015 addressed the grievances expressed by the Black Lives Matter Movement: they emphasized systemic racism executed by State institutions through state violence against African-Americans. The U.S. videos focused on the militarization of police forces and their use of aggressive tactics against aggrieved protesters. When framing police brutality in Paris, British Columbia, Turkey, Pakistan and in Hong Kong, Anonymous framed this issue as an unjustified use of “brute force” aimed at peaceful protesters.

Anonymous framed State violence in countries outside of the United States an issue of civil liberty. However, they framed these governments as “criminal regimes” and “fascist governments” as a mechanism to demonize these countries for allowing police

forces to use violent repression against citizens. By framing governments outside of the United States as “fascist governments” and “criminal regimes,” while framing police brutality in the U.S. as a rising police state, Anonymous perpetuates the “othering” of non-Western countries based on the dichotomy of “civilized” versus “uncivilized” countries. Also, by not applying a critical race perspective when framing governments outside of the United States, it demonstrates that even though Anonymous is a form of counter-hegemonic movement, they still lack an understanding of how the matrix of power intersects with different levels of oppression, a topic reviewed in Chapter Two.

Diagnostic framing: militarized policing and the violation of human rights

In August 2014, police in Ferguson, Missouri, murdered Mike Brown, an eighteen-year-old African-American male. Anonymous framed Mike Brown’s murder as an “execution” as a result of “racist police aggression” from the rising police State. In a 2014 video, Anonymous diagnoses this problem based on the militarization of the Ferguson police department due to their use of riot gear, tear gas, militarized vehicles and many other forms of “unsafe and hazardous and deleterious equipment.” Anonymous also framed the Ferguson police department as “violent inordinate forces” and acknowledges that they are a part of the State apparatus. In this video the Anonymous spokesperson asserts:

We are also observing the heinous actions the Department of Defense and the Department of Homeland Security, and their petty waste of money, very closely, for they are the main ones that are currently creating the military state that is being fueled by military manufacturers, pro-war representatives, and corporations.

This diagnosis is aimed at exposing the State apparatus and their collusion with military manufacturers and corporations, a narrative underreported by the corporate mainstream media. Based on this diagnosis, Anonymous frames this issue as a suppression of citizen's freedom and basic rights. They further expand their diagnosis to attribute blame to the impunity that the police force benefits from. When Freddie Gray was murdered by the Baltimore police, Anonymous also framed his murder as a "slaughter" an indication of the level of danger that militarized police State pose to citizens, especially citizens of color. Moreover, during Sandra Bland's death, Anonymous attributed her being "killed" by the Waller police department. A 2015 video, attributes blame to "the corrupted system that killed Sandra Bland and continues to commit injustice across this country."

Anonymous frames these corrupt police-driven murders of African-Americans as civil rights violations implemented by "ruthless" law enforcement who are devoid of honor, and thus cannot be trusted. By acknowledging the rising police State in terms of the use of violence against the African-American communities, Anonymous demonstrates they understand the police is an arm of the State because they disproportionately murder and violate the rights of this underrepresented and marginalized community.

As a counter-hegemonic movement, Anonymous does change the narrative in terms of the corruption that plagues the American police forces. Anonymous acknowledges the militarization of the police ignites the pervasive rise of the police State as it solidifies the military industrial complex. However, the mere statement that American citizens are living under a police state provides a superficial assertion that does

not engage in explaining what a police State is and how it benefits from the implementation of State violence. These video narratives did not explicitly refer to the police force as an “arm of the State.” However, it is implied when they acknowledge the increase of “racist aggression” that contribute to “racial disparities” in arrests, murders, and excessive force against the African-American citizens. More importantly, Anonymous continues to contradict its anarchist movement identity as they advocate for reforming the police force as a means to make them more legally accountable for their violent actions. Since the police force is defined as an arm of the State, the same anarchist principle applies that no matter what shape or form the State takes, it will continue to reproduce and perpetuate oppression.

Anonymous addressed police brutality in countries outside the United States of Paris, British Columbia, Turkey, Pakistan and Hong Kong. Anonymous attributed blame to “the brute force” used by police forces who they argued were supported by “fascist governments” and “criminal regimes.” Anonymous also frames the police forces as “criminal security” and “military forces” who “barbarically attack” protesters. They frame police brutality as a civil liberties issues because they “entrench,” “restrict,” “deteriorate” the rights of the people while “trampling on the freedom and democracy of citizens. However, Anonymous goes one step further when framing police brutality, outside of the United States, as “human rights violations” and declare police forces “strip away the humanity” of the people through “inhumane actions.” In a 2014 video, Anonymous used this language when denouncing “the fascist government of Turkey”

who allowed the police to use “brute force” during a rally of ten thousand people “outraged” after an elevator crash that killed construction workers.

There are evident differences in how Anonymous frames police brutality in the United States and other countries. They frame police brutality outside the United States as “human rights violations” and a stripping away of the people’s humanity whose governments are “fascist” and “criminal regimes.” They use the concept of “police State” when they denounce police brutality in the United States. Anonymous also frames police brutality outside the U.S. as “barbaric attacks,” while framing attacks in the United States as “racist police aggression,” a result explicable due to the militarization of the police force. The language used to describe police corruption outside the United States exudes more of an inhumane and uncivilized use of violence, whereas in the United State is more attributed to a militarization of the police State. To some extent the evident differences in framework suggests that the United States is a “civilized” power, compared to “other” countries who are deemed as “uncivilized.” As a hegemonic global power, the United States also manufactures consent through the use of the mainstream popular media who disseminates the belief that the United States is the leading democratic and most free country in the Western world (Gramsci 1971). This hegemonic Western ideology has a grave effect in obfuscating the ability of the mainstream popular media who does not engage in a profound analytical perspective of how an authoritarian State governmentality continuously infringes the civil liberties of Americans. When Anonymous fails to analyze the police state through an anarchist lens, they neglect to

recognize that an authoritarian State governmentality also inherits the potential of developing into a fascist regime who has no problem in “barbarically attacking” citizens and stripping them from their humanity. This becomes a reality understood by anarchist who perceive the State as the ultimate source of oppression.

Prognostic framing: reforming monstrosity and cyber intervention

As a cyber movement, Anonymous promotes the use of social media as a tool for mobilization, a cyber strategy to ignite socio-political change. As a general prognosis they also advocate for people to gather collectively in protest as a means to raise their voices against injustices. In a 2014 video, Anonymous proposed demanding that congress take action and pass Mike Brown’s law to “set national standards for police conduct and misbehavior” by legally enforcing police to wear body cameras. Anonymous demands that all police officers who have murdered innocent citizens be immediately arrested, while also demanding that the police chiefs and police force reinstate their pledge to protect and serve citizens to achieve, what they call, “sustainable reform.”

Petitioning congress to legally pressure the police force to become more accountable, through “sustainable reform” to “prevent abuses,” is a noble prognosis when a movement’s goal is to establish reform. However, in the case of Anonymous, who has proclaimed to be an anarchist movement, to demand reforming “the arm of the State” contradicts and further confuses this radical identity. In an anarchist perspective, the police force is one of the highly instrumental institutions that operates for the sole purpose of advancing the State’s repressive authority and power. It is through the police force that the State has legitimized social control and punishment as institutionalized

violence, thus anarchists recognize that the purpose of police force is to serve and protect the State not citizens. For Anonymous to advocate for police reform demonstrates their lack of understanding anarchism and its conceptualization of the State as an inherently authoritarian, immoral and violent governing entity, as reviewed in Chapter Two. As a self-proclaimed anarchist movement, to propose the solution of police reform through the implementation of Mike Brown's Law and demanding the police to reinstate their pledge to the community and establish accountability, negates their radical anarchist identity. Because to support upholding the State apparatus by just reforming its violent force is to not apply the anarchist perspective that the State, as a hegemonic authority and power, will continue to dominate through every adaptation. This is why the goal of anarchism is to ultimately overthrow the State, and its apparatus, both as an external and internal dominating force of authority and power. Anonymous neglects to apply this basic anarchist vision.

When Anonymous addressed police brutality in countries outside the United States, their prognostic framing advocated exercising constitutional political practices, as well as, direct action through hacking activities. This subsample demonstrated that when they appealed to the public, Anonymous advocated for protests and petition signing to mobilize collective action. When Anonymous appealed to the hacktivist collective, they advocated for hacking activities such as shutting down communications networks, remove cyber structures, defacing web-assets and hacking documents to expose evidence of crime and corruption. These collective action frames are consistent with their hacker's

subculture with Kinna's (2005) depiction of constitutional political practices. However, as an anarchist movement they neglect to advocate for political activities that can incrementally lead to a revolution. This subsample also demonstrated that Anonymous neither advocate nor denounced the use of violence as a mechanism of defense against the police force. Compared to the U.S. prognostic framings, these video narratives show an evident difference because Anonymous in countries outside the United States do not blatantly disprove the use of violence nor did they advocate for sustainable reform. The video narratives served more as political education to bring awareness to the entire Anonymous Collective regarding police brutality and police repression in countries outside the United States.

Motivational framing: "in the name of justice and democracy for all"

The Anonymous U.S. video narratives focused on the militarization of the police force and produced motivational frames based on the notion of justice for families and the community as a whole. In a 2014 video the Anonymous spokesperson argued "staying silent today could result in the death of your kid tomorrow." This rationale for action reminds viewers there is a time limit attached to the call to action because the more people delay social mobilization, children will continue to be killed by the police. This video narrative further emphasizes the urgency for collective action by stating, "the time has come to bring those to justice, those who swore to protect us not kill us; until justice prevails." This rationale for action asserts that the notion justice needs to prevail now because the police force is not complying with their oath "to serve and protect" citizens. In this motivational framing, Anonymous use of language lacks anarchist motivations as

to why the violent arm of the State must be opposed as it continues to reiterate the reformist belief that the police are supposed “to protect” citizens. By using this generalized language that claims justice, Anonymous does not convey the radical undertones of overthrowing the State through revolution. This type of language does not reinforce nor solidify Anonymous self-proclaimed identity as it continues to portray the arm of the State through a perspective reform.

In a 2015 video, Anonymous implores viewers to “say no more police killings, no more beatings, and no more deaths.” This rationale for action exudes a sense of urgency as it asserts the police kill thus making them responsible for increasing the death tolls. In a 2014 video narrative, Anonymous also invokes legal accountability when the spokesperson asserts, “officers cannot be allowed to escape above the law simply because they wear a badge.” The rationale for action implies that the law has not been successful in regulating institutionalized violence because the authority of the police has expanded to neglect the law. Despite, Anonymous framing police abuse and corruption as an urgent and deadly grievance perpetuated by a police State, the subsample demonstrates they denounce any use of physical violence as a mode of resistance. In a 2015 video, Anonymous declares they “do not condone” violence as the spokesperson argues, “there is no reason for violence.” In this particular video narrative, Anonymous is referencing the looting and violence during Baltimore protest as an expression of outrage due to Freddie Gray’s murder, another African-American male victim of racist police brutality. Anonymous also argues the violence was directed at “the wrong source” of problem since

the looting and violence targeted the community's infrastructure instead of the police force "who should truly be held accountable." In a 2014 video, Anonymous argued "we need to show those in power that we are more in control than they are" because to riot and loot only seems to "undermine the cause" and incite the powers that be to use more force against citizens. These examples of motivational framings do not align with anarchist principles, which continues to contradict and confuse Anonymous anarchist identity. When Anonymous criticizes and denounces the use of violence, is to not recognize that violence, based on an anarchist perspective, is a legitimate source of self-defense against the violence of the State. Furthermore, when Anonymous denounces the use of violence they neglect that throughout history, oppressed people have taken up arms to defend their freedom and independence against colonial powers and now the neo-colonial power of the State (Gelderloos 2015). To promote nonviolent resistance also reinforces the concentrated power of State by allowing it be perceived as the only "legitimate" legal and political source of justice, which prohibits citizens to use violence as a form of defense when faced by unjust State violence. Anonymous anarchist identity is compromised because their movement framings continue to deficiently apply anarchist principles.

Anonymous rationale for action in countries outside of the United States still exuded Western American ideals of freedom and democracy. Their rationale declared, "the time has come for democracy" to reclaim justice for the people and the international community as a whole. Furthermore, in a 2014 video, Anonymous motivational framing

argued, “the police is to protect, not to trample on their freedom and democracy” of the people, which is consistent with the U.S. motivational frames that also negates the police is an arm of the State. In spite of Anonymous support of Western ideals of democracy and freedom, the video narratives neglected to implore anarchist principles that confront the authoritarian State apparatus that reproduces itself through legal and political structures of repression, and as a covert force as ideological State apparatus based on coercion and deceit (Althusser 1972). These Western-centric ideals of freedom and democracy do not address what freedom embodies based on an anarchist vision of radical and revolutionary change based on self-governance, autonomy, and mutual aid. Ultimately, Anonymous neglects to promote the fundamental anarchist principle of self-governance devoid of State governmentality.

In this chapter, I identified three main themes in the Anonymous Official videos: censorship, government corruption and police brutality. For each of these major themes, I analyzed the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational messages. I further analyzed the differences between the U.S. and Spanish language video narratives. Finally, I considered the ways in which the narratives constructed Anonymous as an anarchist movement, and when they presented inconsistencies and contradictions in their application of anarchist ideologies. In the final chapter, I revisit these ideas, discuss the limitations of my research, and conclude with suggestions for future research on the Anonymous Collective.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

In this thesis, I used social movement framing theory (Snow and Benford 1988, 2000), classical anarchism, and conceptualizations of the State to analyze “Anonymous Official” YouTube videos posted from January 2012 through July 2016. I considered the Anonymous Collective self-proclaimed anarchist movement identity against three major narrative themes: censorship, government corruption and police brutality. These three major themes were present in Anonymous U.S. and Spanish language videos based in Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador and Spain. In my analysis, I found that the video narratives lacked a consistent articulation of an anarchist movement identity. They predominantly proposed reforming the State. They also promoted ideals of democracy and freedom based on the United States Constitution, and denounced the use of violence as a legitimate tool of self-defense in the face of State violence.

Anonymous as Anarchist?

While Anonymous Official messages did not explicitly identify as anarchist, the video narratives contained anarchistic undertones. My analysis revealed that Anonymous did claim to be a hacktivist “independent collective” devoid of any political party affiliation. These characteristics are consistent with anarchist principles based on the theory that political parties are embedded in the State apparatus and perpetuate State tyranny (Gelderloos 2015). When Anonymous applied the concepts of freedom and

liberty to their hacktivism, they were consistent with the hacker's ethic based on techno-libertarianism and crypto-anarchy: the freedom of Internet access without government interference (Steinmetz and Gerber 2015). Despite Anonymous alignment with radical hacker's principles, my analysis revealed many inconsistencies that contradicted their anarchist movement identity proclaimed in other spaces.

When the video narratives addressed socio-political problems such as government corruption and police brutality, my analysis indicated that Anonymous endorsed the notions of freedom and democracy based on the U.S. Constitution, which upholds an inherently capitalist State governmentality. A resounding sense of disillusionment permeated the U.S. video narratives as Anonymous articulated a sense of loss for a democracy and freedom that was inspired by the American founding fathers, a dream had corrupted by a repressive State. The messages proposed to restore the democracy that the United States founding fathers envisioned: a democracy for the people and by the people. This vision of restored democracy through State reform contradicts their anarchist identity. Anonymous video narratives rarely endorsed an anarchist form of freedom and democracy as a rationale for mobilizing collective action, unless it addressed cyber freedom of information and access to the Internet. By applying a weak understanding of the State, Anonymous further contradicts their anarchist movement identity. Instead of overthrowing the State through *any* means possible, they endorsed reforming the State and resisting it through nonviolence. Based on an anarchist framework, the State will never be reformed because it is an inherently immoral, violent and repressive

authoritarian mode of governance (Kinna 2005). As long as the State exists, the people will not be free (Gelderloos 2015) and their sovereignty will continue to be suppressed (Goldman 1910; Proudhon 1876).

Anonymous messages framed the State as a corrupt body that enslaved citizens through oppressive control. Anonymous articulated that the State functions as an ideological apparatus that advances its hegemonic power through institutions such as the Department of Defense and corporate controlled media outlets. The Spanish language video narratives extended their diagnosis to explain that, as a State apparatus, the use of mainstream media outlets and the institutions of education sustain the status quo. When the video narratives particularly discussed government corruption, Anonymous referenced political leaders and people in power, such as presidents in the United States and countries abroad, who use their power for personal gain, to uphold the status quo, and to reproduce State sovereignty. Anonymous was not afraid to expose the corrupt activities of politicians such as Hillary Clinton in the United States and Enrique Peña Nieto in Mexico. These video narratives served as counter-hegemonic political education that challenge the mainstream media dominant narratives and called out corrupt politicians in order to dismantle their political legitimacy and power under the State.

When Anonymous U.S. videos addressed countries such as Israel and Palestine, and the Islamic State, the narratives were more critical in describing State power over citizens. Anonymous described the Islamic State as an entity that "brutally" censors their people and journalists. Their call to action declared that they "must be opposed." Yet

their messages do not fully convey the extent of the Islamic State's authoritarian and destructive power. When Anonymous attempted to expand their analysis of the State by analyzing Israel as "fascist," they attributed its authority based on a "corrupt ideology" that perpetuates itself as a "systemic killing apparatus" as it suppresses Palestinian citizens. However, very few U.S. videos explicitly used the concept of the State when analyzing the U.S. State apparatus, and provided a very basic description of State authority and power devoid of theorizing the State through an anarchist lens.

In my analysis of police brutality in the United States and countries abroad, I found that the Anonymous anarchist identity was further compromised. Anonymous framed police brutality in the United States as "the rising police State." In countries abroad, it fused the language of "criminal regimes" and "fascist governments." Considering that the Anonymous video narratives significantly advocated for democracy and freedom within the confines of State, I contend these ideals led them to endorse reforming the police force. Yet as an arm of the State, the police force cannot be reformed because it exists to serve and protect the State not the citizens. To propose reforming the police as a means to reinforce legal accountability is inconsistent with anarchist ideologies. Furthermore, my analysis also demonstrated that Anonymous contradicted its anarchist identity as they criticized citizens for using violent tactics in the face of police brutality. To reject the use of violence in the face of a violent and repressive State displays a lack of understanding nonviolence as co-opted by the State to control citizens (Gelderloos 2015).

Stronger Critiques from Outside the U.S.

Since this was a small subsample, it is challenging to conclude the extent of how the Spanish language narratives are consistent with their anarchist movement identity. However, when comparing the 73 U.S. video narratives to the 12 Spanish language narratives, the Spanish language video narratives were more inclined to offer the solution of a revolution without blatantly denouncing the use of violent tactics, as they presented an understanding of employing any tactics necessary to resist the tyranny of the State. My analysis revealed that the Spanish language video messages did not promote reforming the State nor did they denounce the use of violence as a tool of self-defense. Their prognosis promoted State resistance and urged citizens to defend themselves by "any means necessary." Although they do not explicitly advocate for the use of violence, they do not blatantly deny nor criticize it as an option for self-defense. When the Spanish language video narratives proposed a revolution, they also contradicted themselves in terms of rescinding this solution on the basis that the people "were not ready for it." Anonymous encouragement of nonviolent resistance and revolution contradicts their anarchist identity because it negates the understanding that as oppressed people in the face of violent repression from the State, anarchy theory is a proponent of the use of violence as self-defense (Gelderloos 2015). Furthermore, my analysis also revealed that the Spanish language narratives endorsed the anarchist libertarian ideal of freedom of creativity without government intervention where people were able to take control of their own form of labor. In my analysis of these Spanish language video narratives, I

found that Anonymous was more elaborate when analyzing the State as an ideological apparatus suppressing history and “indoctrinating” citizens.

Future Research

To better understand this hacktivist movement, future research should incorporate Internet interviews and surveys of individuals who identify as Anonymous members. My analysis of the Anonymous Official videos uncovered a multifaceted movement identity. Although I analyzed their movement identity through an anarchist lens, future research studies might adopt other lens to highlight other aspects of their identity. I noted missing feminist and critical race lenses in the Anonymous Official videos. Therefore, these analytical frameworks might further articulate the boundaries and blind spots of Anonymous. For example, in the videos about police brutality, Anonymous highlighted “racist police aggression” experienced by citizens in Ferguson; however, narratives analysis was shallow to non-existent in linking racism to State oppression. As a movement established within the white male hacker subculture, their Anonymous YouTube videos and their movement symbol of the Guy Fawkes mask exudes power and privilege. By analyzing this fundamental identity, we could further explore Anonymous portrayals as a gendered cyber movement. In a neoliberal globalized world, Anonymous or other cyber activist movements like it, provide a unique window into the potential and challenges for global resistance.

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APPENDICES

Title	Date Posted	Duration	URL Link
Anonymous	1/24/2012	1m 37s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VT2CjGNjtoM&index=135&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC
Anonymous	4/11/2012	4m 28s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T9vFOobcSW0&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC&index=134
Anonymous	4/12/2012	5m 50s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=okKvvpMz3l0&index=133&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC
Anonymous	4/25/2012	2m 24s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vmvR7Hb0Y6M&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC&index=132
Anonymous	4/27/2012	2m 40s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=72J2GxYQBL0&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC&index=131
Anonymous	4/28/2012	5m 24s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5JjDAuZyPI8&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC&index=130
Anonymous	5/8/2012	1m 32s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RYpOwJKBeQ4&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC&index=129
Anonymous	5/24/2012	2m 56s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9nx-qIhUtoQ&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC&index=128
Anonymous	7/2/2012	1m 50s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=29IA6i8Dr8E&index=126&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC
Anonymous	7/3/2012	9m 02s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7EvFSHEEWdA&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC&index=125
Anonymous	7/4/2012	2m 39s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HGxfkGTMdUg&index=122&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC
Anonymous - Pueblo Mexicano Llego Hora De Hacer Historia Revolución Pacífica	7/4/2012	4m 27s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6Fsnf0-ic0&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC&index=123
Anonymous	7/27/2012	3m 44s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ts1hu2bCYSs&index=120&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC
Anonymous	7/31/2012	2m 25s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wUz1Ve29PIU&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC&index=119
Anonymous	8/3/2012	2m 39s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mDoIRB5XGzQ&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC&index=118
Anonymous - REVELA EI Mayor Secreto Guardado Por Los Mayas. (Difundelo)	8/5/2012	11m 03s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J47roA3WRa0&index=117&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC
Anonymous	8/9/2012	11m 57s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2iXUiUpptag&index=116&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC
Anonymous - Comunicado Algo Grave Esta Por Suceder A	8/16/2012	7m 33s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fBLFiQAR5gk&index=115&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXlJLbWIFR7a8pt8jnkGAbC

Title	Date Posted	Duration	URL Link
Nivel Global (Difundelo)			
Anonymous	12/24/2012	1m 02s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q0NGRlogxNU&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXljLBwIFR7a8pt8jnkGabc&index=114
Anonymous - Operation NSA Campus 2014	4/5/2014	2m 47s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z40_oAnK-fk&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXljLBwIFR7a8pt8jnkGabc&index=113&oref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DZ40_oAnK-fk%26list%3DPLtoSIPOzD0YXljLBwIFR7a8pt8jnkGabc%26index%3D113&has_verified=1
Anonymous - Message to The APD	4/16/2014	9m 15s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HBFjmM03jF4&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUWPebcRJCvRaejp722SI0C&index=14
Anonymous - Jacob Rothschild Malaysian Airliner MH 370	4/16/2014	8m 08s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YKcUYWwsdek&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXljLBwIFR7a8pt8jnkGabc&index=111
Anonymous - Message to Barack Obama: Do you see what we see?	5/14/2014	16m 42s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUak72GJ4E4&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUlg32broDJlyKeccmhu027&index=4
Anonymous - The Final Resistance	5/14/2014	6m 18s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ghoeYzE5Vjc&index=109&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXljLBwIFR7a8pt8jnkGabc
Anonymous - Homeless people in the United States deported to camps	5/22/2014	8m 48s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QkzpKptavkc&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXljLBwIFR7a8pt8jnkGabc&index=107
Anonymous - Vote Them Out	6/27/2014	5m 15s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PSqWObqiysQ&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXljLBwIFR7a8pt8jnkGabc&index=106
Anonymous - C.I.S.A	7/3/2014	5m 01s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JQwW8DDT_aM&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXljLBwIFR7a8pt8jnkGabc&index=104
Anonymous - Ukraine is being used	7/7/2014	4m 26s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vRP_KnpBtjQ&index=100&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ
Anonymous - Israel and Palestine: Gaza Blackout	7/17/2014	1m 55s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z7tn51G4bH0&index=2&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUacjXCWJjYHA9AOSReBYBm
Anonymous - Israel and Palestine: Operation Save Gaza	7/19/2014	2m 15s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1UE4RcaMn5I&index=3&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUacjXCWJjYHA9AOSReBYBm
Anonymous - Humanity, Time is now	7/27/2014	2m 34s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GW0E6JV6cmo&index=95&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ
Anonymous - Message to	8/1/2014	2m 51s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HulX82y4Kt4&index=13&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUlg32broDJlyKeccmhu027

Title	Date Posted	Duration	URL Link
Our World Leaders			
Anonymous - Message to Israel and Palestine II	8/2/2014	9m 07s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gNfAXwSue1Y&index=5&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUacjXCWJjYHA9AOSReBYBm
Anonymous - Plan to defeat the Illuminati and New World Order 2016	8/9/2014	1h 17m 33s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kobrwhxgkQ&list=LLA071Plif2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=91
Anonymous - Operation Ferguson #OpFerguson	8/10/2014	2m 29s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=75WkEZK_f6g&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUaIBtHbMI4_EXXX9nGTaHs&index=6
Anonymous- Message to Israel and Palestine III	8/13/2014	10m 50s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YCQIVRmvHuk&index=6&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUacjXCWJjYHA9AOSReBYBm
Anonymous - The Ferguson Aftermath	8/15/2014	6m 26s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EZCBocfjdh&index=4&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUaIBtHbMI4_EXXX9nGTaHs
Anonymous - Ferguson Emergency Message	8/19/2014	3m 19s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=znld6EIJOEQ&index=3&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUaIBtHbMI4_EXXX9nGTaHs
Anonymous - Call to Protest #HandsUp (Ferguson)	8/20/2014	3m 34s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4LmHhgr7TGk&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUaIBtHbMI4_EXXX9nGTaHs&index=2
Anonymous - Ferguson Demands	8/26/2014	3m 27s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLPZSgzkwng&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUaIBtHbMI4_EXXX9nGTaHs&index=1
Anonymous - Operation Pakistan #OpPakistan	8/31/2014	2m 09s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CAuGhn2a3qs&index=20&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl
Anonymous - Operation Turkey #OpTurkey	9/9/2014	2m 14s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RtRvpF0tEz8&index=19&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl
Anonymous - Uncovering the truth about ISIS & United States Officials	9/23/2014	6m 35s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cd_6f5wY0Ic&index=2&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YVL5NReFTXfUdWRBcaam-wC
Anonymous - Operation Ice ISIS #OpIceISIS	9/28/2014	3m 1s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vtA335Nosww&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YVL5NReFTXfUdWRBcaam-wC&index=1
Anonymous - Operation Hong Kong Protest	10/3/2014	2m 41s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v6780pKtsY4&index=17&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl

Title	Date Posted	Duration	URL Link
Anonymous - Operation Flying Edge #OpKobane #OpTurkey #OpIcISIS	10/10/2014	5m 51s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ePLXLP7bIsY&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl&index=16
Anonymous - Operation Shock Drop #OpFerguson #OpHandsUp #OpCopWatch	10/14/2014	4m 24s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ppjvKPs4P4&index=15&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl
Anonymous - Operation Sky Angels #OpMexico	11/15/2014	2m 39s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kuuPQBniKww&index=13&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl
Anonymous - Operation Death Eaters	2/5/2015	3m 01s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pnx2UBWlziY&index=24&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl
Anonymous - World War III is on the Horizon	2/7/2015	3m	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G4lNqvO3YdQ&index=61&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ
Anonymous - THE FATE OF HUMANITY	3/17/2015	4m 42s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cY0oat_cKdI&index=57&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ
Anonymous - Operation Baltimore #OpBaltimore	5/1/2015	1m 50s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U2M7gsYEI3Q&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl&index=12
Anonymous - Message to the Citizens of the World	6/27/2015	8m 27s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9yA24CM8gYg&index=11&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUWPebcRJCvraejp722SI0C
Anonymous - Independence Day	7/4/2015	2m 09s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lW3mISZpdjE&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=48
Anonymous - The TPP: What you need to know	7/18/2015	3m 26s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6AYMGe9roeo&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=47
Anonymous - #SandraWasMurdered	7/25/2015	6m 55s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e2pVJl6AmbI&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=46
Anonymous - #RageForSandra	8/1/2015	1m 57s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2q7Ljhxgr0&index=45&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ
Anonymous - Operation Anon Down #OpAnonDown	9/26/2015	2m 50s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gdI87WgNKkA&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl&index=11

Title	Date Posted	Duration	URL Link
Anonymous - Operation Nimr #OpNimr	9/29/2015	1m 43s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DTxvnyWhYW4&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl&index=10
Anonymous - #OpNov5 2015 (Million Mask March)	11/4/2015	2m 42s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J2ZKDgnZVGs&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=36
Anonymous - Operation KKK #OpKKK	11/14/2015	3m 17s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Efgro-dcmtc&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl&index=5
Anonymous - Operation Paris #OpParis	11/16/2015	1m 25s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ybz59LbbACQ&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl&index=8
Anonymous - Operation Paris Continues #OpParis	11/18/2015	1m 17s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZfyVVLGWivo&index=7&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl
Anonymous - Operation Helping Hands #OpHH	11/28/2015	1m 37s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SV8eG32vyc0&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl&index=6
Anonymous - #FreeAnons	12/8/2015	1m 28s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BfzIYR7IsY&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=32
Anonymous - Message To Christmas Shoppers	12/18/2015	2m 55s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PUjdeMvrFWk&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUWPebcRJC VrAejp722SI0C&index=10
Anonymous - Message to Turkey	12/27/2015	1m 21s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VPN3m1df38Q&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUWPebcRJC VrAejp722SI0C&index=9
Anonymous - Happy New Year	1/1/2016	2m 24s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8MFCKFDnN54&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=28
Anonymous - #OpNov5 & #OpSafeWinter Speech	1/9/2016	3m 19s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbW8Ejh3fUY&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=27
Anonymous - Elucidating #OpISIS and #OpTrump	1/16/2016	4m 03s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ECT82UjG0x4&index=26&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ
Anonymous - Operation Africa #OpAfrica	2/20/2016	2m 26s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p_crXt_xJQQ&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTl&index=4
Anonymous - Message to all gang related citizens	2/27/2016	5m 10s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wgplf1KN5k&index=8&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUWPebcRJC VrAejp722SI0C
Anonymous - VOTE ANONYMOUS 2016	3/5/2016	22m 18s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FI4HagtgTPQ&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUlg32broDJly Kcccmhu027&index=1

Title	Date Posted	Duration	URL Link
Anonymous - Operation Brussels #OpBrussels	3/24/2016	1m 45s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iJ82nPfWS_k&index=3&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTI
Anonymous - Dear Citizens of the World	4/2/2016	2m 24s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=avBBYOv4t-w&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=17
Anonymous - Message to Hillary Clinton	4/9/2016	4m 33s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OTMaIX_JPE4&index=6&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YWi6ghh6SPRvc7c1TMSj3tq
Anonymous - Operation Icarus: Shut Down The Banks #OpIcarus	5/8/2016	3m 21s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FYUjvbaj4bo&index=2&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTI
Anonymous - The Movement	5/21/2016	2m 48s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2tMq99SYv8M&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=11
Anonymous - Operation Harambe #OpHarambe	6/4/2016	3m 29s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eipAdby-U08&index=1&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YXoPud60x55mg77gX2p9nTI
Anonymous - Message to the Citizens of the World II	6/11/2016	10m 46s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-hDqFJJDHhk&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUWPebcRJCvRAejp722SI0C&index=4
Anonymous - Google manipulating Hillary Clinton search results	6/18/2016	12m 45s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3_tWvynH0xY&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YWi6ghh6SPRvc7c1TMSj3tq&index=5
Anonymous - Message to the Citizens of America	6/25/2016	12m 37s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dJYnf7fiLh0&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YU1g32broDJlyKecmhu027&index=6
Anonymous - 10 ANONYMOUS Triumphs	7/2/2016	11m 11s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=linWGR3ZL2c&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=5
Anonymous - Message to the Citizens of the World III	7/9/2016	10m 52s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zpnZJ9AvWnE&index=1&list=PLtoSIPOzD0YUWPebcRJCvRAejp722SI0C
Anonymous - Message to the Citizens of Turkey	7/21/2016	1m 28s	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n-Fd2cgB10w&list=LLA071PlIf2wk-B8Rkwt47bQ&index=1