

Hactivism in Europe:
Renewals in social movements in the digital age
Bachelor Thesis

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1. Abstract

The goal of this paper is to bring clarity and further the hacktivism research by finding out what the similarities between hacktivism and social movements are. Hacktivism is a movement in itself and sometimes it is compared with social movements. There has not been a common ground on this field. Many authors give their idea and definitions of hacktivism as well as the similarities and differences to social movements. With a dialectic approach this work aims coming to a common ground and understanding all perspectives. The debate includes a lot of different characteristics and factors that are underlined in other works. Hacktivism is a newly arising movement that has brought a lot of media attention. Especially for the European Union, the global character of hacktivism has been important for cross-border cooperation. Not only Member States the European Union has been a target of hackers. With common regulations the Union is trying to respond to hacktivist attacks. A clear definition of hacktivism is yet missing, which makes the reaction to these attacks even harder. This paper will try to give an understanding of what type of movement hacktivism is and look at eight identified characteristics of social movements. Using interviews and information of hacktivists these characteristics will be applied on hacktivists groups such as Anonymous and LulzSec. Social and hacktivist movements have a lot in common, which are mostly depending on the age of its members.

1. Introduction

Nowadays in the globalized world the European Union and its members have been victims of hacktivism attacks more and more. Even the European Commission's website could not be immune against these types of protest actions (Wagenseil, 2011). Because attacks are done online any person within the European Union can attack any system worldwide. *'A cyber criminal may be in the Netherlands, his command-and-control center in Germany, the compromised computers in Ukraine, and the attack directed at a bank in the UK'* ("Cyber Crime," 2012). Some hacks have cause serious harms to the European Union. These cross-border activities and the ongoing attacks on European Union institutions have forced the Union to respond collectively. There were no common rules on this topic; therefore new regulations have been created in the past years. Regulations include provisions such as set of penalties to a minimum of at least two years of prison ("Cyber Crime," 2012). These facts underline the importance and influences of hacktivism on European policies. Europe is dealing more and more with the consequences of cyber attacks. Hacktivism is growing to be an important topic. However because hacktivism is a newly emerging phenomenon, there has not been enough research on this field. The gap of literature makes it harder for European politicians to understand and react in the right way to such activities.

Research that is filling this gap is necessary. Before detailed research on hacktivism can take place however one needs to clarify what hacktivism is. Hacktivism is not the first phenomenon of protests. There have been social movements before. This thesis aims to find out what type of social movement hacktivism is. It seeks to understand the similar and different aspects of both movements because there has not been a common ground within the literature on this topic. Understanding what type of social movement hacktivism is can give clearer ideas on political fields. Similar areas give reasons to deal with hacktivist movements similarly to social movements, whereas differences require another treatment. In the current literature the opinions of closeness between these two phenomena are twofold. On the one side hacktivism is considered as a typical social movement and on the other side

it seen as a new kind of social movement. Lunceford (2006) and Samuel (2001) give definitions of social movements, whereas Lunceford's definition applies to hacktivism as well, but Samuel sees clear differences in the motivation. She points out that the core difference lies in the starting point of the movement. Unlike social movements hacktivism does not start with a motivation, but with the method and action. Both however underline the collective identity is a core aspect of social movements. Garrett (2002) comes also to the conclusion that hacktivism is different from other social movements, but his focus lies in the technology. Technology is in his view the main difference between both movements. Ayres (1999) on the other side is dealing with globalization and hacktivism. He understands the core difference in the global character of hacktivism in connection with technology. Auty (2004) and Himma (2005) on the other side have their focus on differences in the ways of protest. Hacktivists protest is online, whereas social movements protest is more direct and on the streets.

The different positions bring up the research question: *What are the similarities and differences between social movements and hacktivism?* This question aims to bring clarity and include all different perspectives on hacktivism and social movements into one research. The idea behind this thesis is therefore to create a common position on what type of movement hacktivism is. To answer my question step by step there have come up three sub-questions. Because there is no clarity on what a social movement is, this paper comes up with eight characteristics of social movements relying on the literature of social movements. These characteristics are: Collective action, collective identity, desire for change, framing processes, mobilizing structures, population and purpose comes first. They seem to appear in most of the definitions of the literature. In order to find out the similarities and differences one has to look at the similarities by apply all those characteristics to hacktivism. This leads to the first sub-question: *To what extent does hacktivism cover the eight characteristics of social movements?* This question wants to look at the similarities between hacktivism and social movements. Furthermore to find out more about hacktivism itself, it is important to look at characteristics that go beyond those of eight for social movements and by doing so try to look at the differences. With this in mind the second sub-question is as follows: *What are other characteristics of hacktivism that are not part of the eight social movement characteristics?* This question wants to find more characteristics that might have been left out in the research. When looking at the third sub-question it is important to know that there are a lot of members within the hacktivist groups. It is possible to see differences between levels of closeness to social movements for the members. The biggest factor he is age. The third sub-question is as follows: *How do members perceive the similarities and differences?* This question wants to find out if there are differences between the hacktivist groups as well as within the groups. This thesis will focus on two groups called Anonymous and LulzSec. The idea behind this is to avoid giving general conclusions on hacktivists. It seeks to detect differences between hacktivists, when considering the first questions.

A dialectical approach will be used, to come to a conclusion, with which all the researches being done will be considered. Behind these approach is Plato's idea of looking at both perspectives of a situation before giving clear conclusion (Lamarre, n.d., p. 1). It will help to find a common ground between all the authors that dealt with different aspects of this topic. Interviews of hacktivists will be collected by news articles and the book of Olson (2012). These will be coded and analyzed with the program Atlas TI and the outcome will be compared and reasoned with the help of the authors as debate parties. As a way of dialogue the authors will help to understand interviews. In the next chapter all the perspectives will be introduced and hacktivism will be theorized. Afterwards the

methodological framework will be explained and further discussed. In the Analyses part the before coded qualitative data of the interviews will be analyzed. First this thesis wants to look at LulzSec and second at Anonymous. All the eight characteristics will be applied on each group and further characteristics will be analyzed. In the conclusion then both groups will be compared and the answer to the research questions will be given. Afterwards ideas and recommendations for further research on hacktivism will be given.

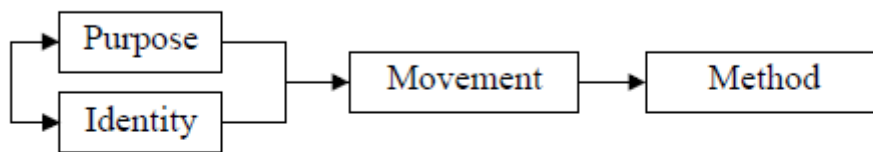
2. Theorizing Hacktivism:

Hacktivism is a new arising concept, where there is no general idea on how it is a social movement. Different papers offer an understanding on the role of hacktivism for social movements as well as the different motivations that lead to hacktivist activities. To see the similarities and differences between hacktivism and social movements it is necessary first define the concepts of social movements. This chapter wants to conceptualize social movements in order to be able to see what type of social movement hacktivism is. With the help of the social movement and hacktivism literature important concepts will be detected. These concepts will serve as a guide in analyzing the hacktivists. After having clarified the concepts, characteristics of these will be formed. The characteristics that appear will be used as characteristics of social movement. Later on hacktivism will be applied to these characteristics in order to underline the similarities and differences. For the characteristics indicators will be formed. Indicators that explain the characteristics are necessary to search for the characteristics of the concepts in interviews with the hacktivists. The main aim of this chapter therefore is to create a theoretical and conceptual framework by studying literature and creating perspectives and debate partners. The information retrieved from this step will be used to create a social movement and hacktivism definition for this research, because there is no general definition on these concepts present.

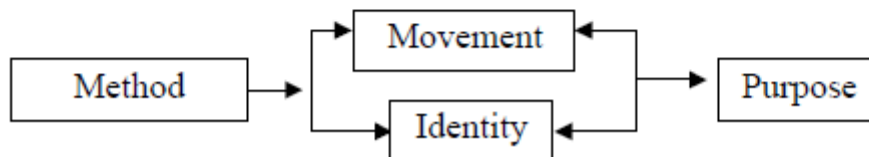
The main concept that will be used is the concept of social movements. Lunceford (2006) explains that social movements create a society, that emerges out of a 'moral ethical conflict' and seeks to change the current situation and hereby they call for direct or indirect action of their members (p. 6). Belief and desire for change leads to common identity, which then causes social action (p. 9). Collective though does not mean simply counting all the individual actions into one. Collective action means that the society of a social movement acts together with a common purpose. Protest, desire for change, collective identity and social action are main factors of a social movement. Samuel (2001) comes up with three characteristics of social movements that are also present in other author's works. One factor is the *motivation*. This is the reason behind each action or a general ideology of a movement. Motivation is important to analyze because social movements are established out of critics and protest on a social situation. The second factor is *collective identity*. Collective identity means that all the members of a movement need to identify themselves with the ideology and actions of the group. They need to seek a common purpose and a common goal, which will lead to collective action. The third characteristic is the methods of a social movement. Methods include all type of actions taken by movements. A social movement that has a common purpose only becomes a movement through its action for change. Next to the characteristics themselves Samuel (2001) believes it is important to look at the relationship between those factors. She has developed a model that describes this interaction within social movements. A social movement starts with an idea, a criticism or a conflict, which leads to dissatisfaction of individuals. This situation creates a desire for

change. So, social movements start with a motivation of individuals. In search for a change individuals that share the same opinion come together establish a movement through their collective identity. This movement then leads to the method, which is common action against the dissatisfying situation and for a common purpose. In the model of social movements Samuel (2001) describes a difference of hacktivist movements from this type of social movements. She believes that through their skill of hacking the method in hacktivist movements is the first present characteristics. Before hackers establish a motivation they study hacking and acquire the skills to hack. The first common ground hackers share with each other, she assumes, is the ability to hack and not motivation. Method therefore leads to a common identity and a movement. After this the movement finds purposes and motivations for their hackings. On the other side their motivation furthermore can be political, as in anti-globalization movements or government protest as Held (2012) underlines. It can be economic and against companies or even social dealing with topics such as abortion (Samuel, 2001, p. 3). This political and economic reasoning however shows that on the other side it possible, that hacktivist movements emerge out of a specific purpose. In his analysis on hacktivist groups Held (2012) has however found out too that sometimes there is no motivation behind hacktivism. Instead hackers break into system just because they can (Held, 2012, p. 109).

The theorized relationship between purpose, method and identity in social movements can thus be summarized as:



The story of hacktivism, in contrast, looks like this:



In the further analysis Samuel’s (2001) model will be the core point of seeing whether hacktivism differs from the concept of social movements. Her concepts method, movement, identity and purpose are the core logic behind the picked eight characteristics. Framing processes, collective action and common identity are characteristics of identity. Framing processes show how movements perceive themselves. They use slogans or names to underline and show their motivation. Collective actions are activities taken by all the movement members together and a common identity means that all members identify themselves with a common ideology. Purpose and desire for change are aspects of the concept purpose. The characteristic purpose comes first underlines the relationship between the three concepts in Samuel’s (2001) model for social movements. The movement is characterized by the factors population and mobilizing structure. Population means that supporters of a movement must be present and protests must be done by many. Mobilizing structures enable social movements to organize themselves, because movements and protests need to be planned. Characteristics for methods are protests and actions taken to change a situation. Since hacktivists are

hacking there is no prove necessary to show presence of method. However method becomes important when considering the relationship of the concepts. This means that method for hacktivists is hacking and their skills to hack. It is important for the social movement characteristic that purpose comes before the method.

The next concept is digital movements. Juris (2005) underlines the importance of the digital network for hacktivists to organize, communicate and take action. He underlines the broadening of membership fields from local to the global level, and the broader methods offered for action. For understanding digital movements and the model of Samuel it is important here to look at the definition and repertoire of hacktivist actions. One can start by saying first that hacktivists aim change and protest by non-violent action. What they do might be illegal, but it is not violent at all (Thomas, 2001, p. 1). Lunceford (2006) divides the methods in four categories. The first category is social engineering, where hackers personally without the internet have access to personal information of others. Website defacement is a second way of action, in which hackers hack into websites and change their content or send messages to the owner. In email-bombings hackers send out great numbers of emails to personals and overload their email inbox and distract communication between persons. The greatest attacks are denial of service attacks, where hackers either shut down a webpage or forward it to another website. These actions makes websites inaccessible for a period of time until the hackers can be driven out. Most authors divide the attacks into similar categories. Auty (2004) uses protest sites, e-graffiti and denial of service attacks. Protest websites is a new category she introduces. These are websites that are created in the name of an organization or individual, claiming to be the official website. For example this might be a anti-politician website, where false information is spread. The author gives an example on George W. Bush. A website called www.gwbush.com was created to start an anti campaign against him. The websites name though gives no clue on whether it is a fake page or not (Auty, 2004, 215). Garrett (2006) further analyses social movement's relationship with technology, which differentiates hacktivists from other social movements. He describes social movements as threefold into mobilizing structures, opportunity structures and framing processes. Mobilizing structures are described as factors enabling individuals an organized collective action. Opportunity structures include mechanisms that offer social activity, such as the possibility for influencing the political system (Garrett, 2006, p. 3). Framing processes are self describing and strategically chosen statements, slogans and so on, that give an idea of how social movements see themselves (Garrett, 2006, p. 4). When analyzing the application of those three factors on hacktivist movements, Garrett comes to conclusions that state a clear relationship between technology and social movements. For example technology brings new futures to social movements, which again underlines the special feature of hacktivist movements from social movements in general. Technology increases the participation level of members, because of its ability to unite people through the internet (Garrett, 2006, p. 5). Moreover the internet creates online communities (Garrett, 2006, p. 6), which offer a lot of room for hacktivist identification as mentioned before. Technology broadens the field of methods described before. It offers new options of protest and new ways of expressing protest (Garrett, 2006, p. 8). His work underlines the importance of internet and technology for the specialty of hacktivist movements within social movements. Ayres (1999) underlines the importance of globalization for the hacktivist movement. He claims that global problems led to global intentions of solving them. The feature of technology brought by globalization further supports the idea of common intentions in a way that internet makes communication and cooperation globally easier (Ayres, 1999, p. 137). Information share through email providers, forums and websites enables people to spread their opinion worldwide and

cooperate. So the internet offered more possibilities of spreading the common identity and many ways of further action (Ayres, 1999, p. 137).

After having looked at social movements and digital movements it is important to define what hacktivist movements are. One needs to understand first what exactly is described as hacktivism, before one looks at their ways of action. A hacker is a person, who illegally intervenes in someone else's digital systems (Himma, 2005, p. 13). 'Political-motivated-hacking' is called 'hacktivism' (Himma, 2005, p. 13). It is important here to distinguish between cyberterrorism and hacktivism in general. Hacktivism does not include any terror attacks creating fear among people. It has more a political intention of expressing one's opinion on political issues. Moreover it needs to be made clear that general hacking without any purpose or out of boredom does not count as hacktivism (Himma, 2005, p. 13). The problem about hacktivism is that their hackers differ a lot in their intentions, but especially in their way of action and its consequences. Some cause greater harm than others, where the consequences of course are higher. Another difference to protests on the streets is that hackers have the ability of staying anonymous and therefore avoiding taking consequences for their actions (Himma, 2005, p. 14).

This chapter has delivered a first insight of similarities and differences of social movements and hacktivism. Collective identity seems to be the most important similarity between both movements, although there is uncertainty on hacktivism whether this is based on a common purpose or on common skills. The other side sees clear differences lying mostly in the starting point of the movement, which is purpose for social movements and method for hacktivism. The concepts for social movements have been underlined as purpose, method, identity and movement. These are present in hacktivism as well but with a different constellation. It is assumed that the core difference of both movements lies in this finding. Moreover the theorizing has found out eight characteristics of social movements that derive from the conceptualization of social movements. These characteristics are: collective action, common identity, desire for change, framing processes, mobilizing structures, population and purpose comes first. These concepts and characteristics have defined social movement and make it possible to answer the research question and to check whether hacktivism fits into these characteristics as well.

3. Methodology

In the following the approach on how to answer the research question step by step will be explained. It aims to give an insight of the how the characteristics of social movements will be applied to hacktivism. First the method for the analysis will be named. This will clarify how it will be checked in how far hacktivism fits into the concepts and characteristics of the social movements. To be able to do so indicators explaining the characteristics will be introduced. For the data collection as well as analyzing indicators will be used to detect characteristics in the sources. According to these indicators sources will be picked and the data from these will be collected. In this chapter this procedure of data detection will be explained. Moreover the sources will be introduced and explained. How data has been collected and how will these be analyzed, will be further elaborated.

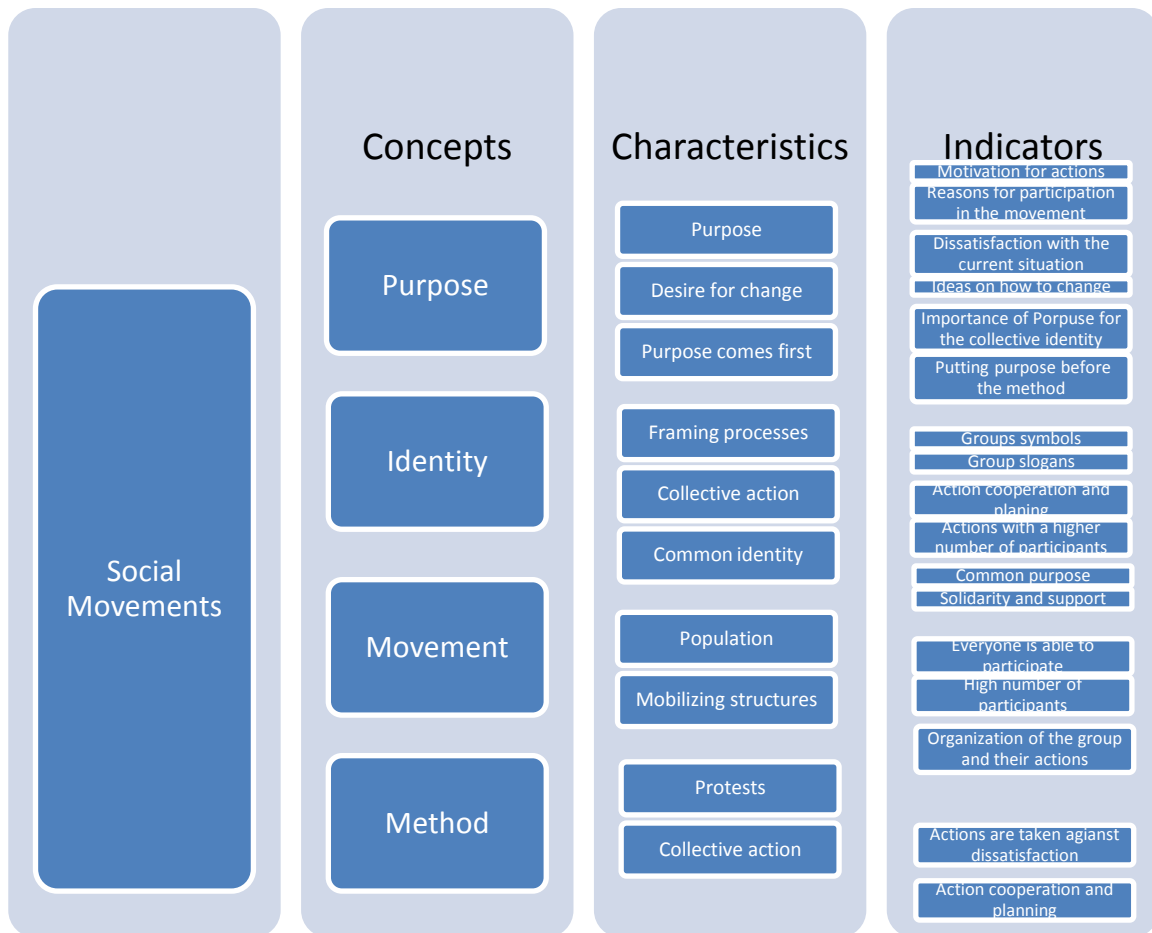
This thesis will use a dialectical method, which was first introduced by Plato. He used the analysis as a dialogue between two positions (Lamarre, n.d., p. 1). This is also the case for this research. The

theoretical framework underlined the twofold positions on hacktivism and social movements. Some argue that hacktivism is a typical social movement, and some oppose by saying that hacktivism creates new types of social movements. Moreover when dealing with this topic, the authors have their focus on different characteristics of social movements. It is in the aim of the thesis to unite all perspectives into one common research. This will be done by 'arguing on both sides, expounding truth, and exposing error' (Lamarre, n.d., p. 1). For finding out the answer to my questions it is necessary to look at both sides, and try to come to a common ground. By doing so, however this research will go beyond the positions of the debate parties and try to find out the 'truth'. It is necessary therefore to look at the 'errors' of previous researches and bring the debate further. 'Knowledge' and the 'truth' have to be prior to 'opinion' (Lamarre, n.d., p. 2). Most importantly as a 'guide' of the debate, it is important to stay neutral and considered all positions equally.

A representative sample is not available; therefore a case selection is necessary. For the selection of hacktivist groups, it is necessary to consider the lack of data availability of some groups and their anonymity. The two most important and media present groups are selected: Anonymous and LulzSec. Anonymous is considered the biggest hacktivist group on the internet. LulzSec is a smaller group created by former Anonymous members. Therefore these two groups will be analyzed. Selecting other groups would not be possible simply because even if they are present in the media, interviews or personal comments are not available. For these groups the media speculate, which is not enough to understand the real reasons behind their actions. For the groups that were picked the member's, or at least some member's, identities are available. Therefore these groups have given interviews. Data will be mainly collected by interviews achieved online or through one important book that have interviewed the hackers personally (Olson, 2012). Online interviews will be either from news websites or online answer-question platforms, where hackers reply to questions through Twitter. The collected interviews for LulzSec will be interviews with the two founders of the group Topiary and Sabu. The most relevant source will be the book 'We Are Anonymous' by Olson, P., who has done interviews with the hackers personally. From the beginnings of LulzSec till their end Olson describes what, how and why the hackers were doing what they did. A second source for Sabu's personal opinion will be the page reddit.com which is a platform where questions can be asks and in return the person answers to these. Under the thread 'AMA Request Sabu from LulzSec this would be amazing' all answers and questions are shared. Anybody was able to ask questions, therefore only the interesting and relevant questions were picked out here. Next to this Murphy, S., interview with Sabu published on published on the website Newscientist.com and Kleinfield, N. R. and Sengupta, S., article on Sabu published on New York Times' in 2012 website will be used as well. As a second source for Topiary the interview with Gallagher, R., published on his own website rjgallagher.co.uk in 2011 will be considered. For Anonymous a member named William's interviews with Olson, P., will be used from her book 'We are Anonymous' as well as article 'Anonymous Member Speaks About Divide in the Collective's Mission' published 2012 on thedailybeast.com. Because not enough member's identity are available two groupings of Anonymous will be used as units of analyses. These two groupings are Hamburg Anons and AnonAustria. In his article 'Er ist Anonymous' Horn, D., interviews one member of Hamburg Anons. This interview was published on einslive.de in 2011. The interview was done by only one member, but he speaks in the name of the whole group and does not mention his personal opinions, but the opinions of the whole group. Another source for Hamburg Anons will be used by Sagioglou's interview with a group of members, where neither the number nor the persons are clear. His article is named 'Wir sind Netzkinder' and was published 2013 on the webpage of the newspaper Kölner Stadt Anzeiger. For AnonAusrtia two interviews will be used as

well. One is called 'Interview: AnonAustria spricht mit Gulli.com über sich und die Attacke auf die GIS' by Wolf, J., and published in 2011 on Gulli.com. The second source is 'Wer sind Anonymous? Was wollen sie?' by Fisher and Mayerl published in 2011 on format.at a portal for Economics, Money and Politics. In both interviews the persons and the amount is not clear either. The collected data in quotations applying to each characteristic is given as a full list in the appendix. The first table is stating information retrieved from the group LulzSec and the second from Anonymous.

Characteristics of the concepts have been already elaborated to sort the collected data into categories. These categories are the eight characteristics of social movements: Collective action, common identity, desire for change, framing processes, mobilizing structures, population, purpose, and purpose comes first. To be able to detect these concepts in the interviews Indicators have been created. Indicators for purpose are motivation behind the actions and reasons for participation in the movement. Desire for change will be measured by dissatisfaction with the current situation and ideas of the movement on how to change this dissatisfaction. That Purpose comes first will be analyzed by looking at the importance of a purpose for creation of a common identity as well as the importance that the method will be after the purpose. Framing processes indicators are either slogans or group symbols, used to describe the identity of the social movement. Actions cooperation and planning and actions with a high number of participants will help to identify collective actions in social movements. Common identity will be measured by a common purpose for actions and solidarity and support for each other. The population will be analyzed by looking at whether everyone can participate in the movement easily and whether a high number of people participate to create a population. Indicator for mobilizing structures will be, if organization of the group and actions is enabled by the construction of the movement. The method indicators are actions as protests that are taken against their dissatisfaction and action and cooperation planning. These are already analyzed when looking at the common identity and the collective action. The concept method becomes more important for non-social movement characteristics. Purpose is the core of social movements, whereas method comes first will be dealt as an important characteristics for hacktivist movements in the later chapter. These indicators will act as keywords or key ideas when going through the interviews and coding the answers of hackers into the eight social movement characteristic categories.



For the analysis the data will be coded through the program Atlas TI. The interviews will be coded into the already existing eight characteristics. Not all interviews answers or questions will be relevant for this task. Only questions that are in relation to this research will be considered. With the help of indicators the right questions will be picked out. If new characteristics will be notified in the texts, new characteristics will be added. All characteristics will be applied to different members as well as groups, LulzSec and Anonymous, separately. The outcome then will be analyzed and checked how many characteristics are present in hacktivist movements. For interpretation and analyzing of the outcome the prior mentioned author positions will be compared. As a debate different perspectives will be looked at when interpreting the outcome. This way the application of the eight characteristics will answer my first sub question and the new created characteristics will answer my second sub question. These new characteristics will be formed when new characteristics of movements are present in the interviews that have not been dealt by the authors before. The separation of groups and members will make it possible to compare the results of each group and answer hereby the last sub question.

This chapter has set the core of this thesis. The structure of the analysis has become clear. The starting point was social movements. After concepts and characteristics have been identified, this chapter aimed to find the necessary indicators for these to be able to organize the data collection. One to two indicators have been found for each characteristic. This step helped to further understand the idea of social movements used in this thesis. It is sure that there are different types of definition. This has been the last step of defining social movements that will be compared with hacktivism. Moreover this clarification has made able to find sources for the data collection. It was necessary to collect only data relevant for the characteristics of the eight social movements. The

sources were explained, which consist of online interviews with the hackers and the book of Olson (2012), which has used direct interviews with the hacker to explain their lives, participation and backgrounds. The analyses procedure of the collected data has been structured as well. The conclusion is that the indicators will be search in the sources. The outcome of this step will be put into the specific categories of the characteristics of social movements. According to the results one can then check in how far the categories apply to the hackers. In forms of tables this will be presented and then analyzed with the help of the before picked debate partners. The ideas of the literature will be checked with the outcome of the analyses.

4. Analyses

In this chapter the collected data from the interviews will be applied to the characteristics of the social movements. The sub-questions will be answered and the pre assumptions will be checked. First of all it will be looked at in how far hacking in accordance with the characteristics of social movements. This will be done in forms of tables that offer an overview on how much the specific hacker or hacker group represents these characteristics. This step will answer the first sub question and underline the similarities between hacking and social movements. As a next step the answer to the second sub question will be given. To do so hacker groups and the members will be analyzed separately. This is to found out more characteristics than the social movement characteristics. Here differences to social movements will be clarified and underlined. Afterwards the last question about the differences between hacker groups and their members will be analyzed. To understand the similarities and differences literatures on the concepts and characteristics will be used. This process will be important to come to a common position within the hacking literature.

4.1. LulzSec:

4.1.1. Sabu the later FBI agent and Topiary the 'cool' hacker

The hacker group LulzSec is formed out of the words 'Lulz' and Security. 'Lulz' is a different spelling of the word 'LOL', which is an abbreviation of 'laugh out loud' (Internetslang.com). The meaning of LulzSec is then 'funny or ridiculous' Security. They refer to websites that lack in their security systems and make their user's data available to third parties or easily accessible to hackers. They want to make internet users aware of how their data is treated by Facebook, Google, Skype and other websites (Chatterjee, 2011). What LulzSec does is stealing data from such websites that have a vague security system and publishing those on their twitter account (Olson, 2012, p. 249). Their main justification for what they do is that LulzSec does not collect the data out of self-interest. They collect it to warn. People should be afraid of silent hackers, who keep the data for themselves or sell them to third parties (Chatterjee, 2011). The two founding members of the LulzSec and their online names are 'Sabu' and 'Topiary'. Sabu's real name is Hector Xavier Monsegur. He is a Mexican living in the USA and during the actions of LulzSec in 2011 he was 28 years old. On the internet he was an activist calling for different motivated political revolutions. His main motives were anti-governmental or anti-capitalistic. In his real life he was unemployed and prosecuted for selling and buying drugs and paying with stolen credit cards. Moreover he was raising his imprisoned aunt's two children, even

after she came out of jail. His hacktivist actions began with his political motivation and desire for online freedom. After his actions with LulzSec, the FBI caught him and he serves as an FBI informant (Kleinfield & Sengupta, 2012). Before he was caught he had been aggressive towards the FBI and the police. The judge offered to release him on bail, if in return all his online as well as reality actions would have been observed by the police. Sabu agreed and became an FBI informant (Olson, 2012, p. 388). ‘Topiary’, also known as Jake Davis, was eighteen years old when LulzSec was created (Olson, 2012, p. 368). His motives for hacking were a little bit different than Sabu’s. He was more interested in fun, being followed and entertainment (Olson, 2012, p. 252). When he was arrested for being a hacktivist the judge did not put him in jail, but granted him bail, because he was too young for jail (Olson, 2012, p. 368). For the Hacker world he was pictured as a ‘martyr’ and pictures were created showing that he should be freed (Olson, 2012, 370). After being arrested Topiary’s wish was finally to have a normal job without computers and travel around. He wants to get rid of his past and start a new ‘normal’ life (Olson, 2012, p. 387).

4.1.2. Hacktivism: a typical and new type of a social movement

In table 4.1 all the coded information from the interviews is listed. The rows are listed from the social movement characteristics: collective action, common identity, desire for change, framing processes, mobilizing structures, population, purpose to purpose comes first. During the analysis of the interviews additional characteristics came up. These are: anonymity, art, for fun, loner, method comes first, not only online protest, and no hierarchy. ‘Anonymity’ refers here to the fact that hackers hide their identities. The characteristics ‘art’ involves the hacker’s perception of hacking as art or including art in their methods. ‘For fun’ means that hackers do not hack with a specific purpose, but more for entertainment. ‘Loner’ is the opposite of common identity. It refers to hackers being alone for themselves. The opposite of purpose coming before the method is described as ‘method comes first’. In the interviews new types of methods came up and these were not online activities, such as street protests. The last characteristic ‘no hierarchy’ means that a specific leader is not available and all members are equal among each other. To these characteristics the coded information of the two LulzSec members and they were added together as a total.

Table 4.1

	Social movement characteristics								Added characteristics						
	Collective Action	Common Identity	Desire for Change	Framing process	Mobilizing Structures	Population	Purpose	Purpose comes first	Anonymity	Art	For Fun	Loner	Method comes first	Not only online protest	No hierarchy
Topiary	1	5	4	-	2	2	2	4	-	2	7	-	3	-	-
Sabu	2	7	7	-	1	4	9	9	2	2	2	3	2	3	1
Total	3	12	11	-	3	6	11	13	2	4	9	3	5	3	1

The higher the number in a cell, the more often this characteristic was dealt in the interview and applies to the LulzSec member. Where there is a minus the characteristic was not mentioned at all. Having a first look at the table already points out some big differences between the two hackers. Moreover some characteristics are either connected or the exact opposite from each other. For the analysis some characteristics will be dealt together.

Collective action and common identity

Both Topiary and Sabu mentioned these two characteristics in their interviews. Sabu has pointed these out three times more than Topiary, but when looking at results there is no significant difference. Collective action and common identity do not only apply within LulzSec, but also in some cases for their relationship with other hacktivist groups. As Lunceford (2006) explained in his definition of social movements social actions, done collectively, are necessary to call a group a social 'movement' (p. 9). For LulzSec this is the case. Moreover he pointed out that in social movements collective action is led by a common identity with a common purpose (p. 9). The relationship of LulzSec members goes even beyond a common identity. They are like a group of friends and Topiary even tells that he is in this group 'because of the people' (Olson, 2012, p. 246). For him everything they do is 'teamwork' (Gallagher, 2011). This points out that without the people in LulzSec and without their common identity LulzSec would not be a part of Topiary. Sabu on the other side has his focus more on a common purpose, when talking about a common identity. 'And we are a living, moving mass of like-minded individuals'; he points out (The Real Sabu, 2012)¹. Sabu fits here more to Lunceford's definition simply because common identity means for him a having a common purpose, as it is the case in Lunceford's idea. On the Sabu does not fit into Samuel's (2001) opposite assumption that hacktivists common identity is not formed by a common purpose (p. 4). However both members prove Samuel's assumption right that common identity in hacktivism is created by their common skills of hacking (p. 4). Respect and support for other hacktivist groups is great, especially for WikiLeaks (Gallagher, 2011, 'We, as LulzSec, support all their work'). Sabu sees WikiLeaks as a 'powerful tool' and explains that the arrestment of Julian Assange was one of 'the big motivators' (The Real Sabu, 2012)². Groups operating with the same method, Samuel (2001) underlines, have a common identity. This explains the support for other hacktivist groups from LulzSec.

Anonymity and trust issues leading to loneliness

Anonymity is not part of social movement characteristics, but appeared to be important in hacktivism as Wray (1998) assumed. Sabu is a perfect example of Wray's understanding of 'Politicized Hacking' (1998, p. 7). He is careful, does not want to live with bad consequences and protects himself by hiding his identity. Topiary seems to be the opposite of Wray's definition. He is naïve and does not pay attention to staying anonym as much as Sabu does, which led to Sabu warning all the LulzSec members not to trust everyone except the LulzSec group (Olson, 2012, p. 277). This difference between Sabu and Topiary seems to be because of their differences in age and experience. Topiary was only 18 years old and less experiences in this field than Sabu. He was not always aware of the consequences his actions might take, just like a normal teenager. Taking these consequences serious explains also the difference in the application of the loner characteristics. Both proved a common identity, but Sabu is more careful with trusting people. Being anonymous and saving one's own body is Sabu's main principles he is on the other side a 'loner', that trusts nobody, not even his 'friends' from LulzSec. For new hacktivists he advises to stick to themselves. 'Friends will

¹ The Real Sabu, "No leaders. No hierarchy. No cointelpro drama. And we are a living, moving mass of like-minded individuals. Powerful2me." Weblog post. Reddit.com. 2012.

² The Real Sabu, "As for WikiLeaks it is still a powerful tool and regardless of so many attempts to undermine its success its successful" and "I am doing it for myself. One of the big motivators was watching Julian Assange and Bradley Manning getting arrested." Weblog post. Reddit.com. 2012

try to take you down if they have to', he warns (The Real Sabu, 2012)³. This also explains why Sabu decided to work for the FBI, instead of being arrested himself (Olson, 2012, p. 388), whereas Topiary tells that he would never 'snitch on anyone' from LulzSec (Gallagher, 2011). A common identity in skills and purpose has been proved before, but anonymity and trust issues show that some hackers care much more about themselves.

The serious hacking

A common identity is present however there is a difference between Topiary and Sabu when considering the fact that for Lunceford (2006) identity is formed by a common purpose. Purpose and purpose comes first apply both 9 times to Sabu, but only 2 and 4 times to Topiary (table 4.1). As motivation for being part of LulzSec Sabu explains that 'revolution runs through' his 'veins' (The Real Sabu, 2012)⁴ and that he is inspired by people that 'speak up and resist' (The Real Sabu, 2012)⁵. Topiary mentions revolution in a different view his goal is 'to spread the word of revolution to those who might be seeking something new' (Gallagher, 2011). Sabu appears to be more dedicated and passionate with LulzSec being a revolution than Topiary. Therefore Sabu fits into Lunceford's idea of social action being formed by a purpose (p.6). Moreover as Himma (2005) points out Sabu is a 'hacktivist' who is politically motivated (p. 13). He is taking his movement and ideology first and hacks with a specific purpose. Topiary on the other side is not considered a hacktivist according to Himma (2005), because there is no purpose or motivation behind most of his action. Samuel's (2001) assumption on the other hand does not apply to Sabu but more to Topiary. He shows interest in revolution, but his statement makes clear that when talking about a revolution he means something else than Sabu. For Sabu it becomes clear that revolution is about fighting for one's own rights and speaking up, whereas revolution in Topiary's eyes is an experience for people that are searching for something new. Moreover Lunceford (2006) describes social movements as being unsatisfied with the current situation and seeking change. The results in table 4.1 obviously prove that this also is the case for the LulzSec group.

The 'cool' hacking

The next two characteristics are not part of the social movement characteristics. These came up mainly when looking at Topiary's interviews. The value for the characteristic 'for fun' is 7 and 'method comes first' is 3, compared to Sabu's values 2 and 2. Topiary is most of the time hacking for fun and does not care about the political aspect of hacktivism (Olson, 2021, p. 252; 383). Topiary is in Himma's view a 'hacker', who is characterized as someone that is intervening illegally in someone else's digital systems, but this does not automatically make him a hacktivist. Himma (2005) underlines that hacking for fun or out of boredom is not considered as hacktivism. This excludes Topiary from Himma's idea of hacktivists (p. 13). For Held (2012) on the other side Topiary can still be considered a hacktivist, because Topiary is part of a hacktivist group and sometimes there is no motivation behind their actions (p. 109). For LulzSec as a group the fun factor is important because depending on the case and its members LulzSec was half concerned with political issues and half for

³ The Real Sabu, "Stick to yourselves. If you are in a crew - keep your opsec up 24/7. Friends will try to take you down if they have to." Weblog post. Reddit.com. 2012.

⁴ The Real Sabu, "Putting my skills to use and coupling it with my activism. Revolution runs through my veins and its thicker than blood." Weblog post. Reddit.com. 2012.

⁵ The Real Sabu, "Seeing people speak up, and resist. I've experienced police brutality before for speaking out. So this inspires me." Weblog post. Reddit.com. 2012

entertainment and the 'lulz' (Olson, 2012, p. 252). The fun factor was not only entertaining the members, but also getting more attention by the publicity. This character of LulzSec made the movement famous. Entertainment is an important attention factor. The number of twitter accounts is growing by 460,000 every day and the average number of tweets sent per day is about 50 million tweets (Twitter, 2011). To be relevant one needs to do something special and different than the others. Simply uploading hacked data could be undiscovered by the publicity and boring to read. Topiary's and Sabu's results in method comes first with a 5 in total in comparison to purpose comes first with a 13 in total do not support Samuel's (2001) model on the differences of social movements and hacktivism. Partly the hacktivist idea of method coming before the purpose, but mostly the model of social movements fits here. Topiary represents both. On the other hand Samuel's theory applies because Sabu is from the United States of America and Topiary from the United Kingdom. They found together as a group because of their skills in hacking. LulzSec's creation was for hacking reasons as well. So, when one considers the creation and beginning of LulzSec as in Samuel's theory the method is the beginning and focus, rather than the purpose. But when looking at the action period at least Sabu has his focus on his ideology and motivation for hacking.

The role of Art in LulzSec

The aspect of art has not been mentioned by any of the authors that were dealt before looking at the interviews. It was not considered as a characteristic of social movements. Hacking was during the interviews seen as art for both Topiary and Sabu. Art is part of some social movements in general. Adams explains that art is used as a mean of political power and a way of communication between the members as well as to reach the population (Adams, 2002, p. 27). Moreover she believes that art can create an emotional message during protests and it keeps members of a movement active (Adams, 2002, p. 27). Sabu describes the skills of hackers as art (The Real Sabu, 2012)⁶. This underlines how passionate he is with hacking and the explanation of Adams that art is used to reach the population. LulzSec uses hacking to make people aware of the lose security systems of companies and governments. Furthermore as in Adams definition hacking is used to communicate between members as well as with the world. Adam (2002) understands art as an emotional message (p. 27), but in LulzSec the emotional message is used more in the sense of shocking people and making them angry. This shock is caused by publication of their personal information for example. It is not used though to make people sad and cause an emotional breakdown. The shock effect is one of the greatest means hacktivists use to reach out the population. Next to the shock art is used as an attention and entertainment point. Images or messages uploaded on twitter should entertain people, so they follow the group and read their messages.

Hacktivist protests outside the internet

When talking about hacktivism all the authors have their focus on digital activities. Himma (2005) describes hacktivism as an illegal act, where hackers intervene in other's digital systems (p. 13). This is true, but Sabu shares the opinion that this movement is not only online based. Lunceford (2006) points out that in social movements leaders call for direct as well as indirect action of their members (p. 6). For the case of Sabu hacking is direct action, and 'reporters, artists, public speakers' can indirectly influence and support this movement as well. It is about everyone 'uniting against

⁶ The Real Sabu, "Personally it depends on the hacker. To me it is an art. A skill that is unique to me. A science you can not master" Weblog post. Reddit.com. 2012.

corruption' (Murphy, 2012). As non-hackers it is possible to be a part of the LulzSec movement. This fact lowers the importance of the method for hacktivism in Sabu's case. Samuel's theory here again does not apply to Sabu. In his view purpose comes before the method, in which the method does not necessarily have to be hacking. Lunceford (2006), Auty (2004) and Himma (2005) have not included other types of protest that are not online in their definition of hacktivist repertoires. That protests do not necessarily have to be online and can be on streets as well, is a complete different view on hacktivism than the previous definitions. Technology was seen as the main difference between other social movements and hacktivism. If one can be part of the movement without using technology, hacktivism is similar to social movements in this case. For Topiary though it is still the case that technology plays an important role. As analyzed before he is more concerned with the skills of hacking than Sabu, therefore the aspect of other types of protest than technical in hacktivism is not mentioned in his interviews. He is still representing the idea of Samuel on hacktivism (2001).

Mobilizing structures and framing processes

Mobilizing structures have been mentioned by Topiary 2 times and by Sabu 1 time, whereas framing processes have not been mentioned at all. Mobilizing structures and framing processes are according to Garrett (2006) important characteristics of social movements. LulzSec is a group that operates together and organizes itself through the internet. Garret further underlines that the internet creates online communities and increase the participation to the whole world (2006, p. 5-6). This is already underlined by the fact that Sabu lives in the US and Topiary in the UK. The internet is used here to communicate with each other and organize group activities. Ayres (1999) points out as well the importance of the internet for global communication. Framing processes have not been mentioned in the interviews; nevertheless these are present in LulzSec as well. Garrett (2006) explains framing processes as means used to show the identity of a group to the outsiders. For the case of LulzSec their motto and slogan lies already in their name. LulzSec is a creative way of saying that they are making fun of ridiculous security systems of others. Also the way LulzSec used their twitter account and posted images or their profile picture, all represent the self perception of LulzSec. Hence LulzSec is considered a social movement according to Garrett's definition of framing processes and mobilizing structures. Although these two aspects have not come out of the interviews, there are facts as I mentioned that point the existence of these in the LulzSec movement.

The non hierarchical population of LulzSec

With the values of 2 and 4 (table 4.1), Topiary and Sabu show, that a certain population of hacktivists within LulzSec are present. Lunceford (2006) underlines the importance of a population for a social movement. Out of common purpose a society of movement members is created and all act collectively for a change (p.6). In LulzSec the population however did not emerge at ones as in Lunceford's definition. At first the group member's came together and published their hacked data on Twitter, but in the beginnings there was not much interest in LulzSec (Olson, 2012, p. 251). As Topiary started to entertain through twitter the number of follows increased more and more (Olson, 2012, p. 252). Sabu's call for indirect action of non-hackers to support the movement broadened the population of LulzSec. The leadership within a social movement or hacktivism was not dealt by the authors mentioned before. However during the interviews Sabu underlined that within LulzSec there

is no leader and no hierarchy (The real Sabu, 2012)⁷. Gerlach’s (2001) characterizes leaderships in social movements as Polycentric. A single leader is not present. The leadership is organized in many leaders acting together, whereas they are equal to all the other members (Gerlach, 2001, p. 294). This is also the case in LulzSec. The core members are leaders that organize events and hacking plans. And the rest of the members support their actions. Nevertheless the characteristics population and leadership do not seem to be one of the main focuses of both. They have their focus more on the actual hacking and motivation behind hacktivism. For the work they do the number of members behind the action is not important. What counts is the actions they take and their efforts to influence security systems.

4.2. Analyzing a hacktivist group: Anonymous

4.2.1 William the young hacker and Anon groups

Anonymous is a more loosely organized movement compared to LulzSec. It started as a hacker group on a platform called 4chain.org to hack for the ‘lulz’. Around 2008 however some parts of anonymous started to act out of political reasons. No real members are known; therefore it is hard to analyze Anonymous as a movement, because they are split in their operations and motivations. The political protest started mainly with protests against the religious groupings of scientology. Globally the anonymous movement started to rise. Over six thousand people protested around the world on the streets in front of scientology churches (Coleman, 2011). William is a known member, but his real identity is still hidden. He is around 20 years old and came to be part of Anonymous because of his interest in fooling and hacking peoples systems out of fun (Olson, 2012). He was born in Britain and when his parents divorced and he started making trouble in school. Although he was not an outsider, he created himself an online life (Olson, 2012, p. 30). He is one of the hackers that started hacking in Anonymous out of ‘nasty reasons’. Therefore he is annoyed by the politicization of the movement and claims that Anonymous has forgotten where they came from. In comparison to William there are two other Anonymous groups that have their focus on more political issues. These are two collectives of Anonymous, which are also known as subgroups. One is called AnonAustria and the second one is called Hamburg Anons. Because no real leader or representative person is available these interviews are taken with persons, where the number of speakers is not necessarily available. These groupings represent German and Austrian Anonymous members (Wolf, 2011; Sagioglou, 2013).

4.2.2. Hacktivism: a typical and a new type of social movement

Table 4.2

	Social movement characteristics								Added characteristics								
	Collective Action	Common Identity	Desire for Change	Framing processes	Mobilizing Structures	Population	Purpose	Purpose comes first	Anonymity	Art	For Fun	Loner	Method comes first	Not only online protest	Social acceptance	Manipulable	No hierarchy
William	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	5	-	3	1	-
AnonAustria	3	5	2	2	4	4	2	2	4	-	2	1	1	2	-	-	1
Hamburg Anons	4	5	1	4	5	1	5	5	5	1	2	2	2	3	-	-	3
Total	7	11	3	7	9	6	7	7	9	1	8	3	8	5	3	1	4

⁷ The Real Sabu, “No leaders. No hierarchy. No cointelpro drama. And we are a living, moving mass of like-minded individuals. Powerful2me.” Weblog. Reddit.com. 2012

This table is similarly constructed as the table for LulzSec. The first columns are social movement characteristics. For the following the same characteristics that were added to LulzSec were added here as well. Next to these, Social acceptance and manipulable are characteristics that came up in Williams interviews. In the rows are the units of analysis, namely William, AnonAustria and Hamburg Anons. Since William is a single person, whose identity is not known, only a little bit information is given about him. This explains the reason for empty cells. However the interviews showed a clear difference between him and the other Anonymous groups. This is because he did not care about the political part of Anonymous at all (Olson, 2012), whereas AnonAustria as well as Hamburg Anons have a more political motivation (Wolf, 2011; Sagioglou, 2013). Between AnonAustria and Hamburg Anons does not seem to be a great difference.

Collective action and common identity

Anonymous' structure is unorganized, because no leader is present and members among each other stay anonymous as well, but fact is that collective action is the only way Anonymous acts according to AnonAustria (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011). Hamburg Anons support this idea and further explains that one person cannot achieve anything with a single protest. Only if a mass is protesting, the goal can be reached (Horn, 2011). As Lunceford (2006) defines social movements, these two groups act together with their members to influence politics. Because anonymous is a more global phenomenon collective action in forms of street protests are greater and more available than in LulzSec. Because Anonymous is bigger than LulzSec, the no clear identity present. Different opinions are there, but these are not an obstacle to take action together (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011). What the action are depends on the single active members. Each member can offer a protest action and the rest of the members then decide whether they take part in this action (Horn, 2011). This way of working is a contrast to Lunceford's (2006) definition. Lunceford says that a common purpose forms the common identity and collective action, and not single opinions. Social movements in his view have one goal and one ideology, whereas Anonymous seems to have several. Best example of these several identities in Anonymous is comparing William with the two groups from Germany and Austria. William is not at all interested in a common action as street or other types of protests done together. He is the hacker, that wants to hack and he is not supporting the political ideology of Anonymous (Olson, 2012). He is not part of a common purpose or collective action. Therefore he does not fit to Lunceford's definition of social movements. A common identity or let us say a connection with the other members, is present for William only because he communicates with these people online and feels like he can share everything with them simply because they have the same interest and can understand him. From his real world no one is able to understand his thoughts. However William fits into Lunceford's (2006) explanation of hacktivists common identities. He and also Samuel (2001) point out that hacking is what unites hacktivists into one identity. This is the case with William. Just because he has no one in real life that shares this identification with hacking, he feels more connected to hackers online.

Anonymity and trust issues affecting the common identity

Anonymity is not mentioned by William at all, but the fact that he is hiding his identity and that even during the interview he is not given more information about himself. This is the case also in the interviews taken with the Anonymous groups from Hamburg and Austria. Partly it is not even known who is participating and how many people are taking part in the interviews. The values of 4 and 5 underline the importance of staying anonymous, which is also shown by the name 'Anonymous'. One

member explains that no one in the Anonymous movement knows from each other. They have their online names, but no real identity is shown (Horn, 2011). William as well as the Anonymous groups seem to be careful with showing their identity. As Wray (1998) underlines this is because they do not want to live with the consequences by showing their real identities. This also explains the presence or the 'loner' characteristic. They work together and take collective action, but in the end no one trusts the other and shows his or her personality. The risk of being caught is too big. The persons in the 4chain platform might also be working for the FBI and spy on users admitting that they have taken some action. This is the opposite of how LulzSec worked. Lunceford's idea of a common identity might be present in AnonAustria and Hamburg Anons, however the lack of trust and high potentials of being spied of win sometimes over the common identity, as shown in the LulzSec group.

Serious hacking in Anonymous

Both Anonymous groups are more politically focused. AnonAustria underlines that action against oppression and actions for freedom are necessary, if people want this to end (Wolf, 2011). Desire for change and a motivation is in both available. Another prove is that Anonymous has become globally relevant, when they started their first protest against Scientology and other political orientations. When the focus was more on having fun, only the hackers were part of the movement. After the purpose changed and the political level started, people started to support Anonymous even from the streets (Coleman, 2011). Lunceford's idea of social movements is mainly present in the Anonymous group. They have a desire for change and the common purpose leads to common action. However it did not emerge out of a common problem and efforts to change this situation. The beginnings of Anonymous are in the idea of what Samuel (2001) defines as hacktivism. As she explains the hackers online met together on 4chain because they were hacking and interested in their skills and the fun. This underlines that purpose did not come first. Nevertheless the current structure of Anonymous is mainly based on motivation for political issues, just as Himma (2005) defines hacktivism. AnonAustria and Hamburg Anons represent Lunceford's and Samuel's idea of social movements as well as Himma's idea of hacktivism.

The 'cool' hacking in Anonymous

William on the other side is not interested in the political motivations of Anonymous. He therefore represents Samuel's idea of hacktivism, where the skills and methods are more important. He does not fit into social movement's idea of purpose and motivation being the starting point for social action. According to Himma (2005) William is not considered a hacktivist at all, because he is not politically orientated with his hacks. Held (2012) however has found out that some hacktivists hack for fun and entertainment. So William is a typical method and fun orientated hacker, who even complained about Anonymous all of a sudden forgetting, where they came from. He dislikes the political aspects that appeared all suddenly (Olson, 2012). These two characteristics have been mentioned by AnonAustria and Hamburg Anons as well. They have admitted that some members that are part of Anonymous only participate because it is 'cool' or fun to be part of such a big movement (Wolf, 2011; Horn, 2011). This is the case because Anonymous started as a fun movement and became serious afterwards. Some like William decided to stay on this fun level and do not want to move to political issues. So fact is that Samuel's (2001) and Lunceford's (2006) theories on social movements apply half for the purpose being first. On the other side these they do not apply because some do not care about the motivation. Instead Samuel's (2001) theory on hacktivism that method

comes first applies on the other half of members of Anonymous. This was the exact case as in LulzSec. There seems to be no clear applying theory here.

The role of Art in Anonymous

Art is an important aspect for anonymous because it pictures what Anonymous is about. It was only mentioned one during the interviews. However Anonymous uses art more often to present their ideologies. The flag of this group for example pictures a person without a head, which shows that everyone can be anonymous and there is no specific leader present (Horn, 2011). As Adam (2002) underlines it for social movements, Anonymous uses art here to show a message. Moreover this is a way of attracting new people and using art as a power tool. Adam believes that Art in Social movements is a great mean for showing how powerful a movement is. Another type of art that is used by Anonymous but was not mentioned during the interviews is that during street protests they use masks to cover their faces with Guy Fawkes masks who wanted to 'blow up the House of Lords' in England and was sentenced to death because of this action. 'V for Vendetta' is a movie telling this story, and in the movie just too irritate the government the mass is wearing his face as masks. This mask has become a symbol for Anonymous protests (Forrester, 2008). This creativity makes people aware and most importantly it keeps the identities of the members hidden. Art is part of Anonymous just as it is part of social movements. This is the case mostly because Anonymous does street protests and therefore slogans, pictures and signs are a way of making clear what these protests are about. And they attract more people to be part of this group as Adam (2002) explains.

Protest outside of the internet

Anonymous as described before is not only protesting online but they use also direct means and protests in front buildings of organization they are criticizing. Technology plays an important role for their main actions as Ayres (1999) explains. But nevertheless the population within Anonymous that is doing the hacks is a small number of, whereas the people that go on the streets are the majority, say the AnonAustria members (Wolf, 2011). As it is in Lunceford's (2006) definition of social movements, Anonymous calls for direct and indirect action of their members (Wolf, 2011). One does not need to be a hacker for being part of Anonymous. This proves Samuel's (2001) theory wrong. She assumes that the method is the starting part of hacktivist movements. But, if it is possible to be part of hacktivists movements, without even having the skills of hackers, then the purpose comes first and matters in this case more. This fact makes hacktivist movements similar to social movements. One has to keep in mind though that as it is shown in table 4.2 William is not interested in activities that are not online. As underlined in the Method section, his main focus is the skills and abilities to hack. He does not support other types of activities. William is the typical hacktivist in Samuel's (2001) definition. Method comes before the purpose for him.

Mobilizing structures and framing processes

Although Anonymous is chaotically organized, organization methods are visible. If organization was not present, then these huge street protests could not be made possible. The organization for Anonymous groupings works as follows explain the Hamburg Anons: single persons, if they have an idea of a protest, post this on their web platform. Everybody then can agree to participate or not (Horn, 2011). Framing processes are present as well. Next to their logo of the headless person, the Guy Fawkes masks are symbols of Anonymous, AnonAustria explains (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011). Art is a type of framing process Garrett explains, but there are slogans and verbal ways as well that support

the ideology of social movements. In Anonymous this is the case as well. They have many slogans and one of them is 'We are a Legion' (Coleman, 2011). These slogans they use is a way of demonstrating their will and self perception, just as Garrett assumed from social movements. So, this means that AnonAustria and Hamburg Anons, are in Garrett's definition of social movements, however William has not mentioned the organization in his interview. It is assumed that these are not important to him. He has a different focus and he does not care about Anonymous as a big movement.

The non hierarchical population of Anonymous

For the population it becomes clear that when calling for indirect and direct action AnonAustria and Hamburg Anons support the broadening of their movement. In the first protests of Anonymous over six thousand people participated in 2008 in different countries around the world (Coleman, 2011). This is a high number of people supporting Anonymous and it proves the idea of Lunceford (2006) right that there needs to be a society that fights within this movement. Anonymous proves the idea of Ayres (1999) about the global aspect of the hacktivist movements' right. Technology is uniting people in Anonymous globally and making participation and communication easier (p. 137). Ayres however talks about a common intention that unites movements globally. In Anonymous this is partly the case. In the motivation section we have seen, that different parts of Anonymous aim different things. Hamburg Anons even mention that they did not support the Occupy movements of other Anonymous groupings (Sagioglou, 2013). So there is global action, but this is not caused by a common purpose. 'No hierarchy' has been mentioned by both hacktivist groups. As Gerlach (2001) explained there is no single leader present. However Gerlach (2001) defined leaderships in social movements as polycentric. But in Anonymous there is no leadership at all.

Manipulable hacktivism as a way of social acceptance

William was the only one who has mentioned social acceptance and manipulable as characteristics. Social acceptance means here that William has created his online life and flees from reality (Olson, 2012, p. 30). This aspect has not been mentioned by any of the authors before. Moreover by manipulable he means that people especially younger generation can be attracted to movements easily, without even having an idea of what is really going on in this movement (Olson, 2012, p. 383). But these may not have been by other authors' definitions of social movements, but however the younger generations are naïve as William describes them. This can be present in any other movement as well.

4.3. Comparing both groups

The conclusion for Anonymous is quite similar to the conclusion in LulzSec. William represents the younger generation just like Topiary who are hacking for fun and the methods. The two hacktivist groups AnonAustria and Hamburg Anons include more than one member. So their positions are split. But even within these groups the structure is clear. Some are interested in hacking for fun and some take it politically serious. However in general both hacktivist groupings of Anonymous have a purpose and aim to change the unsatisfying political situation. Both hacktivist groups have shown differences in age when it comes to the level they apply to social movements. The first sub question is therefore to be answered with a difference in the young and old generation. The older and experienced hackers cover the social movement characteristics more than the younger generation.

This means that there are a lot of similarities when considering the purpose and collective identity of social movements and hacktivists. But there are differences present as well, which answers the second sub- question. New characteristics have been found that are not present in social movements. The presence of both similarities as well as differences is explained by the answer to the last sub question, which is trying to find differences between members. This chapter has found out that age is the greatest influence in the division of interest of the young in the method and the interest of the older for the purpose of the movement.

5. Conclusion

This research aimed analyzing the similarities between hacktivist and social movements. The literature had no clear position on this field. This thesis showed that there is a difference between the members within the movements. The younger generation seems to be not taken the motivations seriously. For them the method and being a hacker is in focus, where having fun and entertainment is more interesting. The older and more experience generation have a will and reason behind their actions. They want to change an unsatisfactory situation. However this is the case in other social movements as well. Both hacktivist groups have shown similar outcomes in this case. Lunceford's (2006) definition of social movement applies therefore here to hacktivism as well. Just as in social movements the desire for change and purpose form the collective identity and lead to protest. Samuel's (2001) idea of the differences of hacktivism from social movements does not apply in this case. On the other side the characteristics of social movements applied generally to the older generation, whereas half of them did not apply to the younger. For those the added hacktivist definition applied, such as fun and method being most important. Samuel's (2001) theory of hacktivism is represented by the younger generation of hackers. They seem to be more concerned with the method than the purpose. This scheme was present in both hacktivists groups. Here one can conclude that hacktivism has a lot of similarities between social movements, depending on how serious the members take this movement. This difference is mostly marked by the difference in age. The answer to the research question about the similarities of social movements and hacktivism is that those are found in the eight characteristics: common identity, purpose, purpose comes first desire for change, collective action, mobilizing structures, framing processes and population. These applied to all groups and persons except for William, who was more and exceptional case of the extreme young generation. For the others it has become clear that for the older generation the social movement characteristics, mainly the aspect of purpose being the core point of a movement, were more often present and more important. On the other side the non-social movement characteristics of participation for fun applied to both groups as well, this time including William, but however the younger generation is more representative of this characteristic. These outcomes conclude that Samuel's (2001) idea on hacktivism does only apply to younger hackers that do not take hacktivism serious as a movement. The older and more revolutionary generation of hacktivists shares more similarities with social movements than the younger generation. This is the other way around for the differences. Differences of social movements and hacktivism are greater for younger generations. This answer contradicts to Himma's (2005) definition of hacktivism. He perceives hacktivism as 'political-motivated-hacking' (Himma, 2005, p. 13), but the cases of Topiary and William as the younger generation prove the opposite. It seems as if there are exceptional cases as Held (2012) has found out. He is sharing the opinion that hacktivism sometimes can be done out of boredom or for

fun. For the definition of hacktivism as well one can conclude that the older generation typifies the hacktivist definition and the younger generation creates an exceptional case.

The age factor has not been mentioned by any hacktivist movement studied before. This thesis has proved both perspectives on what type of social movement hacktivism is. The core difference from these perspectives was the age factor. It was impossible for authors to come to a common position on this field because hacktivist groups have been analyzed without consideration of the age. There was a dead end, which was over passed by analyzing differences in age separately. The debate has been brought further and now with a common idea of what hacktivism is research can be done in detail. For further research it is necessary to understand why hacker's do what they do and if there is an ideal situation these movements seek to create. The European Union is pushing more against hackers and by making it harder to hack ("Cyber Crime," 2012), but this paper has shown that hacktivists have a political afford as well. Turning down hacking does not seem to be a solution for this problem. This thesis was an understanding starting point of hackers. If further research is done politicians can find a way of including hacktivists into the politics and avoid illegal action protests online. This seems however to be far away from reality. The number of attacks is growing more and more (Wagenseil, 2011). Not only the debate has been brought further but renewals except for the age factor were discovered as well. Characteristics such as Art, No hierarchy and not only online protest were not identified before. This research has shown that there are more characteristics that are similar between social and hacktivist movements. Auty (2004) and Lunceford (2006) have pointed out the biggest difference would be that hacktivism is done only online, which is proved to be wrong. The internet does have an importance for hacktivism for organizing and hacking data, but nevertheless one does not necessarily need to be a hacker to be part of their movement. Having this in mind a great recommendation for current politicians who try to stop hackings comes up. Hacking is a core method of hacktivists, but avoiding hacks does not seem to stop the movement as a whole. There is a movement, an ideology for which people do not need to be hackers. For the aspect of art it is obvious that hacking and art has not been mentioned in connection only in this thesis. In the article of Garrett (2012) a clear relationship between technology, art and hacking is shown. In a case an Italian artist hacks Facebook profile information and codes them into a dating website that was called Web 2.0 Suicide Machine. Its motto was: may you rest in a better life and for login in you had to press the button 'commit', which refers to committing suicide (Garret, 2012). Art is an interesting way of showing protest and opinion, and moreover way of understanding movements. Social acceptance and the manipulability of teenagers were mentioned as well. These are important aspects of social movements too; however they were only mentioned by one person. Further research is needed in this area to prove whether this is true or not. The current media however is not mentioning the online personas and acceptance of hackers. It is clear that research on this topic is necessary. The focus on media is more on hackers that destroy the social lives of others. Risher (2013) talks about people being too naïve thinking that the internet is safe and nothing can happen do their data. Through Facebook mainly hackers hack social media profiles and steal data, to publish, blackmail or destroy them (Risher, 2013). These kinds of hacks have always been left out from hacktivism researches, because those are simply not considered as hacktivism. However this research has shown that even within the hacktivist movements, hacks like this that happen out of boredom and for fun occur. Hacktivism can be considered as political struggle and protest, but however there are bad sides of the story, too. The European Union needs to be careful with personal and government data. This is why the European Union is creating new laws and regulation against hacking attacks ("Cyber Crime," 2012).

Hacktivist movements seem to have a lot in common with the eight social movement's characteristics. But differences are present as well. These differences however are normal, if one considers the fact that there is no common social movement definition at all. Social movements among each other differ in their constructions, methods and motivations. This paper does neither conclude that hacktivism is a social movement nor that it is not. The conclusion is more that hacktivism is a type of a social movement. For further research it is recommended to look at what type of movement it is. It is clear now that there are similarities, but with comparison to other types of social movements it can be analyzed which movements are more similar to hacktivism. Moreover new aspects of hacktivism came up, such as the connection between the age of the members and their motivations. This connection should be looked at in detail in order to find out, if the conclusions made in this paper are only applying to LulzSec and Anonymous or if they are present in other movements and groups as well.

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10. Appendix

Interview outcomes Lulzsec

Code	Quotation
Anonymity	
Topiary	'Some suggested the person behind the account was a spy. It was classic Anonymous. Topiary knew the rumors would die down soon enough. They always did.' (Gallagher, 2011)
Sabu	'Honestly I really have no online persona. I'm so burnt out with the internet from the last decade that I dont need one.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	""Ok guys," he suddenly said. "I don't have to say this more than once I hope. But people on 2600 are not your friends. 95% are there to social engineer you. To analyze how you talk and make connections. Don't go off and befriend and of them."" (Olson, 2012, p. 277)
Art	
Topiary	'The future holds many things. I don't plan, I just let it flow. It floats back to me. The project I'll be assisting will be using images/video/writing and other forms of art to spread the word, kind of like Operation Paperstorm with Anonymous. The project will be called "Voice". There's a little exclusive for you.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'With the help of Topiary's prodigious communiqués to the outside world, LulzSec was starting to look less like a hacker and more like a rock band.' (Olson, 2012, p. 264)
Sabu	'Personally it depends on the hacker. To me it is an art. A skill that is unique to me. A science you can not master' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Those who are with me in the fight do not have to be hackers. They can be reporters, artists, public speakers. This movement is about all of us uniting against corruption. But I don't ask anyone to take my risks. I don't want anyone to follow me down my path.' (Murphy, 2012)
Collective	

action	
Topiary	'We hacked, we wrote, we dumped our results on pastebin <http://pastebin.com/> , mediafire <http://www.mediafire.com/> , and [peer-to-peer download website] The Pirate Bay, then we acted like pirates on twitter. That is literally all we did. We spent \$0 until people started giving us donations. Important: the team of six holds itself together, we all have skills, we all have a role. It was smooth and persistent, and it worked.' (Gallagher, 2011)
Sabu	'Expose corruption. Expose censorship. Expose abuses. Assist our brothers and sisters during their operations in their own countries like the one we have going in Brazil now, Operation Brazil, which is about internet/information censorship. Expose these big multinational companies that have their hands in too much, that have too much power, and don't even take the time to secure your passwords and credit cards. And finally, discussion and education. We are not sitting idly by and letting our rights get thrashed. It's time to rise up now.' (Murphy, 2012)
	'Those who are with me in the fight do not have to be hackers. They can be reporters, artists, public speakers. This movement is about all of us uniting against corruption. But I don't ask anyone to take my risks. I don't want anyone to follow me down my path.' (Murphy, 2012)
Common identity	
Topiary	'WikiLeaks was the reason Operation Payback took off last November/December and is probably the reason why AnonOps got so big. We, as LulzSec, support all their work, but they don't directly influence our releases.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'I'm motivated by bursts of imagination and creativity, and I'm motivated by inspiring and teaching others. My main goal with Anonymous was to spread the word of revolution to those who might be seeking something new.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'I would never snitch on anyone involved in Anonymous or LulzSec.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'but again, no, I wouldn't accept a job that would fight against the things I've fought for' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'It's teamwork that gets this stuff done, so again I'd like to point out that LulzSec did so well because of every person involved and every person that assisted us.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'"I've never found more respectable and hardworking people in my life than those in this group," added Topiary, who had been part of the conversation.' (Olson, 2012, p. 246)
Sabu	'Just be aware. Educate your colleagues and family. This isn't about one big push, its about education in general. We all need to be aware of whats going on with our lives and what affects us politically And we must Rise+Resist the bs' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Is powerful and its thanks to the people Wikileaks sprung a new generation of revolutionaries B.M. is my overlord.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'No leaders. No hierachy. No cointelpro drama. And we are a living, moving mass of like-minded individuals.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'As for Wikileaks it is still a powerful tool and regardless of so many attempts to undermine its success its successful' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'I am doing it for myself. One of the big motivators was watching Julian Assange and Bradley Manning getting arrested.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012) 'Expose corruption. Expose censorship. Expose abuses. Assist our brothers and sisters during their operations in their own countries like the one we have going in Brazil now, Operation Brazil, which is about internet/information censorship. Expose these big multinational companies that have their hands in too much, that have too much power, and don't even take the time to secure your passwords and credit cards. And finally, discussion and education. We are not sitting idly by and letting our rights get thrashed. It's time to rise up now.' (Murphy, 2012)
	'Those who are with me in the fight do not have to be hackers. They can be reporters, artists, public speakers. This movement is about all of us uniting against corruption. But I don't ask anyone to take my risks. I don't want anyone to follow me down my path.' (Murphy, 2012)
	'"Topiary my brother, how are you?" Sabu asked.' (Olson, 2012, p. 276)
	'"Ok guys," he suddenly said. "I don't have to say this more than once I hope. But people on

	2600 are not your friends. 95% are there to social engineer you. To analyze how you talk and make connections. Don't go off and befriend and of them.'" (Olson, 2012, p. 277)
Desire for change	
Topiary	'revolution to those who might be seeking something new' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'Revolution, to me, is bringing down the big guy while not forgetting to stand up for the little guy.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'The goal with Anonymous is to brutally cut down the middle of that decision and shout "NO" to laws we don't agree with. Laws are to be respected when they're fair, not obeyed without question. We specifically - as Anonymous - fight copyright laws, and the corruption surrounding them.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'I just classify myself as an internet denizen with a passion for change.' (Gallagher, 2011)
Sabu	'Revolution runs through my veins and its thicker than blood' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Just be aware. Educate your colleagues and family. This isn't about one big push, its about education in general.We all need to be aware of whats going on with our lives and what affects us politically And we must Rise+Resist the bs' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Abuse of people and their rights motivated me to fight back. stand up and rise and resist.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	"Seeing people speak up, and resist. I've experienced police brutality before for speaking out. So this inspires me." (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Are you an Anarchist? By that I DON'T mean the propaganda caricature of a bomb throwing maniac. If not, you would you describe your political beliefs? FHT: Somewhat yes.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Expose corruption. Expose censorship. Expose abuses. Assist our brothers and sisters during their operations in their own countries like the one we have going in Brazil now, Operation Brazil, which is about internet/information censorship. Expose these big multinational companies that have their hands in too much, that have too much power, and don't even take the time to secure your passwords and credit cards. And finally, discussion and education. We are not sitting idly by and letting our rights get thrashed. It's time to rise up now.' (Murphy, 2012)
	'Those who are with me in the fight do not have to be hackers. They can be reporters, artists, public speakers. This movement is about all of us uniting against corruption. But I don't ask anyone to take my risks. I don't want anyone to follow me down my path.' (Murphy, 2012)
For fun	
Topiary	'I like when people ask that. I think it's because we were such a unique group, "exciting and new" as our pseudo-theme <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VJGRIm3allY> suggests. What we did was different from other hacking groups. We had an active Twitter (controlled by me), cute cats in deface messages, and a generally playful, cartoon-like aura to our operations. We knew when to start, we knew when to stop, and most of all we knew how to have fun. Admittedly our Twitter followers did explode drastically when we wrote that fake Tupac story on PBS <http://www.digitaltrends.com/computing/hackers-post-fake-tupac-story-to-pbs-com-after-wikileaks-piece/> . That's the point that it blasted off.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'It's fair that the attention gave us more reasons to leak more. It was a thrill, sure, and it did play a role. We enjoyed occasionally confusing and pranking media with weird tweets, or giving exclusives to certain journalists to piss off other certain journalists. It was another aspect of the situation that helped us to leverage the entertainment.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'That improvisation was "hey guys, let's leak his stuff, but first let's scare him to embarrass him more", so I put on my "extortion" persona (Ninetails) and began intimidating him. Personally I had no intentions to take anything from him, just to drive him into a position where he'd be willing to do it. That way it's more amusing to leak his stuff.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'Sometimes a change from boring to fun' (Gallagher, 2011)

	'T opiary kept the showman-style enthusiasm, as if each tweet were being blared from a ringmaster's Bullhorn.' (Olson, 2012, p. 252)
	'With the help of Topiary's prodigious communiqués to the outside world, LulzSec was starting to look less like a hacker and more like a rock band.' (Olson, 2012, p. 264)
	""Wanna find something to hit?" Topiary asked the room. "Sure said", Storm. "There's a shit cool site, FBI.gov", said Topiary jokingly.' (Olson, 2012, p. 271)
Sabu	'Yes, some hacks under LulzSec were done for the lulz' (Murphy, 2012)
	'Everything we did had a duality: a lesson and some LOLs at the same time.' (Murphy, 2012)
Framing processes	
Loner	
Topiary	'Some suggested the person behind the account was a spy. It was classic Anonymous. Topiary knew the rumors would die down soon enough. They always did.' (Olson, 2012, p. 257)
Sabu	'Stick to yourselves. If you are in a crew - keep your opsec up 24/7. Friends will try to take you down if they have to.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'The ironic twist will be that my own friends will take me down, and not these idiots who hide behind the patriot veil' (Liebowitz, 2011)
	'For someone who had been so loud about hating the police, it had not been all that hard to get Sabu to work for the FBI.' (Olson, 2012, p. 388)
Method comes before the purpose	
Topiary	'Anonymous has been a great way for the younger generations to get involved through methods they understand, like utilizing the internet. As a teenager myself, I can relate to this.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'That improvisation was "hey guys, let's leak his stuff, but first let's scare him to embarrass him more", so I put on my "extortion" persona (Ninetails) and began intimidating him. Personally I had no intentions to take anything from him, just to drive him into a position where he'd be willing to do it. That way it's more amusing to leak his stuff.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	""That's what it was like writing press releases for LulzSec," said Jake. "I care, I care, I care.' Then it causes a shitstorm in the news, and then I think, 'Whatever.' I feel bad that people are getting arrested and inspired and I don't care afterwards." (Olson, 2012, p. 383)
Sabu	'Putting my skills to use and coupling it with my activism. Revolution runs through my veins and its thicker than blood.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Personally it depends on the hacker. To me it is an art. A skill that is unique to me. A science you can not master' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
Mobilizing structures	
Topiary	'We hacked, we wrote, we dumped our results on pastebin < http://pastebin.com/ >, mediafire < http://www.mediafire.com/ >, and [peer-to-peer download website] The Pirate Bay, then we acted like pirates on twitter. That is literally all we did. We spent \$0 until people started giving us donations. Important: the team of six holds itself together, we all have skills, we all have a role. It was smooth and persistent, and it worked.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'It's teamwork that gets this stuff done, so again I'd like to point out that LulzSec did so well because of every person involved and every person that assisted us.' (Gallagher, 2011)
Sabu	'No leaders. No hierachy. No cointelpro drama. And we are a living, moving mass of like-minded individuals.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
No hierarchy	
Sabu	'No leaders. No hierachy. No cointelpro drama. And we are a living, moving mass of like-minded individuals. Powerful2me.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
Not only online protest	
Sabu	'You don't need to be "anonymous" to be Anonymous. This movement is real. No longer an internet meme. We are a Legion.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'I've seen: a revolution coinciding both physically and online. It was the first time I had proof

	that what Anonymous was doing was real and it was working.' (Murphy, 2012)
	'Those who are with me in the fight do not have to be hackers. They can be reporters, artists, public speakers. This movement is about all of us uniting against corruption. But I don't ask anyone to take my risks. I don't want anyone to follow me down my path.' (Murphy, 2012)
Population	
Topiary	'so we redirected our fans to Anonymous and AntiSec and wrapped it up neatly.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'Our style and leaks were consistent from zero followers to a quarter of a million.' (Gallagher, 2011)
Sabu	'You don't need to be "anonymous" to be Anonymous. This movement is real. No longer an internet meme. We are a Legion.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Just be aware. Educate your colleagues and family. This isn't about one big push, its about education in general. We all need to be aware of whats going on with our lives and what affects us politically And we must Rise+Resist the bs' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'I am doing it for myself. One of the big motivators was watching Julian Assange and Bradley Manning getting arrested.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Expose corruption. Expose censorship. Expose abuses. Assist our brothers and sisters during their operations in their own countries like the one we have going in Brazil now, Operation Brazil, which is about internet/information censorship. Expose these big multinational companies that have their hands in too much, that have too much power, and don't even take the time to secure your passwords and credit cards. And finally, discussion and education. We are not sitting idly by and letting our rights get thrashed. It's time to rise up now.' (Murphy, 2012)
Purpose	
Topiary	'I'm motivated by bursts of imagination and creativity, and I'm motivated by inspiring and teaching others. My main goal with Anonymous was to spread the word of revolution to those who might be seeking something new.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'The goal with Anonymous is to brutally cut down the middle of that decision and shout "NO" to laws we don't agree with. Laws are to be respected when they're fair, not obeyed without question. We specifically - as Anonymous - fight copyright laws, and the corruption surrounding them.' (Gallagher, 2011)
Sabu	'Revolution runs through my veins and its thicker than blood' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Just be aware. Educate your colleagues and family. This isn't about one big push, its about education in general.We all need to be aware of whats going on with our lives and what affects us politically And we must Rise+Resist the bs' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	"Exposed the sad state of security across the media, social, government online environments." (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Abuse of people and their rights motivated me to fight back. stand up and rise and resist.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	"Seeing people speak up, and resist. I've experienced police brutality before for speaking out. So this inspires me." (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Are you an Anarchist? By that I DON'T mean the propaganda caricature of a bomb throwing maniac. If not, you would you describe your political beliefs? FHT: Somewhat yes.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'I'm a man who believes in human rights and exposing abuse and corruption. I generally care about people and their situations. I'm into politics and I try my best to stay on top of current events.' (Murphy, 2012)
	'Everything we did had a duality: a lesson and some LOLs at the same time.' (Murphy, 2012)
	'Expose corruption. Expose censorship. Expose abuses. Assist our brothers and sisters during their operations in their own countries like the one we have going in Brazil now, Operation Brazil, which is about internet/information censorship. Expose these big multinational companies that have their hands in too much, that have too much power, and don't even take

	the time to secure your passwords and credit cards. And finally, discussion and education. We are not sitting idly by and letting our rights get thrashed. It's time to rise up now.' (Murphy, 2012)
Purpose comes before the action	
Topiary	'I'm motivated by bursts of imagination and creativity, and I'm motivated by inspiring and teaching others. My main goal with Anonymous was to spread the word of revolution to those who might be seeking something new.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'The goal with Anonymous is to brutally cut down the middle of that decision and shout "NO" to laws we don't agree with. Laws are to be respected when they're fair, not obeyed without question. We specifically - as Anonymous - fight copyright laws, and the corruption surrounding them.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'The future holds many things. I don't plan, I just let it flow. It floats back to me. The project I'll be assisting will be using images/video/writing and other forms of art to spread the word, kind of like Operation Paperstorm with Anonymous. The project will be called "Voice". There's a little exclusive for you.' (Gallagher, 2011)
	'mainly a change from oppression to freedom'
Sabu	'Putting my skills to use and coupling it with my activism. Revolution runs through my veins and its thicker than blood.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'You don't need to be "anonymous" to be Anonymous. This movement is real. No longer an internet meme. We are a Legion.' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
	'Just be aware. Educate your colleagues and family. This isn't about one big push, its about education in general. We all need to be aware of whats going on with our lives and what affects us politically And we must Rise+Resist the bs' (The Real Sabu, Weblog: Reddit.com, 2012)
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	'Expose corruption. Expose censorship. Expose abuses. Assist our brothers and sisters during their operations in their own countries like the one we have going in Brazil now, Operation Brazil, which is about internet/information censorship. Expose these big multinational companies that have their hands in too much, that have too much power, and don't even take the time to secure your passwords and credit cards. And finally, discussion and education. We are not sitting idly by and letting our rights get thrashed. It's time to rise up now.' (Murphy, 2011)
	'Those who are with me in the fight do not have to be hackers. They can be reporters, artists, public speakers. This movement is about all of us uniting against corruption. But I don't ask anyone to take my risks. I don't want anyone to follow me down my path.' (Murphy, 2011)

Interview outcome Anonymous

Code	Quotation
Anonymity	
AnonAustria	,Natürlich kann man im IRC nie wissen, wer da mitloggt, aber wirklich wichtige Dinge werden nur im Query oder in einem Invite-Only Channel mit einigen wenigen Trusted-Membren besprochen.' (Wolf, 2011)

	, Nein. Selbst wenn man Mitglieder von Anonymous finden würde - die Hacker sind hierbei wohl jene, die man am Schwersten findet - ist es fraglich, wer wirklich an welchen Aktivitäten beteiligt war. Dies ist alles nicht rückverfolgbar. Selbst wenn einer gefunden wird, kann dieser nichts über andere Mitglieder sagen, da sich wohl nur die Wenigsten privat kennen.' (Wolf, 2011)
	, Die Gefahr, dabei entdeckt zu werden, ist denkbar gering - und die Angst vor den Strafverfolgern ficht sie schon gar nicht an.' (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
	„Wer das fragt, disqualifiziert sich bereits. Anonymous wird man nicht, man ist es. Das oberste Gebot der Anonymität ist selbst innerhalb des Kollektivs einzuhalten. Wer sich offiziell als Anonymous-Mitglied outet, ist schon im engsten Wortsinne nicht mehr „Anonymous““ (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
Hamburg Anons	, Es hat zuletzt auch viele Prominente gegeben, die mit ihrem Namen und ihrem Gesicht Vertrauen missbraucht haben. Der Wahrheitsgehalt von Informationen hängt nicht davon ab, ob sie von einer rechtmäßig gewählten Kanzlerin oder von einem drogenabhängigen Obdachlosen stammen. Und: Anonymität schützt auch die Person, die ihre freie Meinung äußert.' (Horn, 2011)
	, Wir kennen uns natürlich nicht; es gibt keine Namen, keine festen Termine, alle Absprachen passieren im Chat im gesamten Kollektiv.' (Horn, 2011)
	, Es gibt im Kollektiv aber erstens ein grundsätzliches Misstrauen, wir bleiben auch untereinander anonym.' (Horn, 2011)
	, Es ist vielleicht leichter zu verstehen, wenn man Teil der Netzcommunity ist. Viele Leute kennt man einfach unter Nicknamen - da interessieren echte Namen schlichtweg nicht. Da man zusammen arbeiten will und vorankommen will, gibt es vorher auch keine lange Diskussion darüber, wer wie angesprochen werden will. Ein "Eh du" reicht zum Beispiel auf Protesten vollkommen aus um eine Kommunikation zu starten. Im Idealfall steht die Tatsache, wer eine Person ist und welchen Hintergrund sie hat, vollständig im Hintergrund, und man arbeitet und bewertet eben nur mit dem Input, den sie bringt.' (Sagioglou, 2013)
	, Die Guy-Fawkes-Maske wird von vielen von uns nicht mehr benutzt, da sie inzwischen mit zu vielen anderen Dingen, zum Beispiel Occupy, in Verbindung gebracht wird. Sie stand ursprünglich für eine Zeichentrickfigur („Epic Fail Guy“) und sollte die Identität der Anons bei den Protesten gegen die Sekte Scientology schützen - und Scientology zeigen: „Ihr seid epic fail.“ Bei unseren monatlichen Demonstrationen kommt die Maske aber weiterhin gut an, viele Menschen kennen uns ja mittlerweile und wissen, dass unsere Demonstrationen immer friedlich verlaufen.' (Sagioglou, 2013)
Art	
Hamburg Anons	, Die Erkennungsflagge von Anonymous - kopflos, was deutlich machen soll, dass es im Kollektiv keine Führungsperson und keine Hierarchien gibt.' (Horn, 2011)
Collective actions	
AnonAustria	, Bei den Hacks agiert meist nur eine kleine Kerngruppe, die je nach Bedarf erweitert wird. Es handelt sich dabei um maximal 5 Personen. Die Anzahl der Aktiven in Österreich ist schwer abzuschätzen - die Anzahl der Personen im Chat steigt ständig und Personen, die mitmachen wollen (sei es im Web oder auf der Straße), gibt es ebenfalls genügend. Dieses Netz reicht wohl weiter als sich viele vorstellen können und es gibt viel Zuspruch aus der Bevölkerung.' (Wolf, 2011)
	, Anonymous ist damit eine zutiefst chaotisch strukturierte Vereinigung, verpflichtet nur der gemeinsamen Losung: „Wir sind Anonymous. Wir sind viele. Wir verzeihen nicht. Wir vergessen nicht. Erwartet uns!“ (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
	, Neben den aufsehenerregenden Angriffen auf Behörden und Unternehmen engagiert sich Anonymous auch im computerunterstützten Protest gegen Internetkonzerne wie Facebook. „Konzerne, die allzu gerne Daten sammeln und für dubiose und undurchsichtige Geschäfte missbrauchen, landen früher oder später auf unserem Radar - und dann sollten sich diese Firmen schon mal warm anziehen.“ Eine große Aktion gegen Facebook hat Anonymous bereits vor Wochen für den 5. November angekündigt - in einer weltweit konzertierten Attacke soll das Social Network, das mit seiner zweifelhaften Datenschutzpolitik für Schlagzeilen sorgt, nicht nur lahmgelegt werden. Anonymous will auch die Machenschaften rund um den angeblichen Handel mit Benutzerdaten aufdecken.' (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)

Hamburg Anons	,Es geht ihnen darum, die Freiheit zu verteidigen, also Meinungs-, Presse- und Informationsfreiheit. Und mit Anonymous können viele ihrer eigenen Stimme mehr Kraft geben. Allein auf der Straße kann man nicht viel unternehmen, aber als Gemeinschaft schon.' (Horn, 2011)
	, Wir erkennen also die Charaktere. Die Organisation funktioniert so: Jemand schlägt im Chat ein Thema vor, zum Beispiel dass er es ungerecht findet, wie Sony mit Kunden oder Hackern umgeht. Danach folgen Vorschläge, was zu tun ist, und wir einigen uns auf eine Aktion, ein Projekt, eine Operation. Es ist uns sehr wichtig, dass sich jeder eine eigene Meinung bildet, um dann zu entscheiden: Mache ich mit oder nicht? So kann jeder nach bestem Gewissen handeln.' (Horn, 2011)
	, Das Kollektiv. Was passiert, hängt von den aktiven Mitgliedern ab. Wenn die gerade sehr politisch engagiert oder motiviert sind, kann es gut sein, dass wir versuchen, uns irgendwo in die Politik einzumischen. Wenn es verärgerte Nutzer einer PlayStation-Konsole sind, kann es auch sein, dass sich unsere Aktionen gegen Sony richten. Wir sind offen für alles, die Mitglieder können über den Chat Teil von Anonymous werden, wann sie möchten - und sich auch genauso schnell wieder verabschieden.' (Horn, 2011)
	,Den Zugriff auf den haben einige Anons, die schon viele Jahre dabei sind und viele Dinge organisiert haben. Auch liebevoll Postfachsclampen genannt. Die entsprechenden E-Mails werden dann über Kollaborations-Plattformen für die aktiven Veröffentlicht. „Bestimmt“ hat das niemand so - es hat sich halt herauskristallisiert. Danach wird gemeinsam eine Antwort geschrieben und nach großer Zustimmung versendet. Gerade bei Facebook und Twitter sorgen Multi-User-Accounts für Verfügbarkeit und Abwechslung' (Sagioglou, 2013)
Common identity	
AnonAustria	, Bei den Hacks agiert meist nur eine kleine Kerngruppe, die je nach Bedarf erweitert wird. Es handelt sich dabei um maximal 5 Personen. Die Anzahl der Aktiven in Österreich ist schwer abzuschätzen - die Anzahl der Personen im Chat steigt ständig und Personen, die mitmachen wollen (sei es im Web oder auf der Straße), gibt es ebenfalls genügend. Dieses Netz reicht wohl weiter als sich viele vorstellen können und es gibt viel Zuspruch aus der Bevölkerung.' (Wolf, 2011)
	, Natürlich gibt es bei uns Leute, die auch beruflich mit solchen Dingen zu tun haben und dadurch eine große Menge an Know-how mitbringen. Aber generell sind wir in allen möglichen Bereichen tätig.' (Wolf, 2011)
	, Wir haben zum Beispiel engen Kontakt zu einigen deutschen Anonymous-Mitgliedern, die uns auch tatkräftig unterstützen.' (Wolf, 2011)
	, Der gemeinsame Nenner innerhalb der Kollektivs ist groß - die eine, große Linie, das ultimative Konzept, das durchgeplante Programm gibt es nicht. Hier mischen sich politisch interessierte Aktivisten mit Geeks. Es gibt auch „Schnittmengen mit der österreichischen Piratenpartei und dem CCC“, sagt ein Insider.' (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
	, Anonymous ist damit eine zutiefst chaotisch strukturierte Vereinigung, verpflichtet nur der gemeinsamen Losung: „Wir sind Anonymous. Wir sind viele. Wir verzeihen nicht. Wir vergessen nicht. Erwartet uns!“ (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
Hamburg Anons	, Es geht ihnen darum, die Freiheit zu verteidigen, also Meinungs-, Presse- und Informationsfreiheit. Und mit Anonymous können viele ihrer eigenen Stimme mehr Kraft geben. Allein auf der Straße kann man nicht viel unternehmen, aber als Gemeinschaft schon.' (Horn, 2011)
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	, Wir sind eine Gesellschaft, genau wie die deutsche oder jede andere. Wir haben alle Verstand, moralisches Empfinden, und niemand ist auf den Kopf gefallen. Wenn man einem erwachsenen Mann eine Pistole in die Hand drückt, heißt das noch ja auch nicht, dass er auf jemanden schießt. Die meisten werden die Waffe auf die Seite legen. So ist es bei Anonymous

	auch. Viele Aktionen von uns sind nach dem Gesetz illegal, aber sie sind moralisch und ethisch gerechtfertigt.' (Horn, 2011)
	, Von Attacken auf die Medien halten die meisten von uns in Hamburg nichts, da die Medien ein wichtiger Teil des demokratischen Apparates sind - natürlich ist das in Korea nicht der Fall, aber das ist einfach so eine Prinzipiengeschichte: Never attack the media.' (Horn, 2011)
	, Das Wort "Hacker-Kollektiv" wurde von amerikanischen Unterschichtmedien eingeführt und wird von uns eher scherzhaft verwendet. Wir sind keine Hackergemeinschaft, wir sind Netzkinder. Als das Netz groß geworden ist, sind wir im Netz aufgewachsen. Und jetzt nutzen wir dessen Möglichkeiten.' (Horn, 2011)
William	, "There are parts of me I can't share with people in real life - parts they won't accept." But in Anonymous-and for William that means 4chan-he could talk about them freely.' (Olson, 2012)
Desire for change	
AnonAustria	'Solange alle nur ruhig da sitzen und zusehen, werden wir immer mehr ausgebeutet und es ist an der Zeit, endlich etwas dagegen zu tun.' (Wolf, 2011)
	, andere wollen die Welt verbessern' (Wolf, 2011)
Hamburg Anons	, Anonymous ist für mich persönlich eine Möglichkeit meine Meinung zu politischen Dingen zu sagen, ohne dafür meinen Job, meine Familie oder meine Privatsphäre zu gefährden oder mich vor eine Kamera begeben zu müssen. Im Endeffekt sind wir nicht anders als NGOs (nicht staatliche Organisationen, d.Red.) - mit dem Unterschied das wir eben nicht unsere Namen benutzen und teilweise etwas besser vernetzt sind.' (Sagioglou, 2013)
For fun	
AnonAustria	, Manche hacken aus Spaß' (Wolf, 2011)
	, Die Wurzeln des Kollektivs liegen im - für Nicht-Eingeweihte nur schwer verständlichen - Imageboard 4chan.org < http://www.4chan.org/ >, wo Anonymous bereits vor 2008 als Spaßbewegung existierte.' (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
Hamburg Anons	, Es gibt auch Leute, die es einfach nur cool finden, Teil von Anonymous zu sein.' (Horn, 2011)
	, manche machen es für den persönlichen Fame oder um sich selbst etwas zu beweisen, manche weil sie gerade Langeweile haben, andere weil sie es lustig finden oder einfach nur weil sie es können.' (Sagioglou, 2013)
William	, the intent to harass people for fun or "lulz." Things that made it attractive and fun.' (Olson, 2012)
	'Over the years he turned this into a skill to troll people in some of the most mortifying ways possible-manipulating men and women into sending naked pictures of themselves or their genitalia, then blackmailing them or embarrassing them with the images. Once, for instance, he hacked into a young man's Facebook account and posted pictures of the man's penis on the wall of a family member. "Hi mom, here's my cock. What do you think? LOL," went the caption.' (Olson, 2012)
	"'Before people thought we were a spiteful, Internet hate machine. Before you could revel in being a real prick,'" (Olson, 2012)
	'To his credit, he and others in the Joker camp seem to maintain a healthy, sobering skepticism about how much Anonymous has manufactured its own importance.' (Olson, 2012)
Framing processes	
AnonAustria	'Dort entstand auch das bekannte Logo des kopflosen Anzugträgers und die „Anonymous-Maske“, die den britischen Attentäter / Freiheitskämpfer aus dem 16. Jahrhundert Guy Fawkes darstellt.' (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
	'Anonymous ist damit eine zutiefst chaotisch strukturierte Vereinigung, verpflichtet nur der gemeinsamen Losung: „Wir sind Anonymous. Wir sind viele. Wir verzeihen nicht. Wir vergessen nicht. Erwartet uns!“' (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
Hamburg Anons	, Die Erkennungsflagge von Anonymous - kopflos, was deutlich machen soll, dass es im Kollektiv keine Führungsperson und keine Hierarchien gibt.' (Horn, 2011)
	"We are Anonymous. We are Legion. We do not forgive. We do not forget. Expect us!" (Horn, 2011)
	, Von Attacken auf die Medien halten die meisten von uns in Hamburg nichts, da die Medien ein wichtiger Teil des demokratischen Apparates sind - natürlich ist das in Korea nicht der Fall,

	aber das ist einfach so eine Prinzipien-geschichte: Never attack the media.' (Sagioglou, 2013)
	, Die Guy-Fawkes-Maske wird von vielen von uns nicht mehr benutzt, da sie inzwischen mit zu vielen anderen Dingen, zum Beispiel Occupy, in Verbindung gebracht wird. Sie stand ursprünglich für eine Zeichentrickfigur („Epic Fail Guy“) und sollte die Identität der Anons bei den Protesten gegen die Sekte Scientology schützen - und Scientology zeigen: „Ihr seid epic fail.“ Bei unseren monatlichen Demonstrationen kommt die Maske aber weiterhin gut an, viele Menschen kennen uns ja mittlerweile und wissen, dass unsere Demonstrationen immer friedlich verlaufen.' (Sagioglou, 2013)
William	'Recently the issue of "SWATing" has been in the news, after some Internet hoaxers made 911 calls that resulted in SWAT teams swooping on the homes of at least two conservative bloggers. That's nothing new for William, who's seen SWATing discussed on 4chan for years. "Perfect trolling," he says. "SWATing keeps things fresh. It's also spiteful and malicious in the way that I personally think Anon should be. As for the political side of it, I couldn't care less.'" (Olson, 2012)
Loner	
AnonAustria	'Auch Einzelaktionen sind keine Seltenheit' (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
Hamburg Anons	, Es gibt im Kollektiv aber erstens ein grundsätzliches Misstrauen, wir bleiben auch untereinander anonym' (Horn, 2011)
	, Jeder hat seine eigenen Gründe, dabei zu sein.' (Sagioglou, 2013)
Manipulable	
William	"" You could inspire some fifteen-year-old, or someone with a fifteen-year-old's mind set, to hate whoever you want them to hate," said William matter-of-factly. In having no clear goal, Anonymous was like any other modern-day movement that had become fragmented by the user-generated, crowd-sourced nature of a web-enabled society. Movements like the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street had the same issue; they were often bague in their goals, but their supporters fought passionately against rival ideologies. Anonymous was a new movement, and a new process for fighting perceived oppressors. And it could be manipulated.' (Olson, 2012, p. 385)
Method comes first	
AnonAustria	„Im Anon-Chat gibt es natürlich auch viele Skript-Kiddies (Anm.: „Möchtegern-Hacker“), die sich einfach einen Exploit (Anm.: eine bekannte Sicherheitslücke) im Netz suchen und dann loslegen.“ (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
Hamburg Anons	, Es gibt auch Leute, die es einfach nur cool finden, Teil von Anonymous zu sein.' (Horn, 2011)
	, manche machen es für den persönlichen Fame oder um sich selbst etwas zu beweisen, manche weil sie gerade Langeweile haben, andere weil sie es lustig finden oder einfach nur weil sie es können.' (Sagioglou, 2013)
William	, The real, true Anonymous lives on 4chan, William says, a website visited by millions of people each month.' (Olson, 2012)
	'Over the years he turned this into a skill to troll people in some of the most mortifying ways possible-manipulating men and women into sending naked pictures of themselves or their genitalia, then blackmailing them or embarrassing them with the images. Once, for instance, he hacked into a young man's Facebook account and posted pictures of the man's penis on the wall of a family member. "Hi mom, here's my cock. What do you think? LOL," went the caption.' (Olson, 2012)
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	'The other longtime Anon hacker is wary of Anonymous's embracing everyone and anyone. "It was a lot smaller and more structured [in the past]. You had to be accepted," he says. "Now anyone can join Anonymous." As for the attempts at protest and sociological change, he is as skeptical as William, though perhaps because he simply misses the mean-spirited fun of the past. "I don't think [Anonymous] can change much in the world," he says.' (Olson, 2012)

	<p>““ You could inspire some fifteen-year-old, or someone with a fifteen-year-old’s mind set, to hate whoever you want them to hate,” said William matter-of-factly. In having no clear goal, Anonymous was like any other modern-day movement that had become fragmented by the user-generated, crowd-sourced nature of a web-enabled society. Movements like the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street had the same issue; they were often bague in their goals, but their supporters fought passionately against rival ideologies. Anonymous was a new movement, and a new process for fighting perceived oppressors. And it could be manipulated.’ (Olson, 2012p. 385)</p>
Mobilizing structures	
AnonAustria	<p>‘Bei den Hacks agiert meist nur eine kleine Kerngruppe, die je nach Bedarf erweitert wird. Es handelt sich dabei um maximal 5 Personen. Die Anzahl der Aktiven in Österreich ist schwer abzuschätzen - die Anzahl der Personen im Chat steigt ständig und Personen, die mitmachen wollen (sei es im Web oder auf der Straße), gibt es ebenfalls genügend. Dieses Netz reicht wohl weiter als sich viele vorstellen können und es gibt viel Zuspruch aus der Bevölkerung.’ (Wolf, 2011)</p>
	<p>, Eine Organisation ohne Führung kann man nicht "köpfen" und ein Kollektiv kann sich jederzeit selbst neu organisieren.’ (Wolf, 2011)</p>
	<p>, kommuniziert nur über den Kurznachrichtendienst Twitter unter @AnonAustria <https://twitter.com/>.’ (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)</p>
	<p>, Die Wurzeln des Kollektivs liegen im - für Nicht-Eingeweihte nur schwer verständlichen - Imageboard 4chan.org <http://www.4chan.org/>, wo Anonymous bereits vor 2008 als Spaßbewegung existierte.’ (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)</p>
Hamburg Anons	<p>, Wir haben als Schwarm aber keine Repräsentanten, die sich an irgendeinen Runden Tisch setzen könnten. Wir arbeiten mit Demonstrationen, Flyern und Aufklärung.’ (Horn, 2011)</p>
	<p>, Wir erkennen also die Charaktere. Die Organisation funktioniert so: Jemand schlägt im Chat ein Thema vor, zum Beispiel dass er es ungerecht findet, wie Sony mit Kunden oder Hackern umgeht. Danach folgen Vorschläge, was zu tun ist, und wir einigen uns auf eine Aktion, ein Projekt, eine Operation. Es ist uns sehr wichtig, dass sich jeder eine eigene Meinung bildet, um dann zu entscheiden: Mache ich mit oder nicht? So kann jeder nach bestem Gewissen handeln. ’ (Horn, 2011)</p>
	<p>, Wir haben verschiedene Kommunikationswege, nutzen aber vornehmlich bereits existierende Plattformen. Je nachdem, was organisiert und/oder geplant werden soll, gibt es passende Dienste. Zum Beispiel der Internet Relay Chat (IRC), aber auch VoiceServer- und VoIP-Dienste, oder - bei Anons, die man schon länger „kennt“ auch mal per Anon-Handy. Das sind dann Prepaid-Handys, die auf unechten Namen laufen. Zudem haben wir ein eigenes Forum und ein Imageboard und nutzen eine Kollaborationsplattform.’ (Sagioglou, 2013)</p>
	<p>, Es ist vielleicht leichter zu verstehen, wenn man Teil der Netzcommunity ist. Viele Leute kennt man einfach unter Nicknamen - da interessieren echte Namen schlichtweg nicht. Da man zusammen arbeiten will und vorrankommen will, gibt es vorher auch keine lange Diskussion darüber, wer wie angesprochen werden will. Ein "Eh du" reicht zum Beispiel auf Protesten vollkommen aus um eine Kommunikation zu starten. Im Idealfall steht die Tatsache, wer eine Person ist und welchen Hintergrund sie hat, vollständig im Hintergrund, und man arbeitet und bewertet eben nur mit dem Input, den sie bringt.’ (Sagioglou, 2013)</p>
	<p>, Den Zugriff auf den haben einige Anons, die schon viele Jahre dabei sind und viele Dinge organisiert haben. Auch liebevoll Postfachsclampen genannt. Die entsprechenden E-Mails werden dann über Kollaborations-Plattformen für die aktiven Veröffentlicht. „Bestimmt“ hat das niemand so - es hat sich halt herauskristallisiert. Danach wird gemeinsam eine Antwort geschrieben und nach großer Zustimmung versendet. Gerade bei Facebook und Twitter sorgen Multi-User-Accounts für Verfügbarkeit und Abwechslung.’ (Sagioglou, 2013)</p>
No hierarchy	
Hamburg Anons	<p>,Eine Hierarchie gibt es nicht. Jeder, der seinen Hintern hochkriegt, kann eine Aktion zu jeder Zeit starten oder ansprechen - und dann schauen, wie weit das Können reicht. Es gibt keine allgemeingültigen Entscheidungen: Einige tun etwas, und wenn es der Mehrheit gefällt, springen weitere auf - oder wenn nicht, alle ab. Anonymous kennt jedoch das Konzept der Ad-Hoc-Leadership - also wenn jemand Kenntnisse auf einem Gebiet besitzt und eben kurz die</p>

	Führung ergreift. Dauert dieses zu lange, gibt es natürlich starke und handfeste Bestrebungen, diese Person aus seiner Rolle zu entfernen. Das ist schon mehrfach passiert.' (Sagioglou, 2013)
Not only online participation	
AnonAustria	,Bei den Hacks agiert meist nur eine kleine Kerngruppe, die je nach Bedarf erweitert wird. Es handelt sich dabei um maximal 5 Personen. Die Anzahl der Aktiven in Österreich ist schwer abzuschätzen - die Anzahl der Personen im Chat steigt ständig und Personen, die mitmachen wollen (sei es im Web oder auf der Straße), gibt es ebenfalls genügend. Dieses Netz reicht wohl weiter als sich viele vorstellen können und es gibt viel Zuspruch aus der Bevölkerung.' (Wolf, 2011)
	,sie könnte mit Streetteams zusammenwirken oder auch nicht' (Wolf, 2011)
Hamburg Anons	, Anonymous ist keine reine Online-Veranstaltung. Aktivisten waren unter anderem Teil der Proteste gegen die Regierung in Spanien.' (Horn, 2011)
	, Eigentlich führen wir sehr viele Gespräche. Nur wissen die meisten nicht, wann sie ein Mitglied von Anonymous vor sich haben. Dass wir direkt angreifen, stimmt auch nicht. Als wir WikiLeaks unterstützt haben, haben wir zur gleichen Zeit überall auf der Welt Flyer verteilt. Unsere Hamburger Zelle arbeitet gegen Scientology, steht jeden Tag auf der Straße, demonstriert und klärt Passanten auf. Davon habe ich in den Medien nichts gehört.' (Horn, 2011)
	, Die Guy-Fawkes-Maske wird von vielen von uns nicht mehr benutzt, da sie inzwischen mit zu vielen anderen Dingen, zum Beispiel Occupy, in Verbindung gebracht wird. Sie stand ursprünglich für eine Zeichentrickfigur („Epic Fail Guy“) und sollte die Identität der Anons bei den Protesten gegen die Sekte Scientology schützen - und Scientology zeigen: „Ihr seid epic fail.“ Bei unseren monatlichen Demonstrationen kommt die Maske aber weiterhin gut an, viele Menschen kennen uns ja mittlerweile und wissen, dass unsere Demonstrationen immer friedlich verlaufen.' (Sagioglou, 2013)
Population	
AnonAustria	, Bei den Hacks agiert meist nur eine kleine Kerngruppe, die je nach Bedarf erweitert wird. Es handelt sich dabei um maximal 5 Personen. Die Anzahl der Aktiven in Österreich ist schwer abzuschätzen - die Anzahl der Personen im Chat steigt ständig und Personen, die mitmachen wollen (sei es im Web oder auf der Straße), gibt es ebenfalls genügend. Dieses Netz reicht wohl weiter als sich viele vorstellen können und es gibt viel Zuspruch aus der Bevölkerung.' (Wolf, 2011)
	, Jeder von uns kann mitmachen, wo er will und es kann auch bei uns jeder mitmachen, egal welche Nationalität.' (Wolf, 2011)
	, offiziell 10.000 Follower auf Twitter hatten' (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
	„,Wer das fragt, disqualifiziert sich bereits. Anonymous wird man nicht, man ist es. Das oberste Gebot der Anonymität ist selbst innerhalb des Kollektivs einzuhalten. Wer sich offiziell als Anonymous-Mitglied outet, ist schon im engsten Wortsinne nicht mehr ‚Anonymous‘.“ (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
Hamburg Anons	, Wir sind eine Gesellschaft, genau wie die deutsche oder jede andere. Wir haben alle Verstand, moralisches Empfinden, und niemand ist auf den Kopf gefallen. Wenn man einem erwachsenen Mann eine Pistole in die Hand drückt, heißt das noch ja auch nicht, dass er auf jemanden schießt. Die meisten werden die Waffe auf die Seite legen. So ist es bei Anonymous auch. Viele Aktionen von uns sind nach dem Gesetz illegal, aber sie sind moralisch und ethisch gerechtfertigt.' (Horn, 2011)
William	, Many people who end up joining Anonymous (and anyone can-there is no initiation rite or rules around membership other than that you try and stay anonymous) often say that they found it through 4chan' (Olson, 2012)
Purpose	
AnonAustria	'Wir wollten unter anderem aufzeigen, dass sich der Bürger nicht auf staatliche oder teilstaatliche Institutionen verlassen kann und sich ziemlich jeder mit Leichtigkeit diese Daten beschaffen kann. Jetzt ist es an der Zeit für die Bürger, dass sie aufstehen und Forderungen an den Staat stellen. Solange alle nur ruhig da sitzen und zusehen, werden wir immer mehr ausgebeutet und es ist an der Zeit, endlich etwas dagegen zu tun.' (Wolf, 2011)
	, Neben den aufsehenerregenden Angriffen auf Behörden und Unternehmen engagiert sich

	Anonymous auch im computerunterstützten Protest gegen Internetkonzerne wie Facebook. „Konzerne, die allzu gerne Daten sammeln und für dubiose und undurchsichtige Geschäfte missbrauchen, landen früher oder später auf unserem Radar - und dann sollten sich diese Firmen schon mal warm anziehen.“ Eine große Aktion gegen Facebook hat Anonymous bereits vor Wochen für den 5. November angekündigt - in einer weltweit konzertierten Attacke soll das Social Network, das mit seiner zweifelhaften Datenschutzpolitik für Schlagzeilen sorgt, nicht nur lahmgelegt werden. Anonymous will auch die Machenschaften rund um den angeblichen Handel mit Benutzerdaten aufdecken.’ (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
Hamburg Anons	, Einige Mitglieder sind politisch motiviert und wollen die Welt verändern, andere die Freiheit des Internets verteidigen.’ (Horn, 2011)
	, Es geht ihnen darum, die Freiheit zu verteidigen, also Meinungs-, Presse- und Informationsfreiheit. Und mit Anonymous können viele ihrer eigenen Stimme mehr Kraft geben. Allein auf der Straße kann man nicht viel unternehmen, aber als Gemeinschaft schon.’ (Horn, 2011)
	,Eigentlich führen wir sehr viele Gespräche. Nur wissen die meisten nicht, wann sie ein Mitglied von Anonymous vor sich haben. Dass wir direkt angreifen, stimmt auch nicht. Als wir WikiLeaks unterstützt haben, haben wir zur gleichen Zeit überall auf der Welt Flyer verteilt. Unsere Hamburger Zelle arbeitet gegen Scientology, steht jeden Tag auf der Straße, demonstriert und klärt Passanten auf. Davon habe ich in den Medien nichts gehört.’ (Horn, 2011)
	, Anonymous ist für mich persönlich eine Möglichkeit meine Meinung zu politischen Dingen zu sagen, ohne dafür meinen Job, meine Familie oder meine Privatsphäre zu gefährden oder mich vor eine Kamera begeben zu müssen. Im Endeffekt sind wir nicht anders als NGOs (nicht staatliche Organisationen, d.Red.) - mit dem Unterschied das wir eben nicht unsere Namen benutzen und teilweise etwas besser vernetzt sind.’ (Sagioglou, 2013)
	, Wir unterstützen den Kampf für ein freies Internet, sind für Netzneutralität und freien Content - weswegen wir alle unsere Arbeiten auch unter den Creative Commons Lizenzen veröffentlichen. Wir unterstützen den Grundgedanken des Internets: Das Internet soll das Leben für die Menschen einfacher machen und eine Bereicherung sein. Und wir stellen uns gegen die menschenverachtende Sekte Scientology - weil es uns Spaß macht. Und weil wir es können.’ (Sagioglou, 2013)
Purpose comes first	
AnonAustria	, Bei den Hacks agiert meist nur eine kleine Kerngruppe, die je nach Bedarf erweitert wird. Es handelt sich dabei um maximal 5 Personen. Die Anzahl der Aktiven in Österreich ist schwer abzuschätzen - die Anzahl der Personen im Chat steigt ständig und Personen, die mitmachen wollen (sei es im Web oder auf der Straße), gibt es ebenfalls genügend. Dieses Netz reicht wohl weiter als sich viele vorstellen können und es gibt viel Zuspruch aus der Bevölkerung.’ (Wolf, 2011)
	, Neben den aufsehenerregenden Angriffen auf Behörden und Unternehmen engagiert sich Anonymous auch im computerunterstützten Protest gegen Internetkonzerne wie Facebook. „Konzerne, die allzu gerne Daten sammeln und für dubiose und undurchsichtige Geschäfte missbrauchen, landen früher oder später auf unserem Radar - und dann sollten sich diese Firmen schon mal warm anziehen.“ Eine große Aktion gegen Facebook hat Anonymous bereits vor Wochen für den 5. November angekündigt - in einer weltweit konzertierten Attacke soll das Social Network, das mit seiner zweifelhaften Datenschutzpolitik für Schlagzeilen sorgt, nicht nur lahmgelegt werden. Anonymous will auch die Machenschaften rund um den angeblichen Handel mit Benutzerdaten aufdecken.’ (Fischer & Mayerl, 2011)
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Social acceptance	
William	'Instead, on 4chan and through Anonymous, he finds both a reason to keep going and profound social acceptance. The kind you can't find anywhere else in the real world.' (Olson, 2012)
	""There are parts of me I can't share with people in real life - parts they won't accept." But in Anonymous-and for William that means 4chan-he could talk about them freely.' (Olson, 2012)
	'... William had already created a new life online.' (Olson, 2012, p. 30)