



Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN – PT NO: 3095/SK/BAN PT/Akred/S/VIII/2019

New Social Movement in The Case of Anonymous' Project
Chanology in 2008
International Organization and Regime

Thesis

Submitted for the Undergraduate Level Thesis Examination
Study of International Relation

By

Brian Timothy

2017330109

Bandung

2021

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Department of International Relations



Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN – PT NO: 3095/SK/BAN PT/Akred/S/VIII/2019

**New Social Movement in The Case of Anonymous' Project
Chanology in 2008**

Thesis

By

Brian Timothy

2017330109

Supervisor

Yulius Purwadi Hermawan, Drs, M.A., Ph.D.

Bandung

2021

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Department of International Relations



Thesis Approval

Name : Brian Timothy
Student ID : 2017330109
Title : New Social Movement in the case of Anonymous'
Project Chanology in 2008

Agreed to be submitted to
the Final Examination
Tangerang, July 13th 2021

Supervisor,

Yulius Purwadi Hermawan, Drs, M.A., Ph.D.

With the acknowledgement of,
Head of International Relation Study Program

Sukawarsini Djelantik, Ph.D.

STATEMENT

I, as undersigned:

Name : Brian Timothy

NPM : 2017330109

Department : International Relations

Title : New Social Movement in the case of Anonymous' Project Chanology in 2008

Hereby declares that this research is a product of my own intellectual work, and is itself unique from others that were previously proposed to gain an academic degree. Ideas, statements, and information acquired from various sources are officially cited in this research in accordance with the generally agreed scientific writing method.

I declare this statement with full responsibility and willing to take any consequences in accordance to academic rules in case this statement is proven to be false.

Tangerang, July 14th
2020,



Brian Timothy
2017330109

ABSTRACT

Name : Brian Timothy

NPM : 2017330109

Thesis Title : New Social Movement in the case of Anonymous' Project Chanology in 2008

Social movement are different from NGOs, but has the similar goal of changing society for the better. The Church of Scientology has been targeted for activism since the 1990s, but most of the efforts were negated due to Scientology's retaliation efforts. In 2008, a massive event named Project Chanology was done by Anonymous and revolutionized activism against Scientology. However, most study argues the event not as a movement despite it having social movement characteristics when compared to a traditional social movements. Additionally, identifying Project Chanology as a social movement provides the perspective which gave birth to Anonymous as a prominent actor of activism and social movements in the future. In the light of new social movement, this research sets out to answer "How could Anonymous' Project Chanology in 2008 itself identify as a new social movement?" To answer this research question, this thesis had appropriated sociological liberalism theory, collective identity concept, new social movement concept, and cyber-activism concept. Sociological liberalism will put Project Chanology in the transnational interaction context where Rosenau's definition describes the interaction between members of Anonymous across the world, while Cerny's definition describes Project Chanology as Anonymous' attempt to influence The Church of Scientology's agenda. Collective identity provides Anonymous' background to conduct Project Chanology and provides one of the characteristics of new social movement. Lastly, new social movement characteristics analysed the remaining social movement qualities of Project Chanology. Cyber-activism will assist in identifying one of the characteristics of new social movement. From the analysis, it was discovered that Project Chanology had all five characteristics of new social movement which makes them a new social movement that attempted to change the agenda of non-state actors in International Relation.

Keywords: new social movement, Anonymous, Project Chanology

ABSTRAK

Nama : Brian Timothy
NPM : 2017330109
Judul : *Gerakan Sosial Baru dalam Kasus Project Chanology Anonymous Pada Tahun 2008*

Gerakan sosial berbeda dengan LSM, tetapi memiliki tujuan yang sama untuk mengubah masyarakat menjadi lebih baik. Gereja Scientology telah menjadi sasaran aktivisme sejak tahun 1990-an, tetapi sebagian besar upaya tersebut tidak berbuah dikarenakan pembalasan oleh Scientology. Pada tahun 2008, sebuah acara besar bernama Project Chanology dilakukan oleh Anonymous dan merevolusi aktivisme melawan Scientology. Namun, sebagian besar penelitian berpendapat bahwa peristiwa tersebut bukan sebagai sebuah gerakan meskipun memiliki ciri-ciri gerakan sosial jika dibandingkan dengan gerakan sosial tradisional. Selain itu, mengidentifikasi Project Chanology sebagai gerakan sosial memberikan perspektif yang melahirkan Anonymous sebagai aktor terkemuka aktivisme dan gerakan sosial di masa depan. Dengan konsep gerakan sosial baru, penelitian ini hendak menjawab “Bagaimana Project Chanology Anonymous pada tahun 2008 dapat mengidentifikasi dirinya sebagai gerakan sosial baru?” Untuk menjawab pertanyaan penelitian ini, tesis ini telah mengadaptasi teori liberalisme sosiologis, konsep identitas kolektif, konsep gerakan sosial baru, dan konsep aktivisme siber. Liberalisme sosiologis akan menempatkan Project Chanology dalam konteks interaksi transnasional di mana definisi Rosenau menggambarkan interaksi antara anggota Anonymous di seluruh dunia, sedangkan definisi Cerny menggambarkan Project Chanology sebagai upaya Anonymous untuk mempengaruhi agenda The Church of Scientology. Identitas kolektif memberikan latar belakang Anonymous untuk melakukan Project Chanology dan menjadi salah satu ciri gerakan sosial baru. Terakhir, karakteristik gerakan sosial baru menganalisis kualitas gerakan sosial yang tersisa dari Project Chanology. Aktivisme siber akan membantu mengidentifikasi salah satu ciri gerakan sosial baru. Dari analisis diketahui bahwa Project Chanology memiliki kelima karakteristik gerakan sosial baru yang menjadikannya sebagai gerakan sosial baru yang berusaha mengubah agenda aktor non-negara dalam Hubungan Internasional.

Kata kunci: gerakan sosial baru, Anonymous, Project Chanology

PREFACE

First, the author would like to express his gratitude to God Almighty for his blessings and wonders in guiding the author in his quest to construct this thesis. Titled “New Social Movement in The Case of Anonymous’ Project Chanology in 2008”, the research in this thesis was to complete his study as a Student of International Relation Department, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Parahyangan Catholic University, Bandung.

The research aimed to identify Anonymous’ Project Chanology in 2008 as a new social movement through analyzing five characteristics of Project Chanology that defines the event as a new social movement. The writer hopes that, through the findings of this thesis, future students and scholars would find interest to rediscover the topic of this research from various different angles. Additionally, the writer hopes this research could introduce new actors of International Relation.

The thesis would have never been finished without the guidance of Yulius Purwadi Hermawan, Ph.D in supervising the formation process. The author acknowledges the imperfections of this research and many of its parts could be further improved. Thus, any form of criticism that may improve this research are welcomed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The process was not simple, both my time during collage and the writing of this thesis. I would like to believe that these people was sent by God and His good graces to help me grow as a son, a student, a friend, and an individual. Without them, I may have never reach this point in my studies; possibly never reached this point in my life as well.

To Mum, Dad, and little sis – thank you for always supporting me in my life. Most of the time, I have not been truthful with what’s on my mind, but you were always one call away. During the making of the thesis, you comfort me while I was in despair. I am forever grateful for all three of you.

To my Bandung family and Syrian comrades – elder brother Dzaky, older sister Cilla, older brother Dana, brother Ahoy, brother Helmut, sister Dea, sister Meggi, sister Vina, sister Echa and brother Aldi. All hove you played the biggest part in my uni life, not just through the academics, but you have also helped me grow to be more mature as a person. Mere words could not describe how much I am thankful for the memories, the moments, the help, and the lessons that all of you have given me. University life might not be as fun as it was without all of you.

To Miranda – you were there from the start to finish in my efforts to finish this thesis. Not only did you helped my during the making of this thesis, but you helped me keep my sanity as I struggle in some parts of it. Thank you for always be concerned of me and accompany me, even when you were having trouble with the work you needed to finish.

To the Pavilion Gang – Alex, William, Raphael, Cua, Ghifar, Sulthan, JP, Nino, Rama, Iqbal, Imay, and Ateng. You guys accepted me in your circle despite

of my flaws. In all honesty, sometimes I still could not believe that you would see me as a friend while most people just push me away due to my attitude. Thank you for being my close friends and sharing your moments with me.

To the discord server and their resident, especially Raya, Rafi, And Aldoruski. You guys were last minute clutch in helping me with my thesis when I was stuck. Let's keep livin' up the discord ay? Especially in the special corner.

To the many friends I made during university, it was a pleasure to your friends as well. I couldn't name you all since there are too much of you, but all of you were never too much for me. Thank you for having me as a friend, a study buddy, a shoulder to cry on, a discussion partner, a not-so-qualified tutor, and many other moments where you generously include me to be part of.

Written in this section is but a fraction on how I feel as I could write an entire thesis if I were to mention every detail in my mind. You all shape me one way or another. There was comradery, conflict, joy, sadness, rage, sorrow; so many moments that flies by in four years of my study. I am proud to say that I did not regret any of them as it all were paths I've taken and crossed, all leading up to this point in my life. Thank you for the stories that I could tell, it was fun.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Thesis Approval.....	i
ABSTRACT.....	iii
<i>ABSTRAK</i>	iv
PREFACE.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURE.....	x
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Research Background.....	1
1.2 Research Problem Identification.....	5
1.2.1 Research Focus.....	8
1.2.2 Research Question.....	8
1.3 Purpose and utility of the research.....	8
1.3.1 Purpose of the research.....	8
1.3.2 Utility of the research.....	9
1.4 Literature Review.....	9
1.5 Theoretical Framework.....	11
1.6 Method of Research and Data Collection.....	18
1.6.1 Method of Research.....	18
1.6.2 Data collection Technique.....	19
1.7 Thesis structure.....	19
CHAPTER II: ANONYMOUS' BACKGROUND FOR PROJECT CHANOLOGY.....	21
2.1 Anonymous' origins.....	21
2.1.1 4chan: the birthplace of Anonymous.....	22
2.1.2 The Anonymity feature in 4chan.....	25
2.2 Early activities of Anonymous.....	26
2.2.1 Posting content and memes.....	26
2.2.2 Trolling.....	28
2.2.3 Hacking.....	29
2.2.4 Raiding.....	32

2.2.5 Networking between members of Anonymous	35
2.3 Anonymous' collective identity as Background for Project Chanology	38
2.4 The Tom Cruise video that triggers Project Chanology.....	44
CHAPTER III: ANALYZING ANONYMOUS' PROJECT CHANOLOGY AS A NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT	49
3.1 Project Chanology's Decentralized organization.....	49
3.2 Ideology of Project Chanology	53
3.3 The disobedient method adopted by Project Chanology.....	57
3.3.1 Action/reaction against Scientology's websites.....	58
3.3.2 Organization/mobilization of Project Chanology	60
3.3.3 Awareness/Advocacy promoted by Project Chanology.....	65
3.3.4 Project Chanology's global protest	69
3.4 Absence of structural relation in Project Chanology	72
CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79

LIST OF FIGURE

Figure 2.1: The Front Page of 4chan.....	25
Figure 2.2: 4chan's technology board and sexy beautiful women board.....	26
Figure 2.3: (left) a swastika made by Habbo characters (right) avatar model used by Anonymous.....	35
Figure 2.4: A thread in 4chan's technology board.....	38
Figure 2.5: Screenshot of Fox News' Anonymous coverage	42
Figure 2.6: Screenshot of Anonymous' Dear Fox News	43
Figure 2.7: Screenshot of the leaked Tom Cruise video	46
Figure 3.1: Anonymous' initial announcement to hack the Church of Scientology's websites	51
Figure 3.2: Anonymous' second thread inviting others in 4chan to participate....	54
Figure 3.3: Mark Bunker's video responding to Anonymous' hacks.....	56
Figure 3.4: Scientology shows up first after typing dangerous cult on google.....	59
Figure 3.5: Screenshot of Anonymous' Message to Scientology video.....	62

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
DDoS	Distributed Denial of Service
RTC	Religious Technology Centre
BLM	Black Lives Matter
NSFW	Not Safe For Work
URL	Uniform Resource Locator
IRC	Internet Relay Chat
SP	Suppressive Person

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

Social movements are collective actions that changes society through a process of activism by those discontent from the conditions they live in.¹ It is an action representing the human rights to freely express ideas, thoughts, and beliefs without the threat of censorship.² During the third industrial revolution throughout the Cold War, social movements contributed to the reformation of society. The triggers for traditional movement are issues closely linked to the existing class structure and economic depression during this time. Leadership in a social movement acts is an important factor, as it acts to unify members of society participating in the movement and help coordinate their activism.³ Traditional social movements are in no shortage of historical figures that lead the success of the movement and producing the change the movement fought for.

Although similar to the role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in which both strive for change, social movements show several distinctions with

¹ Herbert Blumer, "Social movements," In *Social movements*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 1995.; 61-62

² Sandra Smeltzer and Alison Hearn, "Student rights in an age of austerity? 'Security', freedom of expression and the neoliberal university," *Social Movement Studies* 14, no. 3 (2015): 352-358.

³ Aldon D. Morris and Suzanne Staggenborg. "Leadership in social movements," *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (2004): 171-174

these organizations.⁴ Firstly, most social movements have but a singular goal which ends once these goal are reached or the movement fails to result in changes. On the other hand, NGOs tend to have long term goals with multiple issues under the realm where the NGOs operate. Second, traditional social movement offers more freedom in the context of participation where anyone could contribute to a social movement with neither membership nor cost, while the participation of NGOs would require one to be a part of the organization in order to contribute directly or indirectly by funding the operations. Third, social movements tend to indirectly affect the issue through pressurizing methods of activism such as protest or, in some extreme cases, riots or violent revolutions in hopes that the target would provide the changes needed, which differs from NGOs as their efforts for change have a direct approach through conduct of programs that sends members to the source of discontent and help the community fix it.

The Church of Scientology was an international religious institution that had been a subject to various constant activism. They are the official body of the recent religious teaching of Scientology which was created in 1952 in Camden, New Jersey.⁵ Initially, they were recognized as an organization, but representatives of the Church of Scientology made efforts to have their beliefs registered as an organization in order to receive tax-exemption.⁶ Their efforts bore fruit in 1993

⁴ Alex Demirovic, "NGOs and social movements: A study in contrasts," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 9, no. 3 (1998): 83-92.

⁵ The Church of Scientology, "An Introduction to L. Ron Hubbard," <https://www.Ironhubbard.org/ron-series/profile/introduction.html>.

⁶ Derek H.Davis, "The Church of Scientology: In Pursuit of Legal Recognition," *Censor 2004 International Conference. Baylor University, Waco, Texas* (2004), pp 4.

where they were finally recognized as a religious organization in the US.⁷ Structurally, they were a combination of organization and entities connected by the banner of Scientology and each establishment of Scientology's church in different cities acts as their own corporate entity as a licensed franchise. It continues its battle for recognition as a religion in other states where they have established churches and managed to gain recognition from countries such as South Africa, Australia, Sweden, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, and Italy.⁸ The Church's past has shown controversial practices. Some of them includes forced abortion,⁹ death of several people under their medical care,¹⁰ attempts to sabotage critics in order to silence them,¹¹ and excessive use of copyright infringement to censor information regarding Scientology's teaching from circulating on the internet.¹²

Previous activists against the Church including non-believers, former members, and critics of Scientology have made efforts to spread awareness of the Church of Scientology's method in hopes of justice from the various controversies they had done since the 1990s. However, it was hard for them to overcome the threat of the Religious Technology Center (RTC). The organization under the

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ James T Richardson, "Scientology in court: A look at some major cases from various nations," *Scientology* (2009): 285-291.

⁹ Thomas C. Tobin, "No kids allowed," *Tampa Bay Times* (2010), <https://www.tampabay.com/news/scientology/no-kids-allowed/1101759/>

¹⁰ Douglas Frantz, "DISTRUST IN CLEARWATER -- A special report.; Death of a Scientologist Heightens Suspicions in a Florida Town," *The New York Times* (1997), <https://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/01/us/distrust-clearwater-special-report-death-scientologist-heightens-suspicions.html>

¹¹ United States of America v, Jane Kember, Morris Budlong, Sentencing Memorandum; pp. 23-25.

¹² Michael Peckham, "New dimensions of social movement/countermovement interaction: The case of Scientology and its Internet critics." *Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadiens de sociologie* (1998): 317-347.

Church of Scientology who holds the rights for all of Scientology's material, are constantly filing lawsuits and raiding people who potentially possess Scientology materials.¹³ Scientology remained strong despite the allegations. They managed to manipulate facts through misinformation as well as performing legal battles and raids to censor information and critics against the Church, which caused a lot of activists to continue their activity carefully and making sure the Church does not suspect them.

It was until 2008, an important event took place on a global scale. It challenged The Church of Scientology for their controversies, namely the Project Chanology. It was spear headed by Anonymous, the then notoriously known group of internet troublemakers and hackers born from the internet. The goal of this event was to take down scientology's website, hold The Church of Scientology as an institution responsible for their alleged controversies, and to continue spreading awareness of the dangers of Scientology. Project Chanology was met with positive feedback from former activists against Scientology and some prominent characters had even decided to be involved in the event. The peak of the event spanned between 15th of January 2008 to mid-2008 with consistent activism done every month with a consistent theme. Afterwards, it continues with localized activism set up by independent organizers while still representing Project Chanology.

Coverage on Project Chanology was mentioned as one of the few examples of Anonymous' chaotic campaign. Some mentioned it as a mere campaign done

¹³ Theresa A. Lyons, "Scientology or Censorship: You Decide." *REV. LITIG* 747 (1997): 9-16.

impulsively for the amusement of Anonymous members since the potential for chaos was massive.¹⁴ Some suggested that what was done was instead a cyber-crime or act of cyber-terrorism given the fact that the method used during the initial phase of Project Chanology was illegal hacking to take down the website.¹⁵ Due to Anonymous' negative past, most news articles that covered Project Chanology continued to negatively paint Anonymous as a hate group and described the event as a hate crime due to the status of the Church of Scientology as an official religion in some of the countries they resides.¹⁶

1.2 Research Problem Identification

Project Chanology was more than a campaign as it significantly influence both Anonymous as a social movement and activism actor along with future studies of activism. The event turned the infamous group to a well-known activist group that played a crucial role in historic social movements. During the Tunisian revolution in 2011, the government tried to block Tunisia's internet from being able to reach out to the outside world. Anonymous assisted the people of Tunisia by providing an internet add-on to bypass the block.¹⁷ During the Occupy Movement

¹⁴ Daphne C. Elliott "Anonymous rising:[Project Chanology, the campaign waged against the Church of Scientology by a leaderless, decentralised group calling itself Anonymous.]," *LiNQ* 36, no. 2009 (2009): 96-111.

¹⁵ Lee Jarvis, Lella Nouri, and Andrew Whiting, "Terrorism, violence and conflict in the digital age," *Researching Terrorism, Peace and Conflict Studies* Routledge, (2015), pp. 220-221.

¹⁶ Christina Caldwell, "Unmasking Anonymous," *The State Press* (2008), <https://www.statepress.com/article/2008/04/unmasking-anonymous>.

¹⁷ Alcinda Honwana, "Youth and the Tunisian revolution," *Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum policy paper* (2011).

in 2011, Anonymous played a role in helping the internationalization of the movement by creating a video to encourage participation of the movement, which in turn became a global movement against social and economic inequality.¹⁸ They even established their own movement in 2010 to protest against copyright infringement and freedom of access on the internet.¹⁹ Many scholars would agree that without Project Chanology, Anonymous would not transition to a phase of activism and actor of social movement. Additionally, there has been various arguments that Project Chanology revolutionized activism since it introduced new ways activism could have been done which utilized modern technology.²⁰ While electronic communication and social media assisted in coordinating activism and movements, Project Chanology displayed how movements are no longer bound to the physical space, but it was able to be done within the cyberspace.

When compared to some traditional movement, which will be represented by the *solidarnosc* movement in 1990,²¹ Project Chanology should be considered as a social movement. Some key similarities between Chanology and *Solidarnosc* was that both events has the goal to change for the better, where Chanology wanted justice for the Church of Scientology's controversies. This differs to *Solidarnosc* as it aims to abolish the economic struggle caused by Poland's then communist regime. Another was how both events organize the masses to express their dissent

¹⁸ Sasha Costanza-Chock, "Mic check! Media cultures and the Occupy movement," *Social movement studies* 11, no. 3-4 (2012): 375-385.

¹⁹ Jan Jagodzinski, "Anonymous: The Occupy Movement and the Failure of Representational Democracy." *Journal of Social Theory in Art Education* 33, no. 1 (2013): 21-37.

²⁰ Shannon Hurst, "Examining Hacktivism as Performance through the Electronic Disturbance Theater and Anonymous," *Florida state university libraries*, (2013), 77-85.

²¹ Colin Barker, "The rise of *Solidarnosc*." *International Socialism* 108 (2005).
<http://isj.org.uk/the-rise-of-solidarnosc/>

towards the issue through communication organization between participants of the movement. While *solidarnosc* created a bureaucratic body to continue their movement through political participation, Project Chanology utilized modern electronic communication to communicate between participants. Based on the comparison, Project Chanology display the qualities of a social movement.

To help solidify Project Chanology as a movement, the study of social movement has evolved a concept which is the new social movement. The concept was first proposed after the French May incident in 1968,²² and was constantly evolved by scholars such as Alberto Melucci, Jurgen Habermas, and Alain Touraine up until to 1990s.²³ It describes the rise of movements in the western hemisphere which mentions that the traditional concept of social movement could not entirely be analysed through the traditional social movement concept due to its limitation to economic and political issue as well as its background limiting to class structure. The concept does not replace the entirety of the traditional social movement, however it provides a new perspective on how an event could be described as a social movement by analysing how said event possess the characteristics new social movement provides. Additionally, new social movement highlights identity as an important part that drives an actor to conduct a movement. By analysing Project Chanology as a new social movement, it justifies Anonymous' transition to a prominent actor of activism and constant social movement. Thus, this research

²² Juan Ignacio Staricco, "The French May and the roots of postmodern politics," *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia* 53, no. 3 (2012): 447-472.

²³ Simone I. Flynn, "New social movement theory," *Theories of social movements* (2011): 88-99.

would like to put Project Chanology in the light of social movement through an analysis with the perspective of new social movements.

1.2.1 Research Focus

This research focuses on its time period in the year 2008, specifically from January 2008 to mid-2008. The decision was due to 2008 being the year Project Chanology started and peaked in participation number and media coverage, providing the most data as Project Chanology progresses. Therefore, Project Chanology's progression beyond mid-2008 will not be discussed.

1.2.2 Research Question

This thesis addresses the research question "How could Anonymous' Project Chanology in 2008 be identified as a new social movement?"

1.3 Purpose and utility of the research

1.3.1 Purpose of the research

This research aims to study whether Anonymous' Project Chanology identifies as a new social movement in the context of International Relation.

1.3.2 Utility of the research

This research hopes that it would contribute to the study of social movements by being referenced to either study the characteristics of past movement, or to identify future movements with similar fashion. Additionally, this research hopes that its findings help future study of Anonymous through a perspective contextualizing Anonymous as a collective with the capability of enacting social change through movements.

1.4 Literature Review

The first Literature was Christian Fuchs' "The Anonymous Movement in the context of Liberalism and socialism". In his work, Fuchs analyzed Anonymous' collective action as a social movement through identifying Liberalism and socialism qualities in their messages across videos produced by Anonymous.²⁴ The result of his research provides a perspective on Anonymous' movement as it leans more to liberalism perspective rather than socialism, thus helping to understand the values Anonymous represent in their movements. Additionally, due to most of Anonymous' movements being online, he marks them as an entity of cyber-libertarianism, where they believe that the internet should not be regulated and everyone is free to express themselves on the internet by any means necessary.

²⁴ Christian Fuchs, "The Anonymous movement in the context of liberalism and socialism." *Interface: A journal for and about social movements* 5, no. 2 (2013): 345-376.

The next literature titled “New social movement: refugees welcome UK” was by Bucu Togrul Koca provides an analysis on the pro-refugee movement in the United Kingdom during the Syrian refugee crisis in 2011 as a new social movement.²⁵ The analysis identified five characteristics of the movement which includes demands and objectives, social base, organizational structure, social, and location. The identification compared refugees welcome UK to characteristics of new social movements and was discovered to uphold those characteristics which, in turn, conclusively categorize the refugee movement in the United Kingdom as a new social movement.

Last literature comes from Jeroen Van Laer & Peter Van Aelst work titled “Internet Social Movement Action Repertoires: Opportunities and Limitation”. This journal provides an analysis on how social movements could utilize the internet for their benefits which includes the limitations they present.²⁶ Utilization includes increased coordination, ability for transnational demonstration, and new forms of movement such as online petitions, protest websites and hacking. Overall, the result of the analysis shows that the existence of the internet managed to evolve how social movement could be done.

This research is in agreement with the second literature’s method of analysis through a comparison between the social movements in comparison to new social movement characteristics. However, this research uses different characteristics

²⁵ Burcu Togrul Koca, "New Social Movements: Refugees Welcome UK". *European Scientific Journal* 12, no. 2 (2016).

²⁶ Jeroen Van Laer and Peter Van Aelst. "Internet and social movement action repertoires: Opportunities and limitations." *Information, Communication & Society* 13, no. 8 (2010): 1146-1171.

from the five used in the second literature. The last literature provides a point of view which the writer agrees with that the internet has allowed new forms and methods for social movement, and follows suit with this perspective. Although the first literature analyzed a similar topic with this research, the results of this research differ from the result of the first literature and offer a new perspective that categorize Anonymous' social movement as new social movement

1.5 Theoretical Framework

To help the analysis of Anonymous' Project Chanology in 2008 as a new social movement, the theory of sociological liberalism was used along with additional concepts such as the concept of collective identity, the concept of social movement stages, the concept of new social movement characteristics, and the concept of cyber-activism. Sociological liberalism was to analyze Project Chanology as an interaction between Anonymous and the Church of Scientology. The concept of collective identity was used to analyze Anonymous as the actor of social movement. Stages of social movement, new social movement characteristics and cyber-activism method was used to analyze Project Chanology as a new social movement. According to sociological liberalism, International Relations as a study does not limit to interaction between states. Instead, it includes the study of interaction between new actors such as individuals, community, Institution,

Organization, NGOs.²⁷ Interactions between various actors from different parts of the world would be known as transnational interaction.

By James Rosenau's definition, transnational interaction focused on macro level by groups of human and micro level by individual.²⁸ The ability to network between levels was supported with increased networking between individuals through modern communication technology. This results in the argument that through the increasingly simplified means of transnational interaction between non-state actors would result in a system filled with cooperation. Transnational interaction describes the nature of networking between members of Anonymous that utilizes social media and internet based messaging software.

Philip Cerny, in his book titled *Rethinking World Politics: A Theory of Transnational Neopluralism*, provides an insight on how interaction between non-state transnational actors may affect the global structuralization process. Cerny provided four hypothetical scenarios.²⁹ The first scenario is how structural development due to the diverse interaction between actors does not produce a fundamental shift in the international system. This scenario pulls back transnational interactions with fundamental impact to change the international system, limits to the role of states. The second scenario described a transnational social movement as a predominant component with the ability to change the agendas of other actors,

²⁷ Richard Jackson, Georg Sørensen, and Jørgen Møller, *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2019.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Phillip G. Cerny *Rethinking World Politics: A Theory of Transnational Neopluralism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010: 302-306

state and non-state, in the international system. This scenario links two hypotheses of either the creation of a global civil society based on common transnational norms and values or the emergence of self-regulating crosscutting pluralism with growing consensus on international rules of the game and cosmopolitan legal-constitutional practices. The third scenario shows how economic actors would dominate global structuralization, standing above other actors, and shape international society in an economic fashion. The last Scenario describes how neither of the three scenarios would take place where states, social movements, and economic actors hold no majority power to steer the global structuralization process. In Project Chanology, the second scenario describes Anonymous' attempt to influence the Church of Scientology.

The next concept used was the characteristic of new social movements. For this research, Enrique Larana's eight characteristics of new social movements will be used to analyse Project Chanology.³⁰ His argument states that all eight characteristics need not be present to identify a new social movement. Therefore, this researcher chose five out of the eighth characteristics from his book titled *New social movements: From ideology to identity*. The first characteristic of new social movements is the decentralization from any form of structure and organization.³¹ Melucci adds to this argument stating that new social movements tend to want to achieve their goal as quickly as possible while lacking genuine strategy.³² The key

³⁰ Enrique Laraña, *New social movements: From ideology to identity*, Temple University Press, 2009.

³¹ *Ibid*, 8-9

³² Alberto Melucci, "The new social movements: A theoretical approach." *Social science information* 19, no. 2 (1980): 2020

in identifying the first characteristic is through observing the flow of a movement and how they do not: a) have a leading figure and b) form a bureaucratic body. The second characteristic is the freedom of ideology behind new social movements.³³ While traditional social movements based their ideology from economic discontent and class struggles, new social movements are free to base their movement on any values, norms, or ideology. The ideology adopted by a movement are usually tied to the identity of the group behind the movement. The key in identifying the second characteristic is to understand what ideology a movement tries to put forward. The third characteristic is the presence of new identity in the social movement. The context of identity provides background of a movement by understanding the identity of the group behind it. New identity refers to a collective or community that is not usually in the forefront to represent a social movement. In the case of a new social movement, collective identity becomes the unifying factor to some extent. The key to detect this characteristic in a new social movement was through identifying the new identity behind the movement. The fourth characteristic is the use of peaceful yet disobedient methods of activism during the process of new social movements.³⁴ Recent social movements considered as new are most likely not to use violent methods of activism such as riots or vandalism. The method they prefer is a dynamic display of expression to their discontent, which include methods like protests or marches. It is also possible to include other methods of activism of a social movement so long as said method does not directly harm the target,

³³ Larana, 2009, 6-7

³⁴ Laraña, 2009 : 8

bystanders, and harm any public infrastructure in the process. The key in identifying the third characteristic is by observing the disobedient method used during the social movement. The final characteristic of new social movements are the absence of structural relation between the participants of the movement.³⁵ This characteristic shows diversity between participants from the structural roots which varies by profession, age, gender, and social structure. Despite their differences, these diverse groups of people still unite to participate in the social movement. The key to detect this characteristic in a social movement requires proof of diversity, either directly through visual observation, or a statement confirming said diversity. Analysis of new social movement theory in Project Chanology was done through identifying the five characteristics in the progression of Project Chanology

The next concept comes from Polletta and Jasper, which states that the existence of collective identity helps understand social movements. Additionally, Laraña had also suggested that the role of identity in new social movements are more apparent due to its role to add background context to the analysis of new social movement.³⁶ Collective identity is defined as a bond between individuals and a community which distinct from the personal identity, however plays a part in shaping an individual's identity.³⁷ The bond between individuals and the community are culturally expressed through direct methods that instantly represent the individual as part of said community. Direct expressions are shown through

³⁵ Ibid: 6

³⁶ Ibid: 18

³⁷ Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper. "Collective identity and social movements." *Annual review of Sociology* 27, no. 1 (2001): 283

cultural materials such as names, narratives, symbols, verbal styles, rituals, clothes, and many more that could possibly be a medium to represent the expression.

Additionally, the concept of collective identity contributes to the analysis of social movement by providing answers to four questions.³⁸ First, it answers why a social movement emerges when they do. It was stated that an identity formed around an issue explains the historical context for when a social movement bearing said issue emerges. Second, collective identity answers the reason behind the choice of activism method used during the movement.³⁹ As previously mentioned, the expression of a collective identity may be apparent through various cultural forms. While the existence of a collective identity helps contribute to the existence of social movements, the method used during the movement as a form of expression of the identity behind the movement. Third, collective identity provides an answer to what motivates members of a community to partake in the movement. A solid community with a strong collective identity behind it would need no other reason for participating in a social movement created by the collective. Participants receive no incentive of any kind, nor were they forced to participate. Lastly, collective identity answers how it acts to receive the cultural result of a social movement. Cultural results of a social movement are the changes outside the political sphere. Some examples include social norm, cultural representation, and perspective towards the actors. Collective identity will be used to analyse Anonymous'

³⁸ Ibid, 284

³⁹ Ibid

background for Project Chanology along with identifying the characteristic of new identity in new social movements.

Additional concept used for the analysis is Sandor Vegh's cyber-activism. According to Vegh, cyber-activism in movements are utilized in three forms namely awareness/advocacy, organization/mobilization, and action/reaction.⁴⁰ Awareness/advocacy is the use of the internet to spread information regarding the cause of activism. This form utilizes existing social media such as Twitter, Instagram or YouTube as well as creating websites to post or spread awareness to an existing issue by providing data and information supporting the claim. The BLM movement utilized this form of cyber-activism with the popularization of #blacklivesmatter on Twitter and the website blacklivesmatter.com. Tunisian revolution movement utilized this form by using social media to spread the awareness of their movement to the outside world. Organization/mobilization is a form that uses the internet as an invitation to conduct an activity.⁴¹ There are three ways organization/mobilization is used. The first one is used to conduct an offline activity, second is used to conduct a usually offline activity but alternatively could be done online. The third use is to conduct an online activity. This form, similar to awareness/advocacy use of websites and social media, announce the intention to take action by providing information of either time or location of the event through their dedicated media. However, this form usually comes following awareness/advocacy. Action/reaction is an online attack form directed at the target

⁴⁰ Sandor Vegh, M. D. Ayers, and M. McCaughey. "Classifying forms of online activism," *Cyberactivism: Online activism in theory and practice* (2003): 71-78.

⁴¹ Ibid

of a movement. This form shows the method of activism through hacktivism which utilized network disrupting methods to express discontent. An example of hacktivism are distributed denial of service (DDoS), which overloads a server hosting a website or program and causing it to slow down or rendering it inaccessible for access. Analyzing the presence and form of cyber-activism in Project Chanology contributes to identify the method used by Anonymous as part of new social movement characteristic.

1.6 Method of Research and Data Collection

1.6.1 Method of Research

This analysis will use John Creswell's qualitative research model, specifically through the method case study.⁴² This method, despite similarity to the narrative method, has the goal to provide insight to the issue in the selected case. However, its difference to narrative study is how case study builds an in-depth contextual understanding of the case through multiple data sources. Through the appropriation of this method, this thesis provides an insight to Anonymous' Project Chanology in the context of new social movement by identifying its characteristics according to the theories and concepts listed in the theoretical framework.

⁴² John W. Creswell, William E. Hanson, Vicki L. Clark Plano, and Alejandro Morales, "Qualitative research designs: Selection and implementation," *The counseling psychologist* 35, no. 2 (2007): 245-248.

1.6.2 Data collection Technique

Source of data for the research referenced primary and secondary data sources. The primary data includes the threads, videos, and forum posts made by members of Anonymous. Videos are available on YouTube in the form of repost from the original post. Forum posts could be accessed at Anonymous' whyweprotest.net website. The secondary data includes news articles and books that provide arguments and additional data to strengthen the analysis of this research which could be accessed through the internet. The books used are downloaded in the form of E-book. News and articles could be accessed through either their original websites or through the Wayback Machine, which archives news and articles that do not exist on their original websites.

1.7 Thesis structure

The first chapter provides an introduction to the research providing background explanation on traditional social movements, identification on how that tradition has change with new social movements and methods of activism, research limitation, research question, purpose and utility of the research, literature review, theoretical framework that contextualized and utilized in this research, and the method of this research.

The second chapter provides discussion regarding Anonymous' background as an eligible actor to conduct social movements. The chapter analyzes the origins and past activities of Anonymous and how they shape a collective identity, which

helps to identify the second characteristic of Project Chanology as a new social movement. The identity motivated Anonymous to fight against the Church of Scientology is due to the disappearance of a Scientology made video from YouTube.

The Third chapter analysed the remaining four characteristics of new social movement. It starts with identifying the decentralized nature of the movement where no structural organization was made for Project Chanology. Second was analysing the dynamic ideology adopted throughout the movement that changes based on how the movement progressed and input from long-time activist against Scientology. Third was the analysis of the methods used in Chanology which includes three forms of cyber-activism and a global protest. Lastly, the chapter analysed the absence of structural relation and diversity of participants contributing to Project Chanology.

The last chapter provides the conclusion of this research. It includes answering the established research question of the thesis, how it contributes to the study of social movement, and several shortcomings of the research.