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Mechanics of Manipulation: A Comparative Analysis of Orwell's *1984* and Chomsky's Propaganda Model

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Abstract

1984 by George Orwell is a remarkable book which can be used to explain the symbiotic relationship between mass media and institutional structures. By using the propaganda model introduced and popularized by Edward S. Herman and Naom Chomsky, this paper intends to assess the components which are used to prompt a certain group of people to fall under a despotic influence where citizens, willingly, yet unwittingly, submit their agency to mass domination. In the process, this paper will investigate the agency of mass media in producing such willing but unwitting submissive citizens much like how "Big Brother" manipulated the citizens of "Oceania" into embracing the cult-like government system. This qualitative research applied the close reading method to thoroughly analyze the interdisciplinary point of view of both media discourse and the totalitarian mindset of powerful institutional structures, like the Party. In their book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Herman and Chomsky identifies five media filters to explain the mechanism on which the media industry operates. In *1984*, we see Orwell explaining through Emmanuel Goldstein's book "The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism", how instruments like posters, telescreens, certain ideologies, fabricated news etc. are used to manipulate the perception of reality of the citizens. This paper made a comparative analysis to measure up which of these filters are applicable to the scenario of *1984*. The ambit of this paper will be limited to scrutiny of the mechanism which enables all-powerful authority to come into existence rather than investigation of the impact of all-powerful authority on citizens.

Keywords: *Mass Media Control, Public Opinion Shaping, State Apparatus, Propaganda Model, Totalitarianism.*

Introduction

The dystopian novel *1984* by George Orwell portrays a totalitarian society governed by the Party which is led by Big Brother. The regime uses mechanisms like propaganda, surveillance, and alteration of the past/history in order to control almost every aspect of civilians' life, including thoughts. It seems that Orwell's intention in producing such a

wonderful, yet sinister novel was to warn against the rise of autocratic power and identify the techniques used to influence the mindset of the citizen. Reflecting his personal experience from the Spanish Civil War, and understanding the devices used by authoritarians like Hitler and Stalin, Orwell presented the truth about manipulation and effect of propaganda in most of his writings. In 1984, Winston Smith worked in the Ministry of Truth where his job is to rewrite history to align with the Party's ideology. Soon, Winston realizes how the oppressive system is dehumanizing them in order to maintain control over the citizens.

Althusser (1971) suggests that the state operates on the basis of "state apparatus" which helps it maintain control over the society. Repressive state apparatus (RSA) includes police, military, judiciary etc. to force the citizen into submission. Another one is ideological state apparatus (ISA). It includes institutions like school, religion, media etc. which can be used to influence the thought process of the people of that society (Althusser & Brewster, 1971). In the novel, we see the use of both apparatus in action. Moreover, we see how the Party uses ideological apparatus like the media and cult-like slogans to shape the people's view of the rest of the world. The dominant ideologies, Ingsoc, Neo-Bolshevism and Death-Worship, of the three superstates Oceania, Eurasia, and Eastasia are so severely influential that the three states are adamant to accept any other ideology other than their owns and are in constant fear of each other. Media aids the process of spreading fear. When the media, whose influence is pervasive in the lives of the common man, demonstrates preferential treatment to monolithic, frequently censoring government agencies or privatized corporations, we have to assume that society is operating under the format of a systematic propaganda model. The goal of this study is to contribute to the ongoing discourse on how power structures use media to influence, manipulate and form public opinion for their own benefit. This study brings a fresh perspective on *1984* by using five media filters suggested by Chomsky and Herman in their book. This paper critically analyzes the manifesto called "The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism" by supposed Brotherhood leader Emmanuel Goldstein. This part of the book discusses how manipulation works and what are the mechanisms which The Party applied to create unwitting public support. Doublethink, telescreen, newspeak, thought police, and the slogans are part of the mechanisms. By analyzing the mechanisms from the perspective of five filters, this paper aims to demonstrate the intricate and powerful link between media and institutional structures.

Bernays (1947) points out that,

"There are two main divisions of (this) communication system which maintain social cohesion. On the first level there are the commercial media.... On the second level there are the specialized media owned and operated by the many organized groups..."

Projections of the same thought can be found in the work of Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman's *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (2011) where they explained the framework which clarifies the function of biased media and how it reflects the interest of powerful elites and institutions by means of shaping news and information in the capitalist society. They emphasize that the structural and economical

factors collectively create an environment where certain viewpoints and narratives receive privileges, while other news receives less than needed attention. Thus, the media manipulates the common man into prioritizing certain news which perpetuates the interest of powerful elites and institutions. The filters of the propaganda model are used to shape the news and restrict diverse perspectives, ultimately benefiting the power structures. Media “manufactures consent” by presenting selective stories that support the corporate or governmental interest and ideologies, and limit critical thinking of the citizen.

This paper aims to explore the alignment between Orwell’s concept of media manipulation and control in *1984* and Herman and Chomsky’s propaganda model. By investigating both works, I aim to highlight how ideological and totalitarian control mechanisms influence public opinion and perception and suppress defiance. Since the purpose of this paper is to analyze the mechanism of propaganda at work, this paper will not discuss whether the movements materialized by the ideologies are good or evil for society or the economy or not. However, this research is primarily a literary analysis focused on textual interpretation rather than empirical one. Moreover, this paper discusses the theoretical framework of the propaganda model which was based on mainstream media. Therefore, this may not fully accommodate the changing scenario of recent media to some extent. Finally, since this study addresses only two texts, its findings may not be generalizable to other forms of media manipulation or propaganda schemes used by powerful institutions. These limitations leave room for future studies, especially considering the evolving dynamics of digital and social media platforms.

Literature Review

Media and its influence is a critical area of research in the modern world. How the media controls public perception is one of the main points Orwell was trying to make through his novel *1984*. Scholars have been trying to make a connection between Orwell’s dystopian vision with the modern media discourse. González and Ana (2021), Premanand and Kasirajan (2020), Fajri and Noverino (2019), and Jic (2010) offer insightful analyses into the intersection of media, ideology, and power, demonstrating how Orwell’s work remains relevant today.

González and Ana (2021) deduced from their analysis on Orwell's *1984* and the miniseries *The Loudest Voice* that people’s view of the world depends on the stories they perceive from mass media and it can easily distort the reality of the viewer. Their work marks the importance of critical thinking and identifying stereotyping in order to keep their original thoughts intact and to objectively look into social issues. González and Ana (2021) implied that the powerhouses use stereotypes and selective language to create narratives through which people can be easily influenced. They point out how the Party changed history and literary facts constantly to secure public support and suppress disagreement. Winston finds this to be a problem since the Party wants everyone to hold the same view of the world as they did.

According to Premanand and Kasirajan (2020), technology is largely responsible for making media a powerful tool which is strategically used to shape people’s understanding of the world to the point where they stop questioning what is placed before them. Political parties use this manipulation technique to reroute people’s opinion in their favor. Their research

indicates the dangers of the totalitarian mindset of governments which will result in loss of freedom of the people, ultimately limiting the free will. Premanand and Kasirajan (2020) also suggest that the use of media like posters and coins create some sort of brand value for the political leaders and their ideas. Thus, media actively contribute to making/influencing people with false ideas as true, as we can see in *1984* with phrases like "WAR IS PEACE", "FREEDOM IS SLAVERY", "IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH" (Orwell, 2019, p.26). They point out that language plays a crucial role in influencing thoughts by depicting positive or negative images.

Fajri and Noverino (2019) thoroughly analyzed the background and philosophical ideas of Gadamer and Habermas in order to understand what Orwell was deliberately giving hints about in the novel *1984*. Their finding suggests that both Orwell and Habermas endorsed that to rise against the totalitarian system people must engage in rational communication to ensure individual freedom. Fajri and Noverino (2019) deduced that the Party which was led by Big Brother uses four ideological tools to keep the individual freedom in check. They are Newspeak, Doublethink, Thought-Police, and Telescreen. The researchers criticized the practice of using ideology by making a comparison between the historical context of Orwell's time and today's late-capitalism era. Their paper also suggests how, with the use of power and technology, power hungry people can manipulate communication by presenting fake news and practicing emotional politics, much like in *1984*.

Jic (2010) states that *1984* is

“Just another proof that in order to move towards a complete understanding of what totalitarianism represented in the history of humanity, one cannot neglect the psychological mechanisms that enabled it to spread and remain into force... by producing severe mutation at the deepest level of human consciousness.”

Jic (2010) brought Maslow's Theory of Human Motivation to explain the control mechanism of totalitarian regime. Maslow in his theory explains how human beings operate on psychological, safety, social, esteem and self-actualization needs. Totalitarian system exploits psychological distress, restricted food supplies, and extreme work hours to create a false sense of anxiety to manipulate individuals and maintain control. Jic (2010) states that mental distress limits human capacity for critical thinking, lack of nutrition causes health deterioration and compliance, and long working hours causes chronic fatigue. The Party also prohibits sexual satisfaction to prevent loyalty to anyone other than the Party itself. Familial bonds between partners or children are frowned upon and betrayal is encouraged by the Party. The process of dehumanization eliminates any feeling of empathy opening the door for oppressors to manipulate citizens without guilt.

Research Questions

Q1. What are the indicators of the symbiotic relationship between mass media and institutional structure in 1984?

Q2. To what extent the filters identified by Herman and Chomsky (2011) fit in the reality of 1984?

Method

The paper uses the qualitative research approach to investigate the relationship between mass media and institutional power houses which combinedly influences perception of the citizens of Oceania in Orwell's 1984. The close reading method, being the primary method, I have analyzed Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman's *Manufacturing Consent* to assess the workings of media and its manipulation techniques. The textual analysis of the both texts helped this paper to identify research questions and find definite answers.

Careful considerations were given to specific chapters and passages of both 1984 and *Manufacturing Consent* based on their relevance to mass media manipulation, censorship and ideological control. In 1984, passages dealing with the role of the Ministry of Truth, Goldstein's book "The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism", the concept of doublethink are examined. In *Manufacturing Consent*, close analysis is focused on the parts where the propaganda model is outlined, particularly the five filters which are ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak and ideology.

The close reading method allowed me to find elaborate answers to the questions posed in the research question section. The discussion section attempts to answer the first question i.e the indicators of dependency of power institutions on media by assessing what mechanisms were used to form a collective mind who submitted their freedom to the despotic authority in 1984. This section discusses the manifesto written by the Party itself to rationalize the Party's strategy applied for mass domination. Moreover, this paper discusses the reality after the application of those mechanisms over the citizens of Oceania. This paper has combed out filters which provide substantial evidence of symbiotic relationship between mass media and institutional structures, either state related or otherwise. And finally, the discussion section shows how, of the five filters, only three can be sought to explain the mechanism of mass control in 1984.

Discussion

1. "The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism" by Emmanuel Goldstein

In the novel, Winston is provided with a book called "The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism" by supposed Brotherhood leader Emmanuel Goldstein. This piece of literature, although fictional within the world of 1984, serves as a mouthpiece for Orwell where he offers his own commentary on politics of the dystopian world of his creation. To the characters in the novel, this book is the manifesto which provides the readers with insights of the inside of the Party. This manifesto explains the Party's strategy to manipulate public opinion and maintain control over the population. It is revealed in

the later part of the novel that the book is the creation of the Party members themselves. Paradoxically, this is the only literary piece that accurately captures reality while remaining out of reach for the general public in contrast to other widely available pieces that present a fictitious reality. This manifesto is only reserved for the Party members who are in control of the reality.

As appeared in sequence, in the chapter 3 (titled "War is Peace ") of "The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism", Goldstein describes how it is important for the Party to maintain a perpetual state of warfare in order to keep people disoriented and distract from the real picture, which is the miserable state of their existence (Orwell, 2019). Goldstein in the book writes, "The primary aim of modern warfare(...) is to use up the products of the machine without raising the general standard of living" (Orwell, 2019, p.186). He explains that once the mass population

"Worked short hours, had enough to eat, lived in a house with a bathroom and a refrigerator, and possessed a motor-car or even an aeroplane, the most obvious and perhaps the most important form of inequality would already have disappeared"(Orwell, 2019, p. 187)

However, this said inequality needs to exist because if the mass people become comfortable, they would focus on other "luxuries" like education and they would start thinking for themselves which soon leads to realization that the privileged minority, who was once in control of the power, has no function. Certain ideas, like war with either Eastasia or Eurasia, are promoted and repeated constantly through propaganda in order to maintain control and distract the population from their own oppression. The three superstates in the novel, Oceania, Eurasia, and Eastasia, hold their own sets of philosophy. In Oceania, it is Ingsoc, or English Socialism, in Eurasia it is Neo-Bolshevism and in Eastasia it is known in a Chinese term which translates into Death-Worship. By restricting their access to alternative ideologies, the Party ensures that the citizens of Oceania remain loyal to Ingsoc.

In chapter 1 (titled "Ignorance is Strength") of Goldstein's book "The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism" he distinguishes three sections of people in the fictive world (Orwell, 2019). The High people want to maintain homeostasis whereas the Middle wants to become High. The Low, when they are not occupied with their own survival, aims to annihilate the class system and re-build a society where there is no inequality. In this struggle, the Middle forms an alliance with the Low to overthrow the High. However, once the Middle reaches High, they put Low in their original position to maintain their own power and privilege, perpetuating the cycle of inequality. As a matter of fact, this class division is sought after, if not inescapable. A school of thinkers recognizes this pattern in history and concludes that "inequality was the unalterable law of human life"(Orwell, 2019, p.199). The party cultivates this pattern and exploits it in order to "arrest progress and freeze history at a chosen moment"(Orwell, 2019, p. 200). The new aristocrats aka the Party consists of the "most part of bureaucrats, scientists, technicians, trade-union organizers, publicity experts, sociologists, teachers, journalists, and professional politicians" (Orwell, 2019, p. 201). According to Goldstein, in the past, tyrants were not as efficient as the tyrants of these days due to lack of technological advancements and resources. It was not possible to keep citizens under constant surveillance. However, the introduction of media in the

form of print, expedited the manipulation of information and the ability to control the narrative (Orwell, 2019). Other forms of media such as film and radio facilitated the process further. The receiving and transmitting device, the telescreen, along with a section repressive state apparatus, the Thought Police, have proven to be the most effective of them all in terms of controlling public behaviour and private thoughts. As a result, the Party managed to enforce total conformity of obedient citizens to the will of the state for the first time.

The citizens of the three superstates are kept isolated for a reason. Because of the restriction of information and disinformation, the mass population has no note to compare. The need for revolt comes if the mass think they are being oppressed. The heart of this operation is the Big Brother. Goldstein's book says, "Big Brother is infallible and all-powerful. Every success, every achievement, every victory, every scientific discovery, all knowledge, all wisdom, all happiness, all virtue, are held to issue directly from his leadership and inspiration" (Orwell, 2019, p. 204). The slogans, the news, and the institutions serve to uphold the invincible and immortal imagery of Big Brother.

Further, in the book, Goldstein proceeds to explain that the Party disguises itself in the form of Big Brother and that there are two layers of the Party, Inner Party and the Outer Party. The Inner Party consists of roughly two percent of the population of Oceania and of the elite members who hold the actual power and privileges, while the Outer Party consists of the lower-ranking members who carry out the orders of the Inner Party. At the base of this hierarchy is the Proles. They make up the eighty-five percent of the population, who "pass constantly from conqueror to conqueror, are not a permanent or necessary part of the structure"(Orwell, 2019, p. 204). As for the citizens, "All the beliefs, habits, tastes and emotions, mental attitudes that characterize our time are really designed to sustain the mystique of the Party and prevent the true nature of present-day society from being perceived". (Orwell, 2019, p. 206).

The first line of discipline is taught in early childhood which is called "Crimestop", referring to the ability to stop oneself from having any thoughts or feelings that could potentially challenge or question the authority of the Party.

Goldstein proceeds to explain the mechanism of mass control through the media. Since Big Brother is perceived as infallible, everything it does must be infallible too. That is, every prediction it makes must become reality, every day must be better than the previous day, every person must love Big Brother, every narrative in the past which can incriminate Big Brother must not exist and so on. In order to present Big Brother infallibly, "the speeches, statistics, and records of every kind must be constantly brought up to date..."(Orwell, 2019, p. 208). The citizens of Oceania tolerate the present condition because this is the only condition they have known. To aid the process, the Party introduced "Doublethink", or in oldspak it is known as reality control. Doublethink is the ability to hold contradictory beliefs or accept contradictory information without recognizing the contradiction. So, people in Oceania are able to simultaneously believe that Big Brother is always right and that the Party's predictions are infallible, even when faced with dire adversity. When the Party publishes that Oceania is at war with Eastasia, the citizens wholeheartedly accept this information and even come to believe that Oceania has always been at war with Eastasia.

When the Party says two plus two is five, they apply doublethink to convince themselves that this statement is true, even though their logical reasoning tells them otherwise. The only tool that could have proved Big Brother wrong was the media because it keeps a record of history and past. The symbiotic relationship between the Party and the media made it impossible for citizens to think freely. They only have their memory to rely on, like Winston did. Even that memory is being manipulated through doublethink.

2. Mechanism of thought control: Reality in *1984*

The prescription mold in Goldstein's literature is the reality of the Ingsoc. Airstrip One is the playground for the members of the Inner Party or the High as Goldstein categorized. Orwell displays an amazing outcome of successful thought control mechanisms through the state of the Proles or the Low. Even though they exist in large numbers, they are completely oblivious to their collective power. Winston, in his diary, writes about the proles, "Until they become conscious, they will never rebel. and until after they have rebelled, they cannot become conscious." (Orwell, 2019, p. 77). The success of the Party's propaganda lies in the utter control of the Proles. Despite not possessing a telescreen, Proles are not immune to Party's intentional misinformation and disinformation. The enforcement of Thought Police suppresses anyone susceptible to causing inconvenience to the Party. The Proles are fed with questionable information that they can neither confirm nor deny, resulting in general confusion among them. This mechanism is pervasive in the citizens of Ingsoc as well. Orwell explains, "The war is waged by each ruling group against its own subjects, and the object of the war is not to make or prevent conquest of territory, but to keep the structure of society intact"(Orwell, 2019, p. 196). By forcing the citizens to be occupied with trivial matters and installing distrust among each other, the Party makes sure that they remain non-political and focus on their own survival. This isolation is exercised not only among the citizens but also among the superstates as well. The philosophy of the Ingsoc, Neo-Bolshevism and Death-Worship are kept separated from each other in order to maintain control over the masses. The strategic idea of separation is that each member of the respective superstates will not realize their own state of being.

The mechanism of thought control explicitly involves extensive use of media such as telescreen, propaganda films and literature, party slogans and Newspeaks. The Telescreen not only serves as a device of surveillance but also is a constant reminder of the Party's presence and power.

"But at any rate they (the Party) could plug in your wire whenever they wanted to. You had to live- did live, from habit that became instinct- in the assumption that every sound you made was overheard, and, except in darkness, every movement scrutinized." (Orwell, 2019, p. 14).

The Telescreen/media becomes the RSA by installing fear and repressing thoughts of rebels in the process.

The people, nation, even nation before Ingsoc is nothing but fable. What was once Great Britain is now reconstructed as Airstrip One. The hold of the Party is so tremendous, the factual reality is no more real. The unquestionable facts such as names and number of years

are as good as dreams. The success of Big Brother and the party can be attributed to this particular technique of thought control. The control of information to the extent that individuals are unable to differentiate from reality to fiction. Reality can be changed at the will of the party into whichever it has its inclination at that given point in time. Winston himself contributes in rewriting the past as part of his job description. Orwell states,

'Comrade Ogilvy, unimagined an hour ago, was now a fact. Comrade Ogilvy, who had never existed in the present, now existed in the past, and when once the act of forgery was forgotten, he would exist just as authentically, and upon the same evidence, as Charlemagne or Julius Caesar'(Orwell, 2019, p. 55).

The Ministry of Truth plays a significant part, especially the Record Department, in propagating and altering records of the past and thus manipulating people's perception of reality.

“And the Records Department, after all, was itself only a single branch of the Ministry of Truth, whose primary job was not to reconstruct the past but to supply the citizens of Oceania with newspapers, films, textbooks, telescreen programmes, plays, novels – with every conceivable kind of information, instruction or entertainment, from a statue to a slogan, from a lyric poem to a biological treatise, and from a child’s spelling book to a Newspeak dictionary.” (Orwell, 2019, p.51).

The news continuously telecast the statistics on how the recent year is more prolific and in compared with last year there is “more food, more clothes, more houses, more furniture, more cooking-pots, more fuel, more shipped, more helicopters, more books, more babies-more of everything except diseases, crime and insanity” (Orwell, 2019, p.65). Big Brother chooses to telecast the content which suits its purpose. Selective preferential treatment to fabricated news is part of the Party’s strategy to manipulate public opinion and maintain the infallible image of Big Brother. Winston and his colleagues participate in a demonstration to thank big brother because the ration of chocolate has been raised twenty percent. But Winston contemplates that only the day before there was an announcement on the reduction of the ratio of chocolate to twenty grams in the upcoming week. Winston, like us, wonders "Was he, then, alone in the possession of a memory?" (Orwell, 2019, p.65). Orwell provides us with the answer as to why only Winston remembers. The Party forces the masses to self-discipline the mind, and because Winston failed to do so, he remembers the reality differently from the rest of the people. The Party believes that only a disciplined mind can see the reality because the reality does not exist external to the human mind. It exists inside the mind. Only by surrendering the mind to the Party, one can truly be free. O'Brien explains that once the Party converts the mind, it captures the inner mind which lets it reshape the person. He says, “The command of the old despotism was ‘Thou shalt not’. The command of the totalitarians was ‘Thou shalt’. Our command is ‘Thou art’”(Orwell, 2019, p.250)

3. Manufacturing consent through propaganda

Propaganda works through the art of manipulation. The premise for manipulation can often be found in interpersonal relationships, social conventions, the need to fit in with a

particular group, or even in ordinary everyday actions. Often these manipulations typically go unnoticed by the people. Manipulation appears to be a connection process that connects mind to mind without practicing physical exertion. Thus, there is no tangible evidence of manipulation. The process of manipulation broadly follows the systematic use of propaganda models. Presentation of news and information are key elements when it comes to forming/framing certain ideologies that are intended to serve the best interest of certain groups. For the west, Hamas is a terrorist group, for Palestine the same group is their freedom fighter. Readers can certainly observe such manipulation techniques used by Big Brother in 1984. The ever-changing news about the alliance of Oceania, the activities of the Party members, the movies intended to publicize hatred are all the elements of systematic manipulation techniques.

Herman and Chomsky (2011) put forward the notion that the basis of media activity vastly relies on ideological premises set forth by certain dominant groups. Ideologies give birth to movements. For example, in recent years we see how liberalism gave birth to civil liberties, LGBTQ+ rights movements; conservatism produced anti-immigration, anti-Muslim movements; nationalism introduced alt-right groups, feminism set motion to #MeToo movement and so on. In 1984, we see that ideologies like totalitarianism which give rise to mass surveillance and mass media control, conservatism prohibiting sex for pleasure, anti-individualism eradicating personal identity, independent thinking, and emotional connection among each citizen dominate the citizens of Oceania. These ideologies carefully culminated into socially and politically organized movements.

4. The framework of the filters

These days one may ask which country possesses the dominant force that sets the rules for the rest of the world. Thanks to the Hollywood industry, many millennials had the rough idea (at least, through the representation of it) that it is America that dominates the world. Indeed America, after the fall of the Soviet Union, has managed to get its way up to the top as a singular superpower while demonstrating raw power and thus governing the worldwide institutions. The world was unipolar for a while. The result of which we can observe through the immense involvement of America, in the name of foreign policy, into the third world elections and such. Herman and Chomsky (2011) emphasize that the elections of the third world are ideal testing grounds for the propaganda model. However, standing in 2024 it can be clearly seen that the power dynamic has shifted significantly. With the Ukraine-Russia war, the revolts of China and Korea in terms of economy have demonstrated that the unipolar world is no longer here. Indeed, the superpower as we know is really the giant multinational corporations who disguise themselves under the hood of political agencies.

Herman and Chomsky (2011) indicated,

“A propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the route by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their message across to the public.” (Herman & Chomsky, 2011, p.65)

The filters through which the news reaches people are media ownership, advertising revenue, sourcing of news, flak and anticommunism (Herman & Chomsky, 2011).

The ownership of media is fairly pervasive in the modern era. The risk of large corporations owning media outlets is that these companies often prioritize the content which align with their interest. Herman and Chomsky (2011) theorized that most of these revenues which are generated through advertisements play a powerful mechanism in weakening the working-class press. In other words, whichever company brings the most business gets to voice their opinion louder in these media outlets. Curran and Seaton (2002) rightly said, "Advertisers thus acquired a de facto licensing authority since, without their support, newspaper (media) ceased to be economically viable" (Curran & Seaton, 2002, p.42). Data analytics are used by the advertisers to keep trails of the reach of their campaigns and adjust them accordingly.

As for the sourcing of news, again, the symbiotic relationship between the mass media and powerful institutions is laced with economic necessity and reciprocity of interest. Limited resources and reliance on official sources often contribute to this relationship. Herman and Chomsky (2011) put it this way, "Economics dictates that they concentrate their resources where significant news often occurs, where important rumors and leaks abound, and where regular press conferences are held"(Herman & Chomsky, 2011, p.85).

Because the media wish to be portrayed as "objective", they put much emphasis on the reliance on the official news. A crass attempt of using the media in such a way was demonstrated by Kellyanne Conway, a Counselor to the President in the administration of US President Donald Trump, who presented "Alternative Facts". This phrase was widely popularized after an interview on NBC's "Meet the Press" on January 22, 2017. She defended a questionable statement provided by the White House Press Secretary at the time, Sean Spicer, regarding the crowd size at ex-President Trump's inauguration ceremony. Moreover, Herman and Chomsky (2011) imply that sometimes the mass media bring in their own "experts" whose voice resonates with the official views.

What Herman and Chomsky (2011) calls "Flak", we call it "Cancel Culture" these days. Flak is the dismissive reaction to a media or program in the form of lawsuits, petitions, speeches, letters etc. Cancel culture is ostracizing, boycotting of someone for their action, reaction or statement in media platforms. This can be done through unsubscribing, introducing hashtag (#) movements, trolling etc. Either way, both flak and cancel culture bear similar outcomes. Both of these methods serve either to hold the media accountable for their treatment of certain news or both serve to protect or promote a certain agenda or ideology.

To Herman and Chomsky (2011), anti-communism is the last filter in the propaganda model. It serves as a control mechanism by demonizing any ideas or policies that threaten property interests or support accommodation with Communist states and radicalism (Herman & Chomsky, 2011). As a result, anti-communism helps mobilize the public against perceived enemies and serves as a means to maintain the power and control of the elite class.

I would like to make an adjustment in the last filter based on contemporary context. Herman and Chomsky (2011) believed what united the mass populace against an enemy was the ideology of communism. Here I would put my focus on the term “ideology” as a whole rather than isolated ideology like “anti-communism”. Ideology is a belief system which ultimately influences how a person thinks, acts and sets boundaries for themselves. So, dominant ideologies work as a control mechanism to mass people. Althusser (1971) argues that ideology exists in every aspect of society and serves to maintain the status quo and uphold the interests of those in power. Therefore, in the context of contemporary media and societal discourse, dominant ideologies such as liberalism, conservatism, capitalism, or nationalism can serve as control mechanisms that shape public opinion, limit critical thinking, and maintain the power structures of the ruling class.

5. Orwellian society and Chomsky’s model

These fiction and nonfiction texts attempt to recognize the mechanism of mass manipulation. Of the five filters identified by Herman and Chomsky (2011), three align with the role of the mass media in Orwellian society.

The first filter that perfectly fits in the context of Orwellian society is media ownership. Orwell presents a picture where the Party owns the media and decides what information is allowed to be dispersed to the public. This monopolized control over media by the Party is exactly what Herman and Chomsky (2011) identified as an instrument of mass manipulation. The Party owns the broadcast of the telescreen, the films and documentaries shown in the two-minute hate are sponsored by the Party. Every form of literature or information such as slogans that reaches the citizens of Oceania is carefully curated and controlled by the Party. Herman and Chomsky (2011) analyze that when such situations occur, in the non-fiction world, it allows for a narrow range of perspectives and limits the diversity of ideas and information available to the public. The only reality remains is the one offered by the media owners.

The second filter that resonates with Orwellian society is the sourcing of the news. This can be viewed as a by-product of media ownership in Oceania. All news and information in Oceania is sourced from the Party, mirroring the reliance on government, corporations, and elite-sponsored "experts" for information in Herman and Chomsky's (2011) model. Since the only news source in Oceania is the Party, the citizens are fed with heavily fabricated and altered information. The Party/ news source does so to maintain the illusion of the infallible image of the Big Brother as well as to keep the citizens oblivious of their miserable state of existence.

The last filter I believe to be applicable in the context of Orwellian society is Ideology. In 1984, the Party used repressive state apparatus such as the Thought Police, surveillance technology, and ideological state apparatus like Newspeak or Spies, the youth organization, to control and manipulate the thoughts and actions of the citizens. Thus, the Party carefully generates a civil army of loyal followers who accept the Party's ideology without question.

Conclusion

Orwell felt motivated to write because “...there is some lie that I want to expose, some facts to which I want to draw attention, and my initial concern is to get a hearing.” (Orwell, 2004). He asserts that every serious work he had written since 1936 was addressed against totalitarianism (Orwell, 2004). He had witnessed how Hitler used institutions like the Gestapo as a repressive state apparatus. He also witnessed the rise of fascism and totalitarianism after World War I and World War II, how Stalin had used ideological state apparatus by reshaping history through censorship; rewriting textbooks; altering official documents and shoving Marxist-Leninist ideology to the citizens. Orwell in his book *1984* has clearly identified the mechanisms of control through media and technology. Modern media discourse is bound to address the issue of polarization of news circulated by the media houses. Preferential treatment to certain news, issues or even ideologies has impacted greatly in the past, and is still impacting modern day elections and selections of leaders. The findings of this paper leave the door open for critical thinking and analysis on how media literacy can counteract the effects of propaganda. Also, future research can analyze how modern-day technology can contribute to new forms of censorship and or ideology.

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