

# Newspeak and New Media: Contemporary Orwell in Interactive Environments

by

Ilgin Kizilgüneşler

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba

in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of English, Theatre, Film & Media

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

Copyright © 2018 by Ilgin Kizilgüneşler

### **Abstract**

Almost seventy years after its publication, George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, a canonical work of twentieth-century British literature, preserves its relevance not only in relation to politics, but also in relation to its portrayal of the boundaries of the individual in an authoritarian state. Drawing on theories in new media scholarship, and building on existing literary analyses of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, this thesis examines Orwell's last novel through the lens of digital culture. It focuses on the connections between the effects of Newspeak –the language created by Orwell in the novel –and interactive environments. In so doing, it aims to revive the core ideas that exist in Orwell's story and analyze their significance for new media.

### **Acknowledgements**

I acknowledge that the University of Manitoba campuses are located on original lands of Anishinaabeg, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dakota, and Dene peoples, and on the homeland of the Métis Nation, whose welcoming culture made it possible for me to continue my studies on this land as an international student. I am thankful to my advisor, Dr. Vanessa Warne, for her guidance and support. I am very much grateful for all the valuable advice that she has generously provided. I am also thankful to Dr. Struan Sinclair for helping me develop my thesis proposal, and for hiring me as a research assistant at the Media Lab. I am very much grateful to Dr. David Watt and Dr. Greg Bak for being a part of the examining committee. I acknowledge the financial supports of the Faculty of Graduate Studies, Faculty of Arts, and the Department of English, Theatre, Film & Media.

## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Figures.....	v
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: (Re)Channelling Reality, Memory, and Thought: Newspeak and Self-Surveillance in George Orwell’s <i>Nineteen Eighty-Four</i> .....	9
Chapter Two: Manipulation in New Media: Reflections of Propaganda, Alteration, and Bias in the Online Domain.....	40
Chapter Three: New Media With(out) Its ‘Orwellian’ Constraints.....	58
Conclusion.....	77
Still Images.....	80
Appendices.....	85
Supporting Data Visualizations.....	85
List of Results.....	91
Notes.....	103
Works Cited.....	104

## List of Figures

Figure 1.1 “Keywords and Articles.”.....	51
Figure 2.1 “Text Editor 1.1.”.....	80
Figure 2.2 “Text Editor 1.2.”.....	80
Figure 2.3 “Big Brother Image.”.....	81
Figure 2.4 “Footage 1.1.”.....	82
Figure 2.5 “Footage 1.2.”.....	83
Figure 2.6 “Footage 1.3.”.....	84
Figure 3.1 “Visualization Sample #1.”.....	87
Figure 3.2 “Visualization Sample #2.”.....	88
Figure 3.3 “Visualization Sample #3.”.....	89
Figure 3.4 “Visualization Sample #4.”.....	90

## Introduction

In 1984, Apple introduced a commercial for a personal computer, Macintosh (“Apple 1984 Commercial”). The commercial, directed by Ridley Scott, who is famous for his legendary tech-noir *Blade Runner*, referenced George Orwell’s novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, by creating a setting which resembled a moment from a defining ritual of the society Orwell depicts: the Two Minutes Hate. As a response to what is often referred to as the ‘prophetic vision’ of the novel, the heroine of the commercial, who represents the Macintosh brand, as she wears a caricature sketch of the computer and Apple’s logo on her tank-top, ends the Two Minutes Hate by destroying the image of Big Brother reflected on a telescreen. Her act is followed by the delivery of two lines: “On January 24<sup>th</sup>, Apple Computer will introduce Macintosh. And you’ll see why 1984 won’t be like ‘1984’” (00:00:55). While what the commercial presupposes as the direct image of ‘1984’ or what this image encompasses are obscure, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*’s depictions of individuals entrapped in systems are referenced in order for them to be imagined as undermined by the market launch of Macintosh. This message of the commercial is, as such, a direct contradiction of the novel’s vision of a connection between electronics and the proliferation of surveillance, oppression, and destruction of the individual.

Almost four decades have passed since the release of this commercial, and since the passing of the year of the novel’s title, a still distant date in 1948 when Orwell authored his novel. However, Orwell’s voice and the story’s relevance remain as current now as forty years ago when the year of the novel’s title and setting was about to approach. Like Apple’s response to the year 1984 and its association to Orwell’s famous dystopian vision, Orwell’s story continues to be read in relation to present-day events in two primary ways: one concentrating on the likeness of the story to contemporary events, and the other interpreting advancements in technology as a deviation from Orwell’s dystopian vision.

According to these opposing views, the similarities or differences which connect the novel to events that happened during and after its publication are related to the political tone of the story as well as its representation of how emerging technologies can become tools for governments to increase their control over individuals. The influence of Orwell's work, however, is also seen beyond its historical context by scholars who work on Orwell's life and writings. While tracing Orwell's "posthumous reputation" (63), for example, John Rodden defined the twentieth century as "the Orwell Century," or as he noted "more ominously, 'the Orwellian Century'" ("The Orwell Century?" 62). Providing a brief comparison of the novel to important historical turns in the century, Rodden explains:

[T]he world scene that made Orwell's language and vision resonate so powerfully for his readers has changed dramatically since the early Cold War era –and even since 1984. The collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the dismantling of the Soviet Union in 1991 have radically altered geopolitical and ideological realities, rendering many of the old bipolar East-West generalizations anachronistic. [...] None of this means, however, that Orwell and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* are irrelevant in the new millennium. Indeed, the very fact that these changes have transpired owes something to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The novel fails today as a political prophecy because it succeeded as a cautionary warning. [...] And Orwell himself is still "alive today," for his example still possesses for us, as it did for early postwar readers, contemporary consequence, rather than mere historical significance. (65)

Rodden sees Orwell's presence in the failure of the novel to be prophetic, in the events that did not happen, in the lack of identical occurrences, which proves that the story accomplished its purpose of 'warning,' and therefore remains relevant even after the futuristic date of the novel has passed. In a later critical work referencing *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Rodden brings up another point about the novel, which, in my view, is one of the key reasons why the novel has

had longevity and cultural influence. Rodden highlights that “[t]he book posed the question: Can the individual survive in the face of the collective power of the modern state?” (Rossi and Rodden, “A Political Writer” 9). Rodden emphasizes the relevance of Orwell’s work beyond the time of its composition since the conflict between the individual and the state remains a motif seventy years after the book’s publication.

Interest in the individual, on his/her competencies against the controlling powers of the state, and on his/her development into an intellectually engaged individual are, in fact, the elements which make Orwell’s work, and Orwell himself as a representative of these ideas, relevant even in the twenty-first century. Echoing Rodden’s point, which makes a universal claim for the relevance of the novel, Jeffrey Meyers, in *A Reader’s Guide to George Orwell*, indicates that “Orwell believes that ‘[t]he business of making people *conscious* of what is happening outside their own small circle is one of the major problems of our time, and a new literary technique will have to be evolved to meet it’” (130). Orwell was, in fact, deeply engaged with the idea of making people (un)conscious, as can be inferred from the protagonist in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* Winston Smith’s various references to the Party’s attempted control of individual consciousness and efforts to establish self-policing habits in party members. With *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Orwell not only was demonstrating how certain mechanisms of the state try to reduce consciousness, but also was working to make people conscious in his lifetime of these types of interventions. Orwell crafts his writings, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in particular, to achieve these two goals. As a result, his name has not lost its significance, neither in the twentieth nor in the twenty-first century.

Furthermore, while focusing on the constant presence of Orwell’s work in academic institutions, Neil McLaughlin references Richard Posner’s data in *Public Intellectuals* (2001), and lists a variety of disciplines that quote Orwell’s texts, a practice which “highlights the versatility of his works” (164). Interested in the endurance of ideas that emerge in Orwell’s



texts, McLaughlin proposes that “the Orwell tradition will continue into our new century transformed by new realities but motivated and energised by his concern with writing, ideas, clarity of thought, literary judgement and political principles” (177).

With these perspectives in mind, which see the ideas that defined George Orwell and his most famous literary work *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as being as pertinent today as they were in Orwell’s lifetime, this thesis attempts to find the links between *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and our digital culture. In doing so, it will attempt to answer questions such as what is the significance of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to our own era, what is the significance of the novel and its ideas in the Internet era, and how is Orwell relevant in contemporary interactive digital environments? While tracing these questions, I will examine the methods, elements, and objects that play a role in carefully crafting an individual’s submissive nature or in increasing the individual’s competency in both today’s culture and the novel’s dystopian vision.

In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the state’s ever-growing control over individuals is primarily maintained through language, in both thought and speech, due to the Party’s invention and use of Newspeak. As political scientist Richard Lowenthal has noted, media is one of “the institutional tools of the totalitarian state [necessitating] [...] its monopoly [...] of information” (396). Examining the establishment of control over the individual in the novel, and methods of bias in digital culture, this thesis will focus on the intersection of Newspeak and new media. My claim is that the principles of Newspeak depicted in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which are the Party’s chief means of ensuring self-surveillance, are parallel to the effects of correlative algorithms, data manipulation, and metadata in contemporary digital culture. User-computer interaction that new media objects inherently structure, however, disrupts this parallel by maximizing people’s active involvement in the navigation and creation of content. I will make my argument in three chapters.

My first chapter is a close reading of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* that explores the principles of Newspeak, the central control mechanism of the Party. While addressing the means of maintaining power over control of thought, memory, and behaviour, Orwell shows how the state gains ultimate power over the individual not by imposing its principles but by preparing the individual to commit to those principles as if they are one's own. Michel Foucault's "Panopticism," which remains the most frequently applied critical work to Orwell's story, helps readers to identify self-surveillance as an overarching theme in the novel, especially in terms of understanding the continuity of power in Orwell's work. In his analysis of the Panopticon as envisioned by Jeremy Bentham, Foucault explores how Bentham's prison gains its influence. As Foucault explains, "the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary." He then continues, "this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it" (201). As a parallel to Foucault's portrait of power, the system of power proves to be more important and influential than the appointment of a leader or an oppressor, who builds up such system of power, for the Party in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Even though there is a figure, Big Brother, who represents the ideals of the Party, he remains a symbol, a part of the system or representation of it. The Party's ultimate power depends more on the implantation of its ideals than on the presence of an authority figure since authority for the Party is related to internalization of its ideals. As Foucault also claims, "it is not that the beautiful totality of the individual is amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated in it" (217). Similar to the way that the Panopticon is designed to work, the main power of the Party takes its roots from infusing its principles into the individual, fabricating the individual so that the individual can and will exercise self-discipline.

This chapter will argue that Newspeak is the central panoptic force in the novel, through which a comprehensive self-surveillance is promoted without the necessity of a real and active controlling figure. While making this argument, the chapter analyzes different aspects integrated into the diffusive nature of Newspeak: propaganda (e.g., slogans, the ministries, and the Two Minutes Hate); the alteration of records (e.g., memory holes, re-writing history and literature, and vaporization); and language-thought interconnection (e.g., telescreens and the poster of Big Brother, the reduction of concepts, and self-discipline).

My second chapter addresses the relationship between data and its manipulation with a focus on the enactment of manipulation in new media through the collection and use of data. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the reflections of the principles of Newspeak in the Internet era. In it, I analyze customized content targeting individuals, modified content created by companies such as Google and Facebook, and the unfiltered collection of personal data. The chapter argues that these forms of data storage and distribution parallel the effects of Newspeak in terms of their influence on our decision-making processes. Lastly, since references to *Nineteen Eighty-Four* have returned to the politics and technology columns of contemporary news and commentary, particularly regarding trending attention both to so-called ‘fake news’ and to social media influencers more generally, this chapter also includes a content analysis of the use of Orwellian vocabulary during the 2016 US presidential election cycle, in order to demonstrate and explore the salience of Orwell’s work to this moment in twenty-first-century politics.

To conduct my content analysis for Chapter Two, I started with a data mining process that was supported by the assistance of the University of Manitoba’s English Media Lab technician Alex Snukal. My initial task was to extract online newspaper articles that mentioned both “Donald Trump” and “George Orwell,” and which were published between July 2016 to January 2017 (encompassing the dates between Donald Trump’s nomination and

appointment as President). In order to gather these articles, we initially planned to use a web crawler, such as “Heritrix,” however, for efficiency reasons, we completed this process with the software “Import.io.” There were, however, some challenges that I encountered with this software. Firstly, I had to complete my search with a free trial, which did not allow me to access the data after the end of this trial. Additionally, I had to use a “DuckDuckGo” URL for my search since “Import.io.” did not allow me to use “Google.” As a consequence, I could not customize my search to include specific dates. After I had acquired 179 articles with “Import.io,” we transferred the findings to “OpenRefine” to conduct a data wrangling process, which allowed me to create an accessible and manageable version of the spreadsheet. After completing these steps, I carried out my content analysis.

Making use of Klaus Krippendorff’s *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, I followed the content analysis “procedures” (49), “data making, data reduction, inference, and analysis” (52) respectively. As part of my “data making” procedure, I determined keywords as “syntactical units,” (61) and then applied “varying probability sampling,” which allowed me to choose the keywords for the analysis with “a priori criterion” (68). As a result, in order to increase the possibility of finding all of the selected keywords in a sample article, I chose five keywords that recurred the most frequently in 26 articles out of 179. The distribution of the keywords that I selected as syntactical units in these articles is also demonstrated in data visualization samples that I created with “Tableau.” At the end of searching five keywords in a sample article, I reflected on their use in the article in connection to Orwell and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

My third and final chapter concentrates on the relationship between media users and interactive environments in order to explore the strategic role of the user in new media. While it includes a comparison between ‘old’ and ‘new’ media in connection to user participation, this chapter argues that the structure of new media activates the individual’s involvement

both in the creation process of content and during its operation. In it, in order to present a comprehensive understanding of their ‘Orwellian’ dynamic, I examine the relationship between user(s) and interactive environments in the following contexts: Web 2.0, HCI (human-computer interface/interaction), and user customization. It draws on claims by multimedia scholars such as Geoffrey Rockwell and Andrew Mactavish, who pose the possibility of VR as “the next step in the evolution of the multimedia computer and user interface” (115), and Jaron Lanier, whose work presents ideas on “deprogramming through immersion” (23) and techniques for dealing with “commercial aggregation and abstraction sites” (16).

Building on literary analyses of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, this thesis argues for an extension of the significance of Orwell’s work to our digital age by looking at how some of his key themes and patterns are elaborated and re-shaped in new media. It approaches new media objects from a point which discusses their Orwellian composition, and it aims to analyze the parallels between the novel and digital culture while examining the place of the individual. It highlights the similarities of major themes, such as propaganda, manipulation, and surveillance, in Orwell’s text and online culture, and it offers an analysis which considers the developed structure of new media in order to propose a divergence from these similarities.

## Chapter One

### (Re)Channelling Reality, Memory, and Thought: Newspeak and Self-Surveillance in

#### George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*

In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, O'Brien, who initially appears as a friendly face, a trustworthy person to Winston Smith, has a conversation with him at the Ministry of Truth in front of a telescreen. This takes place before his true identity is revealed and even though his true aim is to capture Winston for his crimes, during this conversation O'Brien expresses his fascination with Winston's "Newspeak articles in the *Times*," comments on Winston's "scholarly interest in Newspeak" (164), and hands over his address so that Winston can borrow a rare copy of the tenth and the newest edition of the Newspeak Dictionary.

Even though Orwell does not provide a section in the novel that depicts the latest edition of the Newspeak Dictionary, he includes an *Appendix* to the novel, which he subtitles "The Principles of Newspeak" (312) and which shares the fundamental ideas of Newspeak. In this section, Orwell notes that as "the official language of Oceania," Newspeak "had been devised to meet the ideological needs of Ingsoc" (312). Ingsoc's ideology reflects a totalitarian view, which derives its power from collectivism and, therefore, makes use of a system aimed at destroying any traits of individuality. While building this system, the Party of Ingsoc targets "mental habits" (312) in order to re-shape them so that the individual mind can practice self-sufficient control. Since the Party assumes a direct link between the formulation of thoughts and the way that the mind processes language, it crafts Newspeak to reach its main goal of political conformity. The first step of the Newspeak project is the "reduction of vocabulary," which was expected to help by "stripping [undesirable] [...] words [that] [...] remained of unorthodox meanings" (313). Concepts that exist in Newspeak, as a result, embody this purpose, which aims to "make all other modes of thought impossible" (312). While grouping concepts such as "liberty and equality" in a single word, which is

“*crimethink*” (318), or substituting “idea[s] of wickedness and decadence” with one word, which is “*oldthink*,” the Party “make[s] sure what [new words] meant: to make sure, that is to say, what ranges of words they cancelled by their existence” (318). One of the major Newspeak concepts, ‘doublethink,’ for instance, cannot be separated from the principles of Newspeak, since the successful adaptation of the mind to the Newspeak principles depends on the exercise of ‘doublethink,’ a term with a complex meaning that refers to many forms of verbal irony and that is used to veil Ingsoc’s true mechanism. Orwell points out the centrality of ‘doublethink’ in his reference to the words “*equal*” and “*free*,” both of which lacked the meanings of being “politically equal” or “intellectually free” (324). Orwell notes:

In 1984, when Oldspeak was still the normal means of communication, the danger theoretically existed that in using Newspeak words one might remember their original meanings. In practice it was not difficult for any person well grounded in *doublethink* to avoid doing this, but within a couple of generations even the possibility of such a lapse would have vanished. (323-4)

The use of ‘equal’ or ‘free,’ as a result, for a speaker in Newspeak, does not connote their forbidden meanings, and therefore, does not lead to any thoughts related to those concepts.

In order to present the role of Newspeak in relation to standardization, and to lay out its core attributes, this chapter argues that Newspeak is the main panoptic mechanism in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* used to achieve the Party’s primary objective of imposing a robust system of self-surveillance. In order to make this argument, this chapter will examine the following aspects, which are integrated into Newspeak: the state’s propaganda (e.g., the slogans, the ministries, and the Two Minutes Hate); alteration of records (e.g. memory holes, re-writing history and literature, and vaporization); and language-thought interconnection (e.g. telescreens and posters, reduction of concepts, and self-discipline). Before this analysis, I will first provide a brief review of Orwell’s ideas on the English language as articulated in

his essays, diaries, and earlier novels, ideas which help to explain why Orwell dedicated a significant portion of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to an exploration of language.

Fascinated with connections between political conformity and the use of language, Orwell used his last novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, to explore the influence of language on personal identity. Having spent his life closely observing the effects of imperialism on the oppressed and of war-time propaganda, both of which were proliferating “the problem of truthfulness” (“Why I Write” 247), he became actively involved in resisting imperialism and propaganda. He explored imperialism and propaganda in essays and novels including *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933), “Shooting an Elephant,” (1936) *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), *Animal Farm* (1945), and, of course, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949). For Orwell, writing was a way to target lies that he felt needed to be exposed (“Why I Write” 247). His strong feelings about deception are expressed in detail in a passage from his diary where he writes: “[y]ou can go on and on telling lies, and the most palpable lies at that, and even if they are not actually believed, there is no strong revulsion. We are all drowning in filth. . . . I feel that intellectual honesty and balanced judgement have simply disappeared from the face of the earth” (qtd. in Meyers, *Orwell* 217). Given his personal engagement with the issues raised in his published writing, his political essays can shed light on core ideas, such as propaganda, censorship, and freedom of expression, which he explored in his fictional works.

Lionel Trilling has noted the link between Orwell’s personal interest in language and the novel’s central concern with it. He points out that “Orwell was obsessed by the deterioration of the English language in the hands of the journalists and pundits, and nothing in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is more memorable than his creation of Newspeak” (“George Orwell” 349). Orwell’s keen interest in the relationship between politics and the English language, however, is present in work published prior to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. In “Politics and the English Language,” which Orwell published in *Horizon* in April 1946 before he went



to Jura and started writing *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Davison 281), Orwell focuses on the connection between language and thought. According to this essay, the corruption of the English language is what directly influences a speaker's thoughts. This deterioration, for Orwell, cannot be separated from its political and economic causes. He suggests, for example, that "to think clearly is a necessary first step toward political regeneration" (Orwell 249). He argues that political language is used in such an abstract and distorted way that the words do not communicate precise meaning and do not evoke any image in the listener's mind. In order to prevent this, he suggests that we "let the meaning choose the word, and not the other way about" (258).

Orwell points out in this essay that one of the primary reasons for the decay of language is our failure to conceive of language as "an instrument, which we shape for our own purposes" (249). Focusing on examples of writing by essayists, professors, and journalists, Orwell stresses how vague wording fails to convey the intended message, which consequently "anaesthetizes a portion of one's brain" (257). Since he sees a correlation between "[the] reduced state of consciousness" and "political conformity" (256), the ambiguity of language has an impact on orthodoxy. Orwell's remarks on language in this essay re-emerge in different forms in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, and these remarks aid us in understanding the Party's efforts in introducing and perfecting Newspeak.

In the novel, the Party is committed to the idea that language is something that can be altered so that they can have increased control over people through the mechanism of Newspeak. Furthermore, by limiting the range of thought through reduction of concepts, the Party aims to achieve the complete subordination of the people, who will serve the Party only for its, rather than their own, benefit. In his exploration of the connection between language and political power in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Orwell echoes one of his earlier literary works, *Coming Up for Air* (1939), in which, as Jeffrey Meyers has noted, "he'd warned that England

was under threat.” Meyers adds that Orwell “in 1944 noted that English people could scarcely imagine ‘the real totalitarian atmosphere, in which the State endeavours to control people’s thoughts as well as their words’” (*Orwell* 279). In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, no matter how influential the Party’s role is in establishing unabated control, the continuity of its power essentially depends on the individual’s willed surrender. The horrific world depicted by Orwell and the pessimism of the novel’s ending are caused by the voluntary submission of the individual as much as by the Party’s imposition of its principles. Similar to Aldous Huxley’s *Brave New World* (1932) and Fyodor Dostoyevsky’s “The Grand Inquisitor” (1879), in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* “men might actually gain a life of security, adjustment, and fun, but only at the cost of their spiritual freedom, which is to say, of their humanity. Orwell agrees that the State of the future will establish its power by destroying souls” (Trilling, “Orwell” 296). This type of destruction of individual identity is necessary to the Party’s long-term survival in Oceania, and so the Party tailors language to support their survival, recognizing language as a fundamental tool for the stabilization of Party authority. For Robert Gleckner, “[t]he doctrine is all too familiar; it is the language that substantiates Orwell’s terrible vision” (96).

In the novel, the state incorporates principles of Newspeak that are represented in practices, such as abbreviation, and words, such as ‘doublethink,’ and ‘goodthinkful,’ into its slogans, the work of the ministries, and rituals such as the Two Minutes Hate. Delivering its propaganda through institutions as well as their messages, the Party possesses a Leviathan-like status, obtaining increased control over the people on multiple levels. Orwell interweaves the political work of Newspeak into the novel by drawing on his personal observations and experiences. John Rossi and John Rodden, observe: “[f]rom his time at the BBC Orwell absorbed many of the ideas that would later surface in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*” (8).

Alternatively, Meyers, in his biography of Orwell, notes the similarity between Orwell and

Winston Smith in terms of their hatred of propaganda (*Orwell* 217). Looking at Orwell's days at the BBC, Meyers notes that: "[h]e had to provide news commentaries as well as cultural, educational and political programs that would persuade intellectual Indians to support the British in the war," (213) but "[Orwell] regretted that he was forced to lie for propagandistic purposes" (217).

Troubled by untrustworthy and incorrect accounts of reality by politicians, journalists, and essayists, Orwell became committed to the exploration of the impact that propaganda has on literature, an impact which was, in his assessment, a distortion of its aesthetic essence. In "The Frontiers of Art and Propaganda" (1941), he writes: "[i]f we look back at the English literature of the last ten years, not so much at the literature as at the prevailing literary attitude, the thing that strikes us is that it has almost ceased to be aesthetic. Literature has been swamped by propaganda" (123). For Orwell, "political propaganda is a matter of telling lies, not only about the facts but about your own feelings" ("The Proletarian Writer" 41). Similar to his views in "Politics and the English Language" on the use of abstract words and their inability to evoke a mental image in the listener's mind, Orwell, in "Propaganda and Demotic Speech," (1944) draws attention to the lack of clarity of information aired on radio and published by the press during wartime England (135). He also notes that the main problem with the heavy diction used in speech stems from the fact that "speeches, broadcasts, lectures and even sermons are normally written down beforehand [...] The result is the heavy, dull, bookish lingo" (138). When "propagandists and popularisers" (136) dismiss this fact, it causes a disruption in the message. As Orwell suggests, this interruption leads to indifference in the audience as they turn off the radio (138). It can also lead to a lack of understanding as in the example from the Second World War of people's confusion of the meanings of "the Alert" and "the All Clear" (135) owing to unclear description given by authorities. These

reflections by Orwell target both the people who are responsible for the misleading and the receiver who develops a passive attitude.

In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, even though the Party is the main source of lies about the general atmosphere of the state, the Party also develops a method, known as ‘doublethink,’ which requires a conscious acknowledgement of all the falsities that the Party communicates. In the novel, this concept is thoroughly described:

To know and not to know, to be conscious of complete truthfulness while telling carefully constructed lies, to hold simultaneously two opinions which cancelled out, knowing them to be contradictory and believing in both of them; to use logic against logic, to repudiate morality while laying claim to it, to believe that democracy was impossible and that the Party was the guardian of democracy; to forget whatever it was necessary to forget, then to draw it back into memory again at the moment when it was needed, and then promptly to forget it again: and above all, to apply the same process to the process itself. That was the ultimate subtlety: consciously to induce unconsciousness, and then, once again, to become unconscious of the act of hypnosis you had just performed. Even to understand the word ‘doublethink’ involved the use of doublethink. (37-8)

‘Doublethink’ is a mental process that diffuses into many levels of Ingsoc’s infrastructure; in its briefest form, it functions as a means of “[r]eality control” (37). While doublethink encompasses many types of acceptance of Party doctrine, it is best reflected in the Party’s slogans. The most influential slogans of the Party are introduced at the very beginning of the story when Winston looks at the buildings of the ministries and reads: “WAR IS PEACE / FREEDOM IS SLAVERY / IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH” (6). Before they arrive at passages that offer an explanation for these three slogans that is given by O’Brien, the Inner Party member who ‘cures’ Winston in Room 101, readers acknowledge that they reflect the

destructive vision of the Party, yet are puzzled regarding the motive behind them. When O'Brien explains that the premise in the second slogan is "reversible" (277), he points out that "[t]he individual only has power in so far as he ceases to be an individual" (276). In that respect, the statement "Slavery is freedom" (277) suggests an enduring power for the individual in exchange for his/her identity. This equation, when applied to other premises in the slogan, immediately initiates the process of doublethink, as we grasp its paradoxical content, and understand that in a world that is said to be constantly at war, a claim questioned by Julia (160), states of being at war or peace blend. Furthermore, we perceive that complete orthodoxy, from the Party's perspective, ensures the long-term survival of Ingsoc, an abbreviation for 'English Socialism' which is the label for the political regime in Oceania and is a term used by Orwell to warn about the resemblance between socialism and totalitarianism after socialism's potential failure. Additionally, one of the other Party slogans reads: "Who controls the past [...] controls the future: who controls the present controls the past" (37). This slogan exemplifies doublethink in terms of the way that history in the novel is repeatedly and systematically altered. The slogan not only suggests the contradictory juxtaposition of timelines, but also challenges our perception of the potential controllability of recorded events. All slogans in the novel, in that respect, manifest the mechanism of doublethink while transmitting Party propaganda. Doublethink, as a major concept existing in Newspeak, plays a significant part in preparing the conditions for accepting Party orthodoxy, regardless of any ethical, historical, or scientific criteria.

Whereas the slogans deliver the Party's corrupted vision in textual form, the ministries are the structural representations of the Party propaganda, through which the Party enroots its destructive vision. Slogans deliver the propaganda of the Party in words and phrases, whereas the ministries embody Party values architecturally. As Winston looks at the

buildings of the ministries through the window in his flat on an upper floor of the Victory Mansions, the reader learns more about their functions:

They were the homes of the four ministries between which the entire apparatus of government was divided. The Ministry of Truth, which concerned itself with news, entertainment, education and the fine arts. The Ministry of Peace, which concerned itself with war. The Ministry of Love, which maintained law and order. And the Ministry of Plenty, which was responsible for economic affairs. Their names, in Newspeak: Minitrue, Minipax, Miniluv and Miniplenty. (6)

The ministries, along with the slogans, exemplify doublethink since their expected practices contradict their activities; as we learn later, “[t]he Ministry of Peace concerns itself with war, the Ministry of Truth with lies, the Ministry of Love with torture and the Ministry of Plenty with starvation” (225). Goldstein’s book, whose author is supposedly invented by the Party in order to have a figure who would convince people about the existence of the Brotherhood, an illusionary organization that people join to resist the Party, reveals the reason behind the implementation of ‘doublethink’ in the ministries as “[non] accidental,” and points out that “it is only by reconciling contradictions that power can be retained indefinitely” (225).

Following the principles of doublethink, the four ministries have Newspeak names that depend on abbreviation, which Orwell describes in his *Appendix* as a “practice [...] used with a conscious purpose” (320).

Jenni Calder draws attention to this often overlooked point about the connection between the ministries and the principle of abbreviation. First, she quotes from the novel’s *Appendix* in order to point out the political aim of abbreviation. In his *Appendix*, Orwell indicates that this type of compound use of two words was notable in totalitarian regimes such as in the examples of “*Nazi, Gestapo, Comintern, Inprecor, Agitprop*” (320). He explains these usages by concentrating on the different connotations of “*Communist*

*International*” and “*Comintern*,” in which the former demands more contemplation than the latter. In a similar vein, Orwell proposes that “the associations called up by a word like *Minitrue* are fewer and more controllable than those called up *Ministry of Truth*” (321). Calder sees this explanation as “not only an understanding of the way in which political language could be made to work, but the basis of the authenticity of Ingsoc’s control” (236).

Furthermore, Steven Blakemore suggests that, in regards to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, “both the narrator and the reader are ‘prelapsarian’ users of oldspeak [...] As the reader’s language is oldspeak, he is aware of the special irony in words like *minitrue*, *minipax*, *miniluv*, and *miniplenty*—an irony which escapes even Winston who only sees the words as simple abbreviations” (352). Winston’s lack of understanding of this subtlety is an intentional outcome of the application of this method by the Party. Orwell explains that the Party aims to create a “monotonous” speech with “words of two or three syllables, with the stress distributed equally between the first syllable and the last” in order to “make speech [...] independent of consciousness” (321). Through the conscious abbreviation of the words, the Party aims to limit interpretations that might convey concepts that suggest the purportedly socially positive practices of the ministries.

Another propaganda model that has connections to the principles of Newspeak, such as in the examples of the link between ‘doublethink’ and the slogans, and the connection between abbreviation and the ministries, is the practice of the Two Minutes Hate and its relation to “*goodthinkful*,” a term “[m]eaning naturally orthodox” (138). ‘Goodthinkful’ is an essential idea for the Party since the concept presupposes a complete dedication to the Party and to any changes it introduces. In order to be ‘goodthinkful,’ one must absorb Party propaganda, be immersed in any required emotional response, and direct that emotion at whatever the Party designates as a target. The minor character Parsons, a neighbor and colleague of Winston’s, embodies this attitude. While observing Parsons at the cafeteria,

Winston sees him as “a mass of imbecile enthusiasms –one of those completely unquestioning, devoted drudges on whom, more even than on the Thought Police, the stability of the Party depended” (24).

Additionally, the role that the children, for instance, play in Oceania demonstrates one of the desirable results of inculcating them with ‘goodthinkful’ attitudes: “[t]he children [...] were systematically turned against their parents and taught to spy on them and report their deviations. The family had become in effect an extension of the Thought Police” (140). For the Party, loyalty towards Ingsoc is always prioritized over loyalty in interpersonal relations. The children, who monitor their families and report suspicious acts, fulfill what the Party aims to achieve with ‘goodthinkful.’ Parsons’ children, for example, embody this concept since it is Parsons’ daughter who reports her father’s sleep talking, which reveals his thoughtcrimes. In addition to this spying role that Parsons’ children undertake, they are also frantic about “see[ing] the hanging” of “Eurasian prisoners” who are “guilty of war crimes” (25), a signal of their sincere devotion to the Party’s ideology.

As one of the mediums through which the Party regulates the promotion of its values, the Two Minutes Hate not only delivers propaganda targeted against Ingsoc’s supposed enemies, but also contributes to inculcating the populace with ‘goodthinkful’ ideas. During the Two Minutes Hate, there is a close connection between the image(s) projected on the screen and noises, which change in the course of this propaganda piece’s delivery from “a hideous, grinding screech [that] [...] burst from the big telescreen” (13), which is associated with an image of the face of Goldstein, to “a sort of hymn” caused by the “rhythmical chant of ‘B-B!’” (18). At this moment, in juxtaposition with Goldstein’s “venomous attack” (14), Big Brother’s face and talk represent “wisdom and majesty,” (18) and the rhythmical chant of his name constitutes “an act of self-hypnosis, a deliberate drowning of consciousness” (18-9). In addition to praise for Big Brother and the deliberate provocation against Goldstein,



Winston thinks that “[t]he horrible thing about the Two Minutes Hate was not that one was obliged to act a part, but that it was impossible to avoid joining in” (16). He also believes that “[i]n the Two Minutes Hate he could not help sharing in the general delirium, but this subhuman chanting of ‘B-B! . . . B-B!’ [...] Of course he chanted with the rest: it was impossible to do otherwise. To dissemble your feelings, to control your face, to do what everyone else was doing, was an instinctive reaction” (19). The Two Minutes Hate is designed to develop a channelled hatred against whatever threatens the Party, and it promotes a fanatic attachment to the Party. Exposed to it and participants in it, people inevitably surrender to the Party, absorb its propaganda, and authentically perform its orthodoxy.

Textual, structural, and performative examples of propaganda in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* are represented by the slogans, the ministries, and the Two Minutes Hate. First, the novel’s slogans are the active forms of ‘doublethink,’ exemplifying the Party’s founding ideals and providing mental conditioning. Second, the ministries embody the Party’s corrupted vision. The abbreviated Newspeak vocabulary lets the Party develop its control over the people’s activities and beliefs. Last, the Two Minutes Hate, as a routine, prepares people to absorb ‘goodthinkful’ attitudes collectively. Consequently, Oceania’s citizens are expected to develop a compliant attitude as a habit. Here Goldstein’s book, whose authorship remains ambiguous, provides an insight into what might threaten the continuity of the ruling power: “[t]he problem, that is to say, is educational. It is a problem of continuously moulding the consciousness both of the directing group and of the larger executive group that lies immediately below it. The consciousness of the masses needs only to be influenced in a negative way” (216). While transmitting its propaganda through various methods, all of which carry a venomous drop that steadily dissolves into people’s consciousness, the Party ensures the continuity of its dominance.

In addition to several forms of propaganda, the alteration of records, as a continuous practice, reflects Newspeak values while also causing users to become dependent on the Party's claims. Orwell's depictions of party politics in the novel reflect the impending dangers of a totalitarian state, which was seen as likely to develop in post-war Europe after the 1940s. For instance, Isaac Deutscher notes that, "[t]he Ministry of Truth is a transparent caricature of London's wartime Ministry of Information" (338). Apart from bureaucratic similarities, the novel's strong emphasis on the act of altering records carries biographical traces of Orwell's experiences. In "Looking Back on the Spanish War" (1942), he writes about the alteration of historical facts during the Spanish Civil War. He notes, for instance, the absence of a Russian army in Spain, despite its presence being asserted by Franco followers (257). Orwell then warns about the danger of such deceptions by stressing the misleading effect of "lies [...] pass[ing] into history" (258). Furthermore, he expresses the frightful nature of this practice, one in which a leader's claims eventually become unquestionable as historical records lose their objectivity:

The implied objective of this line of thought is a nightmare world in which the Leader, or some ruling clique, controls not only the future but *the past*. If the Leader says of such and such an event, "It never happened" –well, it never happened. If he says that two and two are five –well, two and two are five. This prospect frightens me much more than bombs. (259)

Orwell echoes these remarks closely in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: "the frightening thing was that it might all be true. If the Party could thrust its hand into the past and say of this or that event, *it never happened* –that, surely, was more terrifying than mere torture and death?" (36-7). In the pages of the novel that follow this quotation, the horrific side of this situation is further explained in relation to one of the fundamental and most often repeated statements in the novel that being the Party's imposition of the idea that two plus two equals five: "[a]nd what

was terrifying was not that they would kill you for thinking otherwise, but that they might be right. For, after all, how do we know that two and two make four?” (84)

One of the most influential principles of Ingsoc is the “mutability of the past” (28). This is a process that is regularly applied to any type of record that poses a threat to the Party’s present claims. Goldstein’s book explains that in addition to “[t]he subsidiary reason” for this process, that being to ensure the loyalty of the Party members since they do not have any past reference to compare to present situations, “by far the more important reason for the readjustment of the past is the need to safeguard the infallibility of the Party” (221). Goldstein’s book also explains that this practice is not only adopted by Ingsoc, but also by other totalitarian regimes in the novel, such as “Neo-Bolshevism in Eurasia, Death-Worship [...] in Eastasia” (211), both of which want “to arrest progress and freeze history at a chosen moment” (212). As the Party slogans goes, “Who controls the past [...] controls the future: who controls the present controls the past” (37). Continuous deletion and editing of historical records enable the Party to support present claims with any proof it chooses to fabricate.

By modifying past events according to present motives, the Party systematizes a technique that dismantles evidence that might threaten its power in the future. Ingsoc bases its power on the events that it recognizes and censors the rest of history. This method attests to Ingsoc’s authority. In order to maintain its status, the Party alters records routinely with the use of a ‘memory hole’ – a tool used by workers at the Ministry of Truth to ensure the burning of all material, including print and photographs, that might threaten the Party’s most current version of reality. A memory hole is a medium through which the alteration of records is achieved. It is the object that devours the documents which put the Party’s credibility at risk. Party members achieve the same end through the re-writing of history and literature, and through vaporization, the term used in the novel to describe the disappearance of people who are in any way uncompliant with its mandates. Memory holes, re-writing

history and literature, and vaporization, in that respect, are integrated components of the novel's portrayal of the concept of alteration.

Additionally, as Calder claims, "[t]he manipulation of language is essential to the manipulation of history" (235). This claim is further verified when alteration is defined in the novel alongside its Newspeak equivalent: "*blackwhite*" (221). Orwell explains that "[blackwhite] means a loyal willingness to say that black is white when Party discipline demands this. But it means also the ability to *believe* that black is white, and more, to *know* that black is white, and to forget that one has ever believed the contrary. This demands a continuous alteration of the past" (221). 'Blackwhite,' therefore, is an embodiment of Orwell's warnings about the danger of dismissing the truthful preservation of evidence of historical events. It clarifies, at the same time, how the memory of individuals and of society is to be reset each time the Party forges a record.

As Winston notes, in Oceania "[t]he past not only changed, but changed continuously" (83). Winston realizes that "every word he murmur[s] into the speakwrite, every stroke of his ink-pencil, [is] a deliberate lie" (190-1). Yet, he actively participates in this process. The Party develops a member's mind so that it controls memory in order to eliminate any conflicting fact or idea that stems from past records. During Winston's questioning, O'Brien reveals the link between memory and the past:

"Does the past exist concretely, in space? Is there somewhere or other a place, a world of solid objects, where the past is still happening?"

'No.'

'Then where does the past exist, if at all?'

'In records. It is written down.'

'In records. And——?'

'In the mind. In human memories.'

‘In memory. Very well, then. We, the Party, [...] control all memories. Then we control the past, do we not?’” (260)

Accordingly, Bernard Crick highlights Orwell’s intentions in putting such emphasis on deleting facts with providing a living example from the Soviet history. He proposes that Orwell’s work was informed no doubt by:

the gallows-humour of successive editions of *The Soviet Encyclopaedia* which first had Trotsky as a hero of the Civil War, then condemned him as an agent of the Mensheviks and British Intelligence, then dealt with him in the simplest and sweetest way by removing him entirely from historical record [...] However, Orwell on a deeper level tries to wrestle with the epistemological problem as to whether it is *possible* so to control the past, to destroy or distort both record and memory. (155-6)

There can be little doubt that Orwell was referencing the Soviet examples of record deletion when he was portraying Oceania’s ruling Party’s obsessive dependence on memory control and its modifying of records of historical events. While depicting an extreme situation in the novel, Orwell was also pointing to the historical reality of this practice and its increasing normality.

Even though the emphasis in the novel is on the practice of controlling records more than on the tool of the memory hole itself, the presence and daily use of memory holes emphasize the centrality of this practice. Winston, as a routine user of a memory hole, disposes daily of many documents that contradict assertions made in the present by the ministries or Big Brother. Although he is aware of the untruthful nature of his job, he adapts to it nevertheless. When he comes across a photograph from the *Times* of three reputed rebels, Jones, Aaronson and Rutherford, which he describes as “concrete evidence” that could be used “to blow the Party to atoms,” “[h]e go[es] straight on working” (82), rejecting the opportunity to damage the Party. Additionally, instead of revealing this information, “he

drop[s] the photograph into the memory hole, along with some other waste papers” (82). His choice exemplifies his adaption to the situation, even though his obligations to the Party contradict his values. In this way, the Party actually develops a system which spins its own wheel. Irving Howe suggests that in a totalitarian structure “[a]nything can be done with men, anything with their minds, with history and with words. Reality is no longer something to be acknowledged or experienced or even transformed; it is fabricated according to the need and will of the state” (“1984” 324-5). In a similar vein, in Orwell’s novel, with the aid of memory holes, the Party determines which facts will “pass into history” as reality, and influences the mind so that it will automatically and continuously update itself to remain in line with present doctrines.

If a memory hole is the tool that enables alteration of records, the re-writing of history and literature further contribute to the alteration of the historical record in Oceania. In “The Prevention of Literature,” (1946) Orwell writes that, “[f]rom the totalitarian point of view history is something to be created rather than learned. [...] Totalitarianism demands, in fact, the continuous alteration of the past, and in the long run probably demands a disbelief in the very existence of objective truth” (266). In the totalitarian hierarchy of Ingsoc, alteration of records extends to the alteration of historical facts and literary works.

One of the most common events that the long-term project of alteration revolves around is the changing dynamics of war and peace between Oceania and other countries. Even though people believe the exact opposite to be the case, Winston remembers that “it was only four years since Oceania had been at war with Eastasia and in alliance with Eurasia” (*Nineteen Eighty-Four* 36). Later in the novel, the workers at the Ministry of Truth witness the change of history, yet acknowledge that “Oceania had always been at war with Eastasia” (189). The earlier information not only elapses from their minds silently, but the workers also contribute to destroying or revising any evidence that proves otherwise: “[r]eports and

records of all kinds, newspapers, books, pamphlets, films, sound tracks, photographs—all had to be rectified at lightning speed” (190). The switch in enemy states necessitates a very thorough alteration of history and Winston describes this accelerated process of alteration as “[a] mighty deed, which could never be mentioned,” one which prompts the passing through the Department of “[a] deep and [...] secret sigh” (191). While this drastic change is very quickly though laboriously achieved, Orwell signals the casualness of the larger practice in the opening pages when Winston thinks that “no written record, and no spoken word, ever made mention of any other alignment than the existing one” (36). Consequently, the continuous alteration of the documents facilitates a reformatting of the minds of citizens, since reliance on one’s own memory becomes difficult if not impossible.

In this situation, the complicated dynamic within the Inner Party remains unaddressed. For instance, O’Brien’s awareness of all of the Party’s manipulating practices has been read by some critics as having controversial status given the Party’s meticulous mechanisms of knowledge repression. “O’Brien’s personal psychology” is, for example, questioned by Philip Rahv in terms of understanding “his ability to live with this naked truth as his sole support” (315). Similarly, the Party’s inattention to the lives of the proles, the term used to describe the large majority of Oceania’s populous who are not Party members, can be seen as a type of mismanagement of its own authority. However, while we question these facets of the novel, it is important for us to recall that the novel implies that Winston has met O’Brien before. This implication is introduced with a kind of flashback, when Winston remembers something O’Brien said to him: “[w]e shall meet in the place where there is no darkness” (27). Winston remembers O’Brien’s words in a dream-like state, and moreover, because of the Party’s control over the past and memories of it, it is already questionable whether this is actually the first time that Winston commits thoughtcrime. O’Brien’s loyalty to the Party, therefore, is not guaranteed; it is also unclear whether his loyalty was established after a possible

thoughtcrime that he had committed. This speculation is suggested by the description of the Ministry of Love as having “walls of glittering white porcelain” (237) and lights that are “never [...] turned out” (241), which suggests that it, rather than some imagined future utopia, might well be ‘the place where there is no darkness.’

As for the proles, one of Winston’s inner discussions illuminates the reason for the Party’s lack of attention to their daily activities. Writing in his secret diary Winston observes: “*Until they become conscious they will never rebel, and until after they have rebelled they cannot become conscious*” (74). Considering the Party’s careful reconstruction of the consciousness of the individuals they target, the proles’ resistance does not pose a threat since just like everyone else, their minds will be reformatted. This is what Winston warns of when he contemplates the impossibility of escape from the Thought Police: “[n]o one who had once fallen into the hands of the Thought Police ever escaped in the end. They were corpses waiting to be sent back to the grave” (79). Both in Winston’s observation about the proles’ gaining or losing consciousness and his expectation about “stepping nearer to their graves” (146), death seems to be the expected punishment of a thoughtcrime. However, given the Party’s engagement in changing existing ideas or facts about events and people, Winston’s statements actually indicate a figurative death.

Additional examples of re-writing history include changing the records about: the invention of aeroplanes (38), Big Brother’s predictions (41), and the Ministry of Plenty’s statistics about boot pairs (43). This process provides the Party control over not only history but also over what people perceive as facts. Winston notes that in Oceania, “[a]ll history was a palimpsest, scraped clean and re-inscribed exactly as often as was necessary” (42). He then adds, “some master brain in the Inner Party would select this version or that, would re-edit it and set in motion the complex process of cross-referencing that would be required, and then the chosen lie would pass into the permanent records and become truth” (48). Since any



objective document might have been modified, it is not easy to know if an event has actually happened. As Winston stresses, “to trace out the history of the whole period, to say who was fighting whom at any given moment, would have been utterly impossible” (36). In addition, it is not only history that is subject to such drastic reconstruction, but also literature. Winston explains the process of alteration as an ongoing practice applied to printed and broadcast material, as well as fictional works:

As soon as all the corrections which happened to be necessary in any particular number of the *Times* had been assembled and collated, that number would be reprinted, the original copy destroyed, and the corrected copy placed on the files in its stead. This process of continuous alteration was applied not only to newspapers, but to books, periodicals, pamphlets, posters, leaflets, films, sound-tracks, cartoons, photographs –to every kind of literature or documentation which might conceivably hold any political or ideological significance. Day by day and almost minute by minute the past was brought up to date. (42)

Syme, one of the specialists in Newspeak with whom Winston works, even predicts that as a consequence of this rapid adjustment, “[b]y 2050 [...] [t]he whole literature of the past will have been destroyed” (56). Yet, the most terrifying thing that both Orwell and Winston anticipate is the loss of clarity of human mind for preserving the factuality of events. When “[t]he past [is] erased, the erasure [is] forgotten, the lie bec[omes] truth” (78), people can no longer differentiate between actual and recorded events. This way, the Party has successfully managed a reformulation of memory, now primed to submissively absorb any newly generated ‘fact.’

The limit case in Oceania in relation to altering existing records occurs when documents attesting to a vaporized person’s existence are deleted: “[y]our name was removed from the registers, every record of everything you had ever done was wiped out, your one-

time existence was denied and then forgotten. You were abolished, annihilated: *vaporized* was the usual word” (21). Similar to the motive behind altering history, Winston explains that deleting personal records “had simply happened because purges and vaporizations were a necessary part of the mechanics of government” (48). The process is executed by designated workers such as “the little woman with sandy-hair” who is working in one of the cubicles in the Department and “deleting from the press the names of people who had been vaporized and were therefore considered never to have existed” (44). Everyone who somehow poses a threat against the Party eventually faces vaporization: “[w]hen once you were in the grip of the Party, what you felt or did not feel, what you did or refrained from doing, made literally no difference. Whatever happened you vanished, and neither you nor your actions were ever heard of again. You were lifted clean out of the stream of history” (172). Vaporization or becoming an ‘unperson’ is enacted once the Party identifies suspicious or alarming inclinations. Yet, the Party not only erases personal history after it notices the signals of disobedience. It also initiates the process of building an unpersonalized history by promoting collectivity and restraining its members’ “*ownlife*,” “meaning individualism and eccentricity” (85). Restricting ‘ownlife’ is, in fact, identified elsewhere in Orwell’s writing as a characteristic of totalitarianism. In “The Prevention of Literature,” (1946) Orwell writes that, in totalitarianism, “true individuality is only attained through identification with the community” (273).

The emphasis on collectivism is an idea that Orwell shared with James Burnham. Echoing Burnham’s views around three super-states governing the world among each other, Orwell writes in his essay “Burnham’s View of the Contemporary World Struggle” (1947) that “[t]hey would all be totalitarian in structure: that is, they would be collectivist but not democratic” (316). Having portrayed a structure like this in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with Ingsoc, Orwell echoed his ideas from “Literature and Totalitarianism” (1941), in which he

explained his distress by the decline of individualism: “[w]e live in an age in which the autonomous individual is ceasing to exist –or perhaps one ought to say, in which the individual is ceasing to have the illusion of being autonomous” (134). By restricting private life and praising collectivity, the Party vaporizes unique identities through standardization. Meyers sees Orwell’s obsession with the loss of individual identity as a recurring motif in his novels:

The dominant emphasis throughout Orwell’s work is on loneliness and exclusion, on the fearful individual in an oppressed world, on the people, in Trotsky’s phrase, ‘swept into the dustbin of history’. Winston Smith, the final embodiment of defeated man, has predecessors in all of Orwell’s books: in his impoverished and exploited *personae* in Paris, London, Wigan and Spain; in Flory, Dorothy Hare, Gordon Comstock, George Bowling and Boxer. (*A Reader’s Guide* 153)

With vaporization, the Party gives itself the authority to re-write personal histories. Additionally, Party members who supervise vaporization procedures in the Ministry, just like those who deploy memory holes and who alter historical records, conform to this practice and start believing reconstructed facts and lives despite their own participation in these practices.

Furthermore, as O’Brien argues when Winston is under his control at the Ministry of Love, “the control of the past depends above all on the training of memory” (*Nineteen Eighty-Four* 222). Alteration of records, therefore, requires a “mental technique,” which is “[t]o tell deliberate lies while genuinely believing in them, to forget any fact that has become inconvenient, and then, when it becomes necessary again, to draw it back from oblivion for just so long as it is needed” (223). Even though memory holes, the re-writing of history and literature, and the deletion of personal histories are compact layers of the concept of alteration in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, they all require one’s control over one’s own memory.

The Party strongly promotes this control effort. Familiarizing the minds of Party members to ‘blackwhite,’ the Party trains people to begin to discipline their own train of thought.

While propaganda and the alteration of records are characterized by Newspeak elements, nothing reflects the direct and primary influence of Newspeak more than the connection between language and thinking. Calder distinguishes Newspeak from the other methods of maintaining order carried out by the Party: “[t]he basis of Ingsoc’s revolution is the manipulation of language. The Thought Police, terror and torture are instruments of preserving order; Newspeak is a means of controlling the thoughts and inclinations that inspire disorder” (235). Realizing totalitarianism’s dependence on manipulation of thought, Orwell suggests: “[t]otalitarianism has abolished freedom of thought to an extent unheard of in previous age. [...] It not only forbids you to express –even to think –certain thoughts, but it dictates what you *shall* think” (“Literature and Totalitarianism” 135). The central means for Ingsoc to direct thought is by adapting the mind of an individual to the principles of Newspeak while also erasing Oldspeak tendencies which lead to thoughtcrime. Successful immersion into Newspeak means developing self-policing behaviours and actively participating in one’s own manipulation, which is the main objective of the Party.

Philip Rahv defines the person who goes into this process as “[t]he victim,” who “before his torturer, [...] identifies himself with him and grows to love him” (314). This interpretation becomes especially relevant when Orwell points out that “in the eyes of the Party there was no distinction between the thought and the deed” (*Nineteen Eighty-Four* 255). Therefore, growing to love Big Brother, for Winston, begins when he truly accepts the principles of the Party and develops a genuine affection for what it represents. Consequently, he embodies what he has been remade to think. The structural objective of Bentham’s prison, in that respect, aligns with the objective of Newspeak in the way that both act as “a laboratory [...] [that] could be used as a machine to carry out experiments, to alter behaviour, to train or

correct individuals” (Foucault 203). As Christopher Hitchens emphasizes in *Why Orwell Matters*, “what [Orwell] illustrates, by his commitment to language as the partner of truth, is that ‘views’ do not really count; that it matters not what you think, but *how* you think” (211). Thus, the Party’s primary goal is to determine the process of thinking itself.

To illuminate the relationship between language and thought in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, it is again useful to revisit one of Orwell’s essays, “New Words” (1940), in which he shares his ideas about thinking:

It is true that most of our waking thoughts are “reasonable” –that is, there exists in our minds a kind of chessboard upon which thoughts move logically and verbally; we use this part of our minds for any straightforward intellectual problem, and we get into the habit of thinking (i.e. thinking in our chessboard moments) that it is the whole of the mind. (4)

Orwell reflects this view when he makes manipulation a central theme in his novel. When Winston and Julia are caught, O’Brien discloses the way that the Party treats people’s minds, which parallels Orwell’s own reflection: “[p]ower is in tearing human minds to pieces and putting them together again in new shapes of your own choosing” (279). Common to each quotation is a view of the mind as re-designable, albeit via a meticulous and strategic approach, which is exactly what the Party anticipates with their development of Newspeak. In order to maintain the continuity of self-monitoring, which is dependent on the connection between Newspeak and thought, the Party largely relies on telescreens and the poster of Big Brother, the association between concepts and thoughtcrime, and the self-disciplinary characteristics of Newspeak.

The apex of surveillance technology within the novel, telescreens play a major role in inspecting Party member’s convincing display of feelings and thoughts. Trilling states that “[a]t a time when most intellectuals still thought of politics as a nightmare abstraction,

pointing to the fearfulness of the nightmare as evidence of their sense of reality, Orwell was using the imagination of a man whose hands and eyes and whole body were part of his thinking apparatus” (“George Orwell” 352). The sensitive design of the telescreens (Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 82) detects any signs of contradictory thought based on the display of movements and facial expressions. Since it “receive[s] and transmit[s] simultaneously,” and “there [is] of course no way of knowing whether you were being watched at any given moment” (4-5), the telescreen’s presence imposes a set of behaviours, which the person monitored by a telescreen was expected to perform. Yet, Winston also notes that this type of habitual pretense becomes an “instinct” (5) after a while. The telescreens, therefore, administer the level of pretense and ensure the absorption and execution of Newspeak principles by detecting small traces of “*facecrime*” such as “[a] nervous tic, an unconscious look of anxiety, a habit of muttering to yourself” (65). Correspondingly, Goldstein’s book cites telescreens as the major influence over the population, describing telescreens as a technology that ensures “complete uniformity of opinion on all subjects” (214) due to its invasive presence in private life. In addition to telescreens, posters of Big Brother also constitute an additional form of surveillance, depicting a gaze which multiplies the embedded instinct of self-monitoring. Indeed, in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the poster of Big Brother is described as possessing an animate quality: “[i]t was one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move” (3).

This image of a man’s face “is the guise in which the Party chooses to exhibit itself to the world” (217), and is perceived by Winston and others as omnipresent and omniscient. Winston feels that he is surrounded by versions of this authoritative figure, whose “black-moustachio’d face gazed down from every commanding corner” (4), and he feels that there is “no escape” (29) owing to the posters’ uninterrupted inspection of him. Furthermore, while looking at the poster, Winston experiences an urge to yield to the principles of the Party:

“[t]he hypnotic eyes gazed into his own. It was as though some huge force were pressing down upon you—something that penetrated inside your skull, battering against your brain, frightening you out of your beliefs, persuading you, almost, to deny the evidence of your senses” (83). The telescreens and the posters materially execute surveillance. They act as an eye that finds clues of thoughtcrime, similar to the way that “[l]anguage constitutes a screen between the totalitarian gaze and the human body” (Courtine and Willett 70).

Whereas the telescreens and the poster of Big Brother materially assure the processing of Newspeak as reflected in corporeal details, the correlation between the reduction of concepts and thoughtcrime impacts the intellectual degradation of Party members. Ingsoc is highly dependent on Newspeak for its articulation of concepts and their role in formulating thought. As a consequence of this type of knitted connection, the Party gradually determines the range of concepts, and therefore, the range of thought, open to an individual, an important step toward the obliteration of thoughtcrime. In other words, “[t]he novel [...] narrows human thought by linguistically narrowing the semantic space of language itself” (Blakemore 349). In the novel’s *Appendix*, Orwell reveals the main objective of this project: “[t]he purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees of Ingsoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible” (312). Blakemore offers an insight regarding the reason why language holds such destructive power within the novel: “[Orwell] saw that man is essentially linguistic, that he sees and apprehends reality through language, that he ‘presences’ his world and himself in language” (349).

By limiting the meanings conveyed by a word, the Party establishes an impregnable perception against any idea that challenges the Party’s ingrained principles. For example, abstracting political or intellectual freedom from the notion of “free” disrupts variable meanings associated with the concept (Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 313). Revealing the

next step of such restriction, Orwell explains that: “[a] few blanket words covered them, and, in covering them, abolished them. All words grouping themselves round the concepts of liberty and equality, for instance, were contained in the single word *crimethink*” (318). Furthermore, emphasizing the Party’s destructive policy towards language, Jonathan Rose points out that in the novel “[n]othing remains but the English language – and the boys at Minitrue are working on that one” (42). As a worker at the Ministry of Truth and as an admirer of the transformation that Oldspeak is undergoing, Syme enthusiastically describes the philosophy behind the emergence of Newspeak:

[T]he whole aim of Newspeak is to narrow the range of thought[.] In the end we shall make thoughtcrime literally impossible, because there will be no words in which to express it. Every concept that can ever be needed will be expressed by exactly *one* word, with its meaning rigidly defined and all its subsidiary meanings rubbed out and forgotten. [...] Every year fewer and fewer words, and the range of consciousness always a little smaller. [...] It’s merely a question of self-discipline, reality-control. (Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 55)

As a result of this progressive destruction of concepts, the Party takes the next step in the sustainability of self-discipline, which had to be consolidated with auxiliary designs.

The core idea infusing concepts built into Newspeak, such as doublethink, goodthinkful, or crimestop, is self-discipline. Practising these concepts in everyday life requires mastering one’s thoughts, which essentially requires a willing acknowledgement of the superiority of the Party. As a totalitarian regime, the Party aims “to control the thoughts and emotions of its subjects at least as completely as it controls their actions” (“Literature and Totalitarianism” 135). As Meyers has noted, “In Orwell’s novel, the régime is so repressive that it is able to disintegrate totally the personality of those who resist” (*A Reader’s Guide* 151). One of the essential factors of this control is to put the subject through a process which



brings self-discipline to perfection. At the end of this process, the subject understands that he (or she) can be “all-powerful” only when he can “escape from his identity, if he can merge himself in the Party” (Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 277).

Winston’s “fail[ure] [...] in self-discipline” (261), therefore, is marked as the main reason for his downfall. O’Brien further reveals that, in order to “see reality” again, Winston needs to “re-learn,” which requires “an act of self-destruction, an effort of the will” (261). As a result of his treatment at the Ministry of Love, Winston is to acquire “*crimestop*,” which is a fundamental part of inner discipline. Crimestop, as O’Brien explains, “includes the power of not grasping analogies, of failing to perceive logical errors, of misunderstanding the simplest arguments if they are inimical to Ingsoc, and of being bored or repelled by any train of thought which is capable of leading in a heretical direction” (220-1). As an example, the portrayal of the Parsons family in the beginning of the novel reflects the accomplishment of self-discipline. Later, we learn that Parsons’ daughter has reported him to the police, which balances the “flaw in the pattern” (267) and signals the increasing competency of self-discipline. Furthermore, even without the intervention of another entity for the exposure of thoughtcrime, the mind is already alerted and programmed to anticipate its own annihilation. Winston notes this impending entrapment as a result of his own betrayal of the Party’s principles: “[n]obody ever escaped detection, and nobody ever failed to confess. When once you had succumbed to thoughtcrime it was certain that by a given date you would be dead” (107). Conveying its pattern through Newspeak ideals, therefore, self-discipline is as an essential element for developing self-control over the mind that abolishes the re-generation of unorthodox ideas.

In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the most influential aspect of Newspeak is its prospective effects on the construction of thought. In order to inspect this connection, the Party relies on concrete surveillance objects such as the telescreens and two-way posters of Big Brother.

Additionally, by maintaining a correlation between thoughtcrime and meanings evoked by certain concepts, and by building Newspeak to promote self-discipline, the Party eliminates the proliferation of uncompliant intentions.

In conclusion, through various means integrated into Newspeak, such as propaganda, the alteration of records, and the manipulation of the interconnection between language and thought, the Party re-channels reality, memory, and thought collectively. In doing so, it promotes self-surveillance, and re-adjusts the levels of conformity, carrying the conformity to an extreme case which crafts the individual in a way that s/he willingly adapts to the system. It is a system described by O'Brien after Winston's capture as "a boot stamping on a human face –for ever" (280). George Woodcock refers to O'Brien's image of the boot noting: "[O'Brien] uses the image of the boot on the face to represent the everlasting reign of terror for its own sake which the Inner Party imposes on the people of Oceania. For Winston Smith at the very same moment it represents the extremity of his personal defeat" (54). Even though Winston's questioning signals his rising resistance, the controlling methods of the Party ensure re-formation of an undisciplined nature. The Party centres these controlling methods around Newspeak. Within this control, the Party aims to implant a permanent self-control which controls the actions of individuals.

In opposition to Julia's perception of the body as a mode of resistance or, similarly, of her emotional bond with Winston as "a political act" or "a blow struck against the Party" (Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 133), the Party perceives the body as a clue revealing crime. Anything that is reflected or revealed through the body is a prompt to inspect thoughtcrime. Additionally, in the case of a capture, the body is tortured in order to conquer the mind. Therefore, the Party's primary preoccupation with infusing disciplinary attitudes on an abstract level devalues the act of seeing the tangible as a source of resistance. The way that Julia sees the body as a form of resistance, therefore, cannot be a means of resistance from

the Party's perspective because they value the mind more than the body. The Party acknowledges the connection between the mind and the body, but believes that any change in the mind will be enacted through the body.

When O'Brien addresses the Party's motives in his talk to Winston, he emphasizes the process that the individual goes through: "[w]e are not content with negative obedience, nor even with the most abject submission. When finally you surrender to us, it must be of your own free will. We do not destroy the heretic because he resists us: so long as he resists us we never destroy him. We convert him, we capture his inner mind, we reshape him" (267). This process is defined as a "re-integration," consisting of "learning," "understanding," and "acceptance" (273). Richard Lowenthal explains this motive as a common feature of totalitarianism, which "does not aim at keeping its subjects politically quiet, but at forcing them into active support of its ever-new campaigns" (395). By "extinguishing [...] every germ of pluralism" (396), the Party aims to "set up [...] three hundred million people all with the same face" (Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 77). Lowenthal also points out that people in totalitarian regimes "seek salvation in the arms of the omnipotent state" (401). When Winston finally sees "no deformity" in five fingers which are in fact four (Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 270), and realizes the "smile [...] hidden beneath the dark moustache" (311), his surrender constitutes an internalization.

Totalitarianism and its destructive attack on objective truth are pointedly addressed in the novel. Yet, many other critics have also pointed out that the ethos of Orwell's work exceeds its political critique. Referencing Calder, Meyers notes that Orwell's work "will be relevant as long as authoritarian governments and social inequalities continue to exist" (*George Orwell* 11). Even though Orwell's novel did not portray a complex set of technological tools, and even "[Orwell's] anti-Utopia is dominated less by technology than by predominantly cultural and psychological means of tyranny" (Woodcock 171), his work

has been remembered and referenced within the context of technology and its political connections in the twenty-first century. By offering this analysis of Newspeak, I hoped to expose key elements which have made the novel memorable and significant up until this day. With the novel's recurring link to technology in mind, it is now crucial to canvass very recent reflections of Newspeak and to focus on their Orwellian characteristics.

## Chapter Two

### Manipulation in New Media: Reflections of Propaganda, Alteration, and Bias in the Online Domain

As the world develops a growing and interconnected web of wired activities, political propaganda and governmental manipulation mechanisms, which used to be delivered through printed or broadcast media, evolve into the new media context. Earlier threats of the formation and success of an authoritarian state are now carried into networked designs, a development allowing for manipulative and propagandistic practices to be performed in different mediums. Offering one of fiction's most bleak explorations of the establishment of an authoritarian state, George Orwell imagined an extreme relationship between the individual and state in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. His portrait of a surveillance society in Oceania did not depend on a complex set of technological tools, other than the technology of the telescreens, which evokes a combination of a television and wire-tapping with its two-way visual and audio transmission. Even though the significance of the issues that the story raises in relation to freedom of expression, censorship, and privacy have been continually present in political discussions since its publication, there is an absence of an online culture in the novel, which distances the forms of surveillance depicted in the story from contemporary surveillance practices. The story, however, proves its relevance beyond its own era as references to Orwell's work gain popularity in contemporary culture. Present-day references to the novel made in articles in the popular press often center around the United States' Department of Defense's National Security Agency and its excessive surveillance practices (Crouch; Rushe; Frank), Facebook's privacy violations (Nocera), or the dictatorial tendencies and parallels between Big Brother and notorious politicians such as Donald Trump (Klaas), Recep Tayyip Erdogan (Nougayrède), or Vladimir Putin (Snyder).

However, apart from the similarities drawn between the leading political figures in Orwell's novel and modern-day individuals perceived to be real-life counterparts, it is interesting to see how these commentators emphasize that the consequences of datafication, a term used to refer to "render[ing] [the] informational quality" of people's everyday lives "into a data format" (Cukier), have, in the assessment of some commentators, already surpassed Orwell's dystopia (Crouch), which is most frequently referenced in terms of its attacks on "totalitarianism," (Rushe) or "militaristic" (Frank) components. It is also interesting to see that Dave Eggers' 2013 novel *The Circle*, which is a dystopian critique of the transparency hype that is encouraged by techno-utopian companies, has been identified as a more relevant example than *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by some commentators, including Sam Frank and Joe Nocera, owing to the technological likeness between Eggers' fictional world and contemporary events. Drawing connections to certain examples between Orwell's novel and its political resemblances in contemporary culture, however, not only can create a common understanding about the messages of Orwell's story, but also can contest the core elements that the authoritarian structure of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* depicts. The simplistic equations between the use of the word "Orwellian" and present-day events such as "an everyday discussion of the manipulation of news" or "a 'Homeland Security' search at an airport" ("Why Orwell" 202) are a concern expressed by Christopher Hitchens.

The first chapter of this thesis provided a close reading of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with the goal of exploring the significant position of Newspeak in the novel. In it, I examined the relationship between Newspeak and the Party's control and power. This chapter aims to reflect on the connections between those principles and their online equivalents. In what follows I will argue that the principles of Newspeak parallel the effects of correlative algorithms, data manipulation, and metadata in contemporary digital culture in terms of the alteration of human behaviour. To point out these parallels, the chapter will explore these

three facets of digital culture respectively in connection to customized content, modified content, and the unfiltered collection of personal data.

Correlative algorithms, meaning the correlations made by algorithms based on a collection of data extracted from individuals' online profiles, have the invading, distorting, and influential potential of propaganda, which, in the context of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, is a key element that transmits ideological concepts existing in Newspeak to the population. In spite of this link between propaganda and correlative algorithms, the connection is not entirely direct. The way that the correlative algorithms convey their propagandistic quality involves two steps. In order for the algorithms to use personal data indexed in certain platforms, there has to be a dataset specific to that individual, which is stored in a server and updated according to the users' activities. The algorithms then draw connections, which create a pre-determined<sup>1</sup> profile for an individual, or position an individual as a target for marketing or political campaigning.

Lev Manovich sees this type of individualized content as a characteristic of new media, one that makes it distinct from old media, which has historically followed a similar pattern to "the logic of industrial mass society" (41). According to Manovich, new media favors "individual customization" over "mass standardization" (30). 'Individual customization,' in that respect, provides a selection of choices to the individual. But, 'individual customization' also refers to the customized content that the individual encounters. Manovich states that "[r]ather than pushing the same objects/information to a mass audience, marketing now tries to target each individual separately" (42). Although he touches on the idealistic aspect of the kind of selections available for the individual, he also suggests that the selections are not infinite, and therefore, one has to "refus[e] all options and customization" (129) in order to escape from this pre-construction. Manovich does not state a direct link between correlative algorithms and individual customization mainly because he

emphasizes the multiplicity of choices offered to an individual, which is seen by him as characteristic of new media. Despite the absence of this connection in Manovich's work, this new logic of customization provided by new media objects generally, and the Internet particularly, must rely on the connections derived from personal information in order for the 'objects/information' to possess their individualized content. It is therefore logical that we respond to Manovich's concept with American computer scientist and social commentator Jaron Lanier's explanation of correlative algorithms in mind.

In an interview conducted by Matt Enis on big data, Lanier points out that "[i]t is problematic enough that corporations are now profiting from data that individuals surrender for free on social networking sites such as Facebook" (18). Furthermore, he points out how the users' social media activities have consequences in their real lives in relation, for example, to "job prospects" (18) or medical treatments (19). He reinforces this argument by touching on random correlations that algorithms make, correlations which ultimately create interconnected results stemming from one's profile details or what one shares and likes online. The algorithms, which extract data from social networking sites, determine the individualized content with which a user will be targeted, which gives an advantage to corporations and to political parties who choose to use personal data as a starting point for marketing or for propagandistic or manipulative purposes. Moreover, the results developed by these algorithms, which are perceived as valid information and are consulted by organizations or governments, reinforce a certain norm of behaviours owing to the link between virtual and real-life actions.

In spite of my conceptual introduction to correlative algorithms, examples of correlative algorithms are relatively abundant and all-too-familiar. Evgeny Morozov, a Belarusian writer whose work has been published in newspapers and magazines such as *The Guardian*, *The New Yorker*, *New Scientist*, explores the function of correlative algorithms by



exposing the operations of key organizations such as Google and Facebook. Google's customized search engine, which offers suggestions based on one's previous browsing history, and the applications that are attached to one's Facebook profile, which result in Facebook's omniscience about your activities while using the app(s), are among Morozov's examples ("Whither Internet Control?" 56). As he further indicates, the marketing strategies of Facebook and Google use one's online activities, ranging from the text of emails to 'likes,' to customize the interface for the individual with advertisements that recognize and reflect those previous activities (56).

Even though these types of marketing models seem benign, they are not as harmless as they have been promoted to be. After all, they rely on data extraction, which inevitably makes personal profiles more susceptible to be corrupted in the service of malicious strategies. One of the most recent examples of this kind of misappropriation is the Cambridge Analytica scandal, whose details were shared in May 2017 by *The Guardian* (Cadwalladr "The Great British"). This scandal was again a focus of public attention in March 2018 (Cadwalladr and Harrison; Kleinman), when it gained even greater mainstream attention. The revelations of Cambridge Analytica files also caused people to pay more attention to the services' privacy regulations. In her initial article on Cambridge Analytica in May 2017, Carole Cadwalladr exposed the mechanisms of this company, revealing the troubling side-effects of data extraction. Cadwalladr traced in her article the influential steps of Cambridge Analytica, a "[d]ata analytics company" based out of London, which "[c]arried out major digital targeting campaigns for Donald Trump campaign, Ted Cruz's nomination campaign and multiple other US Republican campaigns." She also disclosed effective people or organizations in the development of mass manipulation, such as Robert Mercer, Steve Bannon, SCL Group, and Aggregate IQ, the data analytics company which was pointed out as having a swaying role in the "Vote Leave" campaign. As Cadwalladr reveals, the primary

data source for Cambridge Analytica was taken from Facebook. Cadwalladr offers insight into how Cambridge Analytica conducted its projects by including ex-employee's voices:

The company also (perfectly legally) bought consumer datasets – on everything from magazine subscriptions to airline travel – and uniquely it appended these with the psych data to voter files. It matched all this information to people's addresses, their phone numbers and often their email addresses. "The goal is to capture every single aspect of every voter's information environment," said David. "And the personality data enabled Cambridge Analytica to craft individual messages." ("The Great British")

This explanation about the links between online personal information and personalized messages that spread political propaganda demonstrates the extent of the utilization of correlative algorithms and their political consequences.

In one of her earlier articles Cadwalladr exposes the scale of Cambridge Analytica's influence. She writes that the company "claims to have built psychological profiles using 5,000 separate pieces of data on 220 million American voters" ("Google, Democracy"). If we converge Lanier's simplified framework for the functions of correlative algorithms into the massive scale of data gathered and used by Cambridge Analytica, this example suggests how substantial and lasting the consequences might be. Even though Cambridge Analytica's influence on the U.S. election is significant because of its political dimension, there are other examples of correlative algorithms which become prominent because of their social aspects.

In a recent article, "When Data Gets Creepy," Ben Goldacre explores some of these examples: the program named "Creepy," which only requires the person's Twitter or Flickr username to pin locations that person has been visiting by extracting data from the pictures they have shared. Another example explored by Goldacre, is a suicide app, whose intention is supposedly beneficial because it allows 'suspicious' profiles to be monitored for depressive

signals. This app uses Twitter data to reach conclusions about suicidal tendencies. On the one hand, Goldacre's examples position the user of the software as merely the observer of the analysis that the program draws. On the other hand, the Chinese government's project for its "social credit system" reveals potential limits on real life that one has to face (Hatton). As Celia Hatton's article on BBC News indicates, the social credit system "is meant to rate each citizen's trustworthiness," and "the organisation monitors users' social media activity when assessing their social credit." Even though, in the article, one citizen notes the "convenience" of this situation, the Chinese government's initiative is likely to have hierarchical and restricting repercussions.

China is surely not the only government that actively assesses its citizens' 'trustworthiness' based on SNS activities. Morozov, in his book *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*, points out that during the Iranian Green Movement, "[p]assport control officers at Tehran's airport asked Iranians living abroad if they had Facebook accounts; they would often double-check online, regardless of the answer, and proceed to write down any suspicious-looking online friends a traveler might have" (11). In another chapter in his book, Morozov states that "[n]umerous academic studies confirm that every time we share personal data on a social networking site, we make it more likely that someone might use it to predict what we are like, and knowing what we are like is a good first step toward controlling our behaviour" (158). As these examples demonstrate, individualized messages trigger emotions and direct people into certain ideologies that later shape the political direction of a nation, such as in the example of Cambridge Analytica's influence over the US election. These messages are generated based on the activities of one's virtual self and cause real-life consequences. The algorithms group a set of profiles that fall under certain religious, socio-economic, or political categories, and craft customized messages that transmit propaganda.

If correlative algorithms play a role in delivering propaganda through customized content, rendering profiles as targets for political or behavioural orientations, news feed or search engine algorithms of companies such as Facebook or Google influence users' perspectives by modifying the content presented to the user. Facebook's removal of its users' posts and Google's editing of search results have connections to Orwell in terms of his views on changing historical records. Even though Orwell's emphasis on the alteration of historical facts had political connotations, such as its links to Soviet record deletion, a link between contemporary politics and Orwell exists in terms of the terminology that has been used in connection to the generation and circulation of alternative facts or what is now sometimes described as fake news. In "The Prevention of Literature," Orwell writes, "[w]hat is really at issue is the right to report contemporary events truthfully, or as truthfully as is consistent with the ignorance, bias and self-deception from which every observer necessarily suffers" (264). In this essay, he sees "monopoly and bureaucracy" as "enemies" of "intellectual liberty" (263) owing to their roles in the censorship of information. His views become more prominent when applied by later generations of commentators on intellectual freedom and propaganda, commentators interested in new media, in people's dependence on the Internet as their primary source of information, and in the amount of control held by corporations or governments over the content of popular sites. In order to conceptualize the structure in this control, it is useful to revisit Manovich's *The Language of New Media*.

As one of the principles of new media, "[m]odularity" provides objects to preserve their "independence" while also linking them to one another, "assembl[ing them] into larger-scale objects" such as "the structure of HTML document" or "World Wide Web" (Manovich 30-1). Search engines in this design bring HTML to the user in an archival style, connecting the user to multiple HTML documents on different networks. The way that the search engines prioritize certain information over other information, therefore, determines the content that

one has access to view. This surely poses an obstacle to neutral results, which present misinformation about historical events. The spread of misinformation, in return, endangers verified content. Jaron Lanier offers an interpretation for the type of indirect and unconventional form of channelling information that technologists are responsible for:

Technologists don't use persuasion to influence you –or, at least, we don't do it very well. [...] We make up extensions to your being, like remote eyes and ears (web-cams and mobile phones) and expanded memory (the world of details you can search for online). These become the structures by which you connect to the world and other people. These structures in turn can change how you conceive of yourself and the world. We tinker with your philosophy by direct manipulation of your cognitive experience, not indirectly, through argument. (*You Are Not a Gadget* 5-6)

Google's notorious auto-completions and browsing results embody Lanier's explanations. Carole Cadwalladr, in two of her articles, references Google's auto-completions, which not only present a biased view, but also attempt to alter records. One of her examples shows how Google's top search results assure users that "the Holocaust didn't happen" ("Google Is Not"). Other examples include "10 Reasons Why Hitler Was One Of The Good Guys" among the top search results, and "Are women evil?" as an auto-complete suggestion ("Google, Democracy"). As Cadwalladr also questions, contrary to "Google's business model," which "is built around the idea that it's a neutral platform," ("Google Is Not") "what is concealed beneath the exterior of an innocent interface and a very effective search engine, is an explicitly political project" (The Invisible Committee). These results, generated by Google's proprietary algorithms, initiate the first step to bait users into viewing content, whose ideological traits start tracking them in their successive 'clicks' and "this enables data-mining and influencing companies like Cambridge Analytica to precisely target individuals,

to follow them around the web, and to send them highly personalised political messages” (Cadwalladr “Google, Democracy”).

Google, however, is not the only platform that bears accountability for modifying content and altering results to make them specific to users. It is well known that Facebook plays a controversial role in censoring posts shared by its users. Marina Hyde calls the founder of the platform, Mark Zuckerberg, “the world’s most powerful editor,” noting he repeatedly blocked the widespread sharing of “the iconic image of Kim Phuc,” an acclaimed example of war photography. Facebook’s news feed algorithms similarly operate in a problematic way. It is still a mystery for most to decipher the reasons behind Facebook’s news feed algorithms that update content in a highly subjective manner. Both Facebook’s and Google’s algorithms, in that respect, are pointed to by critics as examples of customized content, which augment “filter bubble[s].”

Algorithms such as the one that powers Facebook’s news feed are designed to give us more of what they think we want – which means that the version of the world we encounter every day in our own personal stream has been invisibly curated to reinforce our pre-existing beliefs. When Eli Pariser, the co-founder of Upworthy, coined the term “filter bubble” in 2011, he was talking about how the personalised web – and in particular Google’s personalised search function, which means that no two people’s Google searches are the same – means that we are less likely to be exposed to information that challenges us or broadens our worldview, and less likely to encounter facts that disprove false information that others have shared. (Viner)

In the same article, Viner identifies Facebook as one of the sites which made it possible for people to spread unverified news about the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom’s scandal with a dead pig, involving claims whose accuracy has never been proven, and yet this scandal has been shared widely as if it was a fact.

Viner is not the only person who notes the significant role of social media in spreading misinformation. MIT researchers in their paper in the journal *Science* investigate the amount of misinformation shared on Twitter as opposed to truthful accounts of events, which demonstrates, they argue, that “falsehood diffused significantly farther, faster, deeper and more broadly than the truth in all categories of information” (Hern). Their results indicate that the spread of misinformation about political news outweighs “false news about terrorism, natural disasters, science, urban legends or financial information.” Furthermore, an “experiment” by Facebook, which aimed to “[remove] professional news posts from users’ News Feed in six countries,” was recently cancelled owing to the fact that the experiment benefited the spread of misinformation (Wong).

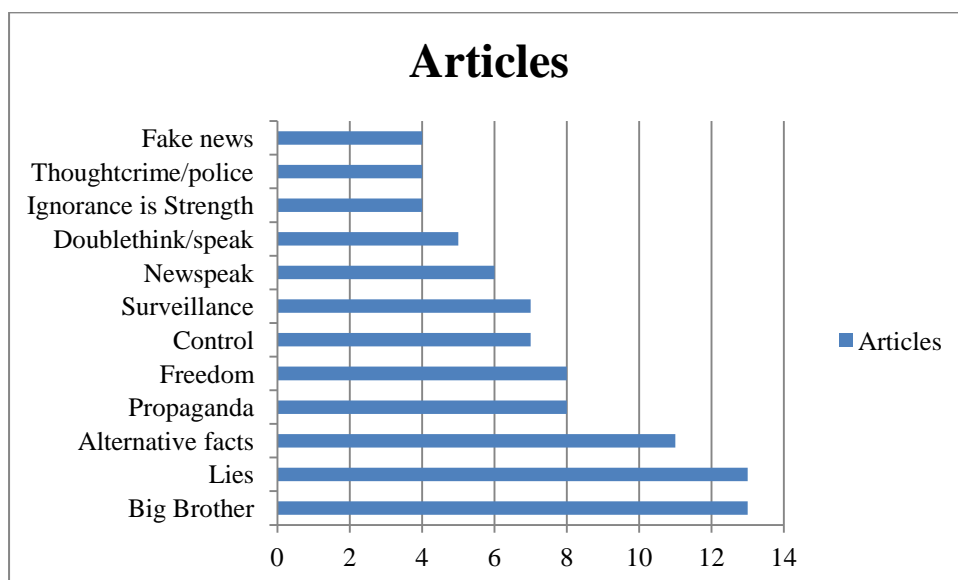
All these examples demonstrate the impactful position of major browsing and social networking sites in reproducing content on a specific topic. They directly or indirectly interfere with the boundaries of truthfulness, and take part in channelling and escalating the spread of misinformation. Similar to the routine practice of alteration of records in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Facebook or Google select, edit, and even delete information, influencing views instead of maintaining objectivity. Additionally, as concepts such as alternative facts or fake news have gained popularity in connection to the role that these companies play, references to *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and Orwell’s terminology in the novel have been more frequently made in relation to these concepts.

Neil McLaughlin, in “Orwell, the Academy and the Intellectuals,” points out that one of the reasons for Orwell’s influence in academic circles is the new vocabulary he introduced such as “‘War is Peace’; ‘Big Brother is Watching You’; and ‘Doublethink’” (164-5). Orwell’s iconic words and statements from his novel lend an enduring quality to his work. McLaughlin points out Orwell’s presence in academia, but quotations from his most remembered work have also been circulating in twenty-first-century politics, especially

within the context of the U.S. presidential campaign of 2016. In order to explore the connection between the U.S. presidential election of Donald Trump in 2016 and Orwellian interpretations of that event, I gathered online articles, whose publication dates range from 2016 to 2017, covering the periods of Donald Trump’s election as the president of the U.S.A. and his inauguration, and I undertook a content analysis, which I share now.

In this analysis, various newspaper articles were extracted using the software “Import.io.” After acquiring 179 online search results<sup>2</sup>, the data was organised with “OpenRefine.” Twenty-six articles (15%) in this set were scanned with a simple find command for twelve keywords with a connection to George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* that were in circulation in the context of 2017 U.S. federal politics. The words or phrases which were used most frequently in these articles are, starting with the most common: Big Brother, lies, alternative facts, propaganda, freedom, control, surveillance, newspeak, doublethink/speak, ignorance is strength, thought police/crime, and fake news. The chart below shows the correlation of the number of the articles and distribution of the words.

Figure 1.1 “Keywords and Articles”



Five out of these twelve keywords were then contextually interpreted in a sample article. At the end of searching five keywords (Big brother, lies, alternative facts, propaganda, freedom)



in the sample article, from *The Guardian* published on January 25, 2017, the number of mentions for each word were as follows: Big Brother: 4, lies: 4, alternative fact(s): 6, propaganda: 2, freedom: 1.

In *The Guardian* article, “Big Brother” is mentioned in the context of Donald Trump’s similarity to him as a leader, a man whose slogan could be, the author proposed, well reflected by the Oceania slogan “Ignorance is Strength,” this in light of Trump’s twitter threads and their popularity. Furthermore, the word “lies” in the article directly refers to the lies told by successive political leaders of the U.S.A; the president’s representatives, such as Sean Spicer; and mass media. “Lies,” in that respect, is a word used to refer to lies told about the amount of people gathered at Trump’s inauguration and about wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. By emphasizing the ongoing practice of lying by the incoming government, the article also draws attention to the stress Orwell placed on the power of political language and the way that it veils truth in his essay titled “Politics and the English Language.” Moreover, the word “alternative facts” is primarily used to refer to Sean Spicer’s use of the term and Kellyanne Conway’s defense of Spicer’s use of this term.

Apart from these recurring uses, “alternative facts” is used by *The Guardian* article while tracing parallels to George W. Bush’s presidency in order to point out that the world depicted in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has been relevant to U.S. politics prior to Trump’s campaign and election. Within the context of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, however, “alternative facts” is also used in this article to describe Winston Smith’s job at the Ministry of Truth in terms of his responsibility for the alteration or omission of written facts. Furthermore, “propaganda,” which occurs twice in the article, is linked to Trump’s first days as President, as well as George Orwell’s occupation at the BBC. Lastly, “freedom,” appearing only once in the article, is used in a broader and more conclusive way than the other keywords, encompassing both the fictional representation and the present day political situation. It is

used to propose the responsibilities of an individual in the continuation of the free state of a society and the world at large.

Apart from the links between correlative algorithms and their role in delivering propaganda, and Orwellian connections to control over content by the Internet platforms, parallels to the principles of Newspeak re-assert themselves in relation to metadata in terms of enforcing self-policing behaviours by planting in citizens the idea of being constantly monitored. Metadata encompasses the idea behind the motivations of mass-surveillance, whose importance in relation to civil liberties gained attention in the wake of the revelations made by the NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden in 2013. Metadata, in that respect, covers the idea of the constant and unfiltered collection of personal data, and it provides an understanding about how one's real-life actions can be mapped or traced through one's online self. Glenn Greenwald explains the term metadata as follows:

[T]he NSA collects two types of information: content and metadata. "Content" here refers to actually listening to people's phone calls or reading their emails and online chats, as well as reviewing Internet activity such as browsing histories and search activities. "Metadata" collection, meanwhile, involves amassing data *about* those communications. The NSA refers to that as "information about content (but not the content itself)." (132)

In an age, when data is defined as "the oil of the digital era," sharing personal data in exchange for free access to applications gives a "God's eye view" to leading software companies ("The World's"). As Snowden's revelations demonstrate, when multiple companies share their collections of data, intelligence agencies acquire a set of collections on different platforms, which gives them a stronger panoptic vision. One of the programs revealed in Snowden's NSA documents, PRISM, "which allowed the NSA to collect private

communications from the world's largest Internet companies, including Facebook, Google, Yahoo!, and Skype" (18), exemplifies this kind of embedded form of surveillance.

The dangers of PRISM are further outlined by Snowden in his 2018 interview with *la Repubblica*, in which he pointed out the crucial position of governments in this dynamic between private companies and intelligence agencies, both of which can surrender their data to governments upon their request, and cause an even more top-down form of policing (Snowden). In Snowden's documents, the NSA is the major entity that is responsible for carrying out surveillance programs in the USA. Yet, its overseas collaborators include countries such as "the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand," also known as "the Five Eyes" (Greenwald 23), as well as "US allies, such as France, Brazil, India, and Germany" (90). In most cases, surveillance policies in Western democracies stand out as smaller scale reflections of the NSA programs. For instance, the so-called "'snooper's charter' bill," the Investigatory Powers Act, which was passed into law in 2016 in the U.K., "requires web and phone companies to store everyone's web browsing histories for 12 months and give the police, security services and official agencies unprecedented access to the data" (Travis). Moreover, the law also allows computers to be hacked for their "communications data," which reminds one of the NSA's "Computer Network Exploitation (CNE)," a malware that is embedded into personal computers to monitor users (Greenwald 117).

Even though the resemblance between the function of telescreens and CNE is uncanny, Snowden's documents also prove the existence of one other program named "X-KEYSCORE," which operates in ways similar to the telescreens and the posters of Big Brother in the novel:

The NSA calls X-KEYSCORE its "widest-reaching" system for collecting electronic data, and with good reason. A training document prepared for analysts claims the

program captures “nearly everything a typical user does on the internet,” including the text of emails, Google searches, and the names of websites visited. X-KEYSCORE even allows “real-time” monitoring of a person’s online activities, enabling the NSA to observe emails and browsing activities as they happen. (153)

The program’s dependence on HTTP only makes more sense since all the information that X-KEYSCORE needs to access is circulating on the Web (155), which is also why writers like Morozov categorize Internet companies as pawns of the governments in the surveillance structure. Morozov explains:

One way for governments to avoid direct blame for exercising more Internet control is to delegate the task to intermediaries. At a minimum, this will involve making Internet companies that offer social-networking sites, blogging platforms, or search engines take on a larger self-policing role by holding them accountable for any content that their users post or (in the case of search engines) index and make available. (“Whither Internet Control?” 53)

Morozov’s point of view, here, reflects how surveillance in the digital age encompasses more than one agency, with agencies being closely interconnected. Regardless of the agency behind the monitor, just like the uncertain but ever-threatening presence of the observer in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the practice of metadata collection enables online actions to be monitored by the observer(s).

In conclusion, the major principles of Newspeak enact themselves in new media in the form of correlative algorithms, manipulation of content, and metadata. Even though Orwell’s connection to our digital age is frequently reduced by commentators to basic connections between the main characters of the novel and their similarities to contemporary political figures, the ethos of Orwell’s work is highly relevant to the means of personal data collection and usage. As opposed to this type of generalization, Morozov shares the idea that the

foundational elements in Orwell's work evolve into new media, but in an "interconnected" (*The Net Delusion* 83) way:

Despite the reductionist models that have made many in the West believe that information can destroy authoritarianism, information also plays an instrumental role in enabling propaganda, censorship, and surveillance, the three main pillars of Orwell-style authoritarian control. The Internet hasn't changed the composition of this "trinity of authoritarianism," but it has brought significant changes to how each of these three activities is practiced. (82)

Within the composition of new media and major components of "Orwell-style authoritarian control," it is clear to see how each of these elements appears in the online domain in terms of the way that the companies, the intelligence agencies, or the governments manipulate what users do or view on the Internet.

Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* resonates with our digital culture in terms of the similarity of fictional and real-world control mechanisms. The novel portrays the perpetuation of control over individuals through propaganda and the alteration of records, and via actions that ensure a cumulative stability of the mind and thinking, achieved by internalizing Newspeak principles. In a similar vein, correlative algorithms, manipulation of the information content, and mass-surveillance of personal data play roles in directing a type of control, which has effects on real-life behaviours and actions. It is, however, interesting to highlight a contrast that exists between the novel and its parallels in the contemporary online world related to their approach to the role of the body in maintaining control. As opposed to the tangible control that the body is subject to in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in order for the Party to possess control, in the twenty-first-century examples that I have analyzed in this chapter, the bodies of the users' are represented through their online activities. Consequently, the

organizations' treatment of personal data resembles the Party's treatment of the body in terms of the way that both function on a cognitive level.

Yet, they also differ in the way that the former assigns corporeal identification to the collection of data, whereas the latter literally perceives the body as a unit of informatics. This notion of documenting personal data, and treating it as a representative of one's body, is surely not a novel idea as it has links to the history of photographic practice. Allan Sekula traces this history in "The Body and the Archive," in which he discusses the photographic practices of Francis Galton, a Victorian-era scientist and the "invent[or] [of] a method of composite portraiture" (18). Referencing Galton, Sekula addresses archival images of people in relation to the increasing storage of visual data and their informative use in criminology. In this sense, governments', intelligence agencies', and companies' approaches to the collection and analysis of personal data evoke the origins of the photographic practices and the ownership of the body by data. The means of control and their effects are common to *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the twenty-first century, particularly in terms of networked technologies. Orwell's observations, reflected in the fictional content of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, venture into the digital realm, allowing for bleak parallels to be made. Yet, the interactive structure of new media complicates simple comparisons, while putting the user, or the target of the surveillance gaze, in a more strategic position, whose potential needs further evaluation in connection to the Orwellian aspects of new media and its liberating capacities.

## Chapter Three

### New Media With(out) Its ‘Orwellian’ Constraints

Despite the abundant use of the adjective ‘Orwellian’ in contemporary commentary, its meaning has often been presupposed and is rarely defined even by scholars who work on Orwell’s texts. As I mentioned in Chapter Two, Christopher Hitchens opposes the common and overly simplified use of this term. What he targets is people’s tendency to label minor occurrences within the framework of state surveillance or mass media’s manipulation as ‘Orwellian’ instances. In his writings on Orwell, Hitchens stresses the idea that Orwell’s writings express more than their critique of totalitarianism or autocracy (“Why Orwell” 204). For Hitchens, Orwell’s critique of “the human species” (204) exceeds the political implications of his works. Addressing the common use of ‘Orwellian’ in relation to Orwell’s most well-known novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, and the novel’s depiction of the anti-utopian society of Ingsoc in particular, a TED-Ed video directed by Jeremiah Dickey in 2015 offers an explanation for this word’s meaning that is narrowly focused on the novel. The video’s narrator, Addison Anderson, explains that the deceptive and manipulative function of language is a more accurate and connotative referent of ‘Orwellian’ than the more common understanding of it as a term signifying “authoritarian” (“What ‘Orwellian’ Really Means”).

Hitchens’ objection to the misuse of ‘Orwellian,’ resonates with the approach to the word ‘Orwellian’ featured in the TED-Ed video. Hitchens’ point of view regarding the application of Orwell’s writing beyond a critique of totalitarianism builds on the reception of the term ‘Orwellian’ rather than separating the term Orwellian from the political framework of Orwell’s writings. Explorations of freedom of expression, censorship, political language, propaganda and manipulation that feature in the majority of Orwell’s essays and novels deal with the place and competence of the individual as much as they target the powers which

administer them. Orwell's critique of the individual human cannot be separated from the power structures that the individual is entangled with and subject to.

By identifying certain parallels between, on the one hand, the way that Newspeak and its principles operate in the novel and, on the other hand, online culture in the second chapter, my aim was to demonstrate the contemporary technological reflections of the representations of Orwell's novel. The examples presented in both of my previous chapters in connection to the novel and networked technologies have 'Orwellian' aspects. Therefore, this term inherently addresses the relationship between the mediums and the user who is affected through their use. Newspeak and its principles are 'Orwellian' since it is the language and elements that are connected to language, such as propaganda, alteration, and the conceptual formulation of thoughts, that re-construct reality, memory, and thought, and play roles in deception, manipulation, and self-policing in the novel. Accordingly, the effects of data collection and distribution bear similar consequences to Newspeak as they collectively benefit authoritarian developments. It is in this sense that 'Orwellian' refers to the depiction of an authoritarian state while also encompassing the mediums that function in the development of such a state. When people use the term 'Orwellian,' it is often to stress contemporary events' thematic resemblances to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Winston's journey in the story parallels that of "The Last Man in Europe," which was Orwell's initial idea for the title of his novel (Orwell, "Orwell" 284). Through Winston, Orwell depicts the individual whose limitations and capabilities are tested within an authoritarian structure, which in unison define what, I am arguing here, is what 'Orwellian' should convey.

While my comparison between Newspeak and an online contemporary culture which resonates with Newspeak principles has focused on new media objects and their effects on the individual, the competence of the individual in new media requires further analysis in order to trace its 'Orwellian' inclinations or deviations. This chapter will question the levels



of agency allowed to the individual in new media in order to argue that user-computer interaction and user participation maximize the individual's active involvement both in the creation and navigation of the content in new media, which will present an unconventional notion of 'Orwellian.' The individual is not merely entrapped while interacting with new media objects as opposed to common uses and representations of the word 'Orwellian'. Human agency in new media is a potential field for the empowerment of the individual since the user assumes an active position. This chapter will examine the relationship between user(s) and interactive environments in the following aspects: Web 2.0, human-computer interface/interaction (HCI), and user customization.

Web 2.0 is defined by a more user-inclusive Internet experience than its predecessor. An evolutionarily step up of user participation in content creation, Web 2.0 allows for an increased level of agency that stems from not only individual participation but also from a collaborative dependence. Popularized by Tim O'Reilly, the term Web 2.0 defines a shift from the earlier formation of the Web (i.e., Web 1.0), whose infrastructure prioritized user-dependence on service providers. Both of these stages present "a set of principles and practices," (O'Reilly 18-9) which lay out major aspects that function in their formation instead of projecting an imperative progression. There are features that O'Reilly explains in his article when he compares Web 2.0 to Web 1.0, and mentions about some of the characteristics of each. He also emphasizes that these features should be used as guidelines to identify a web page, which suggest that not all web pages maintain the features of Web 2.0. One of these principles, which make Web 2.0 distinct from Web 1.0, is the fact that its usability becomes more accessible and powerful with an increase in user participation, which O'Reilly defines as the "architecture of participation" (22). Services which incorporate Web 2.0 principles promote "collective activity of all web users" in order to gain a more influential entrepreneurial position in the Web (22). Examples of Web 2.0 include BitTorrent, which

uses personal computers as servers or ‘seeds’ to transfer data across other users, or Wikipedia, which is one of the leading services of “open source software” (23) whose content is created out of multiple user inputs. Furthermore, as O’Reilly indicates, one of the other examples of Web 2.0 is “blogging.” Replacing “personal websites,” (18) services that are similar to the operation of “blogging” are seen not only as “key to market dominance in the Web 2.0 era,” (24) but also present a more promising arena for rapid communication. This rapid communication between users as well as between the users and the website is identified by O’Reilly as “live web” (24).

In O’Reilly’s model, characteristics of ‘blogging’ are present in a majority of social networking sites used today. The possibility for open collaboration, however, does not cover the whole framework of Web 2.0. Additionally, O’Reilly strictly emphasizes that there are more advanced technical aspects, such as the simplicity of the scripting language, re-usability of the software, continuous synchronicity of the content in connection to AJAX, or RSS, which should be essential to identify any service as Web 2.0 application. Yet, social networking sites and the prevalence of user-generated content remain as the most evoked defining qualities of Web 2.0. For instance, while defining Web 2.0, Lev Manovich specifically addresses social networking sites as primary examples. For Manovich, these sites reflect the next phase of the earlier structure of the Web, which was based on the delivery of “messages” to the user. With Web 2.0, social networking sites are replacing this earlier formation, allowing “users [...] [to] share, comment on, and tag their own media” (*Software* 37). As a result, Web 2.0 services begin to offer an environment which embraces the user(s), who used to be the viewer(s) of the content, as an active creator of the media that is created. In other words, “the world of Web 2.0 is also the world of what Dan Gillmor calls ‘we, the media’, a word in which ‘the former audience’, not a few people in a back room, decides what’s important” (O’Reilly 26-7).

O'Reilly's guidelines to identify a Web 2.0 application offer a technical evaluation and reflect a celebratory perspective that promotes the advantages of Web 2.0 services. Having shared a brief reflection on what Web 2.0 conveys as a term in order to recognize the more user-dependent elements of the Web, it is now necessary to evaluate the benefits or disadvantages of involving the user as part of the collective creation and distribution of content. Since social networking sites are often the most used examples of Web 2.0, the centralization of the user in the age of new media is naturally connected to the influential role that social networking services grant to the user. However, a critical analysis of the participatory relationship between the user and media has been and remains a task undertaken by media scholars. For instance, in his 2006 book *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*, Henry Jenkins' primary goal is to look at this relationship from a more general perspective that both speaks to users' participation in content creation in the Internet era and explores attempts in broadcasting to allow viewers to decide what will be on-air (253), such as the initiatives led by Albert Gore for "Current," a cable network (251), and by BBC New Media and Technology.

For Jenkins, "convergence" defines a new phase characterized by the development of channels for the transmission of the media. In this new cultural direction, the users or "the media consumer[s]" not only are nourished by the media, which has been traditionally and continues to remain in the hands of "corporate media," but also take part in branching the media that they have previously been viewers of. Within this dynamic, the consumers take on a more participatory role, which deviates from "passive media spectatorship" (3). The amplification of various channels offered to the user complicates the either/or structure of top-down and bottom-up media production, integrating "corporate media" with "participatory culture" (254). This kind of synthesis between "grassroots" and "broadcast" media, for

Jenkins, is essential for “cultural diversity,” (268) and he believes that “decentraliz[ing]” communication rather than confining it to one specific channel benefits “freedom” (11).

Similar to Jenkins’ positive stance towards the participatory role of the users, and the beneficial aspects of offering the users sources through which they can express their opinions, the involvement of the user in Web 2.0, and in social networking sites more specifically, has been regarded as a powerful step for the empowerment of users, especially within the context of activism. The discourse around the empowering standards of Web 2.0 conceives the Web as an influential platform for “citizen activism” (Calingaert 158). Since the Web has become a medium which has dominated other channels that deliver information, the place that the users inhabit in the Web now allows for an equally controlling role for consumers over “news and political commentary [which] are no longer in the exclusive domain of large media houses” (158). This idealized representation of the Web has, however, been severely criticized. Seeing the Web as a platform that unbalances the dynamic between “the oppressed” and “the oppressor” has been defined by Evgeny Morozov as “cyber-utopianism” (*The Net Delusion* xiii).

However, it is important to unpack Morozov’s criticism, since he targets government and corporate interference by groups who use the Internet for “propaganda purposes,” “for surveillance,” and “Internet censorship” (xiv), rather than underestimating the power of the users. His main opposition to cyber-utopianism rests on the idea that, contrary to Western governments’ perception, the Internet’s role in providing people a space, where they take action against the undemocratic atmosphere in their countries, increased the power of states and “overempowered those who oppose the very process of democratization” (256). In one of his many examples, he demonstrates this misperception, which is often embraced by Western governments. Commenting on the United Kingdom’s former prime minister Gordon Brown’s references to the 2003 Iraq War, Morozov addresses Brown’s ill-advised comment regarding

citizens “[not] blog[ing] enough about” the war as the reason for the lack of civil action (4). Additionally, Morozov notes another controversy related to the democracy-enhancing quality of the Internet: the damaging use of anonymization “by people and networks that undermine democracy” such as in the examples of the Russian “Northern Brotherhood,” “[c]rime gangs in Mexico,” (256-7) and “Uighur-Han clashes in China in [...] 2009,” whose activities in each case either targeted minorities or increased polarization (259-60).

In many of the examples in his book, therefore, Morozov emphasizes the negative effects of ‘the Internet freedom’ which has been naively praised by cyber-utopians. As part of his analysis, he reveals the agents and the values responsible for this misperception of the optimistic potentials of Internet freedom. For Morozov, the ungoverned Internet is, firstly, not entirely ungoverned as there are many examples that indicate how governments use it in order to increase their own power (these include surveillance methods, their collaboration with extracting data from SNSs, and even the concept of anonymity). Secondly, Morozov proposes that the Internet should be regulated by policies that are in the side of democracy, which suggests that in a way it should not be completely ungoverned either. Therefore, he believes in the potentials of Internet freedom and user inclusivity, but also tries to break the optimistic idea about it, which is often embraced by Western ‘democracies’ or Silicon Valley ‘techies.’

Technologists that were supposed to empower the individual strengthened the dominance of giant corporations, while technologies that were supposed to boost democratic participation produced a population of couch potatoes. Nor is this to suggest that such technologies never had the potential to improve the political culture or make governance more transparent; their potential was immense. (276)

Morozov’s point here reflects his faith in the potential emerging technologies, but pins the subjects that are linked to the shortcomings that he exposes in relation to false vision about

the effects of civil activism which is mainly taking place on multiple social networking platforms. Given the connection between Web 2.0 and services that offer “increased interconnectedness,” (261) it is, therefore, necessary not to hold a position which dismisses other influencers such as corporations or governments while seeing user inclusion as an increased level of agency. The more comprehensive approach recognizes the factors that try to interrupt these technologies as well as seeing those factors as external mechanisms.

In addition to Web 2.0, which is built around user-inclusiveness, human-computer interaction or interface (HCI) contains features whose main aim is to assign a more empowered status to the user through increasing the optimal performance between the user and the computer. As a result, many of the prospective solutions for the design of the interface centralize the user’s experience and try to make the interaction as efficient as possible, particularly for the end-users, who do not need to know the design and operations of the machine and yet are capable of using it. Brenda Laurel, in her introduction to *The Art of Human-Computer Interface Design*, gives a definition for HCI, which states that in its earlier reception the term “was commonly understood as the hardware and software through which a human and a computer could communicate. As it has evolved, the concept has come to include the cognitive and emotional aspects of the user’s experience” (xi). As she also notes, “the screen” has been the most associated representation for HCI (xi), and there is a reciprocity between the user and the interface which causes a mutual transformative response (“Users” 91). Whether it is the empowerment of or the “constraints” on the user, the formulation of this interaction has impacts on “creativity and productivity” (93). Before looking at the relationship between the user and ‘the medium’ that occurs during human-computer interaction in connection to structuring media elements within the computer, it is useful to go back to one of the early and influential media scholars, Marshall McLuhan, and

his idea of ‘the medium’ since his interpretation is constantly recalled by new media scholars in their analysis of the computer and how ‘the medium’ has evolved in the computational age.

In his groundbreaking book *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964), McLuhan introduces the idea “the medium is the message” (13), which has been extensively deciphered. As he puts the concepts “medium,” “message,” and “content” forward, McLuhan disentangles their relationship. In his explanation of his oft-quoted phrase, he offers the idea that contrary to previous perceptions of “the message” as “the content,” the medium itself should be considered as the message (16). Consequently, in order to receive the message fully, it is necessary to fully understand the medium or media. Even though his examples for ‘the medium’ represent old media, one of the aspects of “the effect of media and technology” (19) that he draws attention to speaks to all types of media. This aspect is media’s influence on “our senses,” which is often seen as less prominent than its impact on “our opinions” (19), aligns with the design principles of human-computer interaction, as has been echoed by Laurel.

In addition to the interaction that has effects on the user on a transformative level, McLuhan’s theory of ‘the medium’ has been explained in connection to the computer in relation to the functions of the computer. In his interpretation of McLuhan’s explanation for ‘the medium,’ Alan Kay builds on McLuhan’s theory, defining the computer as the “*metamedium* whose content is ‘a wide range of already-existing and not-yet-invented media’” (Manovich, *Software* 44). Analyzing and extending McLuhan’s theory, Kay sees the “message receipt” as “message recovery,” (192) and asserts that “[t]he ability to ‘read’ a medium means you can *access* materials and tools created by others. The ability to ‘write’ in a medium means you can *generate* materials and tools for others” (Kay 193). As a result, human-computer interface, along with the components that form the interface, determine one’s ability to communicate with the machine and to produce other ‘medium(s)’ through

which one's own message is delivered. The interface, in that respect, as part of the larger set of medium(s), "is not something fixed" (Manovich, *The Language* 36) similar to all new media objects. This is what Manovich categorizes as the "[v]ariability" principle in *The Language of New Media*, which suggests that new media objects can be formed "in different, potentially infinite versions," and that the user can re-create different combinations from the same data (36). 'Variability' principle implies the flexibility offered to the user, who is able to produce varied versions of an existing template.

With its characteristic of being a 'metamedium,' the computer accommodates many user-centered qualities as part of HCI. One of the most essential parts of HCI that is known to allow the users to maintain their independence while operating the machine is hypertext/hypermedia. "[H]yper," as defined by Jenny Preece, "suggests the notions of branching and decisionmaking" (320). Furthermore, making a comparison to a "conventional document" where "[t]he organizational structure and cross-references are fixed at printing time," Kathleen Gygi asserts about hypertext that "[i]n hypertext, links and nodes are presumably dynamic (unlike the predetermined branching in older generations of software)" (280). While explaining its function, she adds that in this interaction, "[i]nformation is not brought to the user; rather, the user has to go to different places in the dataspace to get information [...] in an unconstrained manner" (281). Apart from the other "components of modern user interface" such as "pointing devices, windows, menus, icons, gesture recognition" (Kay 191), hypertext/hypermedia allows users to navigate the content in a non-linear manner.

Coined by Ted Nelson in 1965, "[h]ypermedia" and "hypertext" are alternatively defined in the *A Companion to Digital Humanities* as "multi-linear labyrinths of information" (110). This definition concisely reflects the function of hypertext/media in relation to the structure of the 'nodes' and 'links' embedded in any interface, which allows the user to freely



move between multiple contents, creating a branching process. In addition to these components of HCI, there is another element that is usually a part of interface components: multimedia. Multimedia does not function as another category in addition to already existing components, but can be considered as an additional layer to them. Kathleen Gygi specifically clarifies the relationship between multimedia and hypertext/media, and stresses that “dynamic presentation” is not already integrated into multimedia but is provided with hypermedia, which is “a network of linked nodes that contain multimedia information” (281). However, there is usually a close connection between interaction and multimedia, which lends a dynamic presentation to multimedia objects. Therefore, as a separate form of content, in its simplest form, multimedia combines “synchronous or time-dependent media (audio and video) and asynchronous media (text and still images)” (109) together. Geoffrey Rockwell and Andrew Mactavish quote from Blattner and Dannenberg, and agree that “multimedia systems strive to take the best advantage of human senses in order to facilitate communication” (108). Rockwell and Mactavish see interactivity as inseparable from multimedia (110), which allows multiple mediums to operate and be absorbed all at once.

This close connection between multimedia and interactivity is also probably one of the reasons why Rockwell and Mactavish raise the possibility of virtual reality (VR) as “the next step in the evolution of the multimedia computer and user interface” (115). Given the fact that Lev Manovich challenges the whole concept of interactivity by equating it to “externaliz[ing] mental life,” (*The Language* 57) which, in his view, is the major motivation behind “imaging technologies such as photography, cinema and VR” (“From the Externalization” 12-3), Rockwell’s and Mactavish’s approach to VR corresponds to the cognitive link between the users and the machines. However, VR’s innovative potential is not only a recent view. In an interview on virtual reality in the 1980s, when virtual reality technology was seen to possess limitless possibilities, Jaron Lanier reads VR as an example

of what he terms “multiple channel,” in which one’s “[body] can be used as a medium for human action” (115). He further explains the intricate relationship between the virtual body and real senses in *You Are Not a Gadget* (2010): [t]he slightest change in something as seemingly trivial as the ease of use of a button can sometimes completely alter behaviour patterns. For instance, Stanford University researcher Jeremy Bailenson has demonstrated that changing the height of one’s avatar in immersive virtual reality transforms self-esteem and social self-perception” (4). People acquire the ability to communicate in the virtual space with a representation of a virtual self, but the organization and design of an interface, which is the channel of communication, also affects their perception. Whether it is the dimensions or the capacities of the virtual body, which is the interface that the user embodies in virtual reality, or any other interface, including the organization of web pages or the desktop itself, that everyday users are confronted with, one’s perception is highly influenced by the way that these components are harmonized.

Therefore, the communication between the human and the computer does not solely encompass basic input/output (I/O) or more advanced forms of natural language processing (NLP); it also involves the way that these structures shape the users’ conventions about how they intellectually process a certain symbol reflected on an interface. The overload of these elements is, as a matter of fact, what Brenda Laurel mentions as “the cognitive load” (xii) resulting from “the plethora of options” (xi) in the design of the interface. The interaction between human and computer, therefore, is reciprocal. This reciprocity is designed around developing tools that would create more flexibility for the user while also having impacts on the user’s perception.

Integrated into other aspects as part of new media, such as user participation in Web 2.0 and HCI, user customization is also among the essential elements of human agency in new media. In order to contextualize user customization, it is necessary to revisit the

comparisons between old and new media (Shannon; Manovich), or mass/broadcast and digital media (Lanier; Jenkins), or analog and digital computer (Wilden). As one of the most applied theories in media and communication studies, Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver's contributions to communication theory preserve their significance for an analysis of communication schema regardless of the "symbols" involved (Weaver 25). The concepts that are part of this schema, such as "the transmitter," "channel," "the signal," or "the destination" (7) are often referred to when commentators analyze the design in any verbal or visual interaction. Additionally, "[l]evels of [c]ommunications [p]roblems," such as "[t]he technical problem," "[t]he semantic problem," and "[t]he effectiveness problem" (4) are logically considered as inseparable from the schema since they classify the elements which cause disruption in the delivery of a message.

One interesting approach in the Shannon-Weaver communication schema is the interpretation of the meaning of information. As C.E. Shannon forms an analysis based on mathematical formulas (e.g, logarithms indicating the possibilities of information), information in this approach is seen as "a measure of one's freedom of choice when one selects a message" (9). In this view, "the concept of information applies not to the individual messages (as the concept of meaning would)" (9), but rather to the availability of choices that one can pick from "*a set* of possible messages" (31). As opposed to this type of flexibility, which is assigned to the meaning of information, the interaction between "the transmitter" and "the receiver" is based on "encod[ing]" and "decod[ing]" (17) respectively, and "[t]he receiver performs the inverse operation of that done by the transmitter, reconstructing the message from the signal" (34). In addition to the roles of these two subjects within interaction, "[t]he channel" is defined as "merely the medium used to transmit the signal from transmitter to receiver" (34).

Even though Shannon-Weaver's information theory is very canonical, and is applied to mass media in terms of laying out the interaction between "the authors who create and send messages and the audiences that receive them" (Manovich, *Software* 35), in the case of new media, this theory remains inadequate because of its perception of the fixed status of the channel, or of a unilateral structure between the transmitter and the receiver. Manovich provides the reasons why this approach does not reflect the interaction that occurs in new media:

The interfaces of media access applications, such as web browsers and search engines, the hyperlinked architecture of the World Wide Web, and the interfaces of particular online media services offering massive numbers of media artifacts for playback preview and/or purchase (Amazon, Google Play, iTunes, Rhapsody, Netflix, etc.), encourage people to "browse," quickly moving both *horizontally* between media (from one search result to the next, from one song to another, etc.) and vertically, *through* the media artifacts (e.g., from the contents listing of a music album to a particular track). They also made it easy to start playing/viewing media at an arbitrary point, and to leave it at any point. In other words, the "message" that the user "receives" is not just actively "constructed" by him/her (through a cognitive interpretation) but also actively managed (defining what information s/he is receiving and how). (35-6)

The issue of multiplicity of choices is something that both Lanier and Manovich see as a distinct quality of new media. Although Lanier specifically addresses virtual reality in terms of a varied scale of possibilities at the user's operation, Manovich extends this quality to new media objects generally.

Additionally, he also adds a comparison between 'old' and 'new' media in relation to the user's or viewer's interaction with the content: "while 'old media' (with the exception of

twentieth-century broadcasting) also provided this random access, the interfaces of software-driven media players/viewers provide many additional ways for browsing media and selecting what and how to access” (38). Manovich, here, explicitly considers the World Wide Web, since it is the example that he gives in his earlier book, *The Language of New Media*, of non-hierarchical access for the user when he states that, “[t]he World Wide Web model assumes that every object has the same importance as any other, and that everything is, or can be, connected to everything else” (16).

However, as I explored in Chapter Two, there are cases where the users are led into a certain direction even in their activities on the Web. Yet, what Manovich addresses is the technical aspect of WWW in its most recognized form, and he plainly leaves out the governmental or monopolistic levels of this structure. The user in this paradigm is allowed to follow an undetermined path for accessing information. Furthermore, Manovich thinks that this also defines “the subject of the information society” who “is comforted [...] by the variety of data manipulation operations at her control” (274-5). The structure of the Web is not the only example that gives variability of choices to the individual. As outlined in the concept of ‘metamedium,’ the users in new media acquire a position in which they are capable of producing as well as navigating. Understanding the mechanics of the ‘digital computer,’ in that respect, helps us to grasp its distinction from ‘the analog’ in terms of noticing the potential the former possesses.

Anthony Wilden dedicates a section in his book *System and Structure* (1972) to looking at the technical characteristics of the digital and analog computer. Apart from the well-known difference that the former is processing ‘discrete’ elements or objects, and the latter is processing ‘continuous’ objects, Wilden points out that “the analog computer is an icon or an image of something ‘real’, whereas the digital computer’s relationship to ‘reality’ is rudimentarily similar to language itself” (163). This analogy between the digital computer

and language is a recurring idea in the works of other writers, including Manovich. What is similar in both of their approaches is that the digital computer as a medium can be used as a tool to embed other mediums. Whereas Manovich refers to ‘metamedium’ while touching on this idea, Wilden notes the connection between the computer and language since both can “metacommunicate” (171).

This whole idea of ‘metamedium,’ is the central topic in *Software Takes Command* (2013), in which Manovich echoes the principle of ‘variability’ while explaining “[w]hat happens to the idea of a ‘medium’ after previously media-specific tools have been simulated and extended in software” (4). While indicating that “software elements that can be combined together in previously impossible ways,” “for many new media combinations” (336), Manovich recognizes the availability of new media combinations for creation by the user. This is also what Jenkins refers to as part of “new age of individualism” as opposed to the “one-size-fits-all-diet of the broadcast networks” (255-6). However, as has been already discussed as part of ‘individual customization,’ Manovich also acknowledges an important point regarding the extent of such freedom in terms of liability to certain boundaries in new media objects, which allow user customization but not in an entirely non-restrictive manner.

The extent of individualization in new media poses a paradox in terms of this notion’s connections to human agency and user customization. Authors such as Jenkins, Manovich, and Lanier deal with this paradox in relation to media literacy. In addition to the potential damage done in terms of maintaining one’s individuality, Lanier also sees this inherent paradox as beneficial to corporate dominance specifically. In that respect, even though the users possess certain opportunities for customization during their operation of new media, their individualization is usually buried under the credibility that “commercial aggregation and abstraction sites” claim (*You Are Not a Gadget* 16). Consequently, the disappearance of individuality under corporate dominance, for Lanier, leads to the rise of the commercialized

Web which inevitably causes everything, “including humans,” to become a part of “one big information system” (27). Accordingly, possessing an autonomy as an individual “in the age of cloud computing” is what Lanier calls “a fake front” (“Technology” 314). Moreover, he thinks that “[i]t is real people, anonymized and unvalued, who are the sources of the ‘big data’ that allow cloud algorithms to function” (314).

Apart from Lanier’s perspective on the effects of loss of autonomy on ‘big data,’ what reunites Jenkins, Manovich, and Lanier is their shared view that the users should make more effort to solve this problem. Getting equipped with a certain amount of media literacy, in that respect, is promoted as essential by the works of all three writers. Lanier suggests users invest time in the creation of media “that won’t fit into the template,” whether it is a website or a video (*You Are Not a Gadget* 21). He invites “more self-aware[ness]” “in relation to [new media technologies]” (“Technology” 314). Similarly, Jenkins wants people to become “cultural producers” rather than “consumers” (270). Furthermore, while addressing ‘metamedium,’ and tracing the formula of the media “after its softwarization” (204) as “*a combination of a data structure and set of algorithms*,” (207) Manovich proposes the idea of “permanent extendibility” (337). ‘Permanent extendibility’ refers to the possibility of the creation of other formulas by using the one that already exists. As he further explains, “[n]ew algorithms and techniques that work with common media data types and file formats can be invented at any time by anyone with the right skill. These inventions can be distributed instantly over the web, without a need for the large resources that were required in the twentieth century to introduce a new commercial media device” (337). When we consider the approaches put forward by these three writers, we can observe that new media offers possibilities for the users to customize any type of representation (Manovich 15-6) in new media, which suggests that it provides an amount of agency for the user. Yet, as these

commentators also deduce, the use of new media needs to be paired with media literacy in order for its full potential to be realized.

In conclusion, the user's presence in new media presents more agency than exists in the context of pre-digital versions of media relationship. There are multiple aspects which demonstrate this agency, such as the structure of Web 2.0, human-computer interface/interaction, and user customization. Even though one of the defining characteristics of new media is to put the user in a more participatory place, it is important for us to recognize that there are external factors that are involved when we draw a clear line or division between empowerment and constraint. When we make a comparison between new media and its 'Orwellian' characteristics, it is impossible to ignore the political effects of the constraints that are caused by those factors. Since the political clash in Orwell's works involves the conflict of democracy and totalitarianism, it is essential to realize how digital technologies are used by governments and corporations. Tim Berners-Lee, commenting on universality of the Web, states that "[t]he Web is now more critical to free speech than any other medium" (82). Echoing Morozov's warnings about 'increased interconnectedness,' Berners-Lee addresses the influence of the Web in the digital era in connection to its complex role in limiting or amplifying democracy.

In his interpretation of contemporary society and its relationship with technology, Morozov compares Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and Huxley's *Brave New World*, and suggests that "Orwell feared that what we hate will ruin us. Huxley feared that what we love will ruin us" (78). He then continues, "[t]o assume that all political regimes can be mapped somewhere on an Orwell-Huxley spectrum is an open invitation to simplification; to assume that a government would be choosing between reading their citizens' mail or feeding them with cheap entertainment is to lose sight of the possibility that a smart regime may be doing both" (79). Even though Morozov's reading of the current political and hedonistic intricacy



between the individual and technologies combines Orwell and Huxley, his perspective about Orwell in terms of building the power relation between the state and the individual upon factors of hate is unsatisfying, especially when we think about the final scene in Orwell's novel where Winston grows to love Big Brother.

It is impossible to completely disentangle the politics from the mediums when reading new media through the lens of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which is what Morozov focuses on in his reading of the 'Orwellian' aspect of the state of democracy in the Information age. However, it is important to consider what 'Orwellian' means in connection to the place of the individual because portraying the individual's resistance to a repressing power is a central theme in Orwell's work. Therefore, when we look at the user and aspects of new media that are designed to centralize the user, the notion of 'Orwellian,' to project parallels between new media and the novel in terms of injecting a certain ideology, or re-writing facts, or manipulating behaviour, is an inadequate representation. The individual in new media, therefore, cannot solely be defined as entrapped. With the tools that are offered to users, users have opportunities to gain a more empowering status as opposed to remaining in a passive role in their relationship with media.

## Conclusion

Lev Manovich has proposed that “what we experience as ‘media,’ ‘content’ or ‘cultural artifact’ is technically a set of data organized in a particular way” (*Software* 201). Our relationship with software culture, as a result, is crucial for our understanding of how these concepts (e.g., media, content, and cultural artifact) are created. When Manovich talks about the nuanced relationship between software and culture, as we experience it today, he highlights the necessity of students’ development of relevant digital skills, enabling them “only ‘then [...] [to] be able to say something about what ‘culture’ is at the moment”” (20). This idea is reiterated by other scholars who write about new media. Geoffrey Rockwell and Andrew Mactavish, for example, point out that:

There are two ways we can think through multimedia. The first is to think about multimedia through definitions, histories, examples, and theoretical problems. The second way is to use multimedia to think and to communicate thought. [...] To think-with multimedia is to use multimedia to explore ideas and to communicate them. [...] Scholars of multimedia should take seriously the challenge of creating multimedia as a way of thinking about multimedia and attempt to create exemplary works of multimedia in the traditions of the humanities. (117)

As an example of “think[ing]-with multimedia,” in this conclusion to my thesis, I will share and discuss an interactive multimedia work, a research creation, which I created and which has contextual links to the thesis. In Lanier’s terms, with this project, I aim to “filter” the information I gathered during my research instead of merely being a “reflector” of it. For Lanier, this shift from being a reflector to being a filter is the essence of “[h]uman [s]pecialness” (“The End”).

As I have previously noted in Chapter One, in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the poster of Big Brother is described as possessing a dynamic quality. While looking at the poster, Winston

Smith feels that the image has a controlling power over him: “[t]he hypnotic eyes gazed into his own. It was as though some huge force were pressing down upon you—something that penetrated inside your skull, battering against your brain, frightening you out of your beliefs, persuading you, almost, to deny the evidence of your senses” (Orwell 83). Like the telescreens, Big Brother’s watchful eyes in the ever-present posters of him reinforce self-surveillance –constant self-monitoring– and discourage thoughtcrime.

In order to represent visually the power of images of Big Brother within the novel as well as what Big Brother symbolizes within the context of surveillance more generally, which is the embodiment of the omniscience of ‘the guardian,’ I created an interactive multimedia work with a visual programming language, Processing (3.3.7). In my project, I shift the focus from the concept of Big Brother to the viewer. In doing so, I aim to demonstrate how individuals become units of ‘Big Brothers’ in terms of consuming propaganda, embodying orthodoxy, and adapting their behaviours and thoughts in line with the Party in the case of the novel, or authoritarian forces in general. In this digital project, the viewer, at first, confronts on screen a poster of Big Brother. He or she looks at the poster but maintaining his/her passive role. The viewer is then invited to interact with the image by pressing any key between ‘A’ to ‘Z’. With each keystroke, the image shifts into an aerial surveillance footage, which the program selects randomly with a “random()” function from an array at each operation: “movie = new Movie (this, vid[int(random (0, 3))]).” These three videos in the “String” were uploaded to the Processing library from “Internet Archive” for copyright free usage. Additionally, with each keystroke, the program also jumps into a random moment in the video: “movie.jump (random(movie.duration())).” On one hand, the shift from the image to a video is created with a control statement (i.e., if (keyPressed)). This, however, only allows the same video to be played randomly. On the other hand, the function “void keyPressed()” enables the selection of a different video at every keystroke. This, however,

causes a lag, which is most likely resulting from the high resolution videos that the program has to run on every loop.

By referencing of contemporary surveillance culture in this project with the integration of surveillance videos that represent governments' watchful eyes over public space, I tried to shift the viewer of my digital demonstration from a passive to an active role. The viewer, when pressing a key, is able to see the footage, not the original image of Big Brother, which puts her/him in the place where s/he is the one who is monitoring or surveilling while interacting with the project. With this demonstration, I tried to provide a practical example of my discussion of the Orwellian composition of new media in this thesis. Since the development of the chapters originates from my close reading of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with a focus on the notion of self-surveillance and on the control mechanisms of the Party, I concluded my research by combining my textual analysis of the novel and its iteration in new media. Through my experimentation with this software, I tried to stress the empowering status of the user, who is given the tools of resistance, in new media. I offer this demonstration as a medium or as an example that not only speaks about the power dynamics in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the representations of these dynamics in our society, but also communicates with the user in a reciprocal way. It presents, and invites viewers to consider, a conjunction of passive spectatorship in media and active involvement of the user, whose presence both embodies the vision of the guardian as well as moves away from being the object of the surveillance gaze.

## Still Images

Figure 2.1 “Text Editor 1.1”



The screenshot shows a text editor window with a dark blue header bar. On the left, there are play and stop buttons. On the right, there is a tab labeled 'big\_brother\_final' and a language dropdown set to 'Java'. The code is as follows:

```

1 PImage img;
2 import processing.video.*;
3 PShape rectangle;
4 String[] vid = {"surv1.mp4", "surv2.mp4", "surv3.mp4"};
5 Movie movie;
6 Movie[] play = new Movie[vid.length];
7 int index;
8

```

Figure 2.2 “Text Editor 1.2”



The screenshot shows a text editor window with a dark blue header bar. The code is as follows:

```

9 void setup(){
10   size (960, 852);
11   img = loadImage ("big brother.jpg");
12   movie = new Movie (this, vid[int(random(0, 3))]);
13   movie.play();
14   rectangle = createShape (RECT, 425, 215, 110, 300);
15   stroke (0);
16   fill (0);
17 }
18
19 void draw() {
20   image (img, 0, 0, 960, 852);
21   if (keyPressed)
22     background (0);
23   if (keyPressed)
24     image(movie, 255, 215, 466, 220);
25   movie.jump (random(movie.duration()));
26   if (keyPressed)
27     rect (425, 215, 110, 300);
28     stroke (0);
29     fill (0);
30 }
31
32 void movieEvent(Movie m) {
33   m.read();
34 }

```

Figure 2.3 “Big Brother Image”

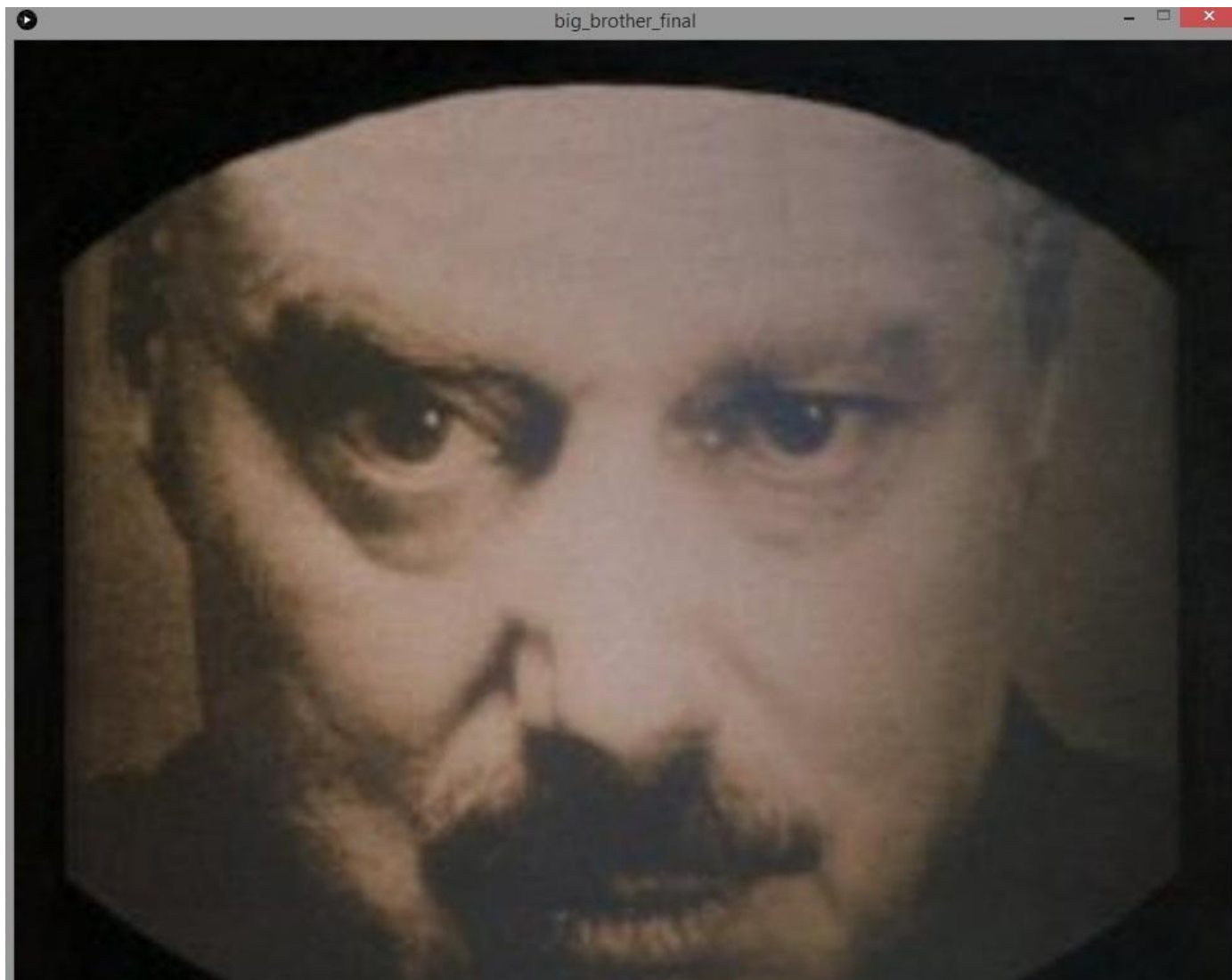




Figure 2.5 “Footage 1.2”

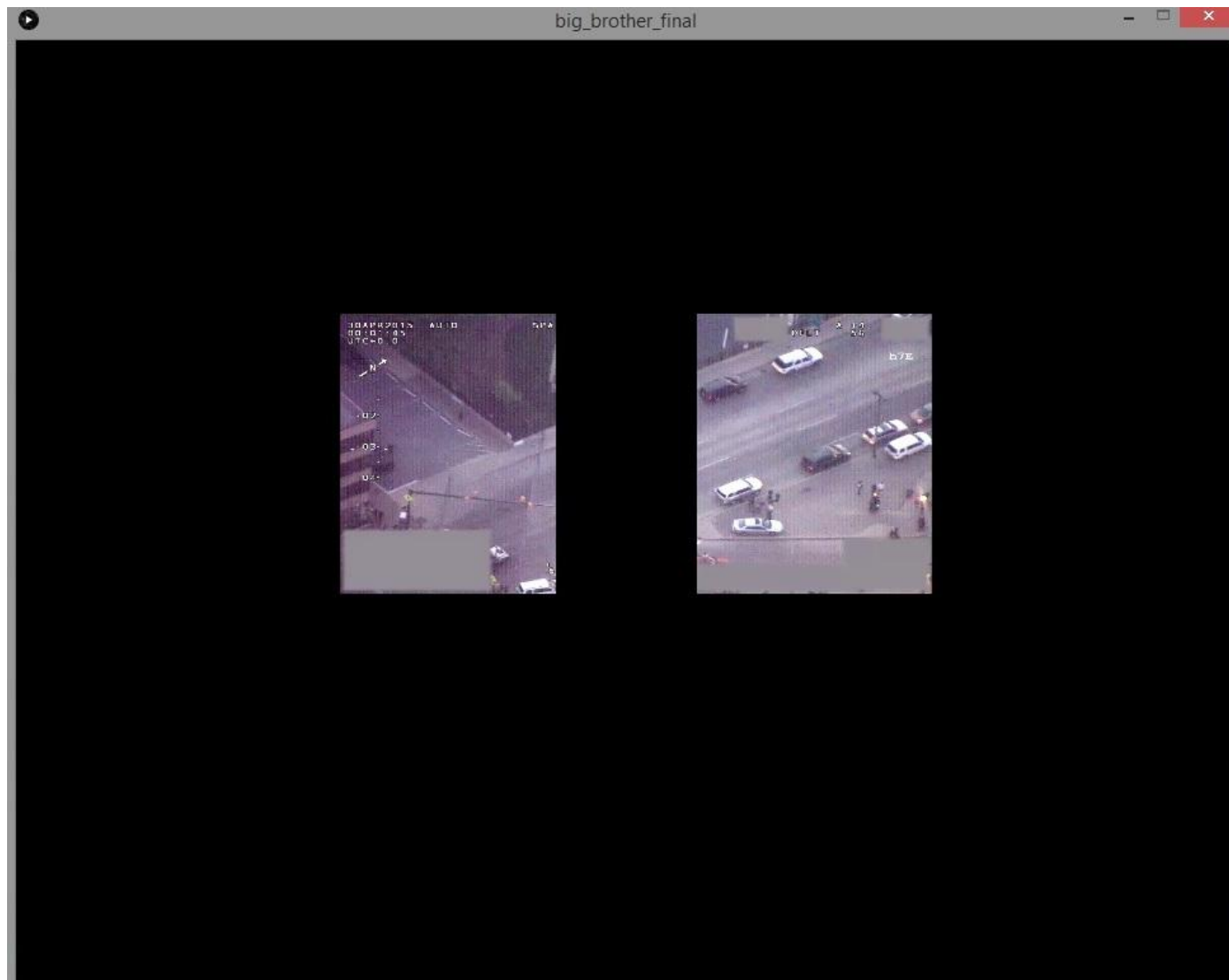
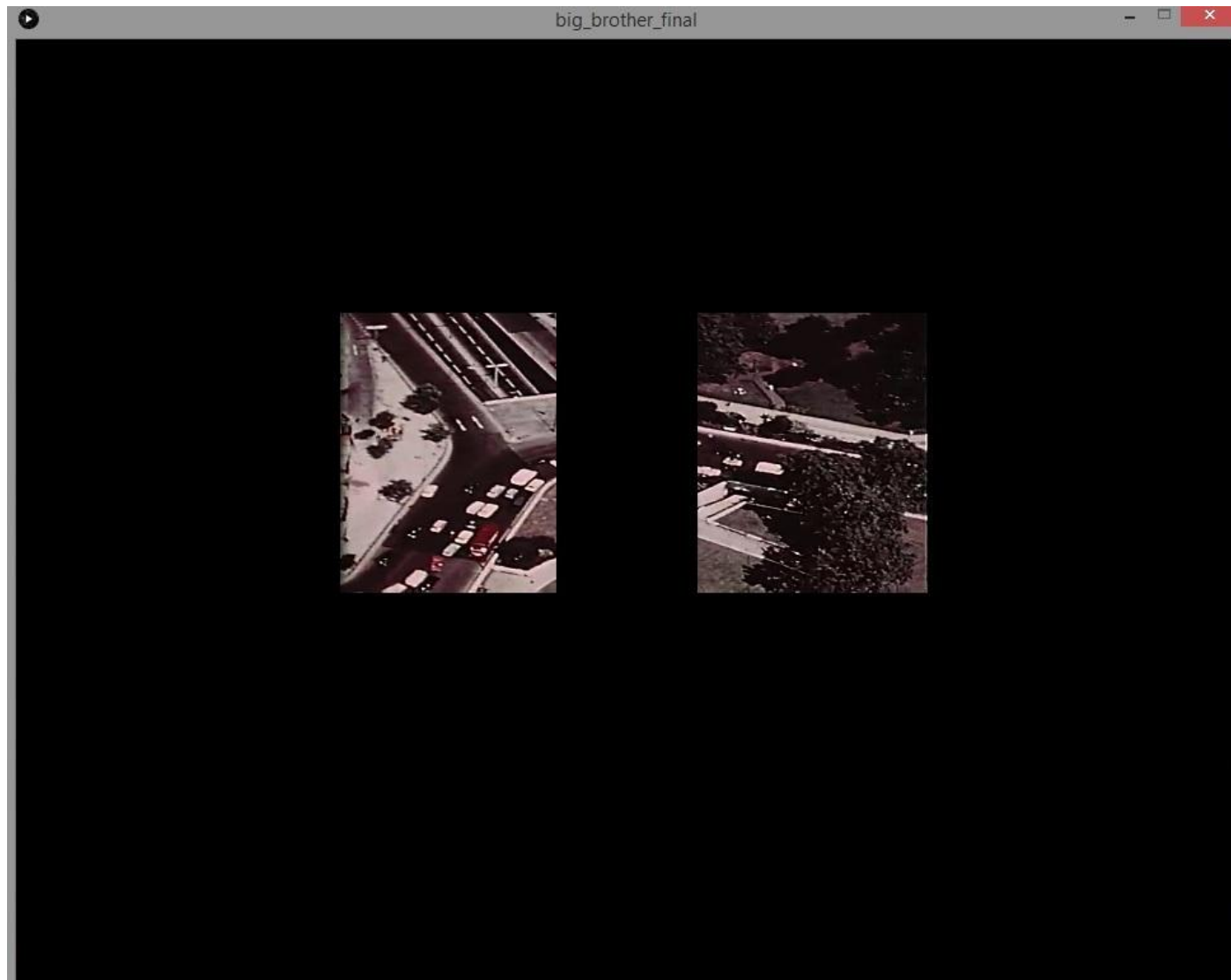




Figure 2.6 “Footage 1.3”



## Appendices

### Supporting Data Visualizations

The following still images represent data visualizations, which were created with “Tableau” –an interactive data visualization software –in order to demonstrate a variety of analysis in support of the content analysis section in Chapter Two. The data in these visuals shows different aspects of the quantitative information between twelve keywords and twenty-six articles. Each of these supporting visuals allows for rendering information in a variety of ways, which can detail “measure(s)” and “dimension(s)”<sup>3</sup> in a sample. The following samples, therefore, are not fixed; they demonstrate the possibilities of what kinds of information can be displayed with the datasheet. All examples use the number of keywords as their defining measure, but they display different dimensions.

“Visualization Sample #1” (pp.87) shows the number of keywords in use in connection to the publication dates of the articles. The publication source and the identification of the keywords are also captured in this sample. As can be seen, this example shows the increase of Orwellian keywords in the articles in January 2017, which documents that 10 articles in this group included these keywords and were published during the inauguration period.

“Visualization Sample #2” (pp.88) specifically shows several combinations of the number of keywords that appeared in the articles, specifically the keyword “Alternative Facts,” “Big Brother,” and “Newspeak.” In this example, each source is differently coloured as well as all three words (e.g., yellow, green, and blue reflect “Alternative Facts,” “Big Brother,” and “Newspeak” respectively). The letter “x” indicates the articles that *contain* the keyword(s), whereas “Null” identifies the ones which do not. For instance, as can be seen, a 2016 article from the *Spectator* included the words “Big Brother,” and “Newspeak” in its context, while it did not have any reference to “Alternative Facts.”

“Visualization Sample #3” (pp.89) uses “Big Brother” as its specified keyword for demonstration, and shows its use according to the publication dates. However, as can be inferred from the right bar in this image, certain shapes and colours in the visual also identify the use and the absence of two other keywords: “Alternative Facts,” and “Lies.” For example, this visual shows that an article from September 2017 included “Big Brother,” and “Alternative Facts” but excluded “Lies,” as one can understand from the light turquoise colour, which identifies the use of “Alternative Facts,” and the circle, which identifies the absence of the word “Lies” in the article.

“Visualization Sample #4” (pp.90) assigns different scales to each article based on the number of keywords that they contain. This visual also shows the number of articles published per year. We can see that 8 out of 26 articles in the data sheet were published in 2016, and we can observe the increase of the Orwellian keywords in the year 2017. With this visual, the viewer can also identify the source and the keywords in each circle.

Figure 3.1 “Visualization Sample #1”

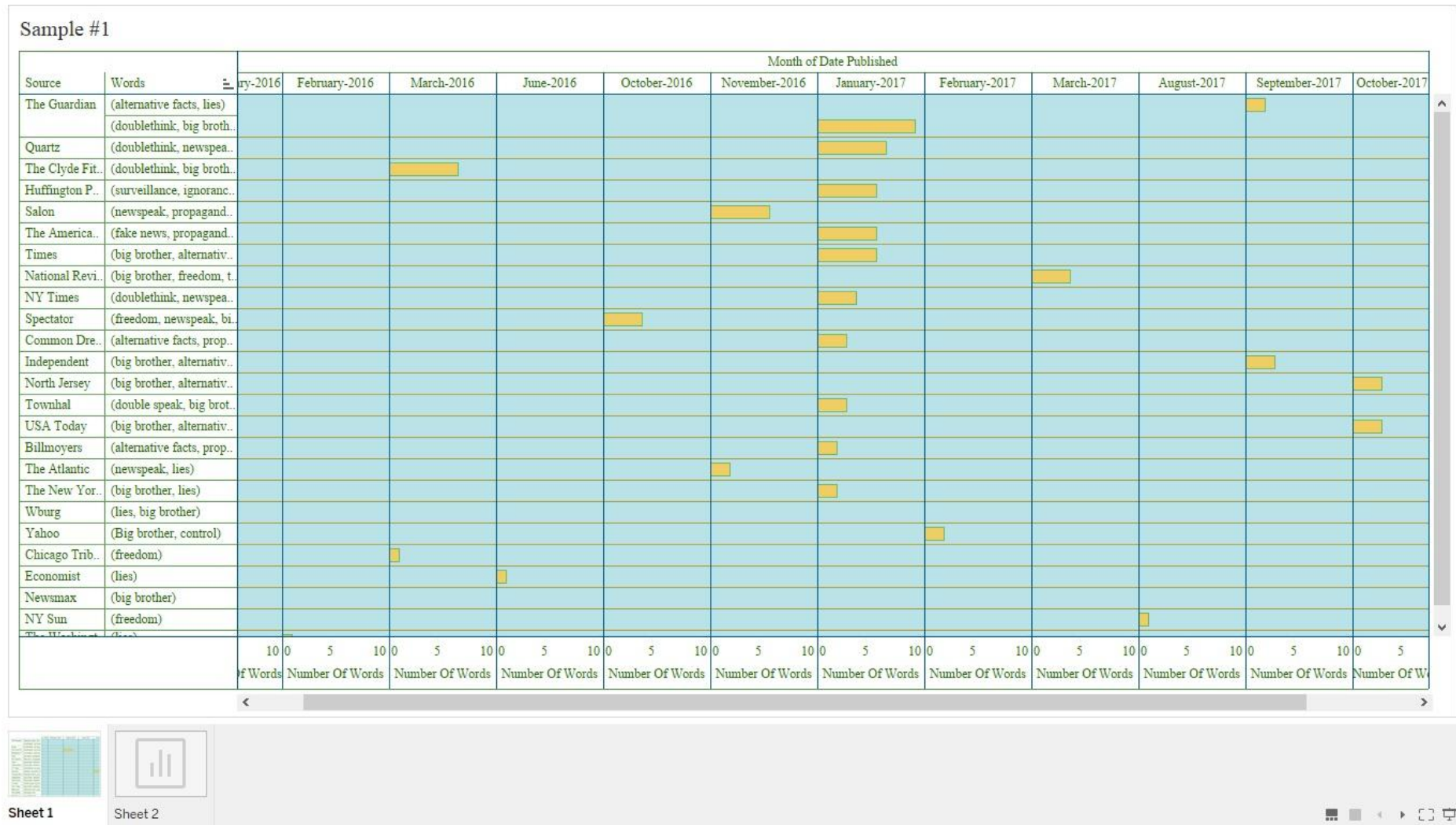


Figure 3.2 “Visualization Sample #2”

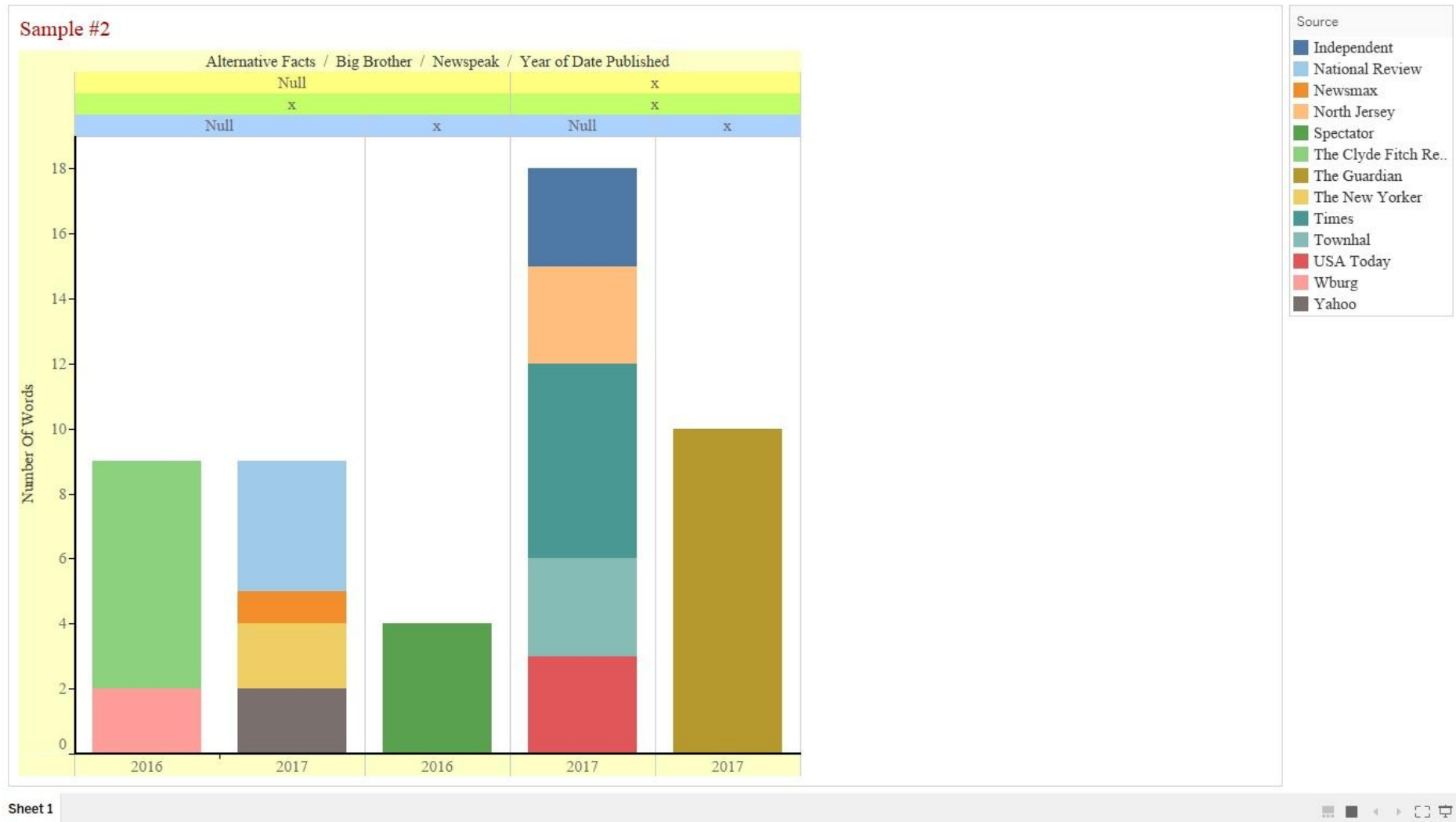


Figure 3.3 “Visualization Sample #3”



Figure 3.4 “Visualization Sample #4”



<b>Result Link</b>	<b>Result Check_link</b>
Orwell's "1984" and Trump's America   The New Yorker	<a href="https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/orwells-1984-and-trumps-america">https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/orwells-1984-and-trumps-america</a>
What Republicans Can Learn From George Orwell - WBUR	<a href="http://www.wbur.org/cognoscenti/2016/01/12/1984-donald-trump-rand-paul-ted-cruz-james-m-lang">http://www.wbur.org/cognoscenti/2016/01/12/1984-donald-trump-rand-paul-ted-cruz-james-m-lang</a>
Trump owes Orwell for '1984.' Big Brother is his role model.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/10/09/donald-trump-owes-george-orwell-for-1984-memory-hole-brian-klaas-column/746119001/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/10/09/donald-trump-owes-george-orwell-for-1984-memory-hole-brian-klaas-column/746119001/</a>
The normalization of Donald Trump began in "1984": How George Orwell's ...	<a href="https://www.salon.com/2016/11/21/the-normalization-of-donald-trump-began-in-1984-how-george-orwells-newspeak-has-infected-the-news-media/">https://www.salon.com/2016/11/21/the-normalization-of-donald-trump-began-in-1984-how-george-orwells-newspeak-has-infected-the-news-media/</a>
George Orwell's '1984' Is Suddenly a Best-Seller - The New York Times	<a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/25/books/1984-george-orwell-donald-trump.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/25/books/1984-george-orwell-donald-trump.html</a>
Orwell, Hitler, and Trump - The American Prospect	<a href="http://prospect.org/article/orwell-hitler-and-trump">http://prospect.org/article/orwell-hitler-and-trump</a>
Orwell, Hitler And Trump   HuffPost	<a href="http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/orwell-hitler-and-trump_us_58851781e4b070d8cad35b8c">http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/orwell-hitler-and-trump_us_58851781e4b070d8cad35b8c</a>
Trump, Russia and Orwell's 'Animal Farm' - The Tennessean	<a href="http://www.tennessean.com/story/opinion/2017/05/27/trump-russia-and-orwells-animal-farm/102007498/">http://www.tennessean.com/story/opinion/2017/05/27/trump-russia-and-orwells-animal-farm/102007498/</a>
Opinion: Trump owes Orwell: Big Brother is his role model	<a href="http://www.northjersey.com/story/opinion/contributors/2017/10/11/opinion-trump-owes-orwell-big-brother-his-role-model/753532001/">http://www.northjersey.com/story/opinion/contributors/2017/10/11/opinion-trump-owes-orwell-big-brother-his-role-model/753532001/</a>
George Orwell experts on Donald Trump - The Guardian	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/25/george-orwell-donald-trump-kellyanne-conway-1984">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/25/george-orwell-donald-trump-kellyanne-conway-1984</a>
Donald Trump Is Napoleon From Animal Farm - IJR	<a href="http://ijr.com/opinion/2015/09/247474-donald-trump-napoleon-animal-farm-supporters-just-like-mr-jones/">http://ijr.com/opinion/2015/09/247474-donald-trump-napoleon-animal-farm-supporters-just-like-mr-jones/</a>
Hillary Clinton's new memoir compares Trump's 'war on truth' to Orwell ...	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/sep/11/hillary-clinton-what-happened-memoir-donald-trump-1984">https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/sep/11/hillary-clinton-what-happened-memoir-donald-trump-1984</a>
Revisiting Orwell's '1984' in Trump's America - BillMoyers.com	<a href="http://billmoyers.com/story/revisiting-orwells-1984-trumps-america/">http://billmoyers.com/story/revisiting-orwells-1984-trumps-america/</a>
Trump Bump? George Orwell's '1984' Spiking on Amazon   Money - TIME	<a href="http://time.com/money/4648774/trump-1984-dystopian-novel-sales-brave-new-world/">http://time.com/money/4648774/trump-1984-dystopian-novel-sales-brave-new-world/</a>



Trump's not Orwellian. He's the distracter-in-chief. - Yahoo	<a href="https://www.yahoo.com/news/trumps-not-orwellian-hes-the-distracter-in-chief-100035222.html">https://www.yahoo.com/news/trumps-not-orwellian-hes-the-distracter-in-chief-100035222.html</a>
Donald Lambro - President Trump and Orwell's 'Big Brother'	<a href="https://townhall.com/columnists/donaldlambro/2017/01/27/president-trump-and-orwells-big-brother-n2277247">https://townhall.com/columnists/donaldlambro/2017/01/27/president-trump-and-orwells-big-brother-n2277247</a>
George Orwell warned us of a man such as Donald Trump ... - IGN Boards	<a href="http://www.ign.com/boards/threads/george-orwell-warned-us-of-a-man-such-as-donald-trump-taking-over.454639535/">http://www.ign.com/boards/threads/george-orwell-warned-us-of-a-man-such-as-donald-trump-taking-over.454639535/</a>
Donald Trump's Orwellian threat to the First Amendment	<a href="http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/commentary/ct-donald-trump-first-amendment-orwell-perspec-0318-20160317-story.html">http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/commentary/ct-donald-trump-first-amendment-orwell-perspec-0318-20160317-story.html</a>
Lessons From Orwell and Churchill for Resisting Authoritarian Rule	<a href="http://billmoyers.com/story/orwell-and-churchill-resisting-authoritarian-rule/">http://billmoyers.com/story/orwell-and-churchill-resisting-authoritarian-rule/</a>
Donald Trump's rhetoric: Double-plus effective - The Economist	<a href="https://www.economist.com/news/books-and-arts/21700610-why-donald-trumps-rhetoric-with-apologies-orwell-works-so-well-double-plus-effective">https://www.economist.com/news/books-and-arts/21700610-why-donald-trumps-rhetoric-with-apologies-orwell-works-so-well-double-plus-effective</a>
Bill Weld Compares Trump to Orwell's 'Big Brother' Character	<a href="http://www.newsmax.com/Politics/bill-weld-compares-trump-george-orwell/2016/11/01/id/756398/">http://www.newsmax.com/Politics/bill-weld-compares-trump-george-orwell/2016/11/01/id/756398/</a>
Donald Trump & 1984: Liberals Should Stop Invoking Orwell   National Review	<a href="http://www.nationalreview.com/article/445411/donald-trump-1984-liberals-should-stop-invoking-orwell">http://www.nationalreview.com/article/445411/donald-trump-1984-liberals-should-stop-invoking-orwell</a>
The Orwellian foreign policy statements of the Trump campaign	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/02/18/the-orwellian-foreign-policy-statements-of-the-trump-campaign/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/02/18/the-orwellian-foreign-policy-statements-of-the-trump-campaign/</a>
Orwell's Lessons for the Era of Trump   By   Common Dreams	<a href="https://www.commondreams.org/views/2017/01/26/orwells-lessons-era-trump">https://www.commondreams.org/views/2017/01/26/orwells-lessons-era-trump</a>
Please stop comparing Trump's presidency to Orwell's '1984'   New York Post	<a href="http://nypost.com/2017/02/19/please-stop-comparing-trumps-presidency-to-orwells-1984/">http://nypost.com/2017/02/19/please-stop-comparing-trumps-presidency-to-orwells-1984/</a>
Trump and Orwell - BernardGoldberg.com	<a href="https://bernardgoldberg.com/tag/trump-and-orwell/">https://bernardgoldberg.com/tag/trump-and-orwell/</a>
The GOP has become the party from George Orwell's nightmares - Salon.com	<a href="https://www.salon.com/2015/12/27/the_gop_has_become_the_party_from_george_orwells_nightmares/">https://www.salon.com/2015/12/27/the_gop_has_become_the_party_from_george_orwells_nightmares/</a>
George Orwell's "1984" and Trump: Key concepts that might ... - Quartz	<a href="https://qz.com/894420/george-orwells-1984-and-trump-key-concepts-that-might-explain-why-1984-is-the-best-selling-book-on-amazon-in-the-age-of-trump/">https://qz.com/894420/george-orwells-1984-and-trump-key-concepts-that-might-explain-why-1984-is-the-best-selling-book-on-amazon-in-the-age-of-trump/</a>

The Orwellian Bullying of Donald Trump   The American Spectator	<a href="https://spectator.org/the-orwellian-bullying-of-donald-trump/">https://spectator.org/the-orwellian-bullying-of-donald-trump/</a>
Trump's Dreams, Orwell's Nightmares   Clyde Fitch Report	<a href="http://www.clydefitchreport.com/2016/03/orwell-trump-nationalism/">http://www.clydefitchreport.com/2016/03/orwell-trump-nationalism/</a>
What It's Like Teaching '1984' After Trump's Election - The ...	<a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2016/11/teaching-1984-in-2016/508226/">https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2016/11/teaching-1984-in-2016/508226/</a>
Hillary Clinton compares Trump's 'attempts to define reality ...	<a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-reality-george-orwell-1984-dystopia-us-president-a7941786.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-reality-george-orwell-1984-dystopia-us-president-a7941786.html</a>
A Warning From Orwell Is Echoed by Trump In War Over ...	<a href="http://www.nysun.com/national/a-warning-from-owell-is-echoed-by-trump-in/90054/">http://www.nysun.com/national/a-warning-from-owell-is-echoed-by-trump-in/90054/</a>
How George Orwell Predicted Donald Trump	<a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-george-orwell-predicted-donald-trump">https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-george-orwell-predicted-donald-trump</a>
George Orwell predicted Donald Trump • r/The_Donald - reddit	<a href="https://www.reddit.com/r/The_Donald/comments/4efg47/george_orwell_predicted_donald_trump/">https://www.reddit.com/r/The_Donald/comments/4efg47/george_orwell_predicted_donald_trump/</a>
Donald Trump's 1984 - Red Millennial	<a href="https://redmillennial.com/2016/03/09/donald-trumps-1984/">https://redmillennial.com/2016/03/09/donald-trumps-1984/</a>
What George Orwell would have made of Donald Trump	<a href="https://www.ft.com/content/cafee176-f834-11e6-bd4e-68d53499ed71">https://www.ft.com/content/cafee176-f834-11e6-bd4e-68d53499ed71</a>
The Orwell Essay That's Even More Pertinent Than '1984' Right ...	<a href="https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/politics-and-the-english-language-trump_us_5888da31e4b061cf898c18b3">https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/politics-and-the-english-language-trump_us_5888da31e4b061cf898c18b3</a>
Orwell in the Age of Trump - Words of Dissent	<a href="http://wordsofdissent.com/orwell-in-the-age-of-trump/">http://wordsofdissent.com/orwell-in-the-age-of-trump/</a>
Theatres to screen Orwell's 1984 in anti-Trump protest ...	<a href="http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/04/theatres-screen-orwell-1984-protest-trump-170403131200190.html">http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/04/theatres-screen-orwell-1984-protest-trump-170403131200190.html</a>
No, Trump is Not Like Orwell's '1984' - thedailybeast.com	<a href="https://thedailybeast.com/no-trump-is-not-like-orwells-1984">https://thedailybeast.com/no-trump-is-not-like-orwells-1984</a>
The Normalization of Donald Trump Began in '1984 ... - Alternet	<a href="http://www.alternet.org/election-2016/normalization-donald-trump-began-1984-how-george-orwells-newspeak-has-infected-news">http://www.alternet.org/election-2016/normalization-donald-trump-began-1984-how-george-orwells-newspeak-has-infected-news</a>
Q&A: Orwell and Trump: The new 1984 - SMH.com.au	<a href="http://www.smh.com.au/video/video-entertainment/video-entertainment-news/qa-orwell-and-trump-the-new-1984-20170904-4xtbn.html">http://www.smh.com.au/video/video-entertainment/video-entertainment-news/qa-orwell-and-trump-the-new-1984-20170904-4xtbn.html</a>
Important Lessons From George Orwell and	<a href="http://www.alternet.org/books/orwells-and-churchills-lessons-resisting-propaganda-and-authoritarian-rule-trumps-america">http://www.alternet.org/books/orwells-and-churchills-lessons-resisting-propaganda-and-authoritarian-rule-trumps-america</a>

Winston ... - Alternet

Book Talk: Tom Ricks on Churchill and Orwell in the Age of ... <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/05/24/book-talk-tom-ricks-on-churchill-and-orwell-in-the-age-of-trump/>

President Trump Meets George Orwell - [BernardGoldberg.com](https://bernardgoldberg.com/president-trump-and-his-alternate-facts/) <https://bernardgoldberg.com/president-trump-and-his-alternate-facts/>

Orwell, radioactive pigs, Godzilla, and, of course, Trump ... <https://www.nationofchange.org/2017/03/14/orwell-radioactive-pigs-godzilla-course-trump/>

Donald Trump's Doublethink: How to undermine your own ... <http://www.cnn.com/2017/01/25/opinions/donald-trumps-doublethink-orwell-borger/index.html>

'1984' sales soar as 'alternative facts' and Trump claims ... <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/25/1984-sales-soar-alternative-facts-trump-claims-echo-orwells/>

Forget Nineteen Eighty-Four. These five dystopias better ... <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/26/1984-dystopias-reflect-trumps-us-orwell>

Trump Is An Orwellian Thug. Here's A Full List Of Media He ... <http://www.dailywire.com/news/4160/trump-orwellian-thug-heres-full-list-media-he-has-joshua-yasmeh>

Constitutional Crisis Predicted by Lawmaker Who Likens Trump ... <http://www.newsweek.com/lawmaker-danny-heck-compares-trumps-america-orwells-1984-over-sessions-641860>

Let's Party Like It's '1984': Trump for President <https://www.longislandpress.com/2016/07/15/lets-party-like-its-1984-trump-for-president/>

Media & Trump: Flipping the Orwell Narrative - News-Decoder <https://news-decoder.com/2017/02/orwell-trump-media/>

Orwell, Trump and liberal values - Financial Times <https://www.ft.com/video/0c15b3c7-29bb-3a17-95ea-593a09bd4baf>

1984 is a utopia, and Trump is not Big Brother | Full Stop <http://www.full-stop.net/2017/02/02/features/matt-broomfield/1984-is-a-utopia-and-trump-is-not-big-brother/>

George Orwell's "1984" Becomes Best-Seller After Trump Takes ... [https://www.democracynow.org/2017/1/27/headlines/george\\_orwells\\_1984\\_becomes\\_best\\_seller\\_after\\_trump\\_takes\\_office](https://www.democracynow.org/2017/1/27/headlines/george_orwells_1984_becomes_best_seller_after_trump_takes_office)

Sales of George Orwell's '1984' up since Trump inauguration ... <http://www.newsday.com/long-island/sales-of-george-orwell-s-1984-up-since-trump-inauguration-1.13014308>

George Orwell & 1984: Trump Is Not What He Had in Mind ... <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/444736/george-orwell-1984-trump-not-what-he-had-mind>

- Donald Trump Danger - LA Progressive <https://www.laprogressive.com/donald-trump-danger/>
- Former BBC head Mark Thompson on Trump, Orwell and what's ... <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/books/what-to-read/former-bbc-head-mark-thompson-on-trump-orwell-and-whats-gone-wro/>
- Tom Ricks on Churchill, Orwell, and Trump. - Slate Magazine [http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/gist/2017/05/tom\\_ricks\\_on\\_churchill\\_orwell\\_and\\_trump.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/gist/2017/05/tom_ricks_on_churchill_orwell_and_trump.html)
- Donald Trump George Orwell 1984 - Act before it's too late <http://trumporwell1984.com/>
- 'Animal Farm' Perfectly Describes Life in the Era of Donald ... <http://observer.com/2017/05/donald-trump-george-orwell-animal-farm/>
- Hillary Clinton likens Donald Trump's 'war on truth' to ... <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/hillary-clinton-likens-donald-trumps-war-on-truth-to-george-orwells-1984-a3632501.html>
- Why Americans are reading dystopian classics to understand ... <https://www.deseretnews.com/article/865672466/Why-Americans-are-reading-dystopian-classics-to-understand-President-Trump.html>
- Orwell vs. Trump - Valley News <http://www.vnews.com/Why-Orwell-s--1984--matters-so-much-now-7704303>
- Bill Weld compares Donald Trump's America to '1984' <http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/bill-weld-compares-donald-trumps-america-to-1984/article/2606147>
- Orwell, Rawls and Trump: Citizenship and Democratic Culture ... <http://dailynous.com/2016/12/06/orwell-rawls-trump-citizenship-democratic-culture-guest-post-martin-oneill/>
- A look at some of the ways George Orwell's '1984' has come ... <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/ways-george-orwell-1984-true-article-1.2662813>
- How '1984' can decode Trump's first 100 days (Opinion) - CNN <http://www.cnn.com/2017/01/31/opinions/why-we-read-1984-urbelis-opinion/index.html>
- Orwell on Trump - A Nation Worth Having - binding values <https://www.bindingvalues.org/2016/11/12/orwell-on-trump/>
- Here's what Trump gets wrong—commentary - CNBC <https://www.cnbc.com/2016/03/14/heres-what-trump-gets-wrong-commentary.html>
- protest President Donald Trump's - IndieWire <http://www.indiewire.com/2017/02/independent-movie-theatres-1984-screening-donald-trump-1201784459/>
- President Trump and Orwell's 'Big Brother' - Conservative Read <http://conservativeread.com/president-trump-and-orwells-big-brother/>
- Look to Orwell's 'Animal Farm' for [http://www.observer-reporter.com/20170114/look\\_to\\_orwellx2019s\\_x2018animal\\_farmx2019\\_for\\_insights\\_into\\_trump](http://www.observer-reporter.com/20170114/look_to_orwellx2019s_x2018animal_farmx2019_for_insights_into_trump)

insights into Trump | Op

...

10 poignant quotes from

George Orwell's '1984' - <https://www.hypable.com/george-orwell-1984-quotes-facts-reality-trump/>

Hypable

Trump-speak? Orwell's

'1984' hits Amazon's <https://www.rt.com/usa/374967-trump-speak-orwells-1984-hits/>  
bestseller list ...

Letter: Vote against

Trump and Orwell's

'Animal Farm' | The ...

<http://www.thewesterlysun.com/opinion/letters/9471542-154/letter-vote-against-trump-and-orwells-animal-farm.html>

Orwell and Trump - The

Blogs | The Times of

Israel

<http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/orwell-and-trump/>

Sales of Orwell's

Nineteen Eighty-Four

surge in light of ...

<https://www.kettlemag.com/article/sales-orwell%E2%80%99s-nineteen-eighty-four-surge-light-donald-trumps-presidency-staff>

'Donald Trump's

America' Is Like '1984'

George Orwell Novel ...

<http://www.ibtimes.com/donald-trumps-america-1984-george-orwell-novel-gary-johnsons-vp-bill-weld-says-2439938>

Orwell and trump |

2Peas Refugees

<http://2peasrefugees.boards.net/thread/56055/orwell-trump>

Orwell's "1984" and

Trump's America -

Jackpine Radicals

<https://jackpineradicals.com/boards/topic/orwells-1984-and-trumps-america-thenewyorker/>

It's Nice That | Emma

King's publication

rewrites Orwell's ...

<http://www.itnicethat.com/articles/emma-king-1984-graphic-design-220917>

Trump pushes Orwell's

1984 centre-stage again

- The Australian

<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/arts/stage/trump-pushes-orwells-1984-centrestage-again/news-story/3988cca08efaf04a42e143ef35d460bc>

Donald Trump's

Alternative Facts &

George Orwell's 1984

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jBAGQ9af0Qk>

As a Trump protest,

theaters worldwide will

screen the film ...

<http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/movies/la-et-mn-1984-protest-screenings-20170326-story.html>

Churchill, Orwell And

The Fight Against

Totalitarianism : NPR

<http://www.npr.org/2017/05/22/529516184/churchill-orwell-and-the-fight-against-totalitarianism>

Did Orwell predict

Donald Trump? «

Utopia or Dystopia

<https://utopiaordystopia.com/tag/did-orwell-predict-donald-trump/>

Sales of George

Orwell's 1984 spike

after Trump

spokesperson ...

<http://nationalpost.com/news/world/sales-of-george-orwells-1984-spike-after-trump-spokesperson-presents-alternative-facts>

Movie Theaters Plot Trump Protest With '1984' Screenings ...	<a href="http://www.rollingstone.com/movies/news/movie-theaters-plot-trump-protest-with-1984-screenings-w468032">http://www.rollingstone.com/movies/news/movie-theaters-plot-trump-protest-with-1984-screenings-w468032</a>
protest President Donald Trump's - IndieWire	<a href="http://www.indiewire.com/2017/02/independent-movie-theatres-1984-screening-donald-trump-1201784459/#!">http://www.indiewire.com/2017/02/independent-movie-theatres-1984-screening-donald-trump-1201784459/#!</a>
1984 is 2017's surprise best-seller. It's a good fit for the ...	<a href="https://www.vox.com/culture/2017/2/2/14458160/1984-george-orwell-donald-trump-post-truth-alternative-facts">https://www.vox.com/culture/2017/2/2/14458160/1984-george-orwell-donald-trump-post-truth-alternative-facts</a>
George Orwell '1984': Interest In Dystopian Novel Surges In ...	<a href="http://www.ibtimes.com/george-orwell-1984-interest-dystopian-novel-surges-wake-trump-administrations-2487520">http://www.ibtimes.com/george-orwell-1984-interest-dystopian-novel-surges-wake-trump-administrations-2487520</a>
A Warning from Orwell is Echoed by Trump in War over ...	<a href="http://www.westernfreepress.com/2017/08/17/a-warning-from-orwell-is-echoed-by-trump-in-war-over-monuments/">http://www.westernfreepress.com/2017/08/17/a-warning-from-orwell-is-echoed-by-trump-in-war-over-monuments/</a>
My dad predicted Trump in 1985 - it's not Orwell, he warned ...	<a href="https://avemariaradio.net/dad-predicted-trump-1985-not-orwell-warned-brave-new-world/">https://avemariaradio.net/dad-predicted-trump-1985-not-orwell-warned-brave-new-world/</a>
Donald Trump Is No Straight Talker - The Federalist	<a href="http://thefederalist.com/2015/08/31/donald-trump-is-no-straight-talker/">http://thefederalist.com/2015/08/31/donald-trump-is-no-straight-talker/</a>
Dr. King and Orwell saw Trump coming. What it means for us.	<a href="https://ccrjustice.org/home/blog/2017/04/14/dr-king-and-orwell-saw-trump-coming-what-it-means-us">https://ccrjustice.org/home/blog/2017/04/14/dr-king-and-orwell-saw-trump-coming-what-it-means-us</a>
George Orwell's 1984 explains Trump Doublespeak, alternative ...	<a href="http://www.express.co.uk/entertainment/books/759436/Trump-George-Orwell-1984-Doublespeak-alternative-facts-crimestop-reality-control">http://www.express.co.uk/entertainment/books/759436/Trump-George-Orwell-1984-Doublespeak-alternative-facts-crimestop-reality-control</a>
What Would George Orwell Say About Donald Trump?	<a href="http://anewdomain.net/what-would-george-orwell-say-about-donald-trump-mdia/">http://anewdomain.net/what-would-george-orwell-say-about-donald-trump-mdia/</a>
Hillary Clinton's new memoir compares Trump's 'war on truth ...	<a href="https://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/world/hillary-clintons-new-memoir-compares-trumps-war-on-truth-to-orwells-1984/ar-AArNL3I">https://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/world/hillary-clintons-new-memoir-compares-trumps-war-on-truth-to-orwells-1984/ar-AArNL3I</a>
Our President Is Up to No Good - Truthout	<a href="http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/39750-our-president-is-up-to-no-good">http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/39750-our-president-is-up-to-no-good</a>
Orwell's '1984' Surges After Trump's First Week	<a href="https://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/industry-news/bookselling/article/72667-orwell-s-1984-surges-after-trump-s-first-week.html">https://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/industry-news/bookselling/article/72667-orwell-s-1984-surges-after-trump-s-first-week.html</a>
Montini: McCain channels Orwell and le Carré over Trump ...	<a href="http://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/ej-montini/2017/03/23/john-mccain-donald-trump-vladimir-putin-russia-hacking-george-orwell-john-le-carre/99544250/">http://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/ej-montini/2017/03/23/john-mccain-donald-trump-vladimir-putin-russia-hacking-george-orwell-john-le-carre/99544250/</a>
Orwell, Hitler, and Trump - The American Prospect	<a href="http://m.prospect.org/article/orwell-hitler-and-trump">http://m.prospect.org/article/orwell-hitler-and-trump</a>
Reading Orwell's 1984 in the era of Trump and alternative facts.	<a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/culturegabfest/2017/03/reading_orwell_s_1984_in_the_era_of_trump_and_alternative_facts.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/culturegabfest/2017/03/reading_orwell_s_1984_in_the_era_of_trump_and_alternative_facts.html</a>

Not an 'alternative fact':

George Orwell's '1984' <http://www.latimes.com/books/jacketcopy/la-et-jc-george-orwell-20170125-story.html>  
tops Amazon ...

George Orwell's son

says Dad would laugh at <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/uk-world-news/george-orwells-son-says-dad-9917792>  
Donald Trump

1984 sales soar after

Trump claims, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/entertainment/1984-sales-boom-trump-1.3951359>  
alternative facts ...

7 books, like 1984, that  
can help you understand  
Donald Trump ...

<https://www.indy100.com/article/1984-george-orwell-donald-trump-authoritarian-dystopian-fiction-7550571>

LETTER: Sinclair

Lewis, Orwell foretold  
Trump presidency

<http://www.app.com/story/opinion/readers/2017/01/17/letter-sinclair-lewis-orwell-foretold-trump-presidency/96659402/>

Sales of Orwell's

Dystopian Classic '1984'  
Soar After Trump ...

<https://www.nbcnews.com/business/consumer/sales-orwell-s-dystopian-classic-1984-soar-after-trump-claims-n711951>

Big Brother is watching:  
What 1984 (re)taught  
me about Trump ...

<http://www.peoplesworld.org/article/big-brother-is-watching-what-1984-retaught-me-about-trump/>

Trump and the End of  
Truth - The New York  
Times

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/26/opinion/trump-and-the-end-of-truth.html>

Henry A.

Giroux/Commentary |  
Ragazine

<http://ragazine.cc/2017/02/henry-a-girouxcommentary-2/>

George Orwell's

Nineteen Eighty-Four in  
the age of Trump ...

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/books-and-media/george-orwells-nineteen-eighty-four-in-the-age-oftrump/article33776339/>

Orwell, Hitler, and

Trump -  
80bola.com.prospect.org

<http://80bola.com.prospect.org/article/orwell-hitler-and-trump>

Cotton and Trump plot  
crackdown on legal  
immigration -  
POLITICO

<http://www.politico.com/story/2017/02/immigration-trump-senate-cotton-234706>

Did George Orwell

predict Donald Trump  
in 1984? - NASTY  
JACK

<https://nastyjackbuzz.blogspot.com/2017/03/did-george-orwell-predict-donald-trump.html>

Emma King rewrites

George Orwell's 1984  
using Donald Trump's ...

<https://www.dezeen.com/2017/09/28/emma-king-rewrites-george-orwells-1984-donald-trump-tweets-graphics/>

The Many Prophets

Who "Predicted"  
Donald Trump's  
Presidency ...

<http://www.vocativ.com/308720/the-many-prophets-who-predicted-donald-trumps-presidency/index.html>

Indie Theaters Get Ready for '1984' Trump Protest Screenings	<a href="http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/indie-theaters-get-ready-1984-trump-protest-screenings-988114">http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/indie-theaters-get-ready-1984-trump-protest-screenings-988114</a>
Trump's America   Henry A. Giroux   Monthly Review	<a href="https://monthlyreview.org/2017/05/01/trumps-america/">https://monthlyreview.org/2017/05/01/trumps-america/</a>
What Orwell Saw—and What He Missed —About Today's World	<a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/05/23/george-orwell-1984-modern-day-215177">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/05/23/george-orwell-1984-modern-day-215177</a>
...	
George Orwell's 1984 Is Once Again a Bestseller In ... - Vogue	<a href="https://www.vogue.com/article/1984-best-seller-amazon-trump-alternative-facts">https://www.vogue.com/article/1984-best-seller-amazon-trump-alternative-facts</a>
Henry A. Giroux   Combating Trump's Neo-Fascism and the Ghost ...	<a href="http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/39378-combating-trump-s-neo-fascism-and-the-ghost-of-1984">http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/39378-combating-trump-s-neo-fascism-and-the-ghost-of-1984</a>
What Can we Learn from George Orwell about Trump?	<a href="http://goodtimes.sc/cover-stories/orwell-1984-trump/">http://goodtimes.sc/cover-stories/orwell-1984-trump/</a>
In Trump Era, '1984' Is the Hottest Literary Property in ...	<a href="http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/heat-vision/trump-era-1984-is-hottest-literary-property-hollywood-990730">http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/heat-vision/trump-era-1984-is-hottest-literary-property-hollywood-990730</a>
Hillary Clinton's new memoir compares Trump's 'war on truth ...	<a href="http://mindanaoexaminer.com/hillary-clintons-new-memoir-compares-trumps-war-on-truth-to-orwells-1984-p-the-guardian/">http://mindanaoexaminer.com/hillary-clintons-new-memoir-compares-trumps-war-on-truth-to-orwells-1984-p-the-guardian/</a>
From Orwell to Trump: When Does Egoism Become Narcissism ...	<a href="http://lithub.com/from-orwell-to-trump-when-does-egoism-become-narcissism/">http://lithub.com/from-orwell-to-trump-when-does-egoism-become-narcissism/</a>
Orwell explains Trump and "Second Amendment people"	<a href="http://www.dailykos.com/story/2016/8/10/1558732/-Orwell-explains-Trump-and-Second-Amendment-people">http://www.dailykos.com/story/2016/8/10/1558732/-Orwell-explains-Trump-and-Second-Amendment-people</a>
How Trump turned 2016 into George Orwell's 1984   Political	<a href="https://politicalmurder.com/2016/12/13/how-trump-has-turned-2016-into-george-orwells-1984/">https://politicalmurder.com/2016/12/13/how-trump-has-turned-2016-into-george-orwells-1984/</a>
...	
Trump: Orwell wrong - Opinion - The Times-Tribune	<a href="http://thetimes-tribune.com/opinion/trump-orwell-wrong-1.2091689">http://thetimes-tribune.com/opinion/trump-orwell-wrong-1.2091689</a>
Obamagate's Truth Is Stranger Than Orwell's Fiction   The ...	<a href="https://spectator.org/obamagates-truth-is-stranger-than-orwells-fiction/">https://spectator.org/obamagates-truth-is-stranger-than-orwells-fiction/</a>
2017 isn't '1984' - it's stranger than Orwell imagined   The ...	<a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/2017-isn-t-1984-it-s-stranger-than-orwell-imagined-a7555341.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/2017-isn-t-1984-it-s-stranger-than-orwell-imagined-a7555341.html</a>
Article: Important Lessons From George Orwell and Winston ...	<a href="https://www.opednews.com/articles/Important-Lessons-From-Geo-by-Steven-Rosenfeld-America-Freedom-To-Fascism_American-History_George-Orwell_Trump-Illegality-170925-935.html">https://www.opednews.com/articles/Important-Lessons-From-Geo-by-Steven-Rosenfeld-America-Freedom-To-Fascism_American-History_George-Orwell_Trump-Illegality-170925-935.html</a>



## A Historical Perspective

- On Trump's White House | On Point <http://www.wbur.org/onpoint/2017/07/31/a-historical-perspective-on-trumps-white-house>
- Movie Theaters Around the World to Play '1984' in Protest of ... <https://townhall.com/tipsheet/leahbarkoukis/2017/04/03/movie-theaters-around-the-world-to-play-orwells-1984-in-protest-of-trump-n2308066>
- Orwell, again | The Indian Express <http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/us-president-donald-trump-presidency-politics-orwellian-concept-vishwaguru-india-4533525/>
- Orwell, Hitler And Trump | The Huffington Post - WORLD24 MONITOR <http://www.world24monitor.com/2017/01/orwell-hitler-and-trump-the-huffington-post/>
- Trump, Orwell and the carnage of lies | William Pearce ... <https://pinklightsabre.com/2017/01/27/trump-orwell-and-the-carnage-of-lies/>
- Movie Theaters Hosting Screenings of '1984' to Protest Trump <http://www.breitbart.com/big-hollywood/2017/02/21/us-cinemas-screen-1984-protest-trumps-arts-cuts/>
- 1984 tops Amazon's charts as Trump continues to lie - The Verge <http://www.theverge.com/2017/1/25/14380930/1984-amazon-orwell-trump-conway-alternative-facts>
- Donald Trump Through a Loudspeaker, Darkly | The New Yorker <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/donald-trump-through-a-loudspeaker-darkly>
- '1984' Tops Amazon Bestseller List After Trump Aide's ... <http://www.npr.org/2017/01/25/511655867/1984-tops-amazon-bestseller-list-after-trump-aides-alternative-facts>
- Orwell's "1984" and Trump's America - Feelings Over Facts <https://feelingsoverfacts.com/orwells-1984-and-trumps-america/>
- Orwell, Trump, and SJWs. - Untimely Meditations <https://untimelymeditationsblog.wordpress.com/2016/05/21/orwell-trump-and-sjws/>
- Orwell's "1984" and Trump's America : politics [https://www.reddit.com/r/politics/comments/5qhxme/orwells\\_1984\\_and\\_trumps\\_america/](https://www.reddit.com/r/politics/comments/5qhxme/orwells_1984_and_trumps_america/)
- What is George Orwell's 1984 about, when was the novel ... <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2701311/george-orwell-1984-donald-trump-adviser-kellyanne-conway-alternative-facts/>
- Did George Orwell predict Donald Trump in 1984? | NASTY JACK <https://nastyjackbuzz.blogspot.com/2017/03/did-george-orwell-predict-donald-trump.html#!>
- Orwell's '1984' the New Reality in US - Newsmax.com <http://www.newsmax.com/Hirsen/george-orwell-donald-trump-hillary-clinton/2016/10/24/id/754999/>

Trump Supporters, #Repealthe19th, and Orwell's Animal Farm	<a href="https://www.theodysseyonline.com/trump-supporters-repealthe19th-orwells-animal-farm">https://www.theodysseyonline.com/trump-supporters-repealthe19th-orwells-animal-farm</a>
Orwell's '1984' and Trump's America   RealClearPolitics	<a href="https://www.realclearpolitics.com/2017/01/27/orwell039s_0391984039_and_trump039s_america_401255.html?_escaped_fragment_=">https://www.realclearpolitics.com/2017/01/27/orwell039s_0391984039_and_trump039s_america_401255.html?_escaped_fragment_ =</a>
Sean Spicer regularly uses the stupefying form of speech that ...	<a href="https://www.rawstory.com/2017/06/sean-spicer-regularly-uses-the-stupefying-form-of-speech-that-george-orwell-called-duckspeak/">https://www.rawstory.com/2017/06/sean-spicer-regularly-uses-the-stupefying-form-of-speech-that-george-orwell-called-duckspeak/</a>
George Orwell's '1984' Sales Soar After Trump Claims ...	<a href="https://www.usnews.com/news/entertainment/articles/2017-01-24/1984-sales-soar-after-alternative-facts-trump-claims">https://www.usnews.com/news/entertainment/articles/2017-01-24/1984-sales-soar-after-alternative-facts-trump-claims</a>
'1984' sales soar after Trump claims, 'alternative facts' - CNBC	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/01/25/1984-sales-soar-after-trump-claims-alternative-facts.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/01/25/1984-sales-soar-after-trump-claims-alternative-facts.html</a>
A warning from George Orwell on the 'monument wars'   New ...	<a href="http://nypost.com/2017/08/16/a-warning-from-george-orwell-on-the-monument-wars/">http://nypost.com/2017/08/16/a-warning-from-george-orwell-on-the-monument-wars/</a>
Donald Trump proves Orwell's point: Honest language is the ...	<a href="https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/donald-trump-proves-orwells-point-honest-language-mark-milke-ph-d-">https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/donald-trump-proves-orwells-point-honest-language-mark-milke-ph-d-</a>
Nation-Wide Trump Protest Uses Orwell's "1984," Twitter Calls ...	<a href="https://www.sarahpalin.com/2017/04/02/nation-wide-trump-protest-uses-orwells-1984-twitter-calls-irony/">https://www.sarahpalin.com/2017/04/02/nation-wide-trump-protest-uses-orwells-1984-twitter-calls-irony/</a>
Remembering a WSJ Pulitzer winner: Joseph Rago's column on ...	<a href="http://nypost.com/2017/07/21/remembering-a-wsj-pulitzer-winner-joseph-ragos-column-on-the-wacky-comparisons-between-trump-and-1984/">http://nypost.com/2017/07/21/remembering-a-wsj-pulitzer-winner-joseph-ragos-column-on-the-wacky-comparisons-between-trump-and-1984/</a>
Talking About Donald Trump: Why We Should Channel George Orwell	<a href="http://thewisdomdaily.com/talking-about-donald-trump/">http://thewisdomdaily.com/talking-about-donald-trump/</a>
Hypegram : Orwell's "1984" and Trump's America	<a href="https://hypegram.com/article/71449679">https://hypegram.com/article/71449679</a>
Trump's campaign goes full Orwell in spinning their dark ...	<a href="http://www.dailykos.com/story/2016/7/22/1550915/-Trump-s-campaign-goes-full-Orwell-in-spinning-their-dark-vision-for-America">http://www.dailykos.com/story/2016/7/22/1550915/-Trump-s-campaign-goes-full-Orwell-in-spinning-their-dark-vision-for-America</a>
Orwell's 1984 a bestseller in wake of anxiety under Trump ...	<a href="http://www.straitstimes.com/lifestyle/arts/orwells-1984-a-bestseller-in-wake-of-anxiety-under-trump">http://www.straitstimes.com/lifestyle/arts/orwells-1984-a-bestseller-in-wake-of-anxiety-under-trump</a>
Donald J Orwell (@DonaldJOrwell)   Twitter	<a href="https://twitter.com/DonaldJOrwell">https://twitter.com/DonaldJOrwell</a>
Trump, Propaganda and the Loss of Media Authority   Vanity Fair	<a href="https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2016/06/trump-propaganda-and-the-loss-of-media-authority">https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2016/06/trump-propaganda-and-the-loss-of-media-authority</a>

- 'It Can't Happen Here' joins '1984' on Amazon best sellers ... <http://money.cnn.com/2017/01/28/media/it-cant-happen-here-1984-best-sellers/index.html>
- Orwell Tops Trump - "1984" Publisher Orders ... - Zero Hedge <http://www.zerohedge.com/news/2017-01-25/orwell-tops-trump-1984-publisher-orders-75000-new-copies-amazon-bestseller>
- Orwell's "1984" and Trump's America | RealClearPolitics [https://www.realclearpolitics.com/2017/01/27/orwell039s\\_quot1984quot\\_and\\_trump039s\\_america\\_401255.html](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/2017/01/27/orwell039s_quot1984quot_and_trump039s_america_401255.html)
- Letter to the Editor: Trump's lying similar to Orwell's '1984 ... <http://www.nhregister.com/opinion/article/Letter-to-the-Editor-Trump-s-lying-similar-to-11322760.php>
- Lies, Truth, Orwell And Trump - Common Sense <http://commonsenseplaintruth.com/2016/12/01/lies-truth-orwell-and-trump/>
- The Trump administration just handed Wall ... - Business Insider <http://www.businessinsider.com/steven-mnuchin-elizabeth-warren-glass-steagall-wall-street-banks-2017-5>
- Welcome to dystopia - <BR>George Orwell experts on Donald Trump <http://idealistpropaganda.blogspot.com/2017/02/welcome-to-dystopia-george-orwell.html>
- Trump's 2017 USA, Orwell's 1984? | Dear Kitty. Some blog <https://dearkitty1.wordpress.com/2017/04/06/trumps-2017-usa-orwells-1984/>
- Orwell, Hitler And Trump | BuzzJour <http://buzzjour.com/2017/01/22/orwell-hitler-and-trump/>
- Important Lessons From George Orwel For The Left: <http://www.nationalmemo.com/important-lessons-george-orwell-winston-churchill->
- ORWELL, HITLER, AND TRUMP <https://fortheleft.blogspot.com/2017/01/orwell-hitler-and-trump.html>
- 5 Reasons Why Trump Will Win | MICHAEL MOORE <https://michaelmoore.com/trumpwillwin/>

### Notes

1. I used “a pre-determined profile” in order to say that as a result of the functioning of the correlative algorithms, the users acquire a fixed virtual identity. We can think of this as a blank page, which draws a tree that displays the patterns that the user follows (including search, comment, like, subscription histories), and then branches this tree not only with each time the user links one online account to another, but also branching takes place based on all of the activity history that the user triggers every time “signing in.” So this profile that is crafted for the user has a pre-determined nature because what is going to be on the user’s interface is already determined.
2. See Appendices for 179 search results obtained with “Import.io.”
3. See explanation for terms, [www.tableau.com/drive/dimensions-and-measures-intro](http://www.tableau.com/drive/dimensions-and-measures-intro).

### Works Cited

- “Apple 1984 Commercial Debuts.” *Timeline of Computer History*,  
[www.computerhistory.org/timeline/1984/](http://www.computerhistory.org/timeline/1984/). Accessed 14 May 2018.
- “Apple 1984 Super Bowl Commercial Introducing Macintosh Computer.” *Youtube*, uploaded  
 by Robert Cole, 25 June 2010, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=2zfqw8nhUwA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2zfqw8nhUwA).  
 Accessed 14 May 2018.
- Berners-Lee, Tim. “Long Live the Web.” *Scientific American*, December 2010, pp. 80-85.
- Blade Runner*. Directed by Ridley Scott. Warner Bros, 1982.
- Blakemore, Steven. “Language and Ideology in Orwell's 1984.” *Social Theory and Practice*,  
 vol. 10, no. 3, 1984, pp. 349–356. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/23556571](http://www.jstor.org/stable/23556571).
- Cadwalladr, Carole. “Google, Democracy and the Truth about Internet Search.” *The  
 Guardian*, 4 Dec. 2016, [www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/dec/04/google-  
 democracy-truth-internet-search-facebook](http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/dec/04/google-democracy-truth-internet-search-facebook). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.
- . “Google Is Not Just a Platform. It Frames, Shapes and Distorts How We See The World.”  
*The Guardian*, 11 Dec. 2016,  
[www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/dec/11/google-frames-shapes-and-  
 distorts-how-we-see-world](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/dec/11/google-frames-shapes-and-distorts-how-we-see-world). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.
- . “The Great British Brexit Robbery: How Our Democracy Was Hijacked.” *The Guardian*,  
 7 May 2017, [www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/may/07/the-great-british-brex-it-  
 robbery-hijacked-democracy](http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/may/07/the-great-british-brex-it-robbery-hijacked-democracy). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.
- Cadwalladr, Carole, and Emma Graham-Harrison. “Revealed: 50 Million Facebook Profiles  
 Harvested for Cambridge Analytica in Major Data Breach.” *The Guardian*, 17 Mar.  
 2018, [www.theguardian.com/news/2018/mar/17/cambridge-analytica-facebook-  
 influence-us-election](http://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/mar/17/cambridge-analytica-facebook-influence-us-election). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Calder, Jenni. *Chronicles of Conscience: A Study of George Orwell and Arthur Koestler*.

Martin Secker & Warburg, 1968.

Calingaert, Daniel. "Policy Recommendations Challenges for International Policy."

*Liberation Technology: Social Media and the Struggle for Democracy*, edited by

Larry Diamond et al., The John Hopkins UP, 2012.

Courtine, Jean-Jacques, and Laura Willett. "A Brave New Language: Orwell's Invention of

'Newspeak' in 1984." *SubStance*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1986, pp. 69–74. *JSTOR*,

[www.jstor.org/stable/3684756](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3684756).

Crick, Bernard. "Nineteen Eighty-Four: Context and Controversy." *The Cambridge*

*Companion to George Orwell*, edited by John Rodden, Cambridge UP, 2007.

Crouch, Ian. "So Are We Living in 1984?" *The New Yorker*, 11 June 2013,

[www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/so-are-we-living-in-1984](http://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/so-are-we-living-in-1984). Accessed 29 Mar.

2018.

Cukier, Kenneth. "The Birth of Datafication." *Youtube*, uploaded by Big Think, 10 Apr.

2013, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=FUj9Ug5kGHM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FUj9Ug5kGHM). Accessed 23 May 2018.

Davison, Peter. *George Orwell: A Life in Letters*. Liveright, 2010.

Deutscher, Isaac. "1984 – The Mysticism of Cruelty." *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text,*

*Sources, Criticism*, edited by Irving Howe, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.

Dostoyevsky, Fyodor. "The Grand Inquisitor." *The Brothers Karamazov*. New York

Association Press, 1948.

Eggers, Dave. *The Circle*. A.A. Knopf, 2013.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Pantheon, 1977.

Frank, Sam. "Orwell's Triumph: How Novels Tell the Truth of Surveillance." *The Intercept*,

28 June 2015, [theintercept.com/2015/06/28/orwells-triumph-novels-tell-truth-](http://theintercept.com/2015/06/28/orwells-triumph-novels-tell-truth-surveillance/)

[surveillance/](http://theintercept.com/2015/06/28/orwells-triumph-novels-tell-truth-surveillance/). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Gleckner, Robert F. "1984 or 1948?" *College English*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1956, pp. 95–99.

*JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/372510](http://www.jstor.org/stable/372510).

Goldacre, Ben. "When Data Gets Creepy: The Secrets We Don't Realise We're Giving

Away." *The Guardian*, 5 Dec. 2014,

[www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/dec/05/when-data-gets-creepy-secrets-were-giving-away](http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/dec/05/when-data-gets-creepy-secrets-were-giving-away). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Greenwald, Glenn. *No Place to Hide*. Penguin Random House, 2015.

Gygi, Kathleen. "Recognizing the Symptoms of Hypertext . . . and What to Do About It." *The*

*Art of Human–Computer Interface Design*, edited by Brenda Laurel, Addison-Wesley, 1990.

Hatton, Celia. "China 'Social Credit': Beijing Sets Up Huge System." *BBC News*, 26 Oct.

2015, [www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-34592186](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-34592186). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Hern, Alex. "Scientists Prove That Truth Is No Match for Fiction on Twitter." *The Guardian*,

8 Mar. 2018, [www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/mar/08/scientists-truth-fiction-twitter-bots](http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/mar/08/scientists-truth-fiction-twitter-bots). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Hitchens, Christopher. *Why Orwell Matters*. Basic Books, 2008.

---. "Why Orwell Still Matters." *The Cambridge Companion to George Orwell*, edited by

John Rodden, Cambridge UP, 2007.

Howe, Irving. "1984: History as Nightmare." *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text, Sources,*

*Criticism*, edited by Irving Howe, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.

Huxley, Aldous. *Brave New World*. Longman, 1973.

Hyde, Marina. "The Likes of Mark Zuckerberg Already Rule the Media. Now They Want to

Censor the Past." *The Guardian*, 9 Sept. 2016,

[www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/09/mark-zuckerberg-censor-facebook-tech-titans](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/09/mark-zuckerberg-censor-facebook-tech-titans). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Jenkins, Henry. *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. NYU Press, 2006.

Kay, Alan. "User Interface." *The Art of Human–Computer Interface Design*, edited by

Brenda Laurel, Addison-Wesley, 1990.

Klaas, Brian. "Trump Owes Orwell for '1984.' Big Brother is His Role Model." *USA Today*, 9

Oct. 2017, [www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/10/09/donald-trump-owes-george-orwell-for-1984-memory-hole-brian-klaas-column/746119001/](http://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/10/09/donald-trump-owes-george-orwell-for-1984-memory-hole-brian-klaas-column/746119001/). Accessed 29 Mar.

2018.

Kleinman, Zoe. "Cambridge Analytica: The Story So Far." *BBC News*, 21 Mar. 2018,

[www.bbc.com/news/technology-43465968](http://www.bbc.com/news/technology-43465968). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Krippendorff, Klaus. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Sage, 1980.

Lanier, Jaron. "Jaron Lanier Discusses Big Data at NYPL." *Library Journal*, 15 Nov. 2013,

pp. 18-19.

---. "Technology and its Discontents." *Nature*, 18 Sept. 2014, pp. 313-314.

---. "The End of Human Specialness." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 29 Aug. 2010,

[www.chronicle.com/article/The-End-of-Human-Specialness/124124](http://www.chronicle.com/article/The-End-of-Human-Specialness/124124). Accessed 14

May 2018.

---. "Virtual Reality." *Whole Earth Review*, vol. 64, Fall 1989, pp. 108-119.

---. *You Are Not a Gadget*. Alfred A. Knopf, 2010.

Laurel, Brenda. "Introduction." *The Art of Human–Computer Interface Design*, edited by

Brenda Laurel, Addison-Wesley, 1990.

---. "Users and Contexts Introduction." *The Art of Human–Computer Interface Design*, edited

by Brenda Laurel, Addison-Wesley, 1990.

Lowenthal, Richard. "Our Peculiar Hell." *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text, Sources,*

*Criticism*, edited by Irving Howe, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.



Manovich, Lev. "From the Externalization of the Psyche to the Implantation of Technology."

*Manovich.net*, 1995, [manovich.net/index.php/projects/from-the-externalization-of-the-psyche-to-the-implantation-of-technology](http://manovich.net/index.php/projects/from-the-externalization-of-the-psyche-to-the-implantation-of-technology). Accessed 29 Apr. 2018.

---. *Software Takes Command*. Bloomsbury, 2013.

---. *The Language of New Media*. MIT Press, 2001.

McLaughlin, Neil. "Orwell, the Academy and the Intellectuals." *The Cambridge Companion to George Orwell*, edited by John Rodden, Cambridge UP, 2007.

McLuhan, Marshall, and W. Terrence Gordon. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Gingko Press, 2013.

Meyers, Jeffrey. *A Reader's Guide to George Orwell*. Thames and Hudson, 1975.

---. *Orwell: Wintry Conscience of a Generation*. W.W. Norton & Company, 2000.

Meyers, Jeffrey, and Valerie Meyers. *George Orwell: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism*. Garland Publishing, 1977.

Morozov, Evgeny. *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*. Public Affairs, 2011.

---. "Whither Internet Control?" *Liberation Technology*, edited by Larry Diamond et al., The John Hopkins UP, 2012.

Nocera, Joe. "A World without Privacy." *The New York Times*, 14 Oct. 2013, [www.nytimes.com/2013/10/15/opinion/nocera-a-world-without-privacy.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/15/opinion/nocera-a-world-without-privacy.html). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Nougayrède, Natalie. "Fake News is Bad. But Fake History Is Even Worse." *The Guardian*, 4 Aug. 2017, [www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/aug/04/fake-news-fake-history-turkey-china-rewrite-past](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/aug/04/fake-news-fake-history-turkey-china-rewrite-past). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

O'Reilly, Tim. "What Is Web 2.0: Design Patterns and Business Models for the Next Generation of Software." *Communications & Strategies*, vol. 65, 2007, pp. 17-37.

- Orwell, George. *Animal Farm*. Harcourt Brace & Company, 1946.
- . "Burnham's View of the Contemporary World Struggle." *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Volume IV*, edited by Sonia Orwell et al., Secker & Warburg. 1968.
- . *Coming Up for Air*. Secker & Warburg, 1939.
- . *Down and Out in Paris and London*. Secker & Warburg, 1933.
- . *Homage to Catalonia*. Harcourt Brace & World, 1952.
- . "Literature and Totalitarianism." *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Volume II*, edited by Sonia Orwell et al., Secker & Warburg, 1968.
- . "Looking Back on the Spanish War." *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Volume II*, edited by Sonia Orwell et al., Secker & Warburg, 1968.
- . "New Words." *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Volume II*, edited by Sonia Orwell et al., Secker & Warburg, 1968.
- . *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Penguin, 1989.
- . "Orwell on *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: Letters and Essays." *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text, Sources, Criticism*, edited by Irving Howe, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.
- . "Politics and the English Language." *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text, Sources, Criticism*, edited by Irving Howe, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.
- . "Propaganda and Demotic Speech." *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Volume III*, edited by Sonia Orwell et al., Secker & Warburg, 1968.
- . *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays*. Secker and Warburg, 1953.
- . "The Frontiers of Art and Propaganda." *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Volume II*, edited by Sonia Orwell et al., Secker & Warburg, 1968.
- . "The Prevention of Literature." *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text, Sources, Criticism*, edited by Irving Howe, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.

- . "The Proletarian Writer." *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Volume II*, edited by Sonia Orwell et al., Secker & Warburg, 1968.
- . "Why I Write." *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text, Sources, Criticism*, edited by Irving Howe, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.
- Posner, Richard A. *Public Intellectuals*. Harvard UP, 2001.
- Preece, Jenny et al., editors. *Human-Computer Interaction*. Addison-Wesley, 1994.
- Rahv, Philip. "The Unfuture of Utopia." *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text, Sources, Criticism*, edited by Irving Howe, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.
- Rockwell, Geoffrey, and Andrew Mactavish. "Multimedia." *A Companion to Digital Humanities*, edited by Schreibman Susan et al., Blackwell, 2004.
- Rodden, John. "The Orwell Century?" *Society*, vol. 40, no. 5, 2003, pp. 62-65. *ProQuest*, [uml.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.uml.idm.oclc.org/docview/206719131?accountid=14569](http://uml.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.uml.idm.oclc.org/docview/206719131?accountid=14569), doi:<http://dx.doi.org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/BF03008260>.
- Rose, Jonathan. "Englands His Englands." *The Cambridge Companion to George Orwell*, edited by John Rodden, Cambridge UP, 2007.
- Rossi, John, and John Rodden. "A Political Writer." *The Cambridge Companion to George Orwell*, edited by John Rodden, Cambridge UP, 2007.
- Rushe, Dominic. "NSA Surveillance Goes beyond Orwell's Imagination." *The Guardian*, 23 Sept. 2013, [www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/23/orwell-nsa-surveillance-alan-rusbridger](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/23/orwell-nsa-surveillance-alan-rusbridger). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.
- Seaton, Jean, et al. "Welcome to Dystopia – George Orwell Experts on Donald Trump." *The Guardian*, 25 Jan. 2017, [www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/25/george-orwell-donald-trump-kellyanne-conway-1984](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/25/george-orwell-donald-trump-kellyanne-conway-1984). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Sekula, Allan. "The Body and the Archive." *October*, vol. 39, 1986, pp. 3–64. *JSTOR*,  
[www.jstor.org/stable/778312](http://www.jstor.org/stable/778312).

Shannon, C.E., and Warren Weaver. *The Mathematical Theory of Communication*. University  
 of Illinois Press, 1949.

Snowden, Edward. Interview by Stefania Maurizi. "How the Deep State Shapes Presidents."  
*la Repubblica*, 19 Mar. 2018,  
[www.repubblica.it/esteri/2018/03/19/news/snowden\\_how\\_the\\_deep\\_state\\_shapes\\_pre  
 sidents\\_-191619170/](http://www.repubblica.it/esteri/2018/03/19/news/snowden_how_the_deep_state_shapes_presidents_-191619170/). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Snyder, Timothy. "To Understand Putin, Read Orwell." *Politico*, 3 Sept. 2014,  
[www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/09/to-understand-putin-read-orwell-110551](http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/09/to-understand-putin-read-orwell-110551).  
 Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

The Invisible Committee. "Fuck Off, Google." *To Our Friends*, Oct. 2014.

"The World's Most Valuable Resource Is No Longer Oil, But Data." *The Economist*, 6 May  
 2017, [www.economist.com/news/leaders/21721656-data-economy-demands-new-  
 approach-antitrust-rules-worlds-most-valuable-resource](http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21721656-data-economy-demands-new-approach-antitrust-rules-worlds-most-valuable-resource). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Travis, Alan. "'Snooper's Charter' Bill Becomes Law, Extending UK State Surveillance." *The  
 Guardian*, 29 Nov. 2016, [www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/29/snoopers-  
 charter-bill-becomes-law-extending-uk-state-surveillance](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/29/snoopers-charter-bill-becomes-law-extending-uk-state-surveillance). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Trilling, Lionel. "George Orwell and the Politics of Truth." *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four:  
 Text, Sources, Criticism*, edited by Irving Howe, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.

---. "Orwell on the Future." *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text, Sources, Criticism*, edited  
 by Irving Howe, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.

Viner, Katharine. "How Technology Disrupted the Truth." *The Guardian*, 12 Jul. 2016,  
[www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/12/how-technology-disrupted-the-truth](http://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/12/how-technology-disrupted-the-truth).  
 Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Vosoughi, Soroush, et al. "The Spread of True and False News Online." *Science*, vol. 359, no. 6380, 2018, pp. 1146-51. [science.sciencemag.org/content/359/6380/1146](https://science.sciencemag.org/content/359/6380/1146).

Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

"What 'Orwellian' Really Means." *Youtube*, uploaded by TED-Ed, 1 Oct. 2015, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=oe64p-QzhNE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oe64p-QzhNE). Accessed 29 Apr. 2018.

Wilden, Anthony. "Analog and Digital Communication." *System and Structure: Essays in Communication and Exchange*, Tavistock, 1980.

Wong, Julia C. "Facebook Ending News Feed Experiment Condemned as 'Orwellian'" *The Guardian*, 1 Mar. 2018, [www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/mar/01/facebook-news-feed-experiment-media-posts](https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/mar/01/facebook-news-feed-experiment-media-posts). Accessed 29 Mar. 2018.

Woodcock, George. *The Crystal Spirit: A Study of George Orwell*. Jonathan Cape, 1967.