

ORWELLIAN NARRATIVE IN AMERICAN MEDIA
IN THE AFTERMATH OF 9/11

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ABSTRACT

Dystopian literature has been a major influence on political and social discourses worldwide. This study explores the cultural impact of George Orwell's *1984* through the theory of political unconscious, which states that texts should not be studied outside of the context of the historical events that accompany them. The concept of figurative framing is applied to establish how the Orwellian narrative is used by the American media to criticize the actions of the US government after 9/11. By combining qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis, I analyze the main themes and patterns that arise when the Orwellian narrative is employed in the media while also inspecting the power dynamics that surround the discourse of 9/11. The study finds that Orwellian metaphors were much more widely used during the Bush administration and they concerned a wider range of topics than during Obama's presidency. This serves to disprove the original expectation that the most frequent and assorted use of the Orwellian narrative in the media would occur after the NSA scandal. Additionally, the fact that the American authorities recognized the Orwellian narrative and began engaging in it symbolizes the relevance of the discursive practice that this narrative started. It signifies also the importance of dystopias in the political context because of their usage in mass media and generally in political communication.

Keywords: dystopia, 1984, Orwell, political unconscious, figurative framing, American media, 9/11

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“Wit beyond measure is man’s greatest treasure”

Rowena Ravenclaw

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Introduction

The cultural importance of dystopias in the 21st century is remarkably strong due to a number of reasons, such as the rapid development of technology, advanced warfare, emergence of totalitarianism and prevalence of postmodernist thought. Dystopias, however, have not only a cultural significance, but also a political one as they provide a critical perspective on the challenges in society and problematize the power dynamics within the states. One of the most noteworthy dystopias is George Orwell's *1984*, which has a major impact on discursive practices across the globe even today. This book has played a vital role in both political and academic circles and it currently influences discursive practices worldwide. The theory of political unconscious, proposed by Frederic Jameson, states that texts should not be studied outside of the context of the historical events that accompany them (Jameson 1981). Thus it is necessary to study the narrative that Orwell creates through his book and the perceptions of this narrative in relation to contemporaneous social and political events.

One of the ways to approach this topic is to identify a critical juncture, the events of which are related to the themes of the book and analyze how the narrative has been used in the description of said events. Since newspapers are one of the main mediums to convey new information to the public, the Orwellian narrative can be studied as a framing device – a concept that describes how the way information is presented affects the impression from it. This research provides a detailed examination of the way the Orwellian narrative has been used as a framing device in American media such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *USA Today* in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the 11th of September 2001, which is identified as a critical juncture in US history that led to the change in the relationship between the state and its citizens. Additionally, the study establishes the transformations that the

narrative receives as a result of societal alterations after 9/11, where it changed from being used to describe oppressive regimes in other countries to criticism of domestic policies.

Although there is a significant amount of research that explores the relationship between fictionality and reality, in political communication the study of literary metaphors is relatively new. Burges et al. establish a concept of figurative framing as such that will allow to study metaphors, hyperboles and irony in media, because although these devices are more commonly associated with literary analysis, they can contribute immensely to establishing or supporting master frames (Burges et al. 2016). Because of the novelty of this interdisciplinary approach to studying the effects of literature on political discourse, there are currently significant gaps in research literature.

Therefore my study is aimed towards exploring this new angle in communication studies and further exploring the dystopian narratives as figurative framing devices. The object of this thesis is the Orwellian narrative itself. I examine articles from the aforementioned newspapers after 2001 by running a keyword search in LexisNexis database with the terms “Orwell”, “Orwellian”, “Big Brother”, “Doublethink”, “Newspeak” and selecting the relevant sources that discuss governmental actions after 9/11. To provide a comparative perspective on the usage of this narrative in the media before the tragedy of 9/11, selected data from before 2001 was also analyzed. The expectations from this study is that the Orwellian narrative would be more widely used in the aftermath of 9/11 and it would be oriented to describe domestic rather than foreign processes. Moreover, I anticipate that the narrative would be most frequently used after the Snowden revelations – a whistleblowing scandal that exposed increased surveillance by US government agencies on both global and national levels as part of the “War on Terror” effort.

For this research I use the theory of political unconscious by Frederic Jameson as well as the concept of figurative framing by Burges et al. Also the works of Gregory Claeys, Ruth

Ronen, Lyman Tower Sargent, Fátima Vieira, Scott Lucas, Meyer Howard Abrams, and others will be used to examine the literary aspects of dystopias and to establish the concept of the Orwellian narrative. As for the methodology, Michel Foucault and Norman Fairclough provides the theoretical background. I analyze the data by applying qualitative content analysis with elements of discourse analysis. This approach allows me to identify the main themes and patterns that arise when the Orwellian narrative is employed in the media while also inspecting the power dynamics that surround the discourse of 9/11.

In the first chapter I introduce the notions of fictionality and utopianism and discuss how they transcend the boundaries of literature, which allows me to establish the relevance of dystopian literature in the political context. I also examine the cultural significance of *1984* after it was just published and throughout the years and also the way its perception has been manipulated during the Cold War. The second chapter that has four subchapters that are dedicated to the historical emergence of the Orwellian narrative and a literary analysis of the main tropes within the book. In addition, I establish the importance of this narrative in regard to governmental actions after 9/11 and especially to the Snowden scandal. Additionally this chapter includes the research design and description of methodology. The third chapter presents the results and their analysis. It is divided into four parts: an overview of the Orwellian narrative before 9/11, an in-depth examination of both Doublethink/Newspeak and Big Brother tropes and the transformation of Orwellian narrative after the Snowden scandal.

Chapter 1. Transcending the Boundaries of the Literary Genre

1.1. Fictionality and Utopianism: Literature as a Social Critique

The idea that fiction of any sort can influence real life is not new. The very definition of fiction is rather uncertain and the borders of the concept of fiction are unclear at best, so it is only natural to assume that fictional in its broadness would have major overlaps with the factual, which can serve as an indicator of how this traditional dichotomy is misleading. For example, although the subject matter of the majority of religions is fictional in the sense of not being able to produce material evidence as concrete proof of any deity's existence, religions themselves are very much real as social, political, cultural, economic etc. actors.

However, the impact of fiction can be much more subtle and hard to detect in other cases, so it is harder to identify, yet the presence of fictional elements can be undeniable. Even in science, once one makes inferences about the general population from empirical observations of the sample, traces of fictionality can be observed, as it is impossible to predict with absolute certainty that the entire population will behave a certain way. Ruth Ronen writes on this account: "fictional property of texts can be defined relative to a given cultural context (...) some texts are viewed as fictional but only relative to (...) nonfictional [texts] – history, or scientific versions of the actual world" (Ronen 1994, 10). Such a vague distinction between fiction and reality provides a good ground for interdisciplinary study of fictionality.

One of such cases where fictional is entwined with reality is utopianism, which developed as a concept ever since the appearance of *Utopia* by Thomas More in 1516 and has such a large variety of meanings, at times even contradictory to each other and yet different

aspects of utopianism are still studied in a broad scope of humanitarian and social science disciplines. In his paper ‘Three Faces of Utopianism Revisited’, Lyman Tower Sargent identified the triad of components of utopia, which are literary aspect, communities and ideology. When utopias are typically perceived as mostly literary pieces, such an interpretation undermines their worth as conductors of new political and social notions, which can have a great influence in society, so this three dimensional approach is important to fully grasp the potential behind utopias (Sargent 1994). This definition of a triad emerged as a result of popular misconception of utopias as primarily literary genres, although the ideas, expressed in them, can profoundly affect societies. Along with utopias, which appeared as a genre during the Renaissance and developed during the Enlightenment due to the epoch’s characteristic progressive thinking about the possibilities of building better societies, another notable genre emerged in wake of the 20th century – dystopia.

There is a commonly accepted literary tradition to distinguish between utopias and dystopias, although even the creator of the term utopia, Thomas More, intentionally left the question of utopia being a better achievable version of society, or just a non-existent and unreachable ideal open (Vieira 2010, 5). Although both terms are defined rather vaguely and inspire debates, a general assumption states: “that the term ‘utopia’ (...) describes a much better, even perfect society, while ‘dystopia’, arriving much later on the scene, depicts a much worse one” (Claeys 2013, 145). Gregory Claeys with this quote depicts the usual understanding of the distinction between these two terms, he argues that both utopia and dystopia cannot be reduced to that definition only, as these are complex concepts with a lot of multiple aspects that go beyond the standard literary perception. While such an observation is a valid contribution to studying utopianism, it can be extended even more by the suggestion that, in essence, the line between utopias and dystopias is not as clearly distinguishable as one might think.

Usually literature, categorized as dystopian, is characteristically grim and finite in a sense that the ‘system’ always wins over the individual. Yet this understanding comes with an established Western tradition to perceive freedom of an individual as a highest value and, additionally, with a memory of atrocities of the 20th century and its totalitarian regimes, which has redefined the concept of ‘evil’ entirely. Retrospectively speaking, most utopias, praising the rational and morally perfect human beings, are able to therefore create simplistic perfect societies (usually with meritocratic hierarchy if any at all and a socialist approach to private property). They seem odd at best and as much flawed as dystopias at worst to a modern person because of all the attempts to implement ‘utopian’ ideas into reality, which have resulted in horrible consequences. To quote Claeys: “We create utopias (...) based on the need to envision a more hopeful future; dystopias happen, unfortunately. Surely, no-one sets out to create a dystopia?” (Claeys 2013, 160).

With this in mind, it might seem that the distinction between utopias and dystopias is obsolete, because one man’s utopia can be another man’s dystopia and vice versa, depending on the point of view. However, to be named a dystopia, a phenomenon has to possess a distinctive characteristic – criticism of the society the author is trying to allude to in his work. It is this critical element that is key to understanding dystopias, since where utopias are hopeful, dystopias are hopeless and their social function is to alarm or forewarn the reader to take an action against the societal imperfections. In this way, both utopias and dystopias have a similar aim – the improvement of society or at least criticism of it, but they achieve it through different means.

In his ‘News from Somewhere’, Claeys attempts to give a coherent definition to different versions of dystopian scenarios. Firstly, dystopias were never created or designed as such, which is a deep contrast to utopias, which were meant to be the way they are. The author also calls for discerning between instances where the tragedy for the society to turn into a

dystopia has struck due to the flaw in the utopian thought itself, which can then be called an anti-utopia, or there were some other forces at play. Secondly, since the evil element is only a temporary measure in a dystopian moment, used for the greater good of society, they cannot be perceived as such that they are inherently evil, although when he later talks about the difference between despotic and totalitarian dystopias (first two types of dystopia, which are not necessarily viewed as typical opposition of utopia, rather as an independent genre), he notices that the latter do thrive to create an everlasting state of paranoia and terror, but as a means to an end (good of people) (Claeys 2013).

In the continuation of this logic, this reality for an observer from within the society (since dystopias are usually narrated from the viewpoint of the member of the community, who is trying to protest against the regime somehow, as opposed to a utopian guided tour from an outsider) is both normal and flawed, for they were conditioned to like it, but somehow his intellectual capacity allows him to understand the defects. What is most striking and what Claeys hints at, is that the society within a totalitarian dystopia is so highly atomized and through varied means too, any human connection these protagonists try to acquire on the truth-seeking mission brings about their demise (Claeys 2013). The profound effect in the descriptions of dystopian societies lies in contradicting the values of humanity, such as seeking knowledge, establishing social relations of various kinds, possessing fundamental human rights and freedoms on the virtue of simply being a person. Dystopias are not simply malevolent for the sake of a plot, like a grim place in a myth or a fairy tale that a protagonist has to conquer in order to achieve the heroic status. They present a critical overview of the society, a hooded warning about some arising tendencies and their subgenres (according to Sargent's classification), such as anti-utopias (designed to criticize utopianism in general or a specific utopia in particular) or critical utopias (a utopia with unresolved problems which threaten its

very existence), (Sargent 1994, 9) often serve essentially the same purpose as pamphlets and political caricatures did earlier.

1.2. 1984 as More Than Just a Book: Perceptions and Cultural Significance

As far as the great triad of dystopias of the 20th century (Zamyatin's *We*, Huxley's *Brave New World* and Orwell's *1984*) is concerned, the impact of these pieces of literature has been grand, although they were written at different times (1924, 1932 and 1949 respectively) and about different social vices. For example, as an explanation of differences between totalitarian perspective of Orwell and Huxley's routine of sedated pleasure, it is necessary to underline that while the first was warning about the influence of oppressive regimes, still active in Europe, and worried about the Third World War, the second was describing a much more elaborated threat, in which the world is equally endangered by the lack of freedom and the pursuit of pleasure with the aim to find happiness.

For further clarity, dystopias can be structurally discussed from the proposed four-vectored framework of Meyer H. Abrams, which includes the work itself, artist, audience and the universe (Abrams 1971). As far as the universe dimension is concerned, out of the aforementioned triad *1984* can be, perhaps, the most influential, which can be attributed to the fact that an adjective 'Orwellian' is a dictionary word, widely used in English language and different specific terms, created for the book, have found their way into popular culture (like, for example, the name of the TV show "Big Brother"). Moreover, although the debate as to whether the figure of the author should be taken into consideration when analyzing the text, Eric Arthur Blair, known under his pseudonym George Orwell, remains a prominent figure in the landscape of both literature and politics.

George Orwell's *1984* is one of the most important landmarks of dystopian literature and can be even regarded as the quintessential summary of the critique of totalitarian society. The book is written in the way to encourage numerous debates about the virtues of freedom and personal choice and its perception has naturally varied throughout its existence. Orwell was, in fact, the third most controversial author of the 20th century after Arthur Miller and Salman Rushdie (Rodden 2007, 161). Despite the book being a finished product with fixed content, different interpretations of it create new symbolic meanings of their own due to change in significant events in different epochs. This often happens through using such semantic descriptions as 'Orwellian', 'Orwell's perspective' etc.

The significance of the cultural legacy of the writer, who, despite having written in various genres and mostly non-fictional accounts of his own observations and experiences, has been most notable for describing fictional closed societies and the way they are created and consolidated. His work was viewed as a vital tool by Western politicians during the Cold War period and as a flagman of literary prowess by fellow writers and academics. Scott Lucas describes this process in the chapter entitled "Canonization of St. George" of his book *Betrayal of Dissent*. He describes how such governmental agencies as the CIA, FBI and MI6 all have utilized Orwell's ideas for their strategic means after the writer's death and how even most consistent critics of his work, despite their considerations for quality of writing or disagreement with the author's ideological stance, were praising him as a "prophet of his generation" and "speaker of truth". Lucas argues that this occurred not only because of the writings themselves, but also due to the fact that Orwell occupied an ideological middle ground, fighting against manifestations of both extreme rightist and extreme leftist ideas and promoting the ideas of democratic socialism instead (Lucas 2004, 33-35). The glorification of the figure of Orwell has to be noted for the analysis of the impact of his works, for because of it he as a person became

a part of a narrative he was creating. In light of this approach it is necessary to inspect Orwell's contribution separately from the cult-like status his persona gained over the years.

It is also important to note, how the book was originally perceived, when it just came out. In *Utopias in negative* George Woodcock describes *1984* (as well as other books from the classic triad) significantly differently from the anti-utopias of the era preceding the First World War. He says that while the latter category of more classic anti-utopias has been more critical of collectivism in general and written mostly by conservatives, whereas the former category of newer anti-utopias aimed at specific regimes, because there has been historic evidence (which the authors were able to experience themselves) of possibilities of corruption for collectivist societies (Woodcock 1956, 84-85). Claeys writes that at the time of publication, which was the very onset of the Cold War, the main attention was paid to the criticism of Stalinism and, albeit not that obviously, Fascism (Claeys 2010, 122).

The historical caricatures were recognizable even visibly: Big Brother, described in the book as: "the face of a man of about forty-five, with a heavy black moustache and ruggedly handsome features" and his ideological opponent and the main enemy of the state, Emmanuel Goldstein: "It was a lean Jewish face, with a great fuzzy aureole of white hair and a small goatee beard (...) the long thin nose, near the end of which a pair of spectacles was perched." (Orwell 1949, 2-13) are often speculated to resemble Stalin and Trotsky respectively. While these were the most widely recognized and discussed patterns, the other underlying themes included dangers of technocracy and extreme bureaucracy, as well as corruption of the intelligentsia (represented by O'Brien, highly intelligent member of the inner party, in his famous monologue about power) (Claeys 2010, 124). So it is possible to understand the influence of *1984* as outward oriented in a sense that it was aimed as a warning against existing oppressive regimes, it also contains severe criticism of democratic Western societies, which can explain the continuing significance of the book after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

In the light of these discoveries it is not surprising that the usage of the term ‘Orwellian’ remains purposefully broad and the term itself has numerous definitions. So, neither the purpose nor the meaning of referring to Orwell’s works can be defined clearly without observing the context. As it is with all language units, they serve as devices meant to convey certain ideas, which may be more or less universal, but have to be understood by enough people to become a symbol of a particular object of description. The universality of definitions even within a particular language is a complex problem, which affects communication immensely, especially when the direct commentary on the conveyed meaning is impossible. The debates on the peculiarities of language as a social construct and its effect of perceptions have heavily influenced social sciences and philosophy of the 20th and 21st century.

According to the speech act theory, words are seldom uttered by themselves purposelessly, they connect to the others to produce action (Vanderveken and Kubo 2001, 25). By this logic, the usage of references to Orwell serves as an act of making a certain statement, which serves a different purpose every time, since they interact with other words to produce new meanings. These processes can be recognized as a creation of a certain Orwellian narrative. Narrative in literary theory is primarily defined in regard to the text as a work-in-itself, where it can be either a description of a single event, a chain of events that constitute the discursive practice or the event of narration on its own (Chatman 1980, 3; Genette 1983, 25-26).

Yet Frederic Jameson proposes to look at the narrative from a different point of view by asking a question: “is the text a free-floating object in its own right, or does it ‘reflect’ some context or ground, and in that case does it simply replicate the latter ideologically or does it possess some autonomous force?” (Jameson 1981, 38). He proposes a system of analysis that recognizes the ‘political unconscious’ – a concept that reveals that all texts have despite their primary meaning a master narrative that is connected to historical events. This narrative can be uncovered when the text is analyzed in relevance to history (Jameson 1981, 20). The idea of

the political unconscious shows that narratives are not only important on their own, but also have a relevant connection with reality and such connection is not rigid, but can change due to historical necessity. Therefore, the theory of political unconscious dictates that texts cannot be independent from the context – a notion that correlates with ideas of post-structuralism.

Chapter 2. Uncovering the Orwellian Narrative in Contemporary World

2.1. Historical Emergence of the Orwellian Narrative and Literary Analysis of *1984*

So what then constitutes an Orwellian narrative as such? Subsequently, how does this narrative transgress into the political reality, how does it shape the discourse around social events? The adjective ‘Orwellian’ or general references to the works of Orwell have been used frequently in various forms of the media and academic literature since the publication of *1984* as a metaphorical way to accentuate grim prospects of certain governmental (and possibly corporate) actions or policies. Examples of such references can be found in papers ranging from medical and legal literature to news articles about technological devices. Due to the ambiguity of the term it is necessary to establish what defines an ‘Orwellian narrative’ as it is typically understood. Although academic articles focus on different parts of Orwell’s writings, whenever he is referenced in a public discussion or a media outlet, there is most often a reference to narratives found in *1984* and *Animal Farm*, with the bigger emphasis on the former due to its straightforward nature and vivid imagery. However, *1984* has been particularly chosen for this research, because of its importance in terms of both significance of surveillance and the described way of manipulation through language. Additionally, some versions of described events, technological advances and state of society, described in *1984* can be still found in present day countries, even the ones with stable democracies.

In order to perceive the origin and impact of Orwellian narrative it is important to not only define it, but to provide a contextual understanding of the literary piece, from which it

emerged. Gregory Claeys in his paper on the origins of the concept of dystopia describes two dominant themes present in *1984*:

The first is the totalitarian demand for complete loyalty, which requires slavish submission by the intellectuals, the debasement of logic and language ('doublethink' and 'newspeak'), the evocation of the worst popular passion ('Hate Week'), and hostility to individualism (...) Secondly, there is the omnipresence of state power: the telescreen, the posters of Big Brother (...), the ubiquitous Thought Police, the continuous rewriting of the past. (Claeys 2010, 123-124)

As can be seen from this definition, two main directions for the total state, described in the book, are to suppress individuals on a personal level by manipulating cognitive processes and a non-stop sequence of external governmental intrusion into public and private life of the citizens (the public/private division under such conditions practically disappears). For the purpose of this research these two main themes could be described in terminology of the books: doublethink/newspeak aspect (repression of thought and language) and Big Brother aspect (surveillance, secret service). Therefore, as Orwell is often referred to when only one aspect of *1984* is present in author's opinion, such a reference can be true to a general understanding of the Orwellian notion. This does not necessarily mean that all such references are necessarily 'correct' in regards to the complex and interconnected ideas Orwellian narratives had been expressing.

When analyzing the first of the identified themes, it is important to note that one of the most important aspects of Orwell's dystopian works has been centered around the establishment of political and social discourses in authoritarian societies and how a centralized control over the ability to shape these discourses is important. Orwell was not the first writer to point out the importance of language in such processes in one of his novels. After all, such forms of expression as short and easily memorized slogans were serving as a tool to express propagandistic ideas in a form for example – a though frequently employed in dystopias of 20th

century. However, he can be considered one of the first to pay specific attention to the role of changes in language itself as a way to establish the necessary effect.

This emphasis on linguistics is not accidental: Orwell himself was one of the early proponents of viewing language as an instrument, rather than a natural occurrence. In his famous essay “Politics and the English Language” he criticized the way English language is treated by academics and mass media, when discussing politics (a claim he later supported in his fiction). He claimed that because of such linguistic occurrences as dying metaphors, verbal false limbs, pretentious diction, and meaningless words the language becomes corrupted and can thus corrupt the thought of the speaker. The cure for such poor state of language was to consider usage of proper words, which would not be overly complicated (Orwell 1946). Although Orwell has been later criticized for being eager to draw hasty assumptions on the state of English language and therefore his conclusions may be not be particularly precise (though stylistically this essay is not academic and serves primarily to express Orwell’s personal opinion), the essence of his query is still a widely debated topic.

The study of the language and the way it is often used has deeply influenced not only Orwell’s essays, but his fictional writings as well. In *1984*, the reader is introduced to Syme, a philologist and friend of the protagonist Winston Smith, who works on changing English language (‘oldspeak’) into a modified and severely briefed version of it (‘newspeak’) (Orwell, 1949: 35). The main purpose of newspeak is not to simply ease the usage of the language, but to erase any possible contradiction that the variety of words that can be potentially selected to express a thought or an opinion will ensue. This is done to both enable manipulation over the thought process of an individual by reshaping it according to the principles of Ingsoc – the leading ideology of Oceania – and the eradication of the possibility of thoughtcrime, by which any conscious or subconscious deviation from the philosophy of the ruling party, becomes altogether impossible.

These processes allow, in the words of Syme himself: “Every year fewer and fewer words, and the range of consciousness always a little smaller. (...) The Revolution will be complete when the language is perfect. Newspeak is Ingsoc and Ingsoc is Newspeak” (Orwell 1949, 36). Together with a mental exercise called ‘doublethink’, which manifested in a person’s ability to believe contradictory statements in different contexts as per will of the party, newspeak created a framework of eradicating an individual component of a citizen’s personality, making his or her free will virtually non-existent. This idea was present not only in dystopian literature. Foucault in his *The discourse on language* wrote: “In appearance, speech may well be of a little account, but the prohibitions surrounding it soon reveal its links with desire and power (...) speech is no mere verbalization of conflicts and systems of domination, but that it is the very object of man’s conflicts” (Foucault 1972, 216).

As for the second aspect of constant intrusion of government into their citizens’ lives through monitoring their actions, it can be divided into two subcategories. One of these subcategories can be assumed to be partially fulfilled in historical/extratextual reality (or interpreted from available information about totalitarian states). In the Soviet Union during the Stalinist epoch, for example, it would concern any type of secret police that dealt with internal “enemies” and examples of people observing each other in order to confess to the secret police about the actions of those who they had been observing (Fitzpatrick 1999, 112-113). The exact mechanism of the way secret police operated was not understood much at the time, although as the other big totalitarian regime – Nazi Germany – collapsed in 1945, more information on the subject of the way the Gestapo worked was available due to the Nuremberg trials.

As for the culture of mutual distrust and desire to serve the party by spying on other members of society and giving reports to the secret police, for example youth organization Spies, described in the book, where children were spying on their parents or even random strangers, these can be again found in the Soviet Union. The story of Pioneer Pavlik Morozov,

a propagandist icon in the Soviet Union of a boy, who had been so loyal to the party that he betrayed his own father, who had been supposedly helping rich peasants (kulaks) withhold grain from collectivization. The largely mythical story of a young martyr, who had been as a result of his actions later killed either by his own grandfather or by the people his father was aiding has been abandoned in the subsequent years after Stalinist epoch came to an end (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2015). The cult of glorification of such acts, where an individual is more loyal to the ideology than to his or her own family or other personal connections has inspired the paranoia and mistrust in Orwellian dystopia. As one of the main characters of the book, a member of Inner Party O'Brian remarks: "We have cut the links between child and parent, and between man and man, and between man and woman. No one dares trust a wife or a child or a friend any longer" (Orwell 1949, 188).

However, technological aspects of the surveillance, represented in the book by ever present telescreens and microphones – highly sensitive devices that could monitor a person's activity at any time – were a matter of Orwell's imagination as they would be technologically impossible to be as efficient as described at the time *1984* was written. Although there was a substantial growth of surveillance technology in general, constant supervision was impossible. Yet Orwell introduces a system, which is remarkable for its continuity and where surveillance is not the biggest threat by itself. Every citizen cannot be in reality monitored all the time, since there is not enough manpower to do so and there is an additional paradox of how the guards themselves should be surveyed. However, if the surveillance system in *1984* is viewed upon from the perspective of panopticism – a concept popularized by Michel Foucault, its real power over the mind of the observed citizen has a different axis.

Panopticon is a prison-like structure, the concept of which was originally introduced by Jeremy Bentham in the 18th century, where the guard posts are situated in a way, which theoretically allows them to see what any prisoner is doing at any moment of time, but where

it would be impossible to tell at whom the guard is looking at any moment (Foucault 1975, 200). According to the Foucauldian idea, the panopticon is more than an elaborately planned building, it is an apparatus of power. In his view, such system was not theoretical and targeted at prisoners or sick people in medieval times, but it had real life applications in public spaces (for example schools or hospitals) (Foucault 1975, 202-204). The biggest disciplining tool in a panopticon is inside a person's mind, because since no one can know if they are being watched, they would behave all the time as if they were, thus the system creates a permanent paranoid state of mind for its inhabitants.

In the novel, panopticism not only strives, but also includes actual public humiliation, which Winston Smith experiences during one of the mandatory morning gymnastics sessions. He is called out specifically by name to put more effort into the exercise, for which he complies out of fear despite his health problems (Orwell 1949, 25). This single incident is an indication of two simultaneous processes: reaffirming that the person is watched by a random selection and indication to other participants to resume their effort in order not to find themselves at risk of being similarly reprimanded. As a result, even though there is only one instance of Smith's actions being directly observed (the surveillance by thought police he was put under because of his actions does not apply here, since he was not aware of it), he was behaving as if he had been constantly observed and can only act with limited freedom in the prole quarters, where telescreens are virtually non-present or in O'Brien's house, since membership of the inner party circles has a privilege to shut off the surveillance equipment (Orwell 1949, 118).

2.2. The Relevance of the Orwellian Narrative in the Aftermath of 9/11

It is mostly this aspect of the book, the most fictional one (strictly because of the technological advances, but not because of the intricate psychological pressure of living in

totalitarian societies), that has attracted the attention of the media since the beginning of one of the biggest whistle-blowing global scandals, when in 2013 there was a leakage of some of the data about global surveillance. The origins of the scandal were a result of activities of the US government in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the 11th of September in 2001. The justification of these actions, which included increase of surveillance and severe intrusion of privacy, secret detention and application of torture, as well as military intervention in the Middle East became known as the ‘War on Terror’ – a term first used by George W. Bush, who was US President at the time, shortly after the attack. In the same speech he mentioned that this war is a “task that does not end” (White House Archives 2001). Already at this point there are parallels with one of the most prominent dystopian tropes – perpetual war, where government turns a state of emergency due to external threat into a devise of control of its own citizens.

Victor Ramraj in his paper on legality of ways to solve the state of emergency writes that 9/11 and the War on Terror overall made a significant impact on the rule of law and the principle of legality, because the state of emergency is not limited to a state or a problematic region, there is an emergence of broad counter-terrorist agenda, set by the US, to which all states should adhere. Legal response cannot be separated from geopolitical issues and simultaneously, there is expansion of ideas of human rights, constitutionalism and legality. The framework for emergencies has to be reconciled with constitutionalism on the theoretical and practical level (Ramraj 2008, 28-29).

The changes in treatment of this particular of state of emergency as a lasting phenomenon affected the balance between governmental approach to individual freedom and maintaining security. These changes were implemented through extensive legislation, such as the USA PATRIOT Act, which was made into the law in 2001 and gave unprecedented amount of powers for officials to break fundamental human rights in the case of a perceived terrorism threat. The law has sparked numerous controversies, but kept getting renewed under both Bush

and Obama administrations (Rowen 2011). Patriot Act was not the only innovation that happened after 9/11, other instances include the creation of Guantanamo Bay detention camp, which serves as a prison facility to detain and torture war criminals, who were renamed as ‘enemy combatants’ to avoid repercussions under Geneva Convention (Rowen 2011). Interestingly enough, the creation of a new terminology has been an important factor of legitimization for US government. Douglas Kellner even describes the term ‘Bushspeak’, which has obvious Orwellian overtones and has emerged as a result of the politics of Othering – a term used to describe the need to distinguish between social groups in order to construct a strong identification with one’s group and hostility and suspense toward the “other”, which George W. Bush has used to justify the continued military intervention of Middle East (Kellner 2004). So the dramatic events in September of 2001 have changed the landscape of political freedoms in US and drastically increased the intrusion of government into the private life of its citizens.

These actions were often criticized, but the full scope of governmental intrusion became evident after a young system administrator, named Edward Snowden, obtained a cache of top secret documents, when he was working for Booz Allen Hamilton, one of the biggest contractors working for intelligence and security agencies (BBC News 2013). From these documents it became clear that under the pretext of the war on terrorism the National Security Agency – a signals intelligence organization of the US government, which collected and processed data across the world and, in cooperation with similar agencies in four other countries: Canada, UK, Australia and New Zealand (the alliance has a distinctly dystopian sounding nickname Five Eyes) (Corera 2013). The small portions of information, gradually leaked to the media, revealed the existence of such programs as PRISM, which had access to user’s data, which was submitted on request by such big technology companies as Google, Microsoft, Apple, Skype, Yahoo! etc. and XKeyscore – a program that allows to track every

Internet user's movement, either targeting them by their e-mail address or by using key words (such a narrow approach allows to directly track the activities of a certain person or a group of people rather than screening metadata for suspicious activity) (USA Today 2013; The Guardian 2013).

Snowden's revelations had uncovered the digital progress of the US government in surveillance, but the main public concern remained about whether this progress had been used for domestic surveillance as well. The released information included, for example, a description of a top secret court order that made one of the biggest American cell phone service providers, Verizon, submit information about all calls, made every day by its customers. Though James Clapper, the director of National Intelligence, denied such accusations earlier, the information leakage uncovered the opposite (Muñoz 2013).

The issue of state agencies tracking the actions of US citizens inspired comparisons to *1984*, which was manifested in various ways. For one, sales of the book was reported to have skyrocketed (according to the different sources either by 4,000% or 5,771%) and even sales of the other dystopian book by Orwell, *Animal farm*, increased by 250% (Mosbergen 2013). President Obama has been referring to *1984* as he commented on the actions of the NSA: ““In the abstract, you can complain about Big Brother and how this is a potential program run amok, but when you actually look at the details, then I think we've struck the right balance” (Capon 2013). So did the presidential candidate Senator Bernie Sanders, who replied to the interview question like this: “Kids will grow up knowing that every damn thing that they do is going to be recorded somewhere in a file, and I think that will have a very Orwellian and inhibiting impact on our lives” (Capon 2013). Snowden himself had notably resorted to Orwellian narrative during the Christmas video he released in the aftermath of the scandal: “Great Britain's George Orwell warned us of the danger of this kind of information. The types of

collection in the book (...) are nothing compared to what we have available today” (The Guardian 2013).

When it comes to analysis of media content, such instances of usage of a certain narrative are called framing, which explains how media discuss issues in certain ways to influence the opinion of its consumers. Because the narrative, used for framing in this particular research does not belong to typical instances of framing and has a fictional subtext, the concept of figurative framing, introduced by Burges et al., can provide a necessary framework for analysis. Figurative framing deals with such linguistic devices as metaphors, hyperboles and irony to study their effect of conveying messages. The authors argue that “in political framing, figurative language contains both important linguistic and conceptual context” (Burges et al. 2016, 3). Which means that there is an equal importance of the substance of the narrative and the way it has been discussed. Burges et al. argue that such framing devices should not be excluded from communication studies and that they are equally capable of attacking or maintaining existing frames (Burges et al. 2016, 11-13). Specific key phrases, that allude to Orwellian narrative, such as a term “doublethink” for example, can be perceived as part of the figurative framing, such as a metaphor, since the origins of these terms have dystopian properties of exaggeration and allegory.

2.3. Research Design

To understand how the Orwellian narrative is framed in American media in light of the government response to terrorist attacks of 9/11, this research focuses on news articles as units of analysis. For the purposes of this study I have chosen to concentrate on three US newspapers: *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *USA Today*. They were chosen, because all of them have a nationwide coverage and both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* are elite publications, which often provide social and political commentary of the situation, are

relatively independent and have a lot of influence on public opinion. *USA Today* was a complimentary source due to its high circulation numbers, according to the data from Alliance for Audited Media (Journalism.org 2015). Even though it is not such a grounded newspaper as the other two and has more entertainment value, it is still a valid resource for the purposes of this research, because it would allow to see whether Orwellian narrative has a widespread effect.

To collect all the necessary articles, I conducted a LexisNexis keyword search. The chosen keywords that were needed to identify the population of data, were “Orwell”, “Orwellian”, “Big Brother”, “Doublethink”, “Newspeak”. They were all chosen because of their relation to the author and main themes in *1984*, as well as to the themes of surveillance and government intrusion that I suppose would arise in the aftermath of 9/11. As for the timeline for the extracted data, I chose articles from September of 2001 till 2016 in order to see, how the narrative is framed since the time of attacks. Additionally, I would include selected data from earlier times (LexisNexis database on selected newspapers starts from 1986) for a comparative perspective, although the main focus of the research remains on the way of Orwellian research is represented in the aftermath of 9/11.

In order to refine the timeline, I have also used Google Trends – an Internet based tool by Google that allows the user to see how many searches of the particular search-term were made and at which time. Additionally, it allows a comparison between different search-terms, which can be used to understand the tendencies that certain themes can have. Unfortunately, Google Trends can only provide data starting from 2008-2009, so it would only partially reflect on the importance of the Orwellian narrative within the timeframe of this research, but it covers an important event – global surveillance scandal. On order to do the comparison I have selected several categories, connected to both Orwellian narrative and NSA-related incident. I specified

the comparison should be based on news searches, as it would allow me to focus on the media-related content and that it should only include searches within the United States.

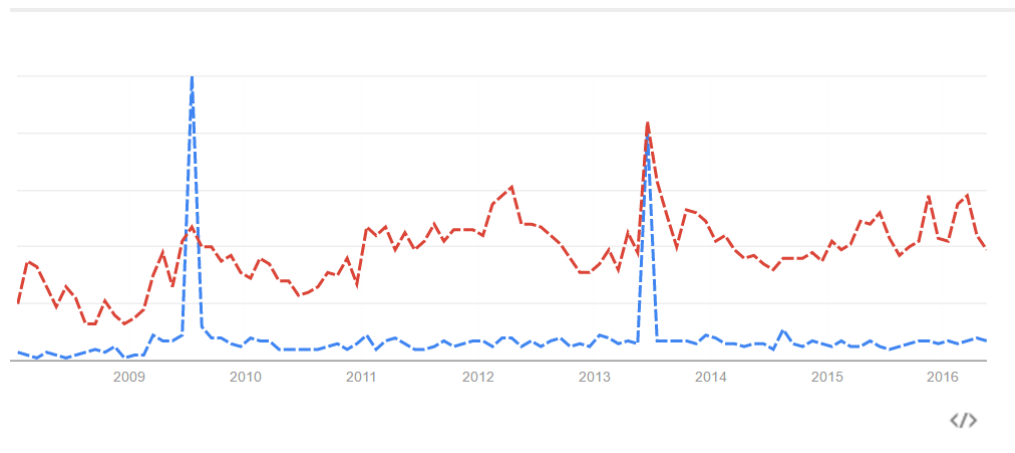


Figure 1 Google Trends results for the categories “Orwell” (blue) and “Surveillance” (red) (Data source: Google Trends, available at: <https://www.google.com/trends/explore#q=%2Fm%2F034bs%2C%20%2Fm%2F0lzd&geo=US&gprop=news&cmpt=q&tz=Etc%2FGMT-2>)

In *Figure 1* there is a graphic depiction of the results for the search-terms “Orwell” and “Surveillance”. These specific search-terms were chosen, because they represented broad enough categories for both Orwellian narrative and the political implications of 9/11. The line for Orwell depicts that the usage of the term in searches for news is consistently low with the exception of two sharp spikes around July of 2009 and June of 2013. The spike in 2009 is most likely related to the 60th anniversary of the publication on *1984*. Additionally, there was a scandal at that time that had been caused by Amazon Kindle – one of the biggest worldwide retailers of e-books – accessing remotely their consumers’ e-readers and deleting the copies of *1984*, which were violating intellectual property rights and which Amazon had sold earlier (Johnson 2009). However, the other spike in June 2013 correlated with increase in interest for the other category, surveillance, and happened at the time of the NSA scandal. Even though Google Trends does not show how many media sources connected the Orwellian narrative and global surveillance scandal directly, but rather what users of Google search are looking for, it

still is a valuable tool for this research as reiterates the relevance of the Orwellian narrative in the aftermath of 9/11.

2.4. Methodology: Qualitative Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis

As for the methodology of this study, its nature already presupposes a textual analysis, since the units of analysis have been established as newspaper articles. For this particular research I decided to choose qualitative content analysis with embedded elements of discourse analysis. Halperin and Heath define the difference between these two methods as while discourse analysis is more concerned with a broader context, in which a specific text has emerged, and less of the text itself, content analysis acts vice versa and serves to discover patterns and themes within the text (Halperin and Heath 2012, 310). Both of them would be needed here, however these methods would serve different purposes. The element of qualitative content analysis (QCA) would be useful in identifying the main themes while also allowing to form a clearer perspective on how Orwellian narrative is represented in media within the set timeframe. The element of discourse analysis (DA) is connected to the notion of figurative framing and it will enable me to answer the question of how the usage of Orwellian narrative influences relations of power and authority in American society.

As for the QCA, I intend to take primarily what Hsieh and Shannon define as conventional approach, which: “is usually appropriate when existing theory or research literature on a phenomenon is limited” (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1279). After establishing the population of data and processing it, the first step in QCA is to identify the themes and analyze the patterns that emerge from the way these themes are arranged. Conventional QCA by their definition involves coding data at some point of a research and I would do the coding inductively, because the research on this topic has severe limitations, therefore I had no a priori

codes constructed. Since QCA mostly deals with interpreting whole texts to retrieve the meaning, motives and purposes of the speaker, analysis would include quotations and be constructed as coherent narrative (Halperin and Heath 2012, 327).

As for the discourse analysis, I employed post-structuralist methods, proposed by Michel Foucault and critical discourse analysis, represented by Norman Fairclough and Teun Van Dijk. This is a suitable methodology for this research, because the constructivist nature of it allowed me to trace the construction of the discourses, relevant to my research. Since I identified figurative framing as a theoretical approach that can reveal how cognitive cues are formed and thought processes of individuals are influenced through metaphors and hyperboles, it bodes well with Foucauldian exploration of: “how reiterated key words and statements that recur across the texts of all kinds enable and delimit fields of knowledge and inquiry, and govern what can be said, thought, and done within those fields” (Foucault cited in Halperin and Heath 2012, 312).

From the texts that I extract during my analysis, I first looked at the discursive practices surrounding the text. For example, the text discussing the governmental surveillance and the subsequent breach of rights, stated in the US Constitution, has invited the comparison with 1984 for underlying the intrusive nature of political authority. In the classic model outlined by Fairclough, the next step would be even further progress up the ladder of abstraction. At this stage I analyzed the broader socio-political context surrounding the text. From the previous example the context would be the year in which the article was written and social events that surrounded it. Finally, I had a complete picture of how the context had been conducive towards the specific discourse, employed by the media, who were commenting on the intrusive nature of the new legislature (Fairclough 2003). This is the framework that was utilized for the analysis of specific discourses that emerge in the United States after 9/11.

By being focused on a singular aspect of the world in *1984*, the discussion about whether or not the current way the US government resembles a dystopian state from Orwell's novel occurs within the boundaries of discourse set by the powerholders. Yet this usage of the Orwellian narrative also presents a significant shift in the concept that the author himself was trying to describe. Such usage of the narrative reinforces Foucauldian notions of discursive practices – a term that describes how the development of knowledge is merged with the ways political authority and power are executed (Foucault 1972, 44-45).

When the narrative is understood in a way that deviates from its intended meaning, in the case of literature it can be explained by the difference of interpretation. However, when a literary narrative becomes a part of discourse, which stems from a significant social event or continuation of events, the differences in interpretations can be attributed to the relationship between power and knowledge as described by Foucault. If the Orwellian narrative has a relevance in public discussion and figurative framing does take place, there is a need to analyze how it is represented in media discourse in the light of change in political climate in US.

Chapter 3. Orwellian Narrative as a Framing Device: Media Response to the Government's Actions after 9/11

3.1 The Usage of the Orwellian Narrative before 2001

The idea of critical juncture has been known in social studies as a part of path dependency notion. This historical approach provides a comprehensive explanation to the development and change within the political climate of the countries. Critical junctures are typically recognized as social events that drastically change terms of development of a state's institutes and set a different trajectory for the future progress (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012). It is not the object of this particular research to determine whether the events of 9/11 were a critical juncture for the United States, yet it seeks to establish that the interpretation of the Orwellian narrative has been indeed transformed by this event.

At the time before 9/11 the search by keywords, identified in the methodological section, in the media had several themes, but had rarely any political context. In the few years before the dissolution of the Soviet Union Orwellian narrative was primarily used to describe the fading censorship within Soviet republics in the era of glasnost or to reflect on Soviet past tactics. One of the most prominent pieces, published by *The New York Times*, triumphantly reports that *1984* will be finally published in Soviet Russia and recognizes it as a sign of regime change: "That Winston Smith; the Ministry of Truth; Newspeak; Big Brother; and the memory hole, where wrongthink documents were vaporized, are to make a licit appearance on Soviet bookshelves is the best evidence yet that a fresh wind is blowing in the East" (The New York Times 1988). This serves to reinforce the understanding of Orwell's book being a warning about the dangers of totalitarian societies and its intricate connection to the communist empires

of Europe. Within the timeframe of the accessed articles, there is virtually no criticism of domestic US policies before the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the terms of Orwellian narrative, which serves to reinforce the perception of *1984* in the United States as a mostly outward oriented critical piece.

Later articles from the 90s era that include the necessary keywords, are in majority not concerned with the political application of the Orwellian narrative. Judging from the main themes, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union Orwellian influence has been reduced to the status of a piece of art, either in the form of theatre plays or literary reflections of the works of Orwell himself. However, the linguistic aspect of Orwell's books and its connection to the rhetoric of the government officials is one of the themes that is not reflected upon often, but still has a viable presence in the media. For example, *The New York Times* article that describes the history of the "Doublespeak Awards" – a term synthesized from *1984*'s doublethink and newspeak – that have been awarded ever since the 1974 to public figures in US, who have due to their skills in demagoguery framed the information in the ways beneficial to them (Hechinger 1988).

There are also a few brief mentions of Orwell in regard to the introduction of ID cards that can allow the issuer to track the movements of the wearer of the card, but even in this case it is not part of a bigger debate, but rather individual instances of different scope of magnitude. An article from *The New York Times* talks about workplace identification and monitoring the employees, while another one from *USA Today* describes the expected proposition from the Commission on Immigration reform to introduce ID cards that would allow to combat illegal immigration (Sloane 1992; Puente 1994). Such a lack of comprehensive referral to themes of the book symbolizes that while the application of Orwellian terminology to the domestic environment was not completely unknown, it was used mostly in singular and unrelated cases.

3.2 Employment of Doublethink/Newspeak Paradigm in the Aftermath of the 9/11 Terrorist Attacks

During my analysis I discovered that the articles written after 9/11 present a different image. The political unconscious Jameson has been describing presents a variety of identifiable patterns, which were also changing along the timeline as various public debates were emerging. First of them can be attributed to the doublethink/newspeak paradigm, identified in the theoretical part and is concerned with several instances, where governmental rhetoric has been misleading and focused on avoidance of describing various features of an incident or a group of incidents, which caused the newspapers to frame such actions in the Orwellian terms.

The misuse of language by the Bush administration and the President himself in the official statements has been noted and identified as newspeak by press and thus has been identified as a theme. An article from *The Washington Post* describes how during the anniversary of war in Iraq Bush gave a speech, where he avoided the word “war” – a trend the author of the piece describes as a consistent one as the military campaign in Middle East progressed – unless it is used in the phrase “global war on terror” and talked rather about liberating Iraq. Additionally, the article notes how Osama bin Laden, a notorious leader of Al-Qaeda, has been turned into a mystical public enemy figure that resembles Emmanuel Goldstein and although bin Laden does exist, the government has manipulated public reaction to him in a semblance of “Two Minutes Hate”, where the mere mentioning of his name inspires support to the actions of the state (Froomkin 2006). The narrative, invoked in this description, also alludes to one of the principal slogans of Oceania: “War is peace” – an oxymoronic statement by its nature. This slogan does not portray exactly the described situation, but reference to it indicates an example of doublethink in action.

Moreover, a piece by *The New York Times* problematizes how the Department of Defense renamed war operations, when presenting campaign stars. They are awards to military

personnel that also allow to identify when a particular individual had been serving in the army (since the entire campaign had been chronologically divided into different stages). The piece was written from a position of a person, who had participated in the military actions and therefore is able to recognize the contradiction in new titles (Gallagher 2011). Such attempts to create a glorified version of the historical events by changing linguistic aspects creates a specific discursive practice in society, which is hard to identify for the members of public, who have limited knowledge of the events of the military campaign. By employing an Orwellian narrative and figurative framing media raise general awareness of the existence of such practices.

A related theme of language manipulation can be found in newspapers in regard to another controversial subject – Guantanamo Bay detention camp. An editorial piece by *The Washington Post* describes several examples of these manipulations: “Orwell, however, was off by only 20 years. With immense satisfaction, he would have noted the constant abuse of language by the Bush administration – calling suicidal terrorists ‘cowards’, naming a constriction of civil liberties the Patriot Act and, of course, wringing all meaning from the word ‘torture’” (Cohen 2005). This article describes how the regime transformed the application of torture – an action, against which individuals should be protected as it is part of their non-derogable rights – into a void term by introducing degrees of torture application, which was supposed to provide a relative comparison and thus make governmental actions sound less condemnable (Cohen 2005).

A similar point about language manipulation has been raised in another story, described in *The Washington Post*, about the released document with confessions of Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, who was suspected of working with terrorist organizations. When the scandalous story of the torture of al-Nashiri broke out, this document that contained the description of actions of authorities towards the suspect was supposed to provide insight into the internal work of

Guantanamo. Instead the public received a heavily censored statement, in which the particularities of possible violations of human rights that could have occurred were all cut out so that only general and inconclusive remarks remained (Robinson 2007). Additionally, another one of Orwell's Oceania's official slogans is present in the article: "Ignorance is strength", which is alluding to the fact the government is persistent in its attempt not to reveal the confessions, which may or may not be true, but still prevents public from receiving the information about methods of dealing with persons, classified as potential terrorists.

Moreover, a different theme is emerging, which also relates to powerholders reshaping the reality of the discourse. Treatment of historical events deserves a special place in *1984* and is strongly connected with media and knowledge in Foucauldian way as the main protagonist works in the state institution that continuously falsifies historical evidence in order to align it with party line. One of the mundane elements of Winston's environment, called memory hole – an incinerator for the accurate pieces of information that need to be rewritten – also became part of the Orwellian narrative, used to describe a similar treatment of historical evidence.

There are several articles by *The New York Times* that refer to the metaphor of a memory hole in different contexts, but all of them criticize the politics of the Bush administration. The first one by describes the promises of George W. Bush, when he was still a presidential candidate, made about budget deficits and how such promises are retroactively rewritten. The main focus of the story is the fact of how boldly such changes are made and how little attention is paid to them (Krugman 2002). Next article describes the actions of one concerned citizen named Russ Kick, who organized a website in 2003 called thememoryhole.org, main function of which is to restore and publish some of the released official documents that are either deleted by authorities or just get lost in the massive amount of data. The website acts as a means to raise awareness of American society to the issues that should be raised, according to the logic of the site's creator (McNichol 2003). The other two news pieces reflect upon false claims of

President Bush regarding the reason for war in Iraq and document reclassification as part of the attempt to draw away attention from the governmental failures respectively (Krugman 2006; The New York Times 2007).

The implications of the state's policy to engage in practices similar to the ones performed by Orwell's Ministry of Truth point to the perception of governmental actions, especially in regard to the military conflict in the Middle East. All of the themes, mentioned above, present a depiction of negative reaction to the manipulation with the discourse that surrounds the regime's reaction to the 9/11 terrorist attacks. It is even possible to speak about the usage of Orwellian narrative as a critical device, which allows to highlight the importance of discussing such cases of manipulation with public opinion.

3.3 Big Brother Metaphor as a Criticism of the Government Surveillance

A more predominant cluster of themes that are framed by using the Orwellian narrative, however, is concerned with domestic surveillance. One of such themes describes an escalation of government intrusion into the private sphere as a security measure and societal approval of such measures. In an article published just two days after the terrorist attack there is already a discussion about perspectives of whether the government acting as a Big Brother – one of the most prominent themes – presents a challenge to the American society or such actions are acceptable in case of security threats. The matter discussed involves the possible cooperation between governmental intelligence agencies, such as FBI, and Internet companies on the issue of providing private information of users to the authorities (Eunjung Cha and Krim 2001). The recurring reference to the changes that happened due to the attacks symbolizes a turning point in the discussion of privacy versus security in the matter of escalating surveillance attempts both on federal and local levels.

The rapidly increasing demand for methods that allow tracking down individuals is answered by private companies, which are developing technologies such as facial recognition in the places of mass gathering of people or identification cards. This also raises a public debate about whether such measures are essential, when it comes to schools in Washington D.C. area (local) or stadiums and airports (nationwide) (O’Harrow Jr. 2001; Fisher 2006). The commentary presents a normative dilemma of intrusive government, which is not new to American public discourse. However, it is noted in almost all of the articles that in the aftermath of 9/11 the critics of Big Brother government are in the minority and that public is responding favorably to the increasing surveillance as long as it will prevent future attacks.

Big Brother as a framing device and a metaphor for ever increasing surveillance steadily grows in popularity and extends to multiple levels of government. If in the book the function of monitoring citizens of Oceania has been centralized in the hands of members of the Inner Party and followed a rigid hierarchy, American media titles as a Big Brother any authority figure or organization that attempts to exceed the accepted levels of intrusion into privacy in the name of higher effectiveness in preventing wrongdoers from causing harm to society. The aforementioned article that was discussing safety of students in schools is not the only one, where the question of Big Brother is raised by civil activists and defended by school administration. Another news story by *The New York Times* about a town in Mississippi called Biloxi problematizes the consequences of students adapting to being observed and the moral hazard it can have, if they would learn to act according to the social standards only to avoid punishment rather than making a conscious decision not to break rules (Dillon 2003).

This is not the only instance where it is not the vague notion of distant federal government, but rather specific institutions that become the matter of debate in the framework of Orwellian narrative. The protest of members of law enforcement union, called Patrolmen’s Benevolent Association, against the tactics their own administration uses for monitoring

people's action at political protests, during which they are themselves being videotaped presents a vicious circle, which appeared as powers of police have been gradually increasing since the attacks took place (Dwyer 2006). The surveillance of the protestors is also not a singular phenomenon, in a different piece by *The New York Times* one of the civil rights lawyers, Jethro M. Eisenstein, comments the situation in court, where a hearing against New York City police has been held, like this: "the effect of the generalized videotaping of protests was to treat every demonstration as a potential terrorist act. Calling the city's policy 'Orwellian', he accused the police of adopting 'a bullying view of the terrorism threat to block critical thinking'" (Preston 2006).

Along with videotaping the protestors, the usage of GPS devices by law enforcement officers has received a negative assessment and a reference to Big Brother. The topic of GPS tracking of suspects is first mentioned in 2008 and this tactic is defended by the officials on the grounds of efficiency, as it would allow to reduce the necessary manpower otherwise needed for this task (Hubbard 2008). In 2011 the discussion about usage of GPS systems becomes consistently framed with the usage of Orwellian narrative and it involves stories of actual individuals, who were arrested and charged as a result of being monitored with such a navigation system (Liptak 2011; USA Today 2011, Cole 2011, Turley 2011).

All these instances seem to form a continuation to Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, as the institutions make a deliberate choice to overstep the boundaries of their official scope of power and thus make a deliberate attempt to discipline the society. The cases of GPS tracking, where the matter is discussed in relation to both local and federal levels symbolize the existing breach of trust to the methods, applied by governmental institutions, since they raise the issue of how appropriate it is to punish confirmed wrongdoers just because the technological advancement allows to prove their deed.

This debate shows that with the innovative approaches to monitoring actions of citizens in order to prevent illegal activities can be framed in such a way that shifts the focus away from criminals themselves and the condemnation of their action, and towards the evaluation of the methods that are used to do so. An aforementioned concern about teaching school children to behave properly because they are being watched provides a similar perspective, where society debates not about the normative aspects of committing crimes, but about how just is the system. Therefore the primary concern for individuals not to commit crimes would be the fear of repercussions rather than the moral aspect of inflicting harm upon society.¹

Interestingly enough, additional themes which appear in these articles include a commentary of whether such actions provide a breach of rights of American citizens under the 4th Amendment of US Constitution and position of judiciary branch towards such possible breaches. The 4th Amendment states that: “The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized” (Senate.gov 2015). It contains two major provisions – the right to privacy and non-intrusion from the state and the conditions for operation of law enforcement in the situation of a suspicion of breach of law.

Since the formulation of the 4th Amendment is too broad to provide a comprehensive evaluation of the actions of government in regard to modern surveillance, it is up to the judiciary branch to decide on the issue from a legal standpoint. The selected newspapers indicate that American judges present an opposition to executives and tend to support liberal

¹ This situation seems to resemble another dystopian novel, *A Clockwork Orange* by Anthony Burgess, who describes the effects of the brainwashing program authorities endorse in order to maintain order on the streets of an unnamed English city. Main character of the book, a former hooligan named Alex, after undergoing such treatment is physically unable to resort to violence and thus the question of morality of such treatment of free will of individuals as well as whether artificially induced non-deviant social behavior can be considered an achievement is raised. (Burgess 1987)

critics in naming the government's policies Orwellian and comparing authorities to Big Brother. This view is not unilateral among the judges, as they can both assist police by issuing search warrants for example, or rule against a new regulation that permits intrusion into privacy.

However, the fact that judges of various calibers, Supreme Court Justices among them, frame their concerns within Orwellian narrative, which is used mostly as a critical tool, reflects on the complex approach to extreme measures even within the powerholders' camp. As one of the articles from *The New York Times* describes such processes: "In April, Judge Diane P. Wood of the federal appeals court in Chicago wrote that surveillance using global positioning system devices would 'make the system that George Orwell depicted in his famous novel, *1984*, seem clumsy.' (...) Chief Judge Alex Kozinski of the federal appeals court in San Francisco wrote that '*1984* may have come a bit later than predicted, but it's here at last'" (Liptak 2011).

While there is a presence of both executive and judiciary branches, the influence of the legislative one is expressed primarily in regard to Patriot Act, which received a bipartisan support when it was first introduced. The success of this legislative act can be attributed to the fact that behind it there was a radical idea of providing security by using extreme measures, which invoked the right sentiment in the wake of a shock that American society has experienced in the aftermath of the attack. However, the possibilities that such law presented to the government in order to maintain security extended beyond the paradigm of limited government and the law become one of the landmarks of controversial measures taken after 9/11.

Continuing with the Patriot Act theme, an article from *The Washington Post* describes concerns that were expressed by librarians across the country after Patriot Act has been adopted and the first instance where this particular situation has been framed from the Orwellian

narrative point of view occurs two years after the legislation has been adopted. The story covers a nationwide reaction from library employees and the creative ways they are expressing their apprehension, such as putting notices on computer screens inside the facilities that warn the customers about the fact that their search history might get checked by authorities (Sanchez 2003). This provides an outlook of the attempts to oppose governmental intrusion from the institutions, which is peculiar, because the very idea of *1984* opposes the possibility of multitude of perspectives and reinstates the notion of the United States as a democratic country. Yet that does not mean that librarians and politician Bernie Sanders, also quoted in the article, who was a member of the House of Representatives at that time and introduced legislation that was seeking to exclude library records from the influence of Patriot Act, are not justified in framing state's actions from the perspective of Orwellian narrative.

Librarians had a particular concern about Section 215 of the Act, which has a history of its own, because the debate about it framed as “library provision” and was criticized for giving authorities access to records of activities of individuals, who were using library services on demand. Later, however, the discussion about Section 215 has shifted to such aspects as the possibility of warrantless searches and telephone data collection (Elliott 2013). However, the issue of data collection, although has been discussed in the context of Section 215, were not dubbed as Orwellian until the Snowden revelations had taken place. A news piece from *New York Times* presents a line of associations “Big Government, Big Data, Big Brother” (Carr 2013) that indicates the symbolism of linking actions of powerholders in a specific instance of accessing large amounts of information on American citizens not only to dystopian society, but also to the notion of big government – opposite of limited government and as such, a frequent object of criticism from both libertarians and conservatives.

While Big Brother grows increasingly recognizable as a metaphor to review centralized surveillance by powerholders, another important theme appears in the wake of technological

advances. Since the public grows more accustomed to the erosion of privacy, another actor, named by press Little (or Tiny) Brother, emerges (Murphy 2002; Kornblum 2003, Kornblum 2005, Kirn 2010). As his bigger brother, Little Brother becomes equally hard to define, but the usage of the term mostly concerns private surveillance, which can be owned by businesses or individuals. In one of the later articles Little Brother is also mentioned as a tool for Internet companies to gather information about users for commercial or other purposes (Parker 2015).

The existence of the Little Brother frame provides a comparative perspective for the attitude towards Big Brother. Being monitored by authorities can render negative attitudes toward government, but private surveillance inspires even harsher criticism, as its very nature is anarchic. Howard Rheingold, a writer and privacy expert in the article for *USA Today* comments on the situation in the following manner: “It used to be that you thought only the state had the power and technology to do surveillance. But now that’s democratized. It could be your neighbor, your relative” (Kornblum 2003).

Another piece by *The New York Times* journalist Walter Kirn, which reiterates the Little Brother theme, describes the case of Tyler Clementi – a university student, who ended his life after his roommate shared a video of the sexual act that involved Tyler, recorded with a webcam – by completely immersing it into the Orwellian setting. The article uses the metaphors, related to *1984*, quite heavy-handedly and frequently, with passages like this: “As the Internet proves every day, it isn’t some stern and monolithic Big Brother that we have to reckon with as we go about our daily lives, it’s a vast cohort of prankish Little Brothers equipped with devices that Orwell, writing 60 years ago, never dreamed of and who are loyal to no organized authority” (Kirn 2010). Such metaphors provide a perspective about the limitations of the Orwellian narrative, which resulted in the creation of the alternative term and reflect on the complexity of the technological state of surveillance as opposed to the one described in the book.

The issue of lack of control over private surveillance serves as a reinforcement of inevitability of maintaining privacy in the modern era and inadvertently improves the image of US government acting as a Big Brother. By presenting reality of technologically enabled monitoring as a more complex one than what *1984* describes, through distinguishing between Big and Little Brothers, the newspapers validate the usage of metaphors inspired by Orwell, because they make them more believable for the audience. The term Little Brother appears to be a novelty, which allows to maintain a stronger grip on reality, while simultaneously invoking dystopian imagery to underline the grim tone of the discussion.

3.4 Transformation of the Orwellian Narrative as a Result of the Snowden Revelations

When Orwellian narrative was employed in the media after 9/11, Big Brother became virtually synonymous with domestic surveillance over the citizens before the whistleblowing scandal of 2013 took place as part of ever increasing efforts of both Bush and Obama administrations, so when Snowden released classified information, there had been a ready metaphor to describe the situation. Still, the event gave Big Brother a concrete face of a National Security Agency, which resulting in proving ground to unify criticism of authority to aim into a single point. The vilification of the NSA occurred almost immediately after the revelation of agencies scope of powers and characterizes earlier tension in society, which could be relieved now that a suitable scapegoat emerged. However undesirable and unlawful the nature of NSA's activities actually had been, these tendencies changed the nature of Orwellian narrative as a framing device for the analysis of actions of the government on the bigger scale.

It is also possible to note that there is an indication to sensationalism, present in the description of this whistle-blowing scandal. The whole persona of Edward Snowden is brought into consideration along with the evaluations of his role and the necessity of his actions.

Snowden's revelations are sensationalist not only because of their content, but also because they are framed as a possibility of a dystopian future and authoritative government. Combined with his repeated emphasis of the fact that the NSA was conducting domestic surveillance along with a global one, this provided an effect of a shocking discovery, although the capabilities of the United States, one of the most powerful hegemons on the international arena today, in the sphere of espionage were often estimated to be quite substantial.

While the debate about the necessity of such agency and ways to restrict its action ensues, as well as consideration about the actions of Snowden himself, identifying NSA with Big Brother instead of government in general and thus narrowing down the scope of the metaphor is becoming a tendency in analyzed media (Collins 2013, Turley 2013, Brin 2013, Ignatius 2013, Castle 2013). Here it is possible to notice Jameson's idea of political unconscious and Foucault post-structuralist notions in action, as the subtle elements of discourse become changed under the weight of new information. American public has been aware of the changes in governmental policies since 9/11, but now that classified information has suddenly become available, there is a reason to modify the approach to actions of the authorities.

I illustrated previously with the help of Google Trends that a higher frequency of references to Orwell appeared in the media as a result of the Snowden scandal. However, the analysis of the data from the three identified media shows that the variety of topics, which were framed from the position of Orwellian narrative, have been severely decreased and after 2013 have been used to primarily talk about surveillance and the NSA. It is too early to decide whether this can affect the overall framing of the events in the mass media through the Orwellian lens and the limitations of this study certainly would not allow me to extrapolate any possible conclusions, but such tendencies can signify that the importance of the Orwellian narrative might soon transform to signal mostly instances of surveillance.

Additionally, although American media by framing events through Orwellian narrative maintains a critical tone in general towards the actions of government in relation to a specific event, some of the articles use Orwellian themes specifically to target the administration of Bush or Obama. Such pieces have more of an opinionated tone and serve primarily not to raise the debate or awareness about a specific issue, but rather seek to undermine politicians on top of the executive branch. George W. Bush, during whose presidency 9/11 occurred and who engaged in military actions in the Middle East and escalation of domestic surveillance, is described as a politician attempting “reality control” in order to benefit his career rather than the country's welfare (Krugman 2004) or as one, who puts pressure on media in the aftermath of 9/11 to portray the government in the best way (Krugman 2006). Also, a prominent politician and (at that moment) future competitor for the Presidential elections Al Gore frames his concerns about Bush’s administration and their decisions on handling the post-9/11 crisis from the Orwellian standpoint: “We have always held out the shibboleth of Big Brother as a nightmarish vision of the future that we're going to avoid at all costs (...) [George W. Bush has] now taken the most fateful step in the direction of that Big Brother nightmare that any president has ever allowed to occur” (Nagourney 2002).

As to the actions of President Barack Obama, they were not as pointedly criticized from the Orwellian perspective and the majority of remarks occurred when the Snowden scandal broke out. Obama has been blamed by continuing rather than stopping some of the radical projects that characterized Bush’s presidency, such as Guantanamo and Patriot Act along with extending the spectrum of NSA activities (Dowd 2013; The New York Times 2013). Such difference in reaction can be attributed among other reasons a pattern, which shows an attempt of government officials to hijack the discourse and to state that there is no necessity for the comparison of governmental actions to the Big Brother.

The first instance of such hijacking is present in an article, published just a month after the attacks, which describes the efforts of law enforcement in Washington D.C. to escalate its surveillance measures. John R. Firman, director of research for the International Association of Chiefs of Police is quoted: “We have to maximize our ability to blend, share and combine information. (...) The real bottom line is there should never even be a Big Brother issue” (Hsu 2002). However, it is only in the aftermath of the Snowden revelations that such hijacking reaches the top and is present in the speeches of President Obama. He polemicalizes about the government’s actions in the discursive field of Orwellian narrative through discussing whether or not the Big Brother metaphor is appropriate (Baker 2013; Savage and Shear 2013) and thus manages to negate the aim of this particular frame that was initially meant to criticize the government. This leads to reinstatement of the state’s control over the discursive practices, since Orwellian narrative becomes not only recognized, but coerced by powerholders as well.

In addition, with a more prominent usage of Orwellian narrative its meaning deteriorates and can be used in media to reflect on the topics outside of political discussions that are connected to doublethink/newspeak or Big Brother tropes (where it serves as a figurative frame) or literary and art evaluations (pop culture references to the books of Orwell). In some articles terminology, identified as a part of the narrative, is used in situations that only indirectly relate to the phenomena that the terms describe. For example, “Orwellian” or “Big Brother” can be used interchangeably with “authoritarian” or “repressive” (Krugman 2002, Cuff 2003, Guynn 2014, Lyons 2015). What is more important that such deterioration is even recognized in one of the articles by *New York Times*, entitled “Simpler Terms; If It’s ‘Orwellian,’ It’s Probably Not”, where the author discusses the importance of Orwellian narrative and notes that the critical component of using Orwell’s terminology and employing it to raise public debates is the key element of this frame (Nunberg 2003).

The deterioration tendency can be perceived as a relative one, since one might also argue for the broadening of the Orwellian narrative by using the aforementioned examples. However, if the nature of the dystopian literature is considered, the perspective of such broadening seems unlikely, because dystopias serve primarily as reflective devices that point out specific traits of the society, which concern the author. In the case of *1984*, Orwell warns about semantic manipulations that are employed to distract the society from its problems and the instances of misuse of the narrative serve to undermine the message that the narrative presents.

Altogether, this analysis shows how the Orwellian narrative transformed into a powerful figurative frame as the result of 9/11 and the variety of themes that this transformation was manifested through. It is important to note that both Big Brother and Doublethink/Newspeak tropes were present as media tools during Bush administration and that the treatment of the narrative in mass media shifted toward the former due to the NSA scandal. Additionally, the Orwellian narrative had become a part of the bigger public discourse as a critical device in regard to the actions of government and, subsequently, was used by the government itself, thus resulting in hijacking of the discourse and negating, to a certain point, the critical component of the discourse.

Conclusion

In the research that I have conducted, one of the chief questions regarded the connection between fictional and factual phenomena, specifically about dystopian literature and its significance for real social events. In order to understand this connection, I examined the Orwellian narrative, a concept which describes a set of discursive practices that appeared as a result of the popularization of George Orwell's *1984*. I have also described the changes the narrative underwent from the perspective of Jameson's theory of the political unconscious, which emphasizes the importance of interpretation of texts in relation to the historical context. Jameson's work is supported by the evidence that the Snowden revelations, which were themselves a result of the escalation of governmental surveillance in the aftermath of 9/11, increased interest in the works of George Orwell. Thus *1984* was able to provide inspiration for the public discussions of privacy versus security debate. This allowed me to inspect the Orwellian narrative as a framing device, which American media used after the most sensational terrorist attacks in recent history.

Within the scope of the study I conclude that the narrative has been significantly transformed as a result of the 9/11 attacks and the US government's reaction to them. The thematic analysis showed the patterns of connecting specific social events to the dystopian moments of *1984* and the way by which drawing such parallels acted to criticize the actions of the American government. The Big Brother and Doublethink/Newspeak tropes are represented in the media through metaphors, where said metaphors are structural components of the figurative framing concept. This reinstates the notion of the political unconscious and shows the relevance of Foucauldian arguments for studying this particular frame.

More importantly, the study found that Orwellian metaphors were much more widely used during the Bush administration and they concerned a wider range of topics than during

Obama's presidency. This served to disprove the original expectation that the most frequent and assorted use of the Orwellian narrative in the media would occur after the NSA scandal. Additionally, the fact that the American authorities recognized the Orwellian narrative and began engaging in it symbolizes the relevance of the discursive practice that this narrative started. It signifies also the importance of dystopias in the political context because of their usage in mass media and generally in political communication.

The fact that only major American newspapers, such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *USA Today* were analyzed can be attributed to the limitations of the study. Future research can explore the connection between a wider variety of newspapers and even possibly focus on other countries, especially if a different critical juncture were chosen. This study aims to show the new angle for studying figurative framing, which would allow to understand the importance of dystopian notions, which transcend the boundaries of a strictly literary genre into references in mass media. Since figurative framing is a relatively new concept itself, the studies of metaphors, especially related to dystopian literature, are rare, so this study presents a valid contribution to the research literature.

Overall, these results have important implications for exploring discursive practices in American society after 9/11. The usage of terminology, related to *1984*, in popular media sources indicates that journalists were often framing the news from a grim perspective to raise awareness and to initiate public dialogue in regard to the "undemocratic" tendencies of the US government, such as intrusion into the private sphere of the people or manipulating historical evidence. By employing dystopian parallels, the authors of the articles or their interviewees were underlining their concerns about the balance between their rights and freedoms as American citizens, and securitization policies, introduced by the authorities that could interfere with those rights. This is an important indicator not only of the state of the relationship between

political elites, mass media and the public in the United States, but also of the significance of fictional literature on the discourses produced by said media.

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