

**THE INFLUENCE OF MASS MEDIA IN SHAPING  
THE PUBLIC'S OPINION IN GEORGE ORWELL'S *1984***

**THESIS**

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG  
2022**

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THE PUBLIC'S OPINION IN GEORGE ORWELL'S *1984***

**THESIS**

Presented to  
Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.)

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2022**

### STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled **The Influence of Mass Media in Shaping the Public's Opinion in George Orwell's 1984** is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim from others, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, February 7<sup>th</sup>, 2022

The Researcher



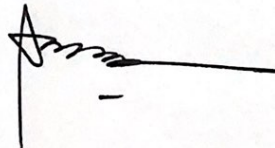
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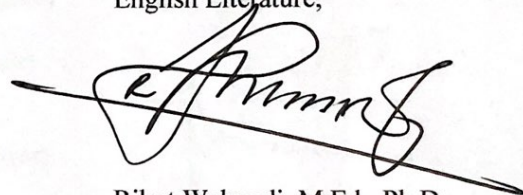
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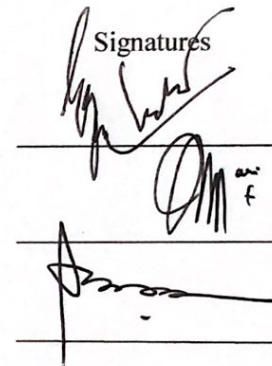
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## **MOTTO**

“Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past.” – George Orwell

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, father, and all of my big family who always love me unconditionally.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All praise belongs to Allah SWT, the Almighty God, who has given me blessings and mercy. *Shalawat* and *salam* I deliver to Muhammad *pbuh*, the prophet inheriting Islam as a peace and hope to the entire universe. For the grace He gives through the chosen prophet, I could finish writing this thesis.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to special people without whom it would be likely impossible to accomplish this thesis, especially to my advisor Bapak Miftahul Huda, M.Pd., whose role is significant for this work as he has guided me and shared ideas with me throughout his busy days.

I would also like to express my gratitude to:

1. Bapak Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag., Dean of Faculty of Humanities of UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang;
2. Bapak Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D., Head of Department of English Literature;
3. All lecturers in the Department who have inspired me and educated me with valuable insights and knowledge. Thank you for enriching my journey.
4. My parents who have raised me up. Without you, this thesis would not have been written;
5. All my friends with whom I make a great company. Thank you for understanding me.



6. Finally, I thank myself for keep struggling and making the most efforts out of this final work.

As an imperfect human, I might make mistakes during my academic journey, particularly when carrying this study and writing this thesis. With this in mind, any feedbacks and suggestions are welcome. This study hopefully can provide new insights for students of English literature in conducting similar research in the future.

Malang, February 7<sup>th</sup>, 2022

Fatimah Ma'shumah

## ABSTRACT

Ma'shumah, Fatimah. 2022. *The Influence of Mass Media in Shaping the Public's Opinion in George Orwell's 1984*. Minor Thesis (*Skripsi*)  
Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities,  
Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Miftahul Huda, M.Pd.

**Keywords** : Mass Media, Public Opinion.

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The Novel *1984* by George Orwell tells about how a government called “Big Brother” controls every aspect of the public's lives, including their mind. One of the tools used by the government to control the public's opinions is mass media. Therefore, this study aims at identifying the aspects of the main character which influenced by mass media and how mass media could influence the public's opinion.

In order to answer those questions, the researcher is using the concept of micro media effects by James Potter (2012) and first-level of agenda setting by McCombs and Shaw (1972). This research applies literary criticism with sociological approach which focuses on the social aspect of the text. The data of this research is taken from George Orwell's *1984* published in 2008 by Penguin Books Publishing.

The results of this study show that there are five aspects of the main character named Winston Smith who is influenced by the mass media. These aspects are affection, belief, behavior, cognition, and physiology. In influencing the public's opinion, there are three ways of how the government influences public's opinion. The first is by surveillance of the public's behavior, the second is by the creation of common enemy, and the third is by presenting political bias. These results are obtained through the analysis of salient issues broadcast in the mass media of the novel *1984* by George Orwell.

## ABSTRAK

Ma'shumah, Fatimah. 2022. *Pengaruh Media Masa dalam Membentuk Opini Publik dalam Novel 1984 Karya George Orwell*. Skripsi Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Pembimbing : Miftahul Huda, M.Pd.

**Kata Kunci** : Media Masa, Opini Publik.

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Novel *1984* karya George Orwell menceritakan tentang suatu otoritas pemerintahan yang memiliki sebutan “Big Brother” yang mengontrol seluruh aspek kehidupan warganya, termasuk opini mereka. Salah satu sarana yang digunakan pemerintah untuk mengontrol opini publik adalah dengan memanfaatkan media masa. Maka dari itu, penelitian ini memiliki tujuan untuk mengetahui apa saja aspek dari karakter utama yang terpengaruh oleh media masa dan bagaimana media masa membentuk opini publik.

Untuk menjawab pertanyaan tersebut, penulis menggunakan konsep milik Potter (2012) mengenai media masa mikro dan teori *agenda setting* level pertama oleh McComb dan Shaw (1972). Penelitian ini menggunakan kritik sastra sosiologi, yang berfokus pada permasalahan sosial di dalam teks itu sendiri. Data dari penelitian ini diambil dari Novel karya George Orwell yang berjudul *1984* yang dipublikasikan pada tahun 2008 oleh penerbit Penguin Books.

Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat lima aspek dari tokoh utama yang bernama Winston Smith yang terpengaruh oleh media massa. Aspek-aspek tersebut adalah afeksi, kepercayaan, perilaku, kognisi, dan fisiologi. Adapun dalam mempengaruhi opini publik, terdapat tiga cara yang dilakukan pemerintah, yang pertama adalah dengan pengawasan terhadap perilaku publik, yang kedua adalah dengan penciptaan musuh bersama, dan yang ketiga adalah dengan bias politik. Hasil tersebut didapatkan melalui analisis *salient issues* yang disajikan pada media masa di dalam novel *1984* karya George Orwell.

## المستخلص

معصومة، فاطمة. 2022. تأثير البث العام على تكوين الرأي العام في رواية 1984 لجورج أورويل. بحث جامعي. قسم الآداب الإنجليزية، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج.

مشرف : مفتاح الهدى، الماجستير.

الكلمات المفتاحية: البث العام، الرأي العام.

تحكي رواية 1984 لجورج أورويل عن سلطة الحكومة التي لديها لقب "الأخ الكبير" حيث تنظم جميع مجالات حياة مجتمعها، منها رأي المجتمع. من الوسائل المستخدمة في تنظيم الرأي العام هي استفادة البث العام. ولهذا السبب، يهدف هذا البحث إلى معرفة المجالات من الشخصية الرئيسية المتأثرة من البث العام وكيفية البث العام في تكوين الرأي العام.

وللحصول على الإجابة، استخدمت الباحثة التصميم لبوتير (2012) عن البث العام المجهري من نظرية تنظيم العمل لمستوى الأول من ميك كومب وشو (1972). استخدم هذا البحث النقد الأدبي الاجتماعي، الذي يتركز إلى القضايا الاجتماعية في النص. كانت بيانات هذا البحث مأخوذة من الرواية لجورج أورويل موضوعها 1984 المنشورة في عام 2008 من ناشر Penguin Books.

تدل نتيجة هذا البحث إلى وجود 5 مجالات من الشخصية الرئيسية المسمى بوينستون سميت المتأثر من البث العام. هذه المجالات هي المودة والاعتقاد والسلوك والإدراك وعلم وظائف الأعضاء. أما في التأثير على البث العام، فتوجد 3 طرق استخدمتها الحكومة، الأولى هي مراقبة تصرف المجتمع، الثانية هي تكوين العدو المشترك، والثالثة هي التحيز السياسي. تمّ تحصيل تلك النتيجة عن طريق تحليل القضايا البارزة المقدمة في البث العام في رواية 1984.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background of the Study

In this era, people can conveniently find out the events that are occurring in public by using mass media. As the primary communication instrument, mass media presents much information through various means, such as television, radio, newspapers, magazines, poster, and the internet (Mehraj et al., 2014). The mass media take a huge portion of people's free time. According to Braynt and Zillman (1986), people spend, on average, 25 hours per week watching television, and they also find time for radio, magazines, and newspapers. Even people who tend to be apathetic also use mass media minimally or get information from those who use the media (Mustapha, 2012).

Therefore, according to Lowery and DeFleur (1995), the mass media are still the significant point of supply of detail information about what is going on in the world for a vast number of people. According to Baker (2009), the influence of mass media is inevitable. He argued that the media interfered, and those messages that carried out by media tend to take a more significant impact when the audience has no firsthand experience. This idea suitable with Shoemaker and Reese's concept (1996) that the essential of distinctness between media content and other sources of information about the world and everything that occurs in it lies in the fact that our

views of the world and resulting actions, will be formed by our most important source of information that is mass media.

Based on Valkenburg, Peter, & Walther (2016), the power of mass media has an impact on several aspects of human life, which can include personal views and beliefs, political choice, or even false information that can distort people's knowledge about a specific topic. The real example on a large scale can be seen in the reformation era in Indonesia. The government entirely controlled the mass media. Thus, they had significant power to lead the public's opinions and thoughts through it — for instance, the case of PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia). Several government or army-run newspapers devoted themselves to calling for the physical elimination of the PKI. PKI members were identified as traitors and thugs, and religion was invoked in order to call the country's Muslims into action. The result was the violent deaths between 500.000 and a million people who considered as the member of PKI in 1965 (Mehr, 2009). This example points to a significant effect of the mass media on the public's opinion.

As a response to the phenomenon of the influence of mass media, literature has its role in depicting and revealing such a phenomenon. Literature is a practice of social, which often takes a position itself as a means to portray social phenomenon occurring in real life. Thus, we can see how the influence of media in literary work that talked about social issues. One of the significant literary works that talked about social issues is a novel titled 1984. This novel was written by an English writer named George Orwell and first published in 1949. This novel talked about how a



government called Big Brother controls every aspect of the public's lives, including their mind. One of the tools used by the government to control the public's opinions is mass media. The use and abuse of journalism as an instrument of propaganda are one of the central motifs in George Orwell's 1984. Furthermore, the concerns articulated by the writer are as relevant today as they were during the author's own time (Smith, 2012).

It is even stated in the Guardian (2008) that the most powerful and fearsome notion of the novel *1984* is that the possibility of the complete control of an entire nation under a totalitarian state. It writes:

*“If the world fell under the control of one or even multiple dictators, the future can easily become a twisted, cruel world where every movement, word, and breath is scrutinized by an omnipotent, omnipresent power that no one can stop, or even oppose without the fear of death...”* (Guardian)

Therefore, as a researcher, I find that this research is essential to conduct in order to find out the aspects of the main character that influenced by the mass media and how the way the mass media influences public's opinion. Further, to get the answers to the objectives of the research, the writer employs the concept of micro media effects by James Potter (2012) which reviewed the influence of the mass media in individual aspects and the first level of agenda-setting theory by McCombs and Shaw (1972). According to Potter (2012), there are six aspects of an individual which can be affected by the mass media. Those are affective, attitude, behavior, belief, cognitive, and physiological. Meanwhile, in addressing the first level of agenda-

setting theory, McCombs and Shaw (1972) stated that the basic method used to shaping public opinion through the mass media is to give exposure to certain issues.

In analyzing George Orwell's *1984*, there are several studies already conducted by several researchers on any kind of topic. The first study discusses the concept of ideology portrayed in the novel (Rissanen, 2014; Fajri & Noverino, 2017). Besides the ideology aspect, some research discusses the language and oppression (Hama, 2015) as well as language and manipulation in the novel (Hosseini, 2017).

As those mentioned previous studies more consent about some topics in general, this study more focus on the study of mass media, specifically its influence on the public. Until now, the research that focuses on mass media in George Orwell's *1984* is still rare. Thus, the researcher chooses mass media as a topic that will be discussed.

## **B. Research Questions**

This research aims to answer following questions:

1. What are the aspects of Winston Smith that are influenced by mass media in George Orwell's *1984*?
2. How does mass media influence the public's opinion in George Orwell's *1984*?

**C. Objectives of the Study**

By the problem stated above, the objectives of this research are:

1. To identify the aspects of Winston Smith that influenced by mass media in George Orwell's *1984*.
2. To analyze the way mass media influences the public's opinion in George Orwell's *1984*.

**D. Significances of the Study**

Theoretically, this study is expected to be useful in providing information in analyzing literary works using the micro effect of mass media and agenda setting-theory also to provide new insight into the *1984* novel itself. Meanwhile, practically, this study is expected to be one of the references and examples for other researchers, especially those who analyze the issues that related to the effect of mass media in literary works.

**E. Scope and Limitations**

In order to resolve the research problem accordingly, the researcher limits the study to solely focus on the influence of the mass media to the main character and the information presented by the mass media in George Orwell's *1984*. The influence of mass media to the main character will be identify by using the concept of micro media effects which focuses on the certain aspects of the main character which

influenced by the mass media. Meanwhile, the information presented by the mass media will be analyzed by using the first level of agenda-setting theory which analyzes the topics that often highlighted and considered important in the mass media. The mass media discussed in this research is in the form of poster, newspaper, and telescreen (an electronic device functioned as television and surveillance camera that exist in the novel). The public in the novel that will be analyzed is the member of the outer party of the government and the proles. The proles mean the lower class of workers in the novel.

In order to get a more comprehensive understanding of the influence of mass media and its relation to public, there are also several theories besides agenda-setting theory that can be employed, such as framing theory and cultivation theory.

#### **F. Definitions of Key Terms**

1. Mass media is the medium of communication (such as newspaper, radio, or television) that is designed to reach the mass of the people (McFadden, 2012). The mass media that will be analyzed in this research is in the form of telescreen, newspaper, poster, and books within the novel.
2. Public opinion is the collective opinion of many people on some issues and problems (Price, 1992). In this research, what means by public opinion is the opinion of the public that presented in George Orwell's *1984*. The public in the novel is intended to the member of the outer party

of the government and the proles. The proles mean the lower class of workers in the novel.

## **G. Previous Studies**

There are some previous studies that analyzed some aspects of the novel *1984* by George Orwell. In this research, there are two main themes of study that analyze the novel. Those are the ideological aspect and the linguistic aspect.

The first study about the ideological aspect in the novel *1984* by George Orwell was written by Fajri & Noverino (2017) under the title *Critique of Ideology in George Orwell's Novel 1984: A Hans-Georg Gadamer's Hermeneutics Reading*. It focuses on the hermeneutical reading of the text as applies philosophical hermeneutics of Hans-Georg Gadamer and Jurgen Habermas' critical theory. This research aims to analyze Frankfurt School theory, precisely Jurgen Habermas' critique of ideology on the modern social condition and relate it in George Orwell's *1984*, which is assumed to create an understanding of critique of ideology.

The result of this research shows that although the writer of the novel (George Orwell) lived in the World War II-era – which is many ideology tensions happened, there are some relations between the ideology in the *1984* novel and current condition. Some of those are how power is supported through high-level technology and the distortion of symbolic interaction. The other is propaganda and surveillance. In the last part, the writer concluded that both Habermas and Orwell are similar in

resistance against the totalitarian system. They argued that to fight against the totalitarian system, it requires a process of rationalization to society.

The second study that discusses the ideological aspect of the novel was written by Rissanen (2014) with the title *Nineteen Eighty-Four and the Ideology of Hate*. This research is concentrated on the aspect of ideology in which used to influence the action of the society and the main character of George Orwell's *1984* in general. It addresses to determine the role of the hatred that has been indoctrinated by the government to society. In this essay, the writer did not approach the novel with a particular school of thought. The reason is to allow more flexibility in interpretation and analysis. Thus, it addresses hate from several perspectives and organizes some features related to hate based on the particular order of categories.

The result shows that hatred is not merely the underlying ideology of the Party in the novel, but also as a tool to instigate the main character's rebellion towards the Party. Hence, the resistance that done by the main character is not his own will and diffused by the Party.

In the linguistic aspect, the first study is about language and oppression. It is written by Hama (2015) with the title *Language as an Oppressive Device in Orwell's 1984*. The purpose of this paper is to analyze how language is used by the ruling government to subdue and exercise power to the society in the *1984* novel. The focus of this analysis is on how the way the government restricts the freedom of speech by forcing society to speak a modified language created by their system. The language, called '*Newspeak*,' is a modified English language that has minimum terms. In

analyzing this research, Hama (2015) uses discourse stylistic to explore linguistic features as grammar, vocabulary, turn-taking, type of speech act and punctuation points as well as non-linguistic textual features, like visuals and gestures. The result of the research shows that the government in the novel manipulates language to fulfil their primary purpose, which is to dominate people.

Based on the analysis, the ruled government use ‘*Newspeak*’ language to confine people’s thinking and silences them over the significant social or political argument. The limited term of the ‘*Newspeak*’ language make society and characters in the novel cannot find the words that they want to express.

The second study on the linguistic aspect is written by Hossain (2017) under the title *Language as the Device for Psychological Manipulation in George Orwell’s Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Psycholinguistic Analysis*. This research aims to understand how language can manipulate the psychological function of the main character’s mind in George Orwell’s *1984*. In order to obtain the aim of the research, the researcher used psycholinguistic analysis as the central theory of the research.

The result shows that the exploitation of language in George Orwell’s *1984* can draw a reality and an action of people according to the interests of the ruled government in the novel, which the intention is to create some ideas to the society which seem authentic and unflawed. With the implementation of ‘*Newspeak*’ strategy, the characters and society in the novel cannot think of anything other than the things that have been dictated by the government.

The similarity between those previous studies and this research is in the object of the study, which is novel *1984* by George Orwell. As those studies discuss the topic of ideology and linguistic, this study presents a topic about the role of mass media in the novel *1984* by George Orwell. By using mass media as the big theme of this study, the writer will bring a new perspective in the understanding novel *1984* by George Orwell.

## **H. Research Method**

### **1. Research Design**

This study is under the design of literary criticism, which deals with the discipline of interpreting, analyzing, and evaluating literary works (Gillaspie, 2010). Literary criticism covers four kinds of approaches to analyze the work of art, as proposed by Abrams (1953), i.e., mimetic, pragmatic, expressive, and objective approach. This study aims to analyze literary work using an objective approach, which considers literature as independent work.

Furthermore, in order to comprehensively discuss the relation between social phenomena occurred in public and its depiction in literature, this study appears to use sociological criticism as an approach to analyze, asses and interpret the literary work as sociological criticism deals with the discussion of social issue in literature which is following this study and the reflection of social phenomenon portrayed in literary work (Laurenson & Swingewood, 1972).



This study employs the concept of micro media effects by James Potter (2012) and the first level of agenda-setting theory by McCombs and Shaw (1972) within the sociological perspective in analyzing the work. The study is expected to portray the aspects of the main character which influenced by the mass media and how the way mass media can influence the public's opinion by applying the first level of agenda-setting which deals with the exposure of the particular topic (salient issues) in mass media.

## **2. Data and Data Source**

The data of the study are from the dialogues and narrations from the main character also the sentences and phrases from the mass media in George Orwell novel, *1984*, which was published in 2008 by Penguin Books. It consists of 3 parts and 326 pages.

## **3. Data Collection**

The data were collected through several stages. Each stage is elaborated as follows.

- a. The first step is the first reading on the novel to understand the plot and general information of the story.
- b. The second reading is intended to understand better the story focusing on the mass media.

- c. Then, highlighting the data in the novel, which indicates referring to micro media effects and macro media effects.
- d. Categorizing the data of the micro effects of mass media to the main character into six parts according to the concept of micro media effects by Potter (2012).
- e. Classifying the data of macro media effects regarding the news content that is considered as salient issues.

#### **4. Data Analysis**

The process of data analysis starts after the data are already collected in the form of sentences, phrases, or words to exclude some other parts of the story, which are not relevant. In order to analyze the data, there are some steps that should be done, those are:

- a. Classify the data into two categories, which reveal the influence of the news on the main character and contents of the information.
- b. Identify the aspects of the main character influenced by the mass media.
- c. Analyze the information displayed in the mass media in the novel which reveals salient issues.
- d. Drawing the conclusion and rechecking if the conclusion is appropriate enough to answer the stated problem.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### A. Sociological Approach in Literary Criticism

An interdisciplinary literary approach that can be used to assess and understand the literary work related to the social aspect of the story is the sociology of literature. According to Wiyatmi (2013), sociology can be used as an approach in analyzing literature, which consists of society and its social phenomenon. Furthermore, it is also supported with mimetic concept by Plato, which argued that literature is an imitation of the universe and as a reflection of reality (Abrams, 1953).

Moreover, sociology and literature share analogous overview (Laurenson & Swingewood, 1972). Sociology is an empirical and scientific field related to the study of social institutions and social processes that explores various notable discussions such as social, religious, political, economic institutions, social structure, social stability, and social change. It is assumed that literature is concerned with the social world of people, with their sensitivity to it and a desire to change it. Therefore, it is often said that novel as a major genre of literature portrays, recreates, and delineates people's social life, their relationship with others, their families, politics, community, class, and other institutions around them.

Literature and sociology also have the same topic of study, which is human in culture, recognizing the relationship between human beings, and the outcome of the

interaction was due to the human relationship making (Wiyatmi, 2013). The distinctive feature is that sociology is empirical and analytical, whereas literature appears to be subjective and based on personal knowledge or interpretation (Damono in Wiyatmi, 2013).

Eagleton (1998) suggested two main ways of explaining literary work by using an approach to sociology. First, it is in the form of a realist who sees literature, in fact, deeply influenced and informed by its social context. The second approach is pragmatist, who sees literature influenced by all sorts of influences and accessible in all sorts of contexts, in particular by emphasizing its social determinants.

Unlike structuralists, literary sociology does not consider literary research to be an independent activity. Literature can also be understood by considering its relationship with the social aspects of human life in society because it is assumed that literature is a product of human social and cultural experience. The author of the work is also a part of society, as is the reader, whereas the content of the work that portrays and reflects something that happens in the real world. Accordingly, literature scholars divided literature sociology into three categories of approach: sociology of authors, sociology of readers, and sociology of literary work (Wiyatmi, 2013).

Those categories have significant differences. According to Laersonson and Swingewood (1972), sociology of authors approach has something to do with the author's social aspect, and how the authors themselves interact and contribute to the structure established by the social order in which he lived. Sociology of readers approach considers literary works as a portrait of social reality. It means that the

researcher uses this approach to explore literary work from its social aspects contains in literary works itself. The last approach focuses on the connection between the reader and literary work. This approach involves the complexities of the social significance of the reader with literary work.

Throughout this research, the writer will focus solely on the research of literary work sociology, which deals with the social aspects mentioned, depicted, and presented in the novel. In discussing the research, the writer will see the story's social context of how mass media can affect public opinion, and also its impacts on the novel's main character.

## **B. The Concept of Mass Media**

According to Vivian (2008), mass media is a means to accomplish human needs for information and entertainment. It is also a product of modern technology as a channel for mass communication. Without the existence of mass media, mass communication cannot run perfectly. Based on its form, mass media are grouped into two forms:

### **1. Printed Media**

Printed media is a form of mass media which conveys written information. Printed media is also the oldest mass communication platform in history. It is originated from the media called *Acta Diurna* and *Acta Senatus* in the era of Roman Empire then developed rapidly after Johannes Guttenberg invented the printing press

until it has various forms such as newspapers, tabloids, and magazines (Suranto, 2010).

## **2. Electronic Media**

Electronic media is a mass media facility that uses modern electronic devices, for example radio, television or mass media that uses electromagnetic waves which convert it into audio (sound) and visual (image) or both simultaneously (Suranto, 2010).

### **C. The Role of Mass Media in Society**

Nowadays, the role of the mass media in everyday human life is inevitable. With the importance of the position of the mass media in social life, the success of the mass media in carrying out its role as communicators can be seen from various things, some of which are the growing development of mass media, as well as the increasing number of media served by corporations. Mass media will also not last until now if there are no people who use it or make use of it in life, because after all mass media depends on the number of users and viewers.

According to McQuail (2010), there are six perspectives regarding the role of mass media in social life, those are:

1. Mass media as a window on events and experience. The media is seen as a window that allows the audience to see what is going on outside, or as a means of information to find out various events occurring in society.
2. The media is often seen as a mirror of events in social and the world, implying a faithful reflection. As the provider of information, the media can be seen as a reflection of events that occur in society. Therefore, we can see various types of news in the mass media, be it crime news or entertainment.
3. Viewing the mass media as a filter or gatekeeper which selects things that deserve attention or not. Various mass media do not stand independently. Therefore, media owners or authorities who have power over mass media management tend to select the news that should be covered and not covered. So that people's attention can be focused on news that is considered more important or beneficial for them. For instance, television media companies always choose issues, information or other forms of content based on the standards and wishes of the media managers.
4. The mass media is often seen as a guide or interpreter that translates and shows directions for various uncertainties, or alternatives. This can be seen when there is uncertainty or doubt regarding an event that occurs in society, the public can identify its certainty through the mass media.
5. The mass media as a forum for presenting various information and ideas to the public, thus enabling responses and feedback. As an information provider, communication that occurs in the mass media does not only occur in one

direction. However, the mass media also expects reactions and feedback from the public.

6. The mass media as an interlocutor, which is not only a source of information, but also a communication partner that allows interactive communication to occur.

#### **D. Mass Media Effects**

The power of mass media has an impact on several aspects of human life, which can include personal views and beliefs, political choice, or even false information that can distort people's knowledge about a specific topic. Through the years, the general power of mass media has risen significantly and will continue to do so as the improvisation of media itself. Media influence is the real force exerted by a media report, resulted in a reform or a weakening of the audience or individual beliefs. Media effects are tangible consequences arising from the impact of information or a media message (Valkenburg et al., 2016).

Historically, media effects have tended to follow a three-or four-phase model of either "major" or "minimal" media effects in each phase (Bryant & Thompson, 2002). At this point, as news, film, and radio's great popularity interferes with daily life, media have been credited with tremendous power in shaping views, attitudes, and behavior (Borah, 2016). During this era, society and researchers were afraid of the tremendous impact that new media such as film and radio can have on society. Such fears were further intensified by the mass propaganda efforts that started during



World War I. Harold Lasswell (1972) is widely recognized as the principal figure in the first media effects process. Lasswell used Freudian psychology, pragmatism, and political science theories to claim that a minority would effectively influence society and individuals by propaganda.

After the first phase, the second and the third phase occurred when people start to use television as one of the means to deliver news and information during the period of World War II. The invention of television in the 1950s and 1960s took along the idea of the power of mass media in society. The development of research in the field of mass media broke the myth that there were no significant effects of mass media in society's opinion. At that time, the researchers excoriate the old idea of mass media effects, which tended to have orientation on psychology-based methods. Besides that, the researchers also preferred the method that focuses on the long-term effects of mass media in the public's opinion, which later developed as cumulative effects (Borah, 2016).

According to McQuail (2010), a potential fourth phase has risen at the beginning of the 1990s. He stated that this phase remarks on the returns of the media effects model, specifically in minimal models and constructivist models. More egalitarian models also became popular in this era, which refers to the social constructivist approach. This approach suggests that the effects of mass media conclude the construction of reality. Besides that, these models also argue that the public can decide the impacts of mass media narration in their lives (Borah, 2016).

Until now, the researchers still develop the conception of the alternative models of mass media effects and criticize the refrain of the phase model discussed in the previous studies relating to mass media effects. One of the researchers that opposed the idea of the phase model is Lang and Lang (1993). They argued against both the phase model and suggested instead a model that stresses the studies of the cumulative effects.

The wide variety of research on media effects poses an operational challenge. One common approach is to arrange a media impact on a person (micro) or audience aggregate (macro) level according to their focused demographic group.

## **1. Micro Level**

According to Potter (2012), here are six forms of micro-level impacts. These six distinguish in terms of the aspect of the individual involved or the essence of the impact experience within an individual. Those six are behavior, belief, affect, cognition, attitude, and psychology. All research on the impact of individual exposure rates explores whether the media influences one or more of these six forms.

### **a) Affect**

The affect applies to feelings or emotions and moods. There are two different types of affective encounters. Usually, emotions are triggered by a person, entity, or occurrence, while moods are more abstract feelings, and sometimes are not caused by

anything. For instance, if someone assaults other people, the emotions of rage and humiliation are likely to flare up, and it is quick to explicitly attribute those emotions to the offense. Besides, people may be in a good mood all day long, and nothing has occurred to build that irritating mood in particular (Berkowitz, 2000).

For a long time, emotions were considered as a physiological element. The modern conceptual frameworks of emotion go back to William James (1894), who claimed that emotional stimuli caused physical reactions and that we needed to consider them for an emotional encounter. He believed that each emotion was physiologically distinct and that people had to understand how to perceive these physiological distinctions to understand how each emotion feels. Hence, people have a different physiological response when they are angry than when they feel the emotion of the fear (Berkowitz, 2000).

According to Berkowitz (2000), moods are generic feeling states. Moods are not generally correlated with an entity as are emotions. However, emotions have a higher force than moods. Examples of moods include optimism, longing, indifference, restlessness, weariness, tiredness, alertness, calm, and tension. Moods involve control of the bodies; that is, people need to think about their mental and physical energy levels. Those are connected with psychological disorders, including anxiety or depression.

The affect, whether it is mood or emotion, may be impacted by media exposure. Based on Potter (2012), there are four basic ways of mass media messages that can control the affection of audiences. The first is acquiring. The media have a

constant flow of narratives that viewers can use to experience feelings in all types of characters in all types of conditions. Therefore, people can learn how to mark specific emotions on these feelings.

The second is triggering affect. Media messages may evoke particular emotions, precisely the emotions that are powerful and simple such as fear, lust, and laughter. The third is altering. The altering process may be either conscious or unconscious. When aware, people usually feel thoughts or moods they do not like, and they use the media to shift those feelings. The media, in the unconscious condition, slowly alter the way people feel about something, usually in a negative direction, such as desensitization or habituations. The last is reinforcing. Media updates are capable of enhancing affective reactions. The reinforcing mechanism functions alongside the altering mechanism in the long term so that it is difficult to tell the two apart at times (Potter, 2012).

## **b) Attitudes**

Among scholars, there is confusion in defining the word attitudes. Some of them believed that the word attitudes have the same meaning as beliefs. Potter (2012) argued that both words have related meanings. Both include individual mental structures, and both differ in intensity; that is, all beliefs and attitudes may be solid, weak, or inexistent. However, it is not to imply that they are the same thing. Thus, it is crucial to differentiate the concept of attitudes and beliefs.

The main distinction between a belief and an attitude is that an attitude is simply an assessment; thus, it is a measure of something to a norm. With attitudes, the decision is about something worth or merit, like the integrity of a news article, the quality of an advertising product, the beauty of an individual, or the degree of "greatness" of a song (Potter, 2012).

Another difference between attitudes and beliefs is verification. Most beliefs are receptive to verification research. That implies that beliefs can be checked whether they are right or wrong. In comparison, one can never check attitudes. There is no quality of objective truth that can be used for attitudes (Potter, 2012). Thus, people have personal standards for his or her preferences.

There are many factors that determine people's standards. Many of the social standards have been introduced by others to individuals, such as their parents and institutions, through "socialization." Socialization is a mechanism in which members of society (such as schooling, religion, the criminal justice system) consistently teach people how to think and act in order to work well in society (Potter, 2012).

The mass media have a role to play both in developing and influencing attitudes over time. The mass media are providing knowledge about social values people should know and embrace as their expectations. In communications, the mass media often pose a great many elements that cause a demand for evaluation. When people listen to a new song, watch a television show or visit a website, they are inspired to make decisions about its quality. Those behaviors are attitudes. The constant influx of media messages slowly changes some of their standards and

attitudes over the long term, along with strengthens specific standards and attitudes (Schwarz & Bohner, 2001).

The mass media play a big part in the dissemination of these social norms. Institutions depend on books, images, videos, music, and the internet to convey information on those standards. For instance, people have already known about the criminal justice system, even though they have never been charged, convicted of a crime and served jail time. There are several television programs, documentaries, and books about criminal behavior, solving crimes, courts, and life in jail. While some of the people have no direct real-world experience in this field, they probably still have expectations about what constitutes criminal behavior, what makes a good lawyer, and the other things related to criminality (Potter, 2012).

### **c) Behaviors**

Behaviors are characterized as an individual's overt acts (Albarracin, Zanna, Johnson & Kumkale, 2005). Experts on media impact have done several researches in which they analyze media consumption habits of people to see which platforms they are using and how they are using such platforms. Researchers often bring attention to specific media messages and examine their future actions for topics such as violence, the use of advertising items, and political matters.

According to Potter (2012), people depend on the media as a source of knowledge regarding any kind of activity. When people expose themselves to a media narrative, they usually see a description (as with print media) or behavioral

performance sequence (as with motion media). The acquisition of a series of behaviors can primarily be a cognitive process, or primarily a process of behavioral action.

When learning is mainly a cognitive mechanism, people learn the steps in a series of behaviors by watching the media message. One example of this is a podcast that is showing people how to download an application to their smartphones. It is a reasonably straightforward process, and the listeners will understand the sequence of actions in only one listening. They do not have to conduct the sequence to know how to do it.

In comparison, acquiring specific behavioral sequences involves the actual execution of the action in order to understand. Watching a video of how to ride a bicycle is one example of that. Watching a video of how to ride a bicycle is one example of that. People will learn about the steps involved by watching such a video, but they cannot know how to ride a bicycle until they practice certain behaviors themselves. In either case — with the cognitive process or the behavioral learning process— it cannot be sure that people have mastered a series of behaviors before they execute the necessary activities in that sequence. Thus, both types are included in the research of mass media effects because people need to do the behaviors in order to convince the researcher that they have obtained such behaviors (Hall, 2005).

**d) Beliefs**

Beliefs are defined as an understanding of the possibility of a given attribute being affiliated with an entity or event. Commonly, a belief is an assumption that something is accurate or real, for instance, human trust in God. When an individual has a belief in God, it means that he or she is sure with the existence of a supreme being. The other example is a belief about how parents love their kids. Such children have confidence in a very significant chance of aligning their parents with the concept of love. Most beliefs – such as these two cases – are firmly held and are central to the identity of an individual (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Potter, 2012).

Beliefs include the use of inductive reasoning to make a possibility determination. Note that induction is the method of inferring a pattern from a set of observations and then generalizing it to a larger group. In these steps, people evaluate the probability that the pattern they experience is correct and that it is appropriate to generalize this pattern to a more significant set. Many people also have great belief in their assumptions and generalizations when engaged in these processes and therefore associate a high probability in their beliefs (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Potter, 2012).

Individuals develop the belief that the media is influential and has many impacts on individuals. More precisely, people commonly assume that the media affect the public opinion, that campaign advertisements impact political opinions, that public service announcements work, and that drug advertising works. They also agree that abuse in television and Internet pornography has significant negative



consequences on others. Such beliefs are mostly simply recognized since people hear certain beliefs expressed in the media by others (Potter, 2012).

With the continual exposure of mass media, people come across new pieces of knowledge that, over time, affect their current beliefs. When those additional pieces of information on a specific subject adhere to their established belief, that belief is reinforced, but when those additional pieces of information go against their existing belief or go outside that belief's reach, the altering function is enabled (Potter, 2012).

**e) Cognitive**

A cognitive media effect arises when the mental processes of an individual or the outcome of those mental processes are affected by media exposition. The most easy-to-document cognitive influence is the retrieval of accurate knowledge from media communications, in particular from books, magazines, news reports from television and knowledge websites (Arendt et al., 2014).

The human mind can comprehend the knowledge through the memorization process. Nevertheless, the human mind can do much more than memorize; it can turn information into understanding. This knowledge transformation can come in the form of inferring structures through mass media messages. The human mind might also combine media messages to create new concepts in various ways. Within media messages, it can generalize and produce real-life values. All those mental processes are based on individual cognitive consequences (Arendt et al., 2014).

Although we can obtain knowledge from media messages by memorization, much of the knowledge we acquired from media messages need an ability that is more complex than mere memorization; it includes induction, which involves implying patterns, and then conclude those patterns to a broader class of entities beyond what was observed initially (Potter, 2012).

**f) Physiology**

The automatic body response is a physiological reaction. The reaction of the body may be either strictly automatic (such as dilation of the pupils, blood pressure, and galvanic skin response) or quasi-automatic (heart rate, sexual reaction). For illustration, people watching an action/ adventure film usually increase their heart rate and blood pressure. They relax their muscles and sweat their palms. They are undergoing a fight-or-flight reaction that has been designed deep into the brains of humans. Threats cause vigilance, and the body activates to fight or escape a predator. This combat-or-flight effect helped the humankind to thrive for centuries (Potter, 2012).

Although the human body operates in many physiological processes, four types are significant in examining the effects of media influences based on Potter (2012). Those are an automatic survival mechanism, perceptual processes, sexual mechanism, and neurophysiological processes.

The first type of physiological process involves automatic survival mechanism. When the human body perceives danger, it triggers a fight/ flight state

spontaneously. The body releases hormones like epinephrine to prepare for fight/flight, which causes the heart to pump faster, breathing to quicken, muscles to relax, and palms to sweat. This induces a desire to run away or face the attacker. Without this preparation, human beings would not be able to deal with threats effectively, and their survival would be significantly challenged (Potter, 2012).

Perceptual processes are an automatic connection device in the human brain (Potter, 2012). Such mechanisms allow people to direct themselves towards their surroundings by choosing those types of stimuli that they will respond to. Some of the certain sensations are danger signals, and some are pleasure signals. Those mechanisms are automatic; that is, they are programmed to inform people about fundamental things in their environment. Then, those signals can either trigger automatic processes or trigger knowledge from which people think about how to react (Potter, 2012).

The third type of physiological process involves sexual arrangements. In order for the human race to continue to exist, humans need to reproduce. The human brain has been hard-wired to control the world for desirable sexual partners and to derive gratification from sexual satisfaction. The constant stream of messages from the media also provides visual images of highly desirable sexual objects, and those images create interest along with the expectations of pleasure (Potter, 2012). The last is neurophysiological mechanisms. According to Potter (2012), the human brain is a complex system, both chemical and electric. Through the repetition of its messages

and their form (size, color, loudness, and content of its messages), the media can affect these processes.

## **2. Macro Level**

The mass media impacts at the macro-level involve aggregates instead of individuals. An aggregate is a composite whole created by combining all the components in question. The population is an aggregate since all entities are gathered. This is typically represented as a direct percentage of the proportion of individuals that are positive about the object (or negative). Someone can read, for example, that 55 percent of the public believes the president is doing an excellent job. That will indicate that 55 percent of people in this country have a favorable view of the work performance of the president (Potter, 2012).

The study research on the effects of macro-level media is significantly lower than the research on influences at the personal level. This size difference has driven some researchers to note that this relative lack of sensitivity to impacts at the macro-level is a significant shortcoming. One explanation is that throughout the years, the subject of media effects has developed many researchers who are concerned in micro-units, such as the human mind, instead of macro-units, like organizations and culture. Shoemaker and Reese (1996), for instance, point out that the prevalence of psychological research and the lack of sociological studies influence the aggregation of media results.

There are some instances of theories of media effects that analyze media power over an aggregate of communities. The first is cultivation theory. This theory established by Gerbner (1969). He claimed that the mass media maintains a “collective knowledge of the elements of reality.” When viewers are subjected to repeated themes and storylines over time, they may anticipate such concepts and narratives to replicate in real life (Valkenburg, Peter, & Walther, 2016).

The next is the exemplification theory. The principle of exemplification claims that the collection of basic experiential information represents people better than information from an abstract case. Therefore, especially significant events will stay in the minds of individuals better than insignificant events, and human beings will characterize similar incidents to determine the actual impact of information. Ultimately, the cognitive mechanism that emerges when "exemplars" are acquired depends on experiences that remain firmly in someone's memory, as well as the classification of primary and abstract experiential understanding (Zillman, 2002).

Besides cultivation theory and exemplification theory, there is also another primary theory in the macro level of media effects that is agenda-setting theory. Agenda-setting theory illustrates Walter Lippmann's (1922) hypothesis in *Public Opinion*, which the mass media serves as a connection between 'the outside world and the images in our minds.' The core concept is that things underlined by the mass media come to be viewed by the public as significant. In agenda-setting analysis, news coverage is conceived as an item agenda, quite commonly an agenda of the

critical topics of the day, and the theory of agenda-setting defines and discusses the transition of salience from this news agenda to the public agenda (McCombs, 2001).

**a) Agenda-Setting Theory**

Agenda-setting theory evolved into mass media discourse in 1972 by the report of McCombs and Hill's essential findings in the Quarterly of Public Opinion. Despite this, theories about its principles and processes have persisted for decades in the perspectives of some academics and communication experts. Baran and Davis (2010), argued that whether it is with or without a name, the concept of agenda-setting has been discussed since the day of "*penny press*."

Nevertheless, Walter Lippmann was said to have academically demonstrated the idea of media impact on the views of the world and public opinion among the viewers (Baran & Davis, 2010). Lippmann (1922) stated in Public Opinion that citizens do not identify with the outer world as much as they do with the thoughts in their minds. He stated that:

*"When public affairs are popularized in speeches, headlines, plays, moving pictures, literary works, or painting their transformation into human interest requires the first abstraction from the original, and then an animation of what has been abstracted; and that not being omnipresent or omniscient we cannot see much of what we have to think or talk about" (Lippmann, 1922).*

Harold Lasswell, a communications analysis specialist, broadened Lippmann's analysis (Mustapha, 2012). Lasswell claimed that the most significant role of the mass media in society is control and correlation. He also assumed that the media

played a crucial role in focusing the public's attention to particular problems (Mustapha, 2012; Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

In 1963, Bernard Cohen offered his perspective into the study of communication by presenting the realm of mass communication with what is now recognized as the agenda-setting mantra. He said that much of the time; the media might not be effective in asking people what to think, yet effective in asking their audience what to think about (Mustapha, 2012; Baran & Davis, 2010; Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

Baran & Davis (2010) proposed that the ideas of those theorists which serve as the basis of agenda-setting theory may have remained elusive unless Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw had operationalized them. In 1968, Max McCombs and Donald Shaw published agenda-setting research on the United States presidential election in 1968. They used the U.S. presidential election of 1968 as a demonstration to find out if there was a connection between the mass media's priority concerns and the public's priorities. Ever since, the involvement of agenda-setting on the research of mass media has been widely published for a wide range of public concerns in more than 400 published empirical studies beyond the United States, in both election and non-election settings (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2007).

Agenda-setting has been quantified on two orders of analysis since the 1990s. The first is the first-level of analysis and the second is the second-level of analysis.

### **1) First Level of Agenda-Setting**

Generally, the first-level agenda-setting examines the transition of issue-salience from the media to the public agenda by asking people what to think about (Baran and Davis, 2011, p. 282). Based on Shaw and McCombs (1972), the definition of the first-level of agenda-setting is the cycle of the news media addressing such topics regularly and prominently so that they can influence public opinion. Resulting in significant parts of the society perceiving such topics as more critical than others, and the more attention the topic gets, the more critical it is for people. That is, the sum of an object's news coverage will essentially decide the perceived significance of an object by the audience (Cheng, 2014). This defines the relationship between items that have gained priority coverage in the media and those that find significant by members of the public. These objects can be public figures, public issues, countries, organizations, events, or any issues that are being the main focus of attention (Baran & Davis, 2011; McCombs & Valenzuela, 2007).

In the first-level agenda setting, the basic method used to influence public opinion through the mass media is to give exposure to certain issues. When the mass media emphasizes certain issues, the community will consider the issue as more important than other issues. In mass media studies, issues that are considered important by the public are called salient issues (Shaw and McCombs, 1972). According to Kiouisis (2004), salient issue has two characteristics, those are visibility and valence. Visibility is defined as the intensity of the broadcast of a topic in the



mass media while valence refers to how the way the media present particular topic (the characteristics).

## **2) Second Level of Agenda-Setting**

The second-level of agenda-setting extends the salience of the object by integrating the attributes agenda, which defines the objects of attention. This applies to secure communication in media and the public about the saliency of the aspects of the problems (Kim, Scheufele & Shanahan, 2002; Sheafer, 2007). Each object is deemed to have certain features that describe and distinguish it from the others. Mass media extends the emphasis on news events through narratives and the creation of meanings and directs the interpretation of the subjects within the discussion. The agenda of attributes shape the way people view and talk about problems, political parties, or other subjects in the press, thereby granting the media an even more essential role in the political process (McCombs et al., 1997)

## **CHAPTER III**

### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

#### **A. The Aspects of Winston Smith That Are Affected by the Mass Media**

As the main communication platform, mass media has certain influence on individuals or group. The influence of mass media in individuals, or what is commonly referred to as micro level of media effects consists of several aspects. Among them are cognitive, beliefs, affect, attitudes, physiological, and behaviors (Potter, 2012).

##### **1. Affection**

Affection refers to the feelings that people have. According to Potter (2012), there are two types of different affective encounters. Those are moods and emotions. Commonly, emotions are triggered by a person, entity, or occurrence, while moods are more abstract and usually not caused by anything. Based on Berkowitz (2000), moods are not generally correlated with an entity as emotions. However, emotions have higher force than moods. For instance, when someone assaults other people, the emotion of rage is likely to flare up and it is quick to explicitly attribute those emotions to the offense. Besides, that people may be in a good mood all day long and nothing has occurred to build that irritating mood in particular.

With full media control by the government, they can efficiently insert certain news stories that manage to lead the audience's emotions in the novel. In a certain way, the Big Brother is able to lead the emotions of the main character through the mass media.

In the novel, there is a description that shows the influence of mass media on Winston Smith's affection. It occurs at the *Two Minutes Hate* program.

*Winston's diaphragm was constricted. He can never see the face of Goldstein without a painful mixture of emotions. It was a lean Jewish face, with a great fuzzy aureole of white hair and a small goatee beard—a clever face, and yet somehow inherently despicable, with a kind of senile silliness in the long thin nose, near the end of which a pair of spectacles was perched. (p. 16)*

In the description above, it portrays the face of the party's number one traitor, Emmanuel Goldstein who appears on the telescreen. The phrase *He can never see the face of Goldstein without a painful mixture of emotions* shows that Winston feels an emotional distress every time he saw Goldstein's face.

It occurs because the mass media describes the figure of Emmanuel Goldstein. In the *Two Minutes Hate* program, person who often appears is Emmanuel Goldstein. During the program, he is described as the party's number one enemy. In the telescreen, he always appears with a scary and sickening depiction. He appears with messages of hatred against Big Brother. Besides, he also attacks party ideologies which has been the doctrine instilled in the people of Oceania. With this airing continuously, Winston's emotions become triggered.

According to Potter (2012), emotion is one of the encounters of affection as one of the aspects of an individual which can be influenced by the mass media. The

way Winston feels the emotional distress when he saw Emmanuel Goldstein appears on the telescreen shows that mass media influence his affection.

Moreover, how the way mass media can influence Winston's emotion cannot be separated from the way the figure of Emmanuel Goldstein portrays in telescreen. During the program, he is described as the party's number one enemy. In the telescreen, he always appears with a scary and sickening depiction. He appears with messages of hatred against Big Brother. Besides, he also attacked party ideologies. The atmosphere and character depicted on the telescreen can trigger negative emotions. As stated by Potter (2012), the way the message is framed in mass media influences the triggering of affect. Therefore, it can influence Winston's affection.

## **2. Behaviors**

Behaviors are characterized as an individual's overt acts (Albarracin, Zanna, Johnson & Kumkale, 2005). In the mass media narrative, there are messages that contain the direct suggestions to individuals to carry out certain overt actions and messages that include the suggestions indirectly. The narratives that are addresses directly make the individual fully aware of the behavior that he or she does relate to the messages of the mass media. In the opposite, when the messages addressed are implicit, the individual tends not to realize that the behavior he or she doing is the effect of mass media.

The first data regarding the behavioral effect of mass media shows when Winston Smith faces the telescreen.

*Even the streets leading up to its outer barriers were roamed by gorilla-faced guards in black uniforms, armed with jointed truncheons. Winston turned round abruptly. He had set his features into the expression of quiet optimism which it was advisable to wear when facing the telescreen. He crossed the room into the tiny kitchen.(p.7)*

The narration occurs when Winston returns from work and back to his apartment. The telescreen is located in the corner of his apartment. Telescreen is an apparatus that has a function as televisions, microphones, and security camera. It is also available in almost all places in the country which makes it easier for the government to convey information and oversee every individual behavior. Therefore, people cannot behave freely because when they do anything suspicious, the government can easily capture them. Thus, when Winston Smith enters his apartment, he has to turn his expression into optimism.

From this narrative, it can be seen that there is a change in the aspects of Winston Smith's behavior over the mass media in the form of a telescreen. The sentence *He had set his features into the expression of quiet optimism which was advisable to wear when facing the telescreen* shows that Winston deliberately changes his facial expression to optimistic expression. The intentional changes in facial expressions indicate that Winston's behavior is affected by the existence of the telescreen itself. Besides that, the narration also explains that when facing the telescreen, the government requires all residents to display hopeful facial expressions. Therefore, Winston set his expression in such a way each time he faces the telescreen.

As a means that can also monitor the audience, Winston Smith feels that it must be done because if not, then he will be easily captured by the mind police. Thus, he changes his behavior when he faced the telescreen.

The other scene that shows the effect on Winston Smith's behavior is when he attended *Two Minutes Hate* program. *Two Minutes Hate* is the regular, community period which participants of Oceania's Outer Party should watch a short film portraying the State's enemies, specifically Emmanuel Goldstein and his supporters, to express their hostility to them freely and loudly. *The Two Minutes Hate* aims to encourage Oceania's people to vent their existential agony and personal animosity against enemies that are politically expedient that is Goldstein and the other states' enemy.

*It was a noise that set one's teeth on edge and bristled the hair at the back of one's neck. The Hate had started. As usual, the face of Emmanuel Goldstein, the Enemy of the People, had flashed on to the screen. He was abusing Big Brother, he was denouncing the dictatorship of the Party. Behind his head on the telescreen there marched the endless columns of the Eurasian army. The dull rhythmic tramp of the soldiers' boots formed the background to Goldstein's bleating voice. (p.17)*

*The dark-haired girl behind Winston had begun crying out 'Swine! Swine! Swine!' and suddenly she picked up a heavy Newspeak dictionary and flung it at the screen. It struck Goldstein's nose and bounced off; the voice continued inexorably. In a lucid moment Winston found that he was shouting with the others and kicking his heel violently against the rung of his chair. (p.22)*

When *the Two Minute Hate* program begins, Goldstein's face appeared on the telescreen accompanied by a scary sound. He committed his usual hateful attack on the doctrines of the Party. He abused Big Brother, denounced the Party advocated freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of thought, and cried that the revolution had been betrayed. The telescreen behind his head

marched the endless columns of the Eurasian army. The dull rhythmic tramp of the soldiers' boots formed the background for the bleating voice of Goldstein.

In the narration, it is explained that the situation has begun to heat up. The participants begin to express their emotions to Emmanuel Goldstein in various forms. In the available data, it is described that the girl standing next to Winston takes a curse and even throws something at the telescreen that is broadcasting Goldstein's speech. At that moment Winston, like the other participants, stomps and shouts.

Under those ambiances, it shows how the mass media program influences Winston's behavior. It demonstrates, in the description, that the displays and messages conveyed by Goldstein and the graphics found in the telescreen are intended to provoke the audience reaction. In the broadcast, Goldstein exposes hate messages against the party with the backdrop of Eurasian army's continues throb in the background. Thus, it makes the atmosphere of hatred and anger very pronounced so that it raises the tension of the audience. During that moment, Winston cannot help but do the same as the other audience as he stomps his feet and screams like them. It shows how the mass media can influence individual behavior, both directly and indirectly (Potter, 2012). Although there is no specific order for the audience to vent their anger, but the narratives presented through the telescreen can provoke the behavior of the audience, including Winston Smith.

The following narration that shows the effect of behavior in Winston Smith is when he follows exercise tutorial in the telescreen. There is an exercise tutorial in the morning which is guided by an exercise instructor. By its function, the telescreen can

record what an individual is doing. Thus, the instructor knows whoever is conducting the tutorial correctly and who is not conducting well. The data below shows how the instructor asks Winston to follow the tutorial correctly.

*“Smith!” screamed the shrewish voice from the telescreen. “6079 Smith W.! Yes, YOU! Bend lower, please! You can do better than that. You’re not trying. Lower, please! THAT’S better, comrade. Now stand at ease, the whole squad, and watch me.” (p.46)*

*“Anyone under forty-five is perfectly capable of touching his toes. We don’t all have the privilege of fighting in the front line, but at least we can all keep fit. Remember our boys on the Malabar front! And the sailors in the Floating Fortresses! Just think what THEY have to put up with. Now try again. That’s better, comrade, that’s MUCH better,” she added encouragingly as Winston, with a violent lunge, succeeded in touching his toes with knees unbent, for the first time in several years.” (p.46-47)*

In those narrations, it shows that the instructor tells Winston to follow the exercise correctly and with spirit. When the instructor knows that Winston does not follow the exercise correctly, she asks him to bend lower and reprimand him for trying even harder. She even gives an example to Winston the soldiers who need to work hard on the battlefield to motivate him to follow the exercise movement harder. Thus, Winston tries his best to bend lower as instructed by the exercise instructor.

From this scene, we can see the effect of mass media on Winston Smith’s behavior. With the exercise tutorial shown on the telescreen, Winston feels obliged to follow the exercise movements. He also tries to follow the movements of exercises well when the instructor asks him to move to follow the instructions. The way he follows the movement of the exercise in the telescreen, demonstrate that the mass media influences Winston’s behavior. As formulated by Potter (2012), in the mass media narrative, some messages contain the direct suggestions to individuals to carry



out certain overt actions and messages that include the suggestions indirectly. In this case, as the instructor told Winston to follow the movement correctly, it indicates that the media suggest certain behavior directly.

### **3. Beliefs**

Beliefs are defined understanding of the possibility of an entity or event being affiliated to a given attribute. A belief is commonly an assumption that something is accurate or can be interpreted as an individual idea of an object. The definition can be interpreted as how one's views and opinions about an object (Notoadmodjo, 2010; Potter, 2012). Contrary to knowledge, beliefs are held with conviction by definition, and are considered true. Beliefs also typically involve a great element of self-reference which may not be present in knowledge. Unlike attitudes, beliefs do not need to contain an evaluative component, which is a defining feature of social psychology attitudes (Connors & Holligan, 2015).

Individuals develop the belief that the media is strong and has many impacts on individuals. More precisely, people commonly assume that the media affect the public opinion, that campaign advertisements impact political opinions, that public service announcements work, and that drug advertising works. They also agree that abuse in television and Internet pornography have significant negative consequences on others. Such beliefs are mostly simply recognized, since people hear certain beliefs expressed in the media by others (Potter, 2012).

With the continual exposure of mass media, people come across new pieces of knowledge that over time affect their current beliefs. When those additional pieces of information on a specific subject adhere to their established belief, that belief is reinforced, but when those additional pieces of information go against their existing belief or go outside that belief's reach, the altering function is enabled (Potter, 2012).

The researcher finds data in this study, which shows that the mass media have affected the belief of Winston Smith. The story takes place while Winston is following *the Two-Minute Hate* program. Winston's belief is influenced by the narratives conveyed throughout the program.

*At those moments his secret loathing of Big Brother changed into adoration, and Big Brother seemed to tower up, an invincible, fearless protector, standing like a rock against the hordes of Asia, and Goldstein, in spite of his isolation, his helplessness, and the doubt that hung about his very existence, seemed like some sinister enchanter, capable by the mere power of his voice of wrecking the structure of civilization. (p. 19)*

The narration above occurs when Winston follows *the Two Minutes Hate* program. Once the sight of Emmanuel Goldstein and Oceanian army emerges, the crowds, including Winston, start venting their emotions. Winston's hatred of Big Brother turns to reverence at that point, and he becomes persuaded that the Big Brother is a character that cannot be overcome. Winston is convinced of the inevitable power of Big Brother and that he can easily overthrow his enemy.

As stated by Potter (2012), one of the aspects of the individual that can be influenced by mass media is belief. Winston's belief in the power of Big Brother shows how the mass media can influence his own belief. In the narration it is

mentioned that Winston despises Big Brother, however, when he sees the broadcast in the telescreen, the animosity towards Big Brother turns into a belief in his power. The narration contains hate propaganda on the character Emmanuel Goldstein accompanied by a description of the victory between Oceania over Asia. The messages conveyed by the mass media succeeded in changing Winston's belief in Big Brother.

#### **4. Cognition**

The effect of mass media in the aspect of cognition occurs when media consumption influences an individual's mental processes, or the result of those mental processes. The most easy-to-document effect of cognition is the extraction of reliable media information knowledge, especially from books, newspapers, television news stories, and awareness websites (Arendt, et.al, 2014).

The human mind can comprehend the knowledge through the memorization process. Nevertheless, the human mind can do much more than memorize; it can turn information into understanding. This knowledge transformation can come in the form of inferring structures through mass media messages. The human mind might also combine media messages to create new concepts in various ways. Within media messages, it can generalize and produce real-life values. All those mental processes are based on individual cognitive consequences (Arendt et al., 2014).

In the 1984 novel, where the mass media is fully controlled by the government, they can easily instill the knowledge concept based on their interest. Winston Smith, who works as a clerk in the Ministry of Truth's Records Department, experiences a struggle with his existing knowledge and the reality presented in the mass media.

*Actually, as Winston well knew, it was only four years since Oceania had been at war with Eastasia and in alliance with Eurasia. But that was merely a piece of furtive knowledge which he happened to possess because his memory was not satisfactorily under control. Officially the change of partners had never happened. Oceania was at war with Eurasia: therefore, Oceania had always been at war with Eurasia. The enemy of the moment always represented absolute evil, and it followed that any past or future agreement with him was impossible. (p.43)*

This description explains Winston's knowledge of the wars that Oceania fights against other countries. At one point, his memory mentions that only four years ago, Oceania was at war with Eastasia and allied with Eurasia. However, the official news is not mentioned so. The news that is written is that Oceania is always at war with Eurasia. In the mass media, it is always emphasized that the enemy that exists at that time is an eternal enemy. As a consequence, the contradiction between Winston's knowledge and the content written in the official mass media make him doubt his own memory.

This data indicate that the aspect Winston's cognition has been affected by mass media coverage. The eradication of history by the government makes evidence of past events not available, as explained in the novel,

*But to trace out the history of the whole period, to say who was fighting who at any given moment, would have been utterly impossible, since no written record, and no spoken word, ever made mention of any other alignment than the existing one. (p.43).*

According to Potter (2012) the mass media can alter the existing constructs of a person's knowledge. Some of these systems of knowledge include accurate details, such as current affairs and political issues. In this case, Winston's existing knowledge regarding the war of Oceania was different from what is being reported now; making him doubts his own knowledge. With the doubt of the knowledge system that he has with the mass media coverage, proves that the aspect of Winston's cognition were affected by the mass media.

## 5. Physiology

The reaction of physiology is defined as automatic body response. The reaction of the body may be either strictly automatic (such as dilation of the pupils, blood pressure, and galvanic skin response) or quasi-automatic (heart rate, sexual reaction). Although human body operates in many physiological processes, there are four types that are significant in examining the effects of media influences based on Potter (2012). Those are automatic survival mechanism, perceptual processes, sexual mechanism, and neurophysiological processes.

In conducting this research, the researcher finds several data when Winston Smith experiences the reaction of physiology as the effect of mass media. The first data regarding Winston Smith's physiology reaction is occurred when he sees the face of Goldstein in the telescreen when he follows *Two Minutes Hate* program.

*Winston's diaphragm was constricted. He can never see the face of Goldstein without a painful mixture of emotions. It was a lean Jewish face, with a great fuzzy*

*aureole of white hair and a small goatee beard—a clever face, and yet somehow inherently despicable, with a kind of senile silliness in the long thin nose, near the end of which a pair of spectacles was perched. (p.16)*

The narration explains that Winston diaphragm is constricted. The constriction of the diaphragm means that he has respiratory problem spontaneously when he sees Goldstein in the telescreen. That symptom is in accordance with the characteristic of one of the physiological reaction types named perceptual process. The perceptual process is an automatic connection device in the human brain that allows people to direct themselves towards their surroundings. According to Potter (2012), that mechanism is programmed to inform people about fundamental things in their environment. Some of the certain sensations are danger signals, and some are pleasure signals.

As a real-world picture, mass media can influence audience's physiology reaction (Potter, 2012). In this case, it shows when Winston sees Emmanuel Goldstein's face on the telescreen. It happens because there is a sudden change in his environment that can distract him. In the country of Oceania, Emmanuel Goldstein is known as the country's number one enemy. The government described Goldstein as a dangerous and sinister figure. The government spread this view through a *Two Minute Hate* program. The propaganda makes the public; including Winston Smith has atrocious perception towards Emmanuel Goldstein's character. Therefore, Winston feels a physiological reaction, precisely the perceptual process when he saw Emmanuel Goldstein's face on the telescreen. How the way Winston's diaphragm

constricted shows that he experiences physiological activity as the effect of mass media on its audience.

The other data regarding Winston Smith's physiology effect happens when he sees the photograph of Rutherford in the newspaper. Rutherford is one of the party's traitors. In ancient times, he and several other traitors had been charged with several crimes by the government. The crimes include embezzling state money, planning to overthrow the leadership of Big Brother, and carrying out various acts of sabotage. The narration below is the description when Winston Smith sees the picture of Rutherford in the old edition newspaper.

*He had gone straight on working. As soon as he saw what the photograph was, and what it meant, he had covered it up with another sheet of paper. Luckily, when he unrolled it, it had been upside-down from the point of view of the telescreen. He took his scribbling pad on his knee and pushed back his chair so as to get as far away from the telescreen as possible. To keep your face expressionless was not difficult, and even your breathing can be controlled, with an effort: but you cannot control the beating of your heart, and the telescreen was quite delicate enough to pick it up.*  
(p.100)

The description shows that Winston is working in the piece until he finally finds a picture of Rutherford. After seeing the photo, he tries to hide the photo and covers it with another paper. He hides it so that the telescreen will not catch him. Besides, Winston also tries to maintain his expression so as not to look suspicious. While holding back his expression, Winston has no trouble. However, he cannot control his heartbeat when he sees the photograph of Rutherford.

This scene proves the physiological aspect of Winston is affected by mass media. As stated by Potter (2012), mass media can trigger the physiological activity of the audience. The way Winston cannot control his heartbeat when he sees the

photograph of Rutherford in the newspaper, shows that there is a physiological process. He realizes that there is an unusual thing happened in his surroundings. The stimulus that catches Winston's attention is the photograph of Rutherford. With his knowledge about the background of Rutherford, he feels an automatic reaction that is the irregular beat of his heart. Winston reaction is following the characteristic of one of the physiological types, which is the perceptual process. The perceptual process occurred to inform people about the unusual thing in his surroundings. Some of the certain sensations are danger signals, and some are pleasure signals (Potter, 2012). Winston felt the danger signal when he saw the photograph of Rutherford in the newspaper, which is part of the perceptual process. Thus, from this scene, it can be concluded that Winston's physiological aspect is affected by the mass media.

## **B. How Mass Media Influence Public Opinion**

### **1. Macro Media Effects**

Mass media plays a significant role in shaping public opinion. According to Shaw and McCombs (1972) the primary method used to influence public opinion through the mass media is to give exposure to specific issues. When the mass media emphasizes certain issues, the community will consider the issue as more important than other issues. In mass media studies, issues that are considered necessary by the public are called salient issues.



In this research, the researcher will focus on the cycle of the news media which explains salient issues in society. It means the way significant parts of the society perceiving such topics as more critical than others and, the more attention the topic gets, the more critical it is for people. That is, the sum of an object's news coverage will essentially decide the perceived significance of an object by the audience (Cheng, 2014).

According to Kiousis (2004), the salient issue has two characteristics; those are visibility and valence. Visibility is defined as the intensity of the broadcast of a topic in the mass media, while valence refers to how the way the media present a particular topic (the characteristics). Thus, to get a clear understanding regarding the salient issue in the novel *1984*, the writer analyzes the topic of mass media based on those two characteristics.

In the *1984* novel, government control over public opinion is powerful. One of the means used by the Oceania government to control public opinion is through the mass media. With the full authority of the government, they can easily instill particular topics according to their interests. The power of the government in controlling the mass media in the *1984* novel was enormous to the point that they could erase history written in the mass media and create other propaganda and exposure to the certain topic so that it can influence public opinion about the importance of the topic presented by media itself. In this section, the author discusses how the way the government influence public opinion in the novel.

**a) Government Surveillance of the Public Behavior**

In the novel, there is some data that discuss the media which shows the government's surveillance towards public behavior. The media that shows the government's surveillance towards public behavior is the poster of Big Brother.

*On each landing, opposite the lift shaft, the poster with the enormous face gazed from the wall. It was one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move. BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU, the caption beneath it ran. (p.1)*

*Down in the street little eddies of wind were whirling dust and torn paper into spirals, and though the sun was shining and the sky a harsh blue, there seemed to be no colour in anything, except the posters that were plastered everywhere. The blackmoustachio'd face gazed down from every commanding corner. There was one on the house-front immediately opposite. BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU, the caption said, while the dark eyes looked deep into Winston's own. (p. 4)*

This first narration occurs when Winston Smith walks into his flat. The flat has seven floors, and also there is a lift that is available but cannot be used, so he has to walk up the stairs. At the end of the stairs on each floor, facing the barred lift door, there is a poster with a large face that looked like it is staring sharply from the wall. While in the other data, the setting of the description is under the Winston Smith flat window. In the description, it is also described the surroundings as if they look colorless except for posters that are posted. The poster contains the face of Big Brother and a sentence written in capital letters "BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU".

The visibility aspect of this data shows that Big Brother posters can be found in many public places. The first location in the novel that shows the existence of the Big Brother poster is in the corners of Winston's flat, then, on the street near the flat

window. The existence of these posters in public places makes the public always aware of the existence of the government everywhere. It also makes the public always remember the government.

Regarding the valence aspect of the Big Brother poster, it can be concluded that the poster is formed in such a way that the public feels the government is really watching them. The sentence, "*it was one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move*" shows that the eyes in the poster are drawn with sharp shapes so that everyone who sees them will feel being watched. Besides that, the writing of the statement "BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU" with capital letters can indicate an affirmation that the government really watched over everyone.

Based on the explanation of the characteristics of the object, it can be concluded that the issue of government surveillance towards the public is a salient issue. The salient issue is a component contained in the mass media functions to lead public opinion (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Thus, the surveillance of the government towards the public has a big role in influencing public's opinion.

The explanation of the visibility and valence aspects of the Big Brother poster shows that one of the ways the government influence public opinion through mass media is by government surveillance towards the public. By displaying Big Brother posters on a massive scale in public places, makes the public always remember the government. Such a sharp depiction of the eyes and caption of capital letters also definitely attract public attention. Therefore, they feel as if the

government is watching them everywhere. The existence of Big Brother posters displayed massively in public places made the idea of government surveillance of the public stick to their minds and it makes the public more beware with their behavior. Thus, they maintain their behavior and carry out the things requested by the government.

**b) The Creation of Common Enemy**

One of the ways that the government used to influence public opinion through the mass media in the *1984* novel is the creation of a common enemy. In the novel, the issue that is created by the government that is considered necessary is the issue of unscrupulous persons who were regarded as enemies by the government. As it told in the novel, there is a program that is held every week that presents a depiction of the country's enemy.

*The next moment a hideous, grinding speech, as of some monstrous machine running without oil, burst from the big telescreen at the end of the room. It was a noise that set one's teeth on edge and bristled the hair at the back of one's neck. The Hate had started. As usual, the face of Emmanuel Goldstein, the Enemy of the People, had flashed on to the screen. There were hisses here and there among the audience. (p. 15)*

*Goldstein was delivering his usual venomous attack upon the doctrines of the Party— He was abusing Big Brother, he was denouncing the dictatorship of the Party, he was demanding the immediate conclusion of peace with Eurasia, he was advocating freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, freedom of assembly, freedom of thought, he was crying hysterically that the revolution had been betrayed. (p. 16)*

*The dull rhythmic tramp of the soldiers' boots formed the background to Goldstein's bleating voice. (p. 17)*

The narrative above is a brief description of the *Two Minutes Hate* program. *Two Minutes Hate* is the regular, community period which participants of Oceania's Outer Party should watch a short film portraying the State's enemies, specifically Emmanuel Goldstein and his supporters, to express their hostility to them freely and loudly.

In this case, visibility is measured based on the frequency and duration of the short film. Based on available data, the frequency of the program is every week and is two minutes long. By holding these activities every week, members of the outer party will not simply forget the state criminals even though the short film duration is only two minutes. The depiction of Emmanuel Goldstein and other state enemies will not just disappear from the memories of the outer party members.

The aspect of valence in the program can be seen from how the visual and audiovisual aspects of the short film. Based on available data, Emmanuel Goldstein's character is described as a hideous and aggressive figure. Besides, his appearance is accompanied by soldiers who lined up in the background and also an unpleasant voice. The speech he brought is also an exclamation of resistance to the ideology that has been implanted in the public. These images definitely create a negative view of Emmanuel Goldstein and other State enemies. In addition, the graphics presented and the terrible sound of the short film can also make the atmosphere more heat up.

Both of these explanations show how the government can influence public opinion through the mass media. With the existence of *the Two Minute Hate* program every week, it makes the members of the outer party always remember the country's

criminals, especially Emmanuel Goldstein. Visual and Audiovisual of the short film take parts to heat the atmosphere. The messages he conveyed were also very provocative and contradicted with the ideology that had been implanted by the government to the public. The atmosphere is arranged in such a way, so that increase the emotions of the audience.

Those evidences show that one of the salient issues planted by the government through mass media is by creating the common enemy. The tactic of creation of the common enemy has been used by political leaders for a long time. Based on the research of Murray and Meyers (1999), a country "needs" a common enemy. This method is used as an approach of social control, emphasizes the values of the dominant system, and maintains the ideology that has been instilled in public opinion.

As a tool of hegemony, the existence of a common enemy can direct people's attention and channel their energy and aggression against the common enemy. In the novel *1984*, Big Brother, as a ruler, used the concept of common enemy as a way to influence public opinion. The creation of the figure of Emmanuel Goldstein and *the Two Minutes Hate* program made the Eurasian people unite their aggression and energy against common enemies. It also fostered a sense of their nationalism on the assumption that the only figure who could save them from their common enemy was Big Brother. Thus, it can be said that through the existence of *Two Minutes Hate* program is one of the ways the government influence public's opinion in the novel *1984* is by the creation of common enemy.

**c) Political Bias**

The last way that the government takes to influence public opinion is by using political bias in the topics that are broadcasted in the news. In the novel, there are two salient issues that show political bias. The first salient issue that shows political bias is the increasing of community welfare. In the novel, announcements regarding increased food production, health and technology were announced via the telescreen. The following are the data.

*“Comrades!” cried an eager youthful voice. “Attention, comrades! We have glorious news for you. We have won the battle for production! Returns now completed of the output of all classes of consumption goods show that the standard of living has risen by no less than 20 per cent over the past year.” (p. 74)*

*The fabulous statistics continued to pour out of the telescreen. As compared with last year there was more food, more clothes, more houses, more furniture, more cooking-pots, more fuel, more ships, more helicopters, more books, more babies—more of everything except disease, crime, and insanity. Year by year and minute by minute, everybody and everything was whizzing rapidly upwards. (p. 75)*

The data presented above is an announcement from the telescreen. This announcement is discussed the improvement of many things in the country. In the first data, the announcer announced that the country has won the consumption battle and is rising to the standard of living. While the other data also discusses the same theme, that is the increase in statistics in several aspects. The announcer explained that this year is an increase in food, clothing, homes, technology, birth rates, and the increase in other positive things. The data also explains that the increase continues to increase.

From the aspect of visibility, news about the increase in living standards is often broadcasted. Based on the data, the sentence *“Year by year and minute by*

*minute, everybody and everything was whizzing rapidly upwards*”, shows that news about the statistical increase is often broadcasted. The news about the increase in the level of community welfare makes them feel happy. In other words, positive news such as an increase in people's welfare can make the public lulled and feel like everything is adequate.

In the aspect of valence, the component that can be reviewed is how the broadcasters declare the content of the news. From the first data, it can be seen that the announcer announced the news with a voice of emotion and excitement. The announcer's tone of voice signifies happiness. This is in accordance with the topics reported, that is the increase in the welfare of the community. The way broadcasters announce the news can make the public are convinced with what is reported, so that that the public easily feels satisfied with the government's performance.

From both perspectives, it can be examined that improving welfare is one of the issues of mass media salient which can influence public's opinion about their own welfare (McCombs and Shaw 1972). From the visibility, there are several reports regarding the increase in the statistics of public welfare. Meanwhile, from the aspect of valence, the news coverage by news announcers sounds very positive and optimistic. Thus, as it is considered as the salient issue, people's opinions and interests regarding their level of social welfare are formed.

The salient issue after the improvement of people's welfare in the novel *1984* is Oceania's victory over other countries. In the novel, Oceania always battled against



their enemy. Their enemy is another state. In reporting the war progression, they use telescreen as their media. The data presented below are some reports of warfare broadcast via telescreen.

*“Attention! Your attention, please! A newsflash has this moment arrived from the Malabar front. Our forces in South India have won a glorious victory. I am authorized to say that the action we are now reporting may well bring the war within measurable distance of its end. Here is the newsflash—” (p.33)*

*“Attention! Your attention, please! A newsflash has this moment arrived from the Malabar front. Our forces in South India have won a glorious victory...” The trumpet-call had let loose an enormous volume of noise. Already an excited voice was gabbling from the telescreen, but even as it started it was almost drowned by a roar of cheering from outside. The news had run round the streets like magic. (p. 374)*

The two data above discuss the preaching of Oceania's victory over its enemy, which is India, which is part of Eurasia. In the first data, the report is reported via telescreen. In the novel, it is explained that the report sounds raspy and harsh. After the news of the victory, the broadcaster explains the portrayal of the violent collapse of the Eurasian forces, as well as the mention of very large numbers of deaths and captives.

The other data also explains Oceania's victory over South India on the Malabar front. In contrast to the data of the announcement of the first victory, this announcement begins with a loud trumpet as the sign of victory. The announcer's voice from the telescreen sounded very enthusiastic and excited. Besides, the announcer also reported on the dramatic and fascinating events of the Oceania forces and how Indian forces were defeated.

In the aspect of visibility from the data above, it can be seen that updates about war are always broadcast on the telescreen. Keep in mind that Oceania is always at war with any country. The atmosphere of the war always exists in the country of Oceania. News about the development of the war is also always updated. The existence of ongoing news about the development of war between countries makes the public have a spirit of patriotism. That spirit is very beneficial for Big Brother because it means the public is willing to defend and sacrifice themselves for Oceania.

The valence aspect of the data component that can be investigated is how the announcer broadcasts the news of victory and the topics discussed in the news coverage. In the two data above, there are differences regarding the way news about the development of war. The first data shows that the announcer broadcasts the news in a harsh manner while the announcer on the other data broadcasts the news of victory with enthusiasm and cheerfulness. The news has a different impact, indeed. Coverage in the first data tends not to provoke audience reaction, while the other data coverage can provoke audience reaction because of the way the announcer broadcast the news with the sense of cheerful and lively. The data also presented the number of casualties from enemy forces and the great strategy of the Oceania forces in defeating them. It can make the public feel amazed at the soldiers and recognize the greatness of the Oceania defense system.

From the explanations regarding the visibility and valence aspects of the object, it can be concluded that the news regarding the victory of Oceania forces over

the enemy considered as salient issue. As formulated by McCombs and Shaw (1972), salient issues are issues that are considered important to the public so that they can influence their opinions about related objects.

The two types of news above show that one of the ways the government influences public opinion is by means of political bias. In various studies, it has been stated that political media allows mass media to side with certain political figures. According to Toggler (1998) in Klepka (2019), it is explained that intended political bias involves presenting political phenomena in such a way as to favor the selected side of a political party or supporters of a particular ideology while also negatively evaluating the opposite party, or omitting information about its existence altogether.

With the news about the increase in people's living standards in the novel, it shows that the mass media leads society to sympathize with the government. The increase in food production, health and technology shows that the government has worked hard for the welfare of its society. Thus, the society will feel that everything is well fulfilled and their trust in the government will increase. Besides that, the issue of the victory of the state against the enemy in war will also build people's trust in the government, and make them constantly immersed in the euphoria of victory. The two salient issues take sides and show the positive side of the government so that it can be said that one of the ways the government does to influence public opinion is by applying political bias.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

#### A. Conclusion

This study is carried out to analyze the aspects of Winston Smith which influenced by the mass media and how the mass media influence public opinion in George Orwell's *1984*. The novel tells about life in the dystopian world where the government has full control over the mass media with Winston Smith as the main character. In analyzing the aspects of the Winston Smith that influenced by the mass media, the researcher uses the concept of micro media effects by James Potter (2012). The results show that there are five aspects of Winston Smith that influenced by the mass media. Those are affection, belief, behavior, cognition, and physiology.

The changes in the five aspects of Winston Smith occur when he looks at the telescreen and read the newspaper. In the available data, Winston's behavior changes when he is looking at the telescreen. When viewing the telescreen, Winston changes his facial expression to an optimistic expression, the reason being that the telescreen's function can record its audience. Another aspect of behavior occurs when Winston follows *the Two Minutes Hate* Program. When following *the Two Minute Hate* program, he stamps his feet while listening to an oration by the enemy of the state named Goldstein on the telescreen. The other three aspects also occur when Winston sees Goldstein in the telescreen during *the Two Minute Hate* program. The affection

of Winston is influenced when he experiences emotional distress when Goldstein's face is appearing on the telescreen. Winston's belief is also affected when he sees the broadcast during *the Two Minute Hate* Program, and his animosity towards Big Brother turned into a belief in his power. Winston's physiology is influenced when he sees the face of Goldstein in the telescreen during *the Two Minute Hate* program. Besides, he also experiences a physiological reaction when he finds a newspaper that contained images of one of the country's enemies named Rutherford. The last, Winston's cognition is affected by the mass media when he experiences a struggle with his existing knowledge and the reality presented in the mass media.

In analyzing the formation of public opinion in the 1984 novel, the researcher uses the first-level of agenda setting by Shaw and McCombs (1972). In the first-level agenda setting, the primary method used to influence public opinion through the mass media is to give exposure to specific issues. The issues that are considered relevant by the public are called salient issues. According to the analysis, there are some salient issues that presented by the mass media to influence the public's opinion. Those are government surveillance towards the public, the crime of the government enemies, the increasing of community welfare, and the victory of government over the enemy.

These issues have absolute visibility and valence which have been regulated by the government in order to influence public opinion. From those salient issues, it can be concluded that there are three ways of how the government influences public

opinion. The first is by the government surveillance towards the public, the second is by the creation of common enemy and the last is by presenting political bias.

## **B. Suggestion**

This study focuses on the aspects of Winston Smith which influenced by the mass media and how it is influencing the public opinion by implementing the first layer of agenda setting. However, George Orwell's *1984* have many interesting topics besides the aspect of mass media in the novel, for instance, the ideological aspect, psychological aspect, and linguistic aspect. Thus, in conducting this research, the researcher hopes this study can be additional references for future study and as a piece of knowledge to understand the power of mass media in society.

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## CURRICULUM VITAE



Fatimah Ma'shumah was born in Pekalongan on April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1997. She graduated from SMA Al-Ma'hadul Islami Beji in 2015. During her high school years, she participated in several academic competitions including English Olympiad. After graduated from high school, she did not directly apply to college. However, she volunteered as a staff in a local kindergarten for 10 months. Fatimah started her higher education in 2016 at English Literature Department in UIN Malang. Along with her study at university, she had actively joined OASIS Malang, an organization that engaged in social and religious fields. She also wrote several literary works in the form of short stories and poems that were part of the poetry anthology entitled *Rumpang* and the short story anthology entitled *Kisah Tak Bertuan*.