

**THE MECHANISM OF TOTALITARIAN POWER IN GEORGE
ORWELL'S NOVEL *1984*: A LEFORTIAN READING**

THESIS

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM
MALANG
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THESIS

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MALANG
2026**

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis I wrote to fulfil the requirement for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.) entitled “**The Mechanism of Totalitarian Power in George Orwell’s Novel 1984: A Lefortian Reading**” is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by other people, except those indicated in quotation and bibliography. As the only person responsible for this thesis, I will address any objections or claims from others.

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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 proudly dedicated to my beloved parents, Ngatmian and Roihatin, for their endless prayers, strength, and support.

To my advisor, Hafidhun Annas, M.Hum., whose guidance has been a beacon of light throughout my academic journey.

To my beloved friends who accompanied and encouraged me during the difficult times of writing this thesis, thank you.

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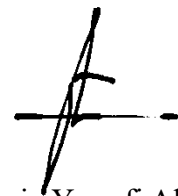
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Alhamdulillahirabbil'alamin, all praises to Allah SWT for His grace in enabling the completion of this thesis, and peace be upon Prophet Muhammad SAW. With utmost humility, the researcher expresses the deepest gratitude to those who have provided invaluable support and guidance

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The researcher realizes that this thesis is still far from perfect. Therefore, any constructive criticism and suggestions are highly expected. Hopefully, this study will be beneficial for the readers and the future development of linguistic studies.

Malang, 18 June 2026



Millinnio Yuwafi Alfinnuri

ABSTRACT

Alfinnuri, Milinnio Yuwafi (2026) *The Mechanism of Totalitarian Power in George Orwell's Novel 1984: A Lefortian Reading* Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, Hafidhun Annas, M.Hum.

Keywords: *1984, George Orwell, Claude Lefort, totalitarianism, ideology, plurality, total organization of society*

This study analyzes the representation of totalitarian power in George Orwell's *1984* through the perspective of Claude Lefort's totalitarianism. The research focuses on the mechanism of totalitarian power, through five mechanisms, namely ideology as a discourse of power, the total organization of society, the elimination of plurality, society reduced to a single unit, and the unification of power, law, and knowledge. Previous research has generally examined *1984* as a critique of authoritarianism and political repression, while discussions of the symbolic dimension of power as a mechanism that integrates the state, ideology, and society are still limited. Claude Lefort's perspective is used to explain the way totalitarianism works through social structures and the production of meaning. This research uses a literary criticism. The data source is in the form of George Orwell's *1984*. Data was collected through reading and recording techniques, then analyzed using thematic analysis through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawn. The results of the study show that ideology is used to control the truth and thought of the people, social organization takes place in total through thorough supervision, plurality is eliminated through the uniformity and suppression of opposition, society is reduced to a single unit under the Party, and power, law, and knowledge are merged into a single authority. These findings suggest that the *1984* represents totalitarianism as a system that abolishes plurality and places the whole of social life under the absolute rule of the Party.

ABSTRAK

Alfinnuri, Milinnio Yuwafi (2026) *Mekanisme Kekuasaan Totaliter dalam Novel 1984 Karya George Orwell: Sebuah Pembacaan Lefortian* Skripsi. Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Hafidhun Annas, M.Hum.

Keywords: 1984, George Orwell, Claude Lefort, totalitarianisme, ideologi, pluralitas, organisasi total masyarakat

Penelitian ini menganalisis representasi kekuasaan totaliter dalam novel *1984* karya George Orwell melalui perspektif totalitarianisme Claude Lefort. Penelitian berfokus pada mekanisme kekuasaan totaliter, melalui lima mekanisme yaitu ideologi sebagai wacana kekuasaan, Organisasi total masyarakat, penghapusan pluralitas, masyarakat direduksi menjadi satu kesatuan, serta penyatuan kekuasaan, hukum, dan pengetahuan. Penelitian terdahulu umumnya mengkaji *1984* sebagai kritik terhadap otoritarianisme dan represi politik, sedangkan pembahasan mengenai dimensi simbolik kekuasaan sebagai mekanisme yang mengintegrasikan negara, ideologi, dan masyarakat masih terbatas. Perspektif Claude Lefort digunakan untuk menjelaskan cara totalitarianisme bekerja melalui struktur sosial dan produksi makna. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kritik sastra. Sumber data berupa novel *1984* karya George Orwell. Data dikumpulkan melalui teknik membaca dan mencatat, kemudian dianalisis menggunakan analisis tematik melalui tahapan reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ideologi digunakan untuk mengendalikan kebenaran dan pemikiran masyarakat, organisasi sosial berlangsung secara total melalui pengawasan yang menyeluruh, pluralitas dihapus melalui penyeragaman dan penindasan oposisi, masyarakat direduksi menjadi satu kesatuan di bawah Partai, serta kekuasaan, hukum, dan pengetahuan dilebur dalam satu otoritas tunggal. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa novel *1984* merepresentasikan totalitarianisme sebagai sistem yang menghapus pluralitas dan menempatkan seluruh kehidupan sosial di bawah kekuasaan absolut Partai.

مستخلص البحث

ألفينوري، ميلينيو يووافي(٢٠٢٦) آلية السلطة الشمولية في رواية 1984 لجورج أورويل: قراءة ليفورتية. رسالة جامعية. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانغ. المشرفة: حافظ الناس ، الماجستير.

الكلمات المفتاحية: 1984، جورج أورويل، كلود ليفور، الشمولية، الأيديولوجيا، التعددية، التنظيم الكامل للمجتمع.

تحلل هذه الدراسة تمثيل السلطة الشمولية في رواية جورج أورويل عام 1984 من منظور الشمولية لكلود ليفور. يركز البحث على آلية السلطة الشمولية، من خلال خمسة آليات، وهي الأيديولوجيا كخطاب للسلطة، التنظيم الكلي للمجتمع، القضاء على التعددية، تقليص المجتمع إلى وحدة واحدة، وتوحيد السلطة والقانون والمعرفة. بحثت الأبحاث السابقة عموماً في عام 1984 كنقد للسلطوية والقمع السياسي، بينما لا تزال مناقشات البعد الرمزي للسلطة كآلية تدمج الدولة والأيديولوجيا والمجتمع محدودة. يستخدم منظور كلود ليفور لشرح الطريقة التي تعمل بها الشمولية من خلال الهياكل الاجتماعية وإنتاج المعنى. يستخدم هذا البحث منهجية نوعية. مصدر البيانات هو رواية جورج أورويل لعام 1984. تم جمع البيانات من خلال تقنيات القراءة والتسجيل، ثم تم تحليلها باستخدام التحليل الموضوعي عبر مراحل تقليل البيانات، وعرض البيانات، واستخلاص الاستنتاج. تظهر نتائج الدراسة أن الأيديولوجيا تستخدم للسيطرة على حقيقة وفكر الشعب، وأن التنظيم الاجتماعي يحدث بالكامل من خلال الإشراف الشامل، وتلاشى التعددية من خلال التوحيد وقمع المعارضة، ويختزل المجتمع إلى وحدة واحدة تحت الحزب، وتندمج السلطة والقانون والمعرفة في سلطة واحدة. تشير هذه النتائج إلى أن رواية 1984 تمثل الشمولية كنظام يلغي التعددية ويضع الحياة الاجتماعية كلها تحت الحكم المطلق للحزب.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the background of the study, problems of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation, and definition of key terms.

A. Background of the Study

The phenomenon of totalitarian power did not stop as part of the political history of the twentieth century, but rather continued to present itself in new, more subtle and symbolic forms in modern life. Control over information, the establishment of a single truth, and the normalization of supervision are becoming increasingly familiar practices in contemporary social spaces (Wahyuningsih et al., 2022). Power does not always appear as open repression, but often works through language, symbols, and the regulation of individual ways of thinking. This condition shows that domination can take place without visible physical coercion. This kind of social reality opens up space for critical reflection on how power shapes subjects and society. Literature, as a medium of social representation, has the capacity to capture and criticize the mechanisms of power in depth (Arnason, 2023). Novels *1984* George Orwell's work is one of the most powerful works in depicting the situation through an extreme but relevant dystopian world.

In *1984*, power is portrayed as being present comprehensively through a social system that negates private space and individual freedom. The state not only controls the actions of citizens, but also produces ways of thinking, speaking, and understanding reality. The structure of Oceanian society shows that power works through constant surveillance, historical manipulation, as well

as the formation of language that limits the possibilities of meaning. Individuals no longer have a critical distance from power because the whole of social life has been under the control of the Party (Devlin, 2023). This condition places power as a single reality that cannot be questioned. Power is not positioned as an external entity, but rather as part of the daily life of society. This representation makes *1984* as a rich literary text to be analyzed in the framework of power relations.

Totalitarianism can be understood as a form of power that not only controls the state, but also absorbs the entire social body into one closed system of meaning. Within this framework, power negates differences, opposition, and plurality by uniting the state and society into a single collective identity. Power no longer needs external legitimacy because it has become the truth itself. This process takes place through symbols, language, and representations that make up the total social reality (Zuberi & Susewind, 2024). This kind of understanding allows for a reading of power as a symbolic mechanism, rather than just as an institutional structure. Such an approach is relevant to reading the world *1984* which displays power as a comprehensive and absolute system. Thus, this novel can be understood as a representation of totalitarianism in its most extreme form.

Several previous studies have discussed George Orwell's *1984*. Afifa Rahman, in *Mechanics of Manipulation: A Comparative Analysis of Orwell's 1984 and Chomsky's Propaganda Model*, examined the relationship between media and power in *1984* using Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model. The study found that the Party utilized media, propaganda, *Newspeak*, and *Thought*

Police as instruments to manipulate reality and shape public opinion in order to maintain its domination (Rahman, 2025).

Second, Aman Aslam et al., in *Language as Biopolitical Technology: An Analysis of 1984 through Foucault and Agamben's Theories*, examined how language functions as a mechanism of political control within the totalitarian regime of Oceania. The study found that Newspeak, social surveillance, and language manipulation were employed by the Party to discipline individuals, restrict consciousness, and eliminate political life through systematic control over thought and expression (Aslam et al., 2025).

Third, Gol Man Gurung, in *George Orwell and Totalitarianism: A Master of Political and Social Commentary*, examined Orwell's critique of totalitarianism through *1984* and *Animal Farm* by employing literary, historical, and comparative analysis. The study found that Orwell portrayed totalitarian systems through surveillance, propaganda, Newspeak, doublethink, and thought control as mechanisms used to suppress individual freedom and maintain absolute power (Gurung, 2024).

Fourth, Jithin Kumar P., in *Reshaping of the Past and Present; A Dystopian Discourse on George Orwell's 1984*, examined the representation of dystopian discourse in George Orwell's *1984* with a focus on the manipulation of the past and present under a totalitarian regime. The study aimed to analyze how the reconstruction of history functions as a mechanism of social control to preserve political domination. The findings revealed that the ruling power shaped social reality through the alteration of historical records, the erasure of

collective memory, and information control, causing individuals to lose the ability to distinguish truth from constructed reality (Kumar, 2023).

Fifth, Noor Ahmad Hameed, in *Totalitarianism in George Orwell's 1984*, examined the representation of totalitarianism in George Orwell's *1984* by focusing on the mechanisms used to maintain absolute power. The study aimed to analyze how totalitarian systems operate through surveillance, propaganda, information control, and the domination of individual life. The findings revealed that Orwell portrayed totalitarianism through the Party's extensive control over society, particularly through Big Brother, mass surveillance, and manipulation of reality as instruments to suppress freedom and sustain political authority (Hameed, 2022).

Sixth, Ufuk Özen Baykent, in *Totalitarianism and Individualism Unveiled: Hobbes and Orwell*, examined the portrayal of totalitarianism in George Orwell's *1984* through a philosophical comparison with Thomas Hobbes' political thought. The study aimed to analyze Orwell's criticism of totalitarianism and Hobbes' argument regarding the necessity of strong authority in maintaining social order. The findings revealed that Orwell portrayed totalitarianism through surveillance, Newspeak, and ideological control that suppress individual freedom, while emphasizing individualism as a defense against oppressive power (Baykent, 2023).

Seventh, Rashmi S. Patil, in *Surveillance and Control in George Orwell's 1984: A Critical Insight*, examined the themes of surveillance and control in George Orwell's *1984* by focusing on the mechanisms employed by the Party to maintain authority. The study aimed to analyze how telescreens, Thought Police,

Newspeak, and propaganda function as instruments of social control within Oceania. The findings revealed that Orwell portrayed surveillance as a tool that eliminates privacy, suppresses individuality, and manipulates human thought, while also highlighting its relevance to contemporary issues related to mass surveillance and information control (Patil, 2025).

Eighth, Azhar Kadhim Sabr and Ahmed Karyosh Jubair, in *The Perspective of Dystopian Society based on George Orwell's 1984*, examined the portrayal of dystopian society in George Orwell's *1984* from a social perspective. The study aimed to analyze how dystopian elements such as surveillance, propaganda, totalitarian control, and the suppression of individuality construct the social structure of Oceania. The findings revealed that Orwell portrayed a dystopian society through continuous surveillance, manipulation of truth, and absolute political control that deprive individuals of freedom and autonomy (Sabr & Jubair, 2024).

Ninth, Muhammad Shadab Ilyas, in *Doublethink and Manipulation: Psychological Tyranny in Orwell's 1984*, examined the mechanisms of psychological manipulation in George Orwell's *1984* by focusing on *doublethink* and totalitarian control. The study aimed to analyze how Big Brother employed *doublethink*, *Newspeak*, *telescreens*, and surveillance as instruments to shape belief systems and manipulate individual consciousness. The findings revealed that psychological control in *1984* operated through systematic persuasion and ideological domination, leading individuals to accept contradictory realities and sacrifice personal autonomy for collective obedience (Ilyas, 2024).

Tenth, Beatriz Valverde and Ana Valverde González, in *Reality as a Palimpsest: Information Disorder Practices in George Orwell's 1984 and The Loudest Voice*, examined information manipulation practices in George Orwell's *1984* through the perspective of mass communication theories and Baudrillard's concept of simulacra. The study aimed to analyze how the distortion of information and manipulation of historical narratives function as mechanisms of thought control. The findings revealed that the Party maintained power by controlling language, memory, and information dissemination, creating distorted realities that shaped public perception and restricted independent thinking (Valverde & Gonzalez, 2022).

These studies share a common perspective in viewing *1984* as a representation of a totalitarian system maintained through surveillance, propaganda, language, ideology, and various mechanisms of social control. Most previous studies also position power as a repressive instrument operating through state domination and social structures. Discussions regarding the mechanism of totalitarian power that operates comprehensively from the level of ideology to the broader social body remain limited. As a result, the relationship between power, ideology, and social integration within the totalitarian system represented in *1984* has not been fully explored.

These limitations indicate a research gap in literary studies of *1984*. Existing approaches tend to explain how power operates through surveillance, repression, and institutional control, but provide limited discussion regarding the mechanism of totalitarian power as a process through which ideology spreads and becomes internalized throughout the social body. This study is conducted to

examine the mechanism of totalitarian power in *1984* through the perspective of Claude Lefort. Lefort's perspective enables an analysis of how power operates through the elimination of social differentiation and the fusion of the state with society. This perspective helps explain that totalitarian power functions not merely as an instrument of repression, but also as a mechanism that integrates the state, ideology, and society into a unified structure.

B. Problem of the Study

How does the mechanism of totalitarian power operate in George Orwell's *1984* through Claude Lefort's perspective?

C. Significance of the Study

This study is expected to provide theoretical and practical contributions to literary studies, particularly in discussions concerning power relations and totalitarianism in literary works.

Theoretically, this study is expected to enrich political literary studies by providing a broader understanding of the mechanism of totalitarian power represented in George Orwell's *1984*. This study also contributes to the application of Claude Lefort's perspective in literary analysis, particularly in understanding power not merely as an instrument of repression but as a mechanism that eliminates social differentiation and integrates the state with society. The findings are expected to expand discussions regarding the relationship between ideology, power, and the social body within literary texts.

Practically, this study is expected to serve as a reference for students, researchers, and readers interested in literary studies, political criticism, and theories of power. This study may also provide an alternative perspective for

understanding how totalitarian power operates not only through visible forms of control but also through mechanisms embedded within broader social structures.

D. Scope and Limitation

This research focuses on analyzing the representation of the elimination of social differentiation and the fusion of state and society in George Orwell's *1984* through Claude Lefort's perspective. The analysis is limited to the novel as the primary data source, particularly its representation of social structure, power relations, and language and meaning as mechanisms of totalitarian power. Accordingly, this study does not examine psychological aspects of the characters, the historical context of the novel, film adaptations, or theoretical perspectives beyond Claude Lefort's framework.

E. Definition of Key Terms

The researcher aim to explain and provide clear definitions of key terms, hoping to prevent problems from occurring in the event of misunderstandings and improper interpretation of research findings.

1. Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism is a form of political power that seeks to control all aspects of people's lives through the integration of the state, social structure, and the production of meaning so that there is no room for opposition or difference (Lefort, 1986).

2. Ideology as a Discourse of Power

Ideology as a discourse of power refers to the way ideology functions not merely as a system of beliefs but as a mechanism through which power shapes meaning, regulates thought, and legitimizes authority

within society. In this study, ideology is understood as an instrument that enables totalitarian power to penetrate social consciousness and sustain domination (Lefort, 1986).

3. Total Organization of Society

Total organization of society refers to a condition in which all aspects of social life are regulated and organized under a centralized structure of power. This concept explains how totalitarian systems seek to control not only political institutions but also social relations, behaviors, and everyday life (Lefort, 1986).

4. Elimination of Plurality

Elimination of plurality refers to the suppression of differences, diversity, and autonomous social spaces within society. In totalitarian systems, plurality is reduced because social distinctions and independent identities are considered threats to unified authority (Lefort, 1986).

5. People as one

People as One refers to the construction of society as a unified and homogeneous collective identity under totalitarian power. This concept explains how social differences, individual identities, and plurality are absorbed into a single social body that represents the collective will. In totalitarian systems, society is positioned as an indivisible unity in which distinctions between individuals and groups gradually disappear (Lefort, 1986).

6. Unification of Power, Law, and Knowledge

Unification of power, law, and knowledge refers to the condition in which authority controls legal structures and systems of knowledge simultaneously. This mechanism allows totalitarian power to define truth, regulate norms, and establish a dominant social order (Lefort, 1986).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW ON RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter explains the theories used in the research, namely the sociology of literature and the concept of totalitarianism according to Claude Lefort. These two theories are the basis for analyzing the selected novels. Literary sociology is used to understand the relationship between literary works and social reality, while the concept of totalitarianism is used to examine the representation of power and control in novels. Through these two theories, research is expected to be able to understand the phenomena shown in the novel in more depth.

A. Literary Sociology

Sociology of Literature studies the relationship between literature and the social life of the community that is the background for the birth of a work. This approach views literature as part of social activities related to culture, values, ideologies, and the dynamics of human life. The author structures social experiences into textual form through the events, conflicts, and social relationships that develop in society. Social life in literature is related to the condition of society at a certain time and social changes that affect human life. The study of literary sociology not only discusses the content of the text, but also the relationship between the author, society, and the social conditions behind the creation of the work (Aris & Parancika, 2022).

The relationship between literature and society takes place through social processes that influence the formation of a work. The author gains experience, outlook on life, and social understanding from the community environment in which the author lives. Social conditions in a given period often affect the

themes, conflicts, and problems discussed in literary works. Cultural changes, social inequality, and political developments can be part of the problems that the author includes in the literary text. People's lives influence the way the author understands social reality and arranges it into a story (Fajriani et al., 2024).

Literature represents social reality through the arrangement of events and social relationships in the text. People's life in literature contains norms, habits, social values, and patterns of interaction that develop in a certain environment. The author weaves social realities into stories through conflicts, social rules, and relationships between individuals within society. Differences in social status often affect the pattern of relationships between groups and individual actions in social life. Social issues in literature develop through the relationships between individuals, society, and the social environment that shape human life (Asseldonk, 2025).

Social structure in literature is related to the existence of a system that regulates people's lives in the text. The social system determines the position of individuals and forms relationships between different social groups. Differences in social status give birth to unequal distribution of power, access to information, and freedom in people's lives. Social life in literature is also concerned with rules and hierarchies that limit the actions of individuals in a particular environment. The author uses social structures to build a picture of the society contained in the story (Simbolon et al., 2024).

Power relations in social life are related to the ability of certain groups to regulate the actions of society. Power does not always arise through formal institutions or figures who hold certain political positions. Social norms, societal

habits, and rules of daily life can also control individual behavior in a social environment. People obey the rules because the social environment forms obedience as part of daily life. The relationship between power and social life is an important part of the discussion of literary sociology (Sa'diyah et al., 2023).

Social control in people's lives takes place through supervision, behavioral restrictions, and adjustment of individual actions to social rules. The social system directs society to adhere to the norms and values that apply in a particular environment. The social environment also determines actions that are considered right, deviant, or harmful to the order of society. Social pressure can limit individual freedom through the rules applied in daily life. Social life filled with control and supervision often appears in literary works that deal with issues of power and social domination (Ulinsa et al., 2023).

Literature also functions as a medium of social criticism of problems that develop in people's lives. The author uses literary works to convey criticism of social inequality, domination of power, and restrictions on individual freedom. Social criticism in literature emerges through the arrangement of conflicts, depictions of social systems, and the relationship between society and power. Social problems that develop in literary works are related to the condition of society at a certain time. The relationship between literature and social criticism makes literary works often used to discuss the problems of human life more broadly (Sutiyoso et al., 2022).

B. Totalitarianism in George Orwell's *1984*

Totalitarianism in the *1984* novel can be understood as a form of political power that seeks to achieve complete domination over society. (Orwell G. ,

1949) described that totalitarian regimes maintain their power through surveillance, propaganda, historical manipulation, and control over language and knowledge. In that context, truth is no longer objective, but determined by the ruler. The party has the authority to change historical facts and force society to accept a reconstructed version of reality. Through the character of Winston Smith, Orwell shows the impact of totalitarianism on the individual, namely the loss of freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and personal autonomy. Therefore, this novel is often seen as a critique of a political system that centralizes power to the extreme and ignores basic human rights in order to maintain state control over society.

Dystopian literature discusses the life of people who are under a social system with strict supervision and control. Rulers in dystopian societies regulate individual behavior through rules that limit freedom of thought and action. The social system in dystopian literature places obedience as a major part of people's lives. Supervision of the community takes place through behavior control, information restrictions, and regulation of daily life activities. Social life in a dystopian society is related to the dominance of power over various aspects of human life (Ermasari & Mataram, 2024).

George Orwell's novel *1984* discusses the life of a society under Party control through surveillance, manipulation of information, and restrictions on individual freedom. The party controls people's lives through social rules that remove private space and limit people's freedom of thought. The social system in the novel monitors people's behavior using technology, propaganda, and information control continuously. The use of language and historical

manipulation in the novel is related to the efforts of the rulers to control people's understanding of social reality. The structure of society in the *1984* novel is related to the relationship of power, social control, and people's life in a dystopian system (Urbach & Tsuroyya, 2021).

C. Totalitarianism in Claude Lefort's Framework of Thought

Claude Lefort conceptualizes totalitarianism as a political system that extends beyond institutional domination and penetrates the symbolic, social, and ideological dimensions of collective life. Rather than understanding totalitarianism merely as authoritarian rule, Lefort explains it as a mechanism through which power seeks to eliminate social divisions and establish an integrated social order under a single center of authority (Lefort, 1986). Based on these concepts, the present study maps the operation of totalitarian power into five analytical elements: ideology as a discourse of power, total organization of society, elimination of plurality, People as One, and the unification of power, law, and knowledge.

1. Ideology as a Discourse of Power

The elimination of social differentiation does not only take place at the level of political institutions, but also reaches the symbolic life of society. The way society understands social reality and interprets life together takes place within the framework of meaning organized by power (Abers et al., 2021). Social meaning does not develop through an open exchange of interpretations, but through state-centered symbolic fixation. Lefort views totalitarian ideology as part of social imaginary which serves to cover the existence of social conflicts

and the historicity of modern society. Symbolic life then moves within the boundaries defined by totalitarian power structures (Lefort, 1986).

Symbolic space becomes an important part of the organization of totalitarian power because the production of social meaning no longer moves plurally. Symbolic space is the area where people produce and exchange meanings about social reality (Irsyadi & Dzulqarnain, 2023). Language not only serves as a means of communication, but also forms the social understanding horizon of society (Hoffmann, 2024). When language, symbols, and social representation move within the same framework as political structures, society no longer has a symbolic space separate from power. Lefort views the process as part of totalitarianism's attempt to build a homogeneous social unity through the control of collective meaning (Lefort, 1986).

The mechanism subsequently operates through ideology functioning as a discourse of power. Ideological activity within totalitarian systems establishes foundations of truth, knowledge, and social purpose within a fixed framework of meaning (Lefort, 1986). Through this process, power organizes social life through centralized structures while reducing space for differences, opposition, and autonomous social spheres. Lefort explains that totalitarianism rejects internal social divisions and replaces them with distinctions between society and external enemies (Lefort, 1986).

2. Total Organization of Society

In a totalitarian system, the state no longer stands as an institution separate from social society. The state blends with people's lives and claims full representation of the collective will of society (Devlin, 2023). Political life then

does not move through an open mechanism of representation, but through a total identification between the state and society. All social practices move in the same logic as the logic of power (Zuberi & Susewind, 2024). Lefort views the merger as an attempt to erase the separation between the state, law, civil society, and other social spaces that previously remained separate in modern democracies (Lefort, 1986).

The fusion between the state and society fundamentally changes the structure of social life. The separation between the political and social spheres, between the public and private spheres, and between the state and the individual is no longer maintained in a totalitarian system (Akbar et al., 2025). The entire realm of life then moves in one centralized order. Lefort attributes this condition to the formation of the imagination of society as a single, intact and undivided social body (Lefort, 1986). Power then not only regulates formal institutions, but also shapes social relations, collective experiences, and the way society understands itself.

3. Elimination of Plurality

The social unity built by the totalitarian state places conflict as a threat to collective life. Differences of views and interests no longer gain a place as a legitimate part of political life when the state claims the total unity of society (Taylor, 2025). Conflict is then positioned as a disturbance to the social order that must be eliminated. Lefort views totalitarianism as an attempt to erase social division or the social divisions that are naturally present in democratic societies (Lefort, 1986). Social life is directed towards uniformity of values orientation, political identity, and collective goals. The social structure then no longer

provides a space that allows the opposition to appear as a normal part of political life.

The elimination of plurality directs society toward an increasingly homogeneous collective identity in which individual differences are perceived as threats to social unity. The operation of these mechanisms ultimately leads to fusion of state and society, where the boundaries between state and society progressively disappear and power, law, and knowledge become unified within a single structure of authority (Lefort, 1986).

4. Society is Reduced to a Single Unit

Totalitarianism emerged in modern society when power no longer derives legitimacy from transcendent principles that are outside of social life (Ravasio, 2023). These changes create a political space that is open to conflict and uncertainty about who has the right to legally represent society. Lefort views this condition as the main character of modern democracy because power is never fully attached to a particular individual or group (Lefort, 1986). Democracy maintains a distance between the state and society so that differences in interests still have room to appear in political life. Social conflict in these conditions is not understood as a threat to the collective order, but as part of the dynamics of modern society. Totalitarianism then developed as a form of power organization that sought to close the uncertainty through the claim of comprehensive political unity (Traverso, 2017).

Democratic openness to conflict is related to a position of power that is never truly stable. Lefort referred to the position as empty place of power, which is a state when power exists as an empty space that is always open to political

struggle (Lefort, 1986). These conditions allow people to maintain a plurality of views, identities, and social interests in collective life. The distance between power and society allows conflict to appear as part of modern political dynamics (Friedrich & K.Brzezinski, 1965). Totalitarianism moves by closing the space through the union of political power and social life. Power is no longer positioned as a questionable political function, but as a center that claims full representation of society.

Based on a reading of Claude Lefort's concepts of totalitarianism, this study maps the mechanism of totalitarian power as a series of interconnected processes. Totalitarianism begins with the formation of a singular center of authority through the idea of People-as-One, in which society is represented as a homogeneous entity and internal divisions are no longer recognized as inherent to social life. This position allows political authority to function not merely as one element within society but as a representation of collective consciousness that becomes inseparable from society itself (Lefort, 1986).

5. Unification of Power, Law, and Knowledge

Lefort's thinking on totalitarianism posits power as a process that works through the integration of political structures, social life, and the production of symbolic meaning. Totalitarian power not only regulates formal institutions and collective action, but also fundamentally shapes the structure of social relations (Rundell, 2007). Political life, social life, and individual experience then move in a centralized collective order. Lefort views totalitarianism as a form of modern power that seeks to erase the distance between states, societies, and individuals through political and symbolic unification in social life. Collective life in a

system no longer provides an open space for social plurality, political opposition, or conflicts of interest in modern society (Lefort, 1986).

Based on a reading of Claude Lefort's concepts of totalitarianism, this study maps the mechanism of totalitarian power as a series of interconnected processes. Totalitarianism begins with the formation of a singular center of authority through the idea of People-as-One, in which society is represented as a homogeneous entity and internal divisions are no longer recognized as inherent to social life. This position allows political authority to function not merely as one element within society but as a representation of collective consciousness that becomes inseparable from society itself (Lefort, 1986).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter described the research methodology used by the researcher, focusing on exploring the novel as the object of research. This chapter includes research design, data source, data collection techniques, and data analysis.

A. Research Design

This research constitutes literary studies, which is used as an analytical framework. According to (Scholes, 2005). The analysis is carried out through a critical and interpretive reading of the text to uncover the mechanism of totalitarianism in the novel based on Claude Lefort's theory. This theoretical framework is used to identify the five mechanisms of totalitarianism, namely ideology as a discourse of power, the total organization of society, the elimination of plurality, the reduction of society into a single unit, and the unification of power, law, and knowledge. The focus of the research is directed at the way these mechanisms work within narrative structures to shape the relationship between power, the state, and society.

B. Data Sources

Researcher obtained data from various parties that have relevance to the research object (Sulung & Muspawi, 2021). The source of data in this study is George Orwell's *1984* novel which was first published in 1949. The novel consists of a narrative that depicts the life of the people under a totalitarian regime controlled by the Party. The research data is in the form of words, phrases, sentences, dialogues, narratives, and events that represent the

mechanism of totalitarianism in 1984, which is very much in line with the research problems formulated.

C. Data Collection Techniques

Data collection techniques are the means or methods used by researcher to obtain research data, either in the form of facts, information, or information that is relevant to the focus of the research (Nasution, 2023). The data collection techniques in this study include:

1. Reading techniques

The researcher reads repeatedly to find data in the form of quotes related to the mechanism of totalitarian power through social structures and power relations, the elimination of social differentiation and the fusion of state-society in the *1984* novel can be understood through the thought of Claude Lefort. The steps taken by the researcher are:

- a. The researcher reads first to find out the content of the novel.
- b. The researcher read a second time to identify the mechanisms of totalitarian power through social structures and power relations.
- c. The researcher read three times to identify the elimination of social differentiation and the fusion of state-society.

2. Recording techniques

The steps taken by the research in data recording are:

- a. The researcher recorded the data according to the formulation of the problem proposed.
- b. The researcher grouped the data based on the theory used.

D. Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is carried out through three main stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Miles & Huberman, 2013). The data was analyzed by thematic analysis method through the following stages:

1. Data reduction

The researcher eliminated data that were irrelevant to the focus on totalitarian power mechanisms and power relations.

2. Data presentation

The presentation of data is carried out in the form of a narrative or theme category so that it is easy to understand. The researcher compiled the results of the thematic analysis into the form of a descriptive narrative based on the main theme category.

3. Conclusion drawing

Drawing conclusions is the final stage to find patterns, relationships, or meanings that answer the formulation of the research problem.

- a. Identify thematic patterns

Finding similarities, repetitions, and tendencies in the meaning of the themes of the analysis results that are relevant to the focus of the research.

- b. Interpretation of relationships between themes

Interpret the relationship between themes to explain the power relationship and the power mechanism studied.

c. Verification and formulation Conclusion

The researcher verified the findings by rechecking the suitability between the collected data and the source data from George Orwell's *1984*. The findings were further analyzed using Claude Lefort's theory of totalitarianism to examine their consistency with the theoretical framework. After the verification process, conclusions were formulated to answer the research problems based on the findings and theoretical analysis.

CHAPTER IV

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the analytical framework used in the study based on Claude Lefort's perspective on totalitarian power. The framework was formulated by referring to the research aspect determined in this study, namely the mechanism of totalitarian power represented in George Orwell's *1984*. The aspect is elaborated into several study elements that indicate how totalitarian power operates and integrates itself within social life. The following table presents the classification of the study aspect along with the elements that serve as the basis for analysis in this study.

Tabel 4.1 Totalitarian mechanisms in George Orwell's *1984*

Study Aspects	Study Elements
Totalitarian mechanisms	Ideology as a discourse of power Total organization of society Elimination of plurality Society is reduced to a single unit Unification of power, law, and knowledge

Based on the data presented in Table 4.1 above, table 4.1 shows the classification of the research findings into one main study aspect, namely the mechanism of totalitarian power. The aspect is described through several analytical elements consisting of ideology as a discourse of power, total organization of society, elimination of plurality, People as One, and unification of power, law, and knowledge. These elements are used to explain how totalitarian power operates not only through visible forms of repression but also through mechanisms that organize society, shape collective identity, and integrate individuals into a unified social structure.

A. Ideology as a discourse of power

The element of ideology as a discourse of power is used to identify how ideology functions as a mechanism through which totalitarian power constructs beliefs, regulates thought, and maintains authority within society. The analysis focuses on forms of ideological practices represented in *1984* that support the operation of totalitarian power.

Table 4.2 Ideology as a discourse of power

Totalitarian Mechanisms	Indicators in Novel <i>1984</i>
Ideology as a discourse of power	Doctrine Politic Party Slogan Politics the production of truth by the Party

Based on the data presented in Table 4.2 above, table 4.2 shows the indicators used to identify ideology as a discourse of power as one of the study elements under the aspect of totalitarian mechanisms. The indicators consist of the Party's doctrine, political slogans, and the Party's production of truth. These indicators are used to explain how ideology operates as a discourse of power through the construction of beliefs, the regulation of thought, and the establishment of truth within the totalitarian system represented in *1984*.

In order to provide a comprehensive overview of how ideology as a discourse of power operates as one of the elements of study under the aspect of totalitarian mechanisms, an in-depth analysis is presented sequentially based on each of the datums below.

Datum 1:

"The ability to change the past is the core doctrine of Ingsoc. In their argument, past events have no objective existence, only survive in written records and human memory. The past is anything that records and memories agree on. And since the Party is in full control of all the records and thoughts of its members, the past is whatever the Party chooses. One other consequence is that while the past can be changed, it never concerns specifics. For once the past is recreated in whatever form it takes at the time, then the new version IS the past, and no other past can ever exist (p. 277)."

Based on datum 1 in the novel *1984*, the party doctrine in the ideology of *1984*, i.e. Ingsoc (British Socialism), places truth as the result of a construction determined through the mastery of collective records and memory. The rewriting of history is carried out continuously so that all events are always in line with the prevailing ideological claims. Change is not actually understood as a mistake, but rather as an adjustment that must be accepted without questioning consistency. The past has no position as a fixed reality, since its existence depends on what is recorded and remembered according to the will of the Party. Mastery of documents and individual consciousness ensures that there is no source of knowledge beyond the control of power. Truth is generated through institutional mechanisms that govern what can be remembered, recognized, and perceived as real.

Datum 2:

"How many fingers did I lift, Winston?"

'Four.'

'And if the Party says not four but five—then how much?'

'Four.'

The word ended in a sigh of pain. The panel needle darted to the number 55. Sweat flooded all over Winston's body. The air tore into his lungs, then came out again in a deep groan that he couldn't stop, even though he had clenched his teeth. O'Brien looked at her, her four fingers still sticking out. He pulls the lever. This time the pain is only slightly lessened (p.325)"

Based on datum 2 in the novel *1984*. Party doctrine imposes truth through physical and psychological pressure that leads individuals to abandon rational beliefs. The recognition of answers that contradict empirical reality is formed through ever-increasing pain, so that the individual's consciousness no longer functions independently. The interrogation process shows that the truth is not determined by objective facts, but by the will of the Party which must be accepted unconditionally. Sensory perception is forced to submit to authority, so

that individuals experience distortions in understanding reality. The repetition of questions accompanied by torture creates conditions in which individuals are forced to align their thoughts with statements set by power. This structure affirms that Party doctrine works by controlling consciousness to the most basic level, including the perception of something that can be seen directly.

Datum 3:

*"WAR IS PEACE
FREEDOM IS SLAVERY
IGNORANCE IS POWER (p. 12)"*

Based on datum 3 in the novel *1984*. The Party's slogan unites logically contradictory concepts into statements that must be accepted as truth. Language no longer serves to represent reality, but to form meaning according to ideological interests. Contradictions are legalized through sentence formulation that forces individuals to accept two opposing ideas simultaneously. This kind of structure removes the rational boundary between right and wrong, so that judgment no longer relies on logic. The repetition of slogans in public spaces instills a meaning that has been reversed into the consciousness of the individual. Language has become a tool for establishing singular and indisputable truths.

Datum 4:

"If everyone else accepts the lies forced by the Party—if all the records tell the same story—then the lie goes down in history and becomes the truth. 'Whoever controls the past,' is the slogan of the Party, 'controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.' But the past, although its essence can be changed, has never been changed. It's simple. All it takes is an endless barrage of victories over your own memories. 'Controlling reality,' is how they call it: in Newspeak: doublethink (p. 51)."

Based on datum 4 in the novel *1984*. The Party's slogan formulates the relationship between power and truth in the form of a short statement that is easy to memorize and repeat. Expressions about controlling the past and the future

simplify complex concepts into seemingly definite formulas, leaving no room for other interpretations. The language of slogans works with the certainty of meaning that is immediately accepted without a long reasoning process. Repetition in various social spaces reinforces the dominance of the same narrative and forms a uniformity of understanding. The firm sentence structure instills the cause-and-effect relationship of the Party version as something that must be taken for granted.

Datum 5:

"Ministry of Abundance, this is not even a forgery. It's just replacing one with another. Most of the material he works on has nothing to do with anything in the real world, including the kind of connections contained in blatant lies. Statistics are fantasy, both in the original version and in the corrected version. Often you are asked to compose your own data. For example, the Ministry of Abundance estimates that boot production for this quarter is 145 million pairs. The actual production is 62 million. But Winston, when rewriting the estimate, lowered the figure to 57 million, so that they could admit, as usual, that the Ministry's estimate was exceeded. In reality, 62 million is as much a lie as 57 million, or 145 million. It is very likely that there will be no production of boots at all. More likely, no one knows, let alone cares, how much is produced. All they know is that every quarter a colossal quantity of boots is produced, when perhaps half of the population of Oceania is forced to go barefoot (p. 59)."

Based on datum 5 in the novel *1984*. The production of truth is carried out through full control over documents, figures, and the distribution of information so that each version in circulation is always in harmony with the interests of the Party. Changes in content are never recognized as fakes, but are labeled corrections to maintain the impression of objectivity. Statistics are compiled without reference to empirical reality and can be changed as required by the official narrative. The rewriting of the data results in claims of success that are constantly repeated, so that public perception is shaped by the adjusted numbers. The absence of access to the comparator makes there no basis for verifying the veracity, while all available records have been on the same line.

Datum 6:

"In Newspeak, there is no word for 'Science'. The method of empirical thought, which is the basis of all past scientific achievements, is contrary to the most fundamental principles of Ingsoc. Technological advances only occur if the products can be used to reduce human freedom. In all useful art, the world stops in place, or retreats. The fields were cultivated by horse-drawn ploughs, while books were written by machines. But in the most important matters—which essentially mean war and espionage—the empirical approach is still encouraged, or at least tolerated. The Party's two objectives are to conquer the entire surface of the earth and to destroy the possibility of independent thought (p. 254)."

Based on datum 6 in the novel *1984*. The production of truth is carried out through the restriction of language and the elimination of concepts that are not in line with ideology, so that space for independent scientific knowledge is not available. The omission of the term "science" in Newspeak precludes the formation of an understanding based on the empirical method, while technological developments are directed only in the interest of strengthening power. Knowledge does not develop as a search for objective truth, but is selected based on its benefits to social control and political domination. Areas that have the potential to strengthen individual autonomy are suppressed, while those that support surveillance and war are maintained. The direction of the development of knowledge is entirely determined by the interests of the Party so that the definition of truth follows the limits set by power.

Discussion

The findings concerning the Party's production of truth are consistent with previous studies that position language and discourse as central mechanisms of totalitarian domination. Newspeak functions as a linguistic instrument designed to restrict free thought by eliminating concepts associated with dissent and alternative interpretations of reality. Through the systematic

reduction of vocabulary, language no longer serves as a medium for expressing diverse perspectives but becomes a tool for shaping perception and maintaining ideological conformity. This argument supports the present findings that the Party's production of truth extends beyond political propaganda by restructuring the conceptual framework through which society understands reality. The manipulation of statistical reports, institutional records, and scientific concepts demonstrates that truth is no longer derived from empirical verification but from ideological determination established by the Party (Hossain et al., 2024).

The present findings also correspond with Widaad's (2024) analysis of discourse power in *1984*, which explains that language functions as a mechanism for manipulating public perception and sustaining social control through the production of discourse. According to the study, discourse constructs a system of knowledge that shapes social practices and legitimizes political authority. Similar patterns appear in the present research, where the Party eliminates autonomous sources of knowledge by controlling historical records, scientific reasoning, and institutional information. Such practices indicate that knowledge production becomes subordinated to ideological interests, leaving little possibility for independent judgment outside the official discourse established by the Party (Widaad, 2024).

Despite these similarities, the present study offers a broader interpretation by employing Claude Lefort's perspective on totalitarianism. Rather than viewing language merely as an instrument of thought control or discourse manipulation, this study demonstrates that ideological discourse constitutes a symbolic mechanism through which totalitarian power organizes

social reality itself. The production of truth, historical reconstruction, and the elimination of scientific thinking through Newspeak collectively remove external references capable of challenging centralized authority. Ideology therefore functions not only to legitimize political power but also to create the social conditions necessary for the reproduction and continuity of totalitarian domination.

B. Total organization of society

The element of total organization of society is used to identify how totalitarian power organizes and regulates various aspects of social life under a centralized structure of authority. The analysis focuses on mechanisms represented in *1984* that enable the Party to extend control beyond political institutions and reach broader dimensions of everyday social life.

Table 4.3 Total organization of society

Totalitarian Mechanisms	Indicators in Novel <i>1984</i>
Total organization of society	Social surveillance Party organizational structure control of community activities

Based on the data presented in Table 4.3 above, table 4.3 shows the indicators used to identify total organization of society as one of the study elements under the aspect of totalitarian mechanisms. The indicators consist of social surveillance, Party organizational structure, and control of community activities. These indicators are used to explain how totalitarian power operates through systematic regulation and organization of society to maintain authority and integrate individuals into a centralized social structure.

In order to provide a comprehensive overview of how the total organization of society operates as one of the elements of study under the aspect

of totalitarian mechanisms, an in-depth analysis is presented sequentially based on each of the datums below.

Datum 7:

"The device (the name of the telescreen) can be dimmed, but it cannot be turned off completely."

"Underneath the poster was written: BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU, while two black eyes stared intently into Winston's eyes."

"The helicopter was a police patrol that stalked into the windows of houses. But patrols are not important. What matters is the Mind Police (p.10)."

Based on datum 7 in the novel *1984*. Social supervision is carried out through the integration of technology, symbols, and apparatus that penetrate the entire space of people's lives. Telescreens provide unstoppable monitoring, while Big Brother posters instil visual awareness that each individual is within range of the view of power. The patrol activities and the presence of the Mind Police extend surveillance to the domestic and personal realms. The scope of surveillance is not limited to visible actions, but it also includes potential irregularities that have not yet materialized. Thorough control forms a condition in which individuals adjust behavior continuously under the shadow of observation.

Datum 8:

"The telescreen receives and transmits at the same time. Any sound that Winston utters, if louder than a very quiet whisper, will be heard, as long as he is within the range of sight of the metal plate, so that he can be seen as well heard."

"Of course we don't know, anytime we are observed. We can only guess, how often, or with what system, the Mind Police intercept a person's mind. It's possible that they're observing everyone all the time."

"For sure, they can open our eavesdropping whenever they want. We must live with the assumption that every sound we make will be heard, and our every movement observed, except in the dark."

"And so it was, this habit eventually became instinct (p. 11)."

Based on datum 8 in the novel *1984*. Social surveillance comes through devices capable of capturing sounds and images simultaneously, so individuals

have no room to act without the possibility of being monitored. Uncertainty regarding the timing and intensity of observations creates a situation where everyone assumes he or she is always being watched. The ability of the apparatus to activate eavesdropping at any time extends control without the limits of space and time. Daily life is lived with the awareness that every speech and movement is within the range of surveillance. Adaptive habits develop into automatic responses in individual behavior.

Datum 9:

"Even for members of the Inner Party, it is not wise to turn off the telescreen for more than half an hour. You shouldn't have come here together; and you should go alone. You, Comrade"—he nodded to Julia—"will go first. We have twenty minutes. You understand that I have to start by asking you some specific questions. In general, what are you ready to do? (p. 228)"

Based on datum 9 in the novel *1984*. The organizational structure of the Party is seen through the division of membership levels and the different rules of conduct for each layer. The Inner Party position indicates a higher authority with access to decision-making and testing of the loyalty of other members. The timing, how to come, and how to leave reflect strict organizational discipline as well as control of interactions between individuals. Relationships between members are formed hierarchically, where communication takes place in a pattern of command and obedience. The procedure for questions that must be asked indicates the existence of institutional standards in recruiting and testing commitments, so that the organization runs based on structured and centralized rules.

Datum 10:

"There was a gasp and a thud behind him, and he got a brutal kick in the ankle that almost knocked him down. One of the men slammed his fist into Julia's heart, making her hunched over like a pocket ruler. Julia

lay on the floor, gasping for breath. Winston does not dare to turn his head for a millimeter, but sometimes Julia's bluish, panting face enters his corner of sight (p. 289)."

Based on datum 10 in the novel *1984*. The organizational structure of the Party can be seen through the existence of the apparatus that carries out orders directly with the use of physical violence. The actions of the officers took place quickly and without long communication, with predetermined coordination. The individual's position is entirely under authority without the opportunity to reject or question. The relationship between the authorities and the residents is one-way, orders are carried out and compliance is ensured through physical pressure. Decisions come from the center of power and then are forwarded to the field to be carried out without change.

Datum 11:

"May I see your letters, Comrade? What are you doing here? What time did you leave the office? Do you usually come home this way?" —and so on. There is indeed no rule forbidding going home by an unusual route: but this is enough to draw your attention to it until the Mind Police hear it (p. 115)."

Based on datum 11 in the novel *1984*. Daily activities are under scrutiny that is not always in the form of written rules, but is guarded through questions, suspicions, and possible reporting. The movement of individuals in public spaces is limited by social vigilance that is constantly present in interactions between citizens. Simple choices such as a return travel route can trigger informal examinations and interrogations. Conversations become a tool to monitor behavior while affirming boundaries that are not officially stated. Residents adjust their actions to unspoken expectations to avoid the attention of the authorities.

Datum 12:

"The terrible thing that the Party has done is to convince you that mere impulses and feelings are of no importance, and at the same time, they have usurped all the power you have over the material world. Once you're in the clutches of the Party, what you feel or don't feel, what you do or don't do, it makes no difference at all. Whatever happens, you disappear, and neither you nor your deeds are heard from again. You are completely erased from the stream of history (p. 219)."

Based on datum 12 in the novel *1984*. The control of community activities in this quote is no longer limited to the supervision of physical actions, but rather reaches the inner dimension of the individual. The party forms a condition in which feelings, wills, and actions lose meaning because all aspects of an individual's existence are under the control of power. Human activity is reduced to something that has no personal consequences, because the Party has the authority to erase a person's existence from history. This mechanism creates total obedience because the individual is not only afraid of physical punishment, but also of the possible disappearance of his identity and traces of his life. The society no longer acts autonomously, but rather moves within the boundaries that are fully determined by the Party's power structure.

Discussion

The findings concerning the Party's control of community activities are consistent with Patil's (2025) study, which argues that surveillance in *1984* extends beyond physical observation and functions as a comprehensive mechanism of social control. According to Patil, the continuous operation of telescreens, the Thought Police, and other surveillance apparatuses deprives individuals of privacy, individuality, and autonomous thought, creating a society that constantly regulates itself under the Party's authority. This argument supports the present findings that the Party's control reaches the inner

dimensions of human existence, where feelings, intentions, and actions lose their personal significance because all aspects of life are subordinated to political power. The possibility of being erased from history further reinforces absolute obedience by transforming fear into a permanent condition of social existence (Patil, 2025).

The present findings also correspond with Widaad's (2024) analysis, which explains that power discourse in *1984* shapes social practices through mechanisms of normalization, discipline, and power-knowledge relations. The study demonstrates that the Party maintains authority not only by controlling information but also by organizing everyday social behavior according to ideological norms. Similar patterns appear in the present research, where community activities are no longer autonomous but operate entirely within boundaries established by the Party's institutional structure. Individual existence is subordinated to the collective order, while independent actions become increasingly impossible under the total organization of society (Widaad, 2024).

Despite these similarities, the present study offers a broader interpretation through Claude Lefort's perspective on totalitarianism. Rather than understanding surveillance and discourse merely as instruments of social control, this study demonstrates that they constitute mechanisms through which totalitarian power organizes the entire social body. The regulation of individual behavior, emotions, and identity reflects the Party's attempt to eliminate autonomous social spaces and integrate society into a centralized structure of authority. Total organization of society therefore operates not only through

external coercion but also through the systematic organization of everyday life that makes individual autonomy increasingly unattainable.

C. Elimination of Plurality

The element of elimination of plurality is used to identify how totalitarian power suppresses differences, limits diversity, and removes autonomous spaces within society. The analysis focuses on mechanisms represented in *1984* that reduce social distinctions and discourage forms of opposition that may challenge the authority of the Party.

Table 4.4 Elimination of Plurality

Totalitarian mechanisms	Indicators in Novel <i>1984</i>
Elimination of Plurality	Elimination of opposition Uniformity of language and mind Social Relations Supervision

Based on the data presented in Table 4.4 above, table 4.4 shows the indicators used to identify elimination of plurality as one of the study elements under the aspect of totalitarian mechanisms. The indicators consist of the elimination of opposition, uniformity of language and mind, and supervision of social relations. These indicators are used to explain how totalitarian power maintains control by reducing diversity, regulating social interactions, and constructing uniform patterns of thought within society.

In order to provide a comprehensive overview of how plurality elimination operates as one of the elements of study under the aspect of totalitarian mechanisms, an in-depth analysis is presented sequentially based on each of the datums below.

Datum 13:

"Party members should not be allowed to enter ordinary shops ('trading in the free market', so to speak), but this regulation is not strictly enforced, because there are assorted goods, such as shoelaces and razors, that cannot be obtained in any other way."

"This is not illegal (nothing is illegal, because there is no law anymore), but if caught, the perpetrator will almost certainly be sentenced to death, or at least 25 years in a labor camp (p. 15)"

Based on datum 13 in the novel *1984*. The absence of formal legislation accompanied by the threat of extreme punishment places individuals in situations without clear normative protections, so that any action outside the Party's control has the potential to be severely punished without a defense mechanism. The prohibition of access to unofficial economic spaces limits the possibility of unsupervised social interaction, while also narrowing the space for alternatives outside of controlled structures. The guilt that arises when doing simple activities shows the internalization of control down to the level of individual consciousness. The desire to own books and write is a high-risk activity because it has the potential to produce independent thinking that is not aligned with the dominant ideology. The threat of the death penalty or forced labor serves as a depressive tool that takes away the courage to act beyond the established limits. Restrictions on access, control of activities, and systematic intimidation close the possibility of opposition formation in both actions and ideas.

Datum 14:

"It makes no difference whether he wrote DEPOSE BIG BROTHER or not. It made no difference whether he continued to fill his diary or not. The Mind Police will still arrest him. He has committed—and will still do, even if he never writes—a core crime that encompasses all other crimes. Evil thoughts, that's what they call them. The evil of the mind cannot be hidden forever. You might be able to dodge for some time, a few years even, but sooner or later they'll definitely catch you."

"It's always at night—arrests are always at night. The sudden jolt that wakes you up from sleep, the rough hands that shake your shoulders, the light that shines into your eyes, the fierce circles around the bed."

Usually there is no trial, no report of the arrest. People just disappear, always at night. Your name is erased from the lists, every record of everything you have ever done is erased, your existence is denied, and then forgotten. You are terminated, destroyed: vaporized is the word usually used (p.30)."

Based on datum 14 in the novel *1984*. The concept of the evil of the mind extends the boundaries of criminality to the inner realm, so that opposition does not have to be manifested in real action to be considered dangerous. The elimination of the distinction between action and intention shows that the potential for different thinking is sufficient to be the basis for action. Arrests without due process and disappearance of identity remove the possibility of resistance because there is no public space that can acknowledge or defend the existence of individuals. The removal of names from records and the destruction of traces of life have made the opposition not only punished, but also erased from the collective memory. Such a system negates the sustainability of alternative ideas because any deviant individual can be eliminated without a trace, either physically or historically.

Datum 15:

"A Party member is not only required to have the right opinions, but also the right instincts. Many of the beliefs and attitudes required of him have never been clearly stated, and cannot be stated without exposing the contradictions contained in Ingsoc. If he had an orthodox view (in Newspeak: GOODTHINKER), in any situation he would know, without thinking, what his true beliefs or emotions were. Nevertheless, the deep mental training, undergone as a child and revolving around the words Newspeak: CRIMESTOP, BLACKWHITE, and DOUBLETHINK, made him unwilling and unable to think too deeply about any topic (p.275)."

Based on datum 15 in the novel *1984*. The uniformity of language and thought takes place through the restriction of language structure as well as cognitive conditioning that eliminates variations in individual meaning. Newspeak serves as a tool to simplify and limit vocabulary, so that the possibility of alternative ideas cannot be conceptually formed. The concepts of

“Goodthinker, Crimestop, Blackwhite, and Doublethink” lead individuals to accept contradictions without a process of reflection, while stopping the emergence of deviant thoughts from the Party line. The formation of instincts and emotions that correspond to ideological demands shows that uniformity occurs not only at the level of language, but also at the level of internal consciousness. Individuals no longer produce thoughts independently, but rather reproduce standardized mindsets, so that space for differences of views and diversity of interpretations is lost.

Datum 16:

*"Evil thoughts do not bring death:
The evil of the mind IS death."
"The truth exists and what has happened cannot be changed: From the
age of uniformity, from the age of solitude, from the age of Big Brother;
from the age of doublethink—greetings! (p. 42)"*

Based on datum 16 in the novel *1984*. The condensation of the term into "evil" suggests a union of language that removes the separation of meaning and narrows the possibilities of interpretation. The presentation of sentences in the form of a single definition leads the reader to accept an unquestionable cause-and-effect relationship, so that the mind is directed to a uniform framework of meaning. The use of terms such as "uniformity" and "doublethink" forms an ideological vocabulary that limits the way we understand reality, because each concept has been locked in a meaning that has been determined by power. Language no longer functions as a tool of free expression, but rather as a means of controlling the mind through the restriction of word choice and the structure of meaning.

Datum 17

"Party members should not be allowed to enter ordinary shops ('trading in the free market', so the term is), but this regulation is not strictly enforced, because there are assorted goods, such as shoelaces and

razors, that cannot be obtained in any other way. He looked around as fast as lightning, then slipped in and bought the book for two dollars and fifty cents. At that time he did not feel that there was any particular reason for the desire. Guiltily, he took the book home in his briefcase. Even though it has no contents, the book is a dangerous possession. (p. 15)"

Based on datum 17 in the novel *1984*. Restrictions on Party members' access to ordinary shops limit the possibility of interaction with outside groups such as proletariat. This rule regulates who can relate to whom in a given social space. Winston's actions of having to look around and sneak up show the pressure of surveillance that makes cross-group interaction a hidden activity. Social relations do not take place freely because they have been limited by the dividing line determined by the Party.

Datum 18

*"There was a clicking sound, such as the sound of a brake being removed, and the sound of glass breaking. The painting fell to the floor, exposing the telescreen behind it.
'Now they can see us,' Julia said.
'Now we can see you,' said the voice. 'Standing in the middle of the room. Stand with each other's backs. Cube the hands behind the head. Don't touch each other.'
They didn't touch, but Winston seemed to feel Julia's body trembling. Or maybe it's his own body that is shaking. He could still hold back the chatter of his teeth, but he couldn't control his knees. There was the rattle of boots below, inside, and outside the house. The yard was like it was full of people. Some were dragged across the rocks. The woman's singing suddenly stopped. There was a long rumbling sound rolling around, like a sink being thrown across the yard, followed by mixed angry screams that ended with screams of pain.
'This house is under siege,' said Winston.
'This house is under siege,' said the voice.
He heard Julia clench her teeth. 'I think we had better say goodbye,' said the girl.
'You guys better say goodbye now,' the voice said. Then another voice, a thin, learned voice that Winston had never heard before, interrupted, 'By the way, while we're talking about this, here's a candle to light your way to bed, here's an axe to cut off your head!'
Something broke on the bed behind Winston. The upper end of the staircase breaks through the window and enters from the middle of the glass (p. 288)"*

Based on datum 18 in the novel *1984*. The "do not touch each other" order signifies that personal relationships are under the direct control of the

authorities. Physical proximity between individuals is not seen as a private affair, but rather as something that must be regulated and stopped. The presence of hidden telescreens and the encirclement of the authorities show that relationships between individuals are always within the range of surveillance. The interaction between Winston and Julia is not allowed to develop as a personal relationship, as it is immediately intervened, separated, and directed by the voice of authority. This condition shows that social relations do not stand free, but are strictly controlled so that the possibility of the emergence of bonds outside the Party structure can be suppressed.

Discussion

The findings concerning the Party's control over interpersonal relationships are consistent with Philip's (2023) study, which argues that surveillance in *1984* systematically destroys trust, intimacy, and emotional attachment among individuals. According to Philip, government surveillance extends beyond political regulation and penetrates romantic, familial, and social relationships, creating a culture of fear and suspicion that prevents genuine human connection. This argument supports the present findings that Winston and Julia's relationship is immediately interrupted by the Party's intervention, demonstrating that personal relationships are not regarded as private matters but as potential threats to political authority. The prohibition of physical intimacy and the constant presence of surveillance mechanisms illustrate the Party's effort to prevent the emergence of autonomous social bonds outside its institutional structure (Philip, 2023).

The present findings also correspond with research that explain a continuous surveillance and biopolitical control force individuals to regulate their emotions, desires, and social behavior according to the Party's expectations. Their study demonstrates that love, resistance, and human expression are systematically undermined because totalitarian power seeks to exercise control over both the body and the mind. Similar patterns appear in the present research, where the Party intervenes directly in interpersonal interactions and prevents relationships from developing independently. Social relations therefore become objects of political regulation rather than expressions of individual autonomy (Bibi et al., 2025).

Despite these similarities, the present study provides a broader interpretation through Claude Lefort's perspective on totalitarianism. The Party's intervention in Winston and Julia's relationship is understood not merely as an act of surveillance or biopolitical control, but as part of the mechanism of elimination of plurality. By restricting interpersonal relationships and suppressing autonomous social bonds, the Party eliminates alternative forms of association that could exist outside its authority. The regulation of intimacy and everyday social interaction therefore functions as a mechanism for reducing social plurality and maintaining the homogeneous social order required by totalitarian power.

D. People as one

The element of People as One is used to identify how totalitarian power constructs society as a unified and homogeneous collective identity. The analysis focuses on mechanisms represented in *1984* that encourage individuals to

perceive themselves as part of a single social body under the authority of the Party.

Table 4.5 People as One

Totalitarian mechanisms	Indicators in Novel <i>1984</i>
People as One	Big Brother symbol, Propaganda of community unity

Based on the data presented in Table 4.5 above, table 4.5 shows the indicators used to identify People as One as one of the study elements under the aspect of totalitarian mechanisms. The indicators consist of the Big Brother symbol and propaganda of community unity. These indicators are used to explain how totalitarian power construct collective identity and promotes social unity by reducing distinctions between individuals and integrating society into a single collective structure.

To provide a comprehensive overview of how people as one operates as one of the study elements under the aspect of totalitarian mechanisms, an in-depth analysis is presented sequentially based on each of the datums below.

Datum 19

*"The truth is there and what has happened cannot be changed:
From the age of uniformity, from the age of solitude,
from the days of Big Brother, from the age of doublethink—greetings!
(p. 45)"*

Based on datum 19 in the novel *1984*. The series of phrases places the “age of Big Brother” alongside uniformity, solitude, and doublethink, positioning Big Brother as a central symbol that organizes society into a single collective identity. The arrangement of these terms does not merely describe a political period but constructs an image of social life centered on one authority that defines the experience of all individuals. The repeated structure creates an impression that every aspect of life belongs to the same ideological order and

leaves little room for separate identities or autonomous social spaces. Within this arrangement, individuals are not represented as distinct subjects with different positions and experiences but as members of a unified social body operating under a common center of power. The presence of Big Brother therefore functions not only as a political symbol but also as a mechanism that transforms society into People as One, where collective identity gradually replaces plurality and individual distinction.

Datum 20

Winston sat in his usual corner, looking at the empty glass. Every now and then he looked up at the giant face that was staring at him from the wall opposite. BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU, as it is written underneath (p.374)."

Based on datum 20 in the novel *1984*. The giant face placed within public spaces indicates that all members of society are confronted with the same symbol of authority in their everyday lives. The phrase "Big Brother Is Watching You" creates an experience shared collectively because surveillance is not directed toward a specific individual but toward the whole society of Oceania. Every individual within the system is positioned in the same relationship to the center of power, creating a uniform social experience under a single authority. This shared experience demonstrates that society no longer appears as groups with distinct positions and identities. Social life is directed toward a collective identity that places society as a unified entity under the authority of the Party. This condition reflects the mechanism of People as One, which operates through the construction of a shared social experience across society.

Datum 21

"The terrible thing that the Party has done is to convince you that mere impulses and feelings are of no importance, and at the same time, they have usurped all the power you have over the material world. Once you

are in the clutches of the Party, what you feel or don't feel, what you do or don't do, it makes no difference at all (p. 219)."

Based on datum 21 in the novel *1984*. The Party's rejection of personal feelings places individual experience in a subordinate position within the social order. Personal impulses and emotions no longer function as the basis for individual judgment because standards of value are determined entirely by the Party. The statement that actions and feelings no longer make any difference indicates that individuals are positioned within the same ideological framework regardless of personal distinctions or subjective experiences. The absence of meaningful differences among individuals reduces the space for personal identity and independent orientation within society. Social life is therefore directed toward a collective structure in which individuals are understood as part of a unified social body rather than as separate subjects with different positions and perspectives. The mechanism of People as One operates through the gradual replacement of individual distinctions with a collective identity formed under the influence of the dominant ideology.

Datum 22

"At the same time, the consciousness of the existence of war, and therefore of danger, makes the surrender of all power to one small caste seem to be a natural and inevitable condition of the defense of life (p. 252)."

Based on datum 22 in the novel *1984*. Narratives of war and danger create a shared perception that encourages collective acceptance of concentrated power within a single authority. The continuous production of threats positions the transfer of power not as a political choice but as a necessary condition for survival. Individual perspectives gradually become organized within the same framework because the perception of danger is experienced collectively and

directed toward a common response. The possibility of questioning authority becomes limited as society is encouraged to adopt a unified orientation toward protection and security. Social life is organized around a shared understanding that places individuals in the same collective position and reduces the space for separate perspectives or independent orientations. Society no longer appears as individuals with different interests and viewpoints but increasingly functions as a unified social body centered on a common orientation.

Discussion

The findings concerning the construction of People as One are consistent with Rahman's (2025) analysis, which argues that propaganda functions as a mechanism for producing collective submission through the manipulation of public perception. Rahman explains that fabricated news, ideological narratives, posters, and mass media instruments encourage citizens to accept authoritarian rule without recognizing the process of manipulation itself. Such mechanisms generate a shared understanding of reality that legitimizes centralized authority and reduces the possibility of alternative interpretations. This argument supports the present findings that narratives of war and danger in *1984* create a common perception that encourages collective acceptance of concentrated power. The continuous production of external threats transforms political authority into a necessity for survival, thereby directing society toward a unified orientation under a single center of power (Rahman, 2025).

The present findings also correspond with Kamini and Komal's (2025) study, which demonstrates that psychological conditioning, emotional manipulation, and ideological indoctrination are more effective than physical

coercion in sustaining totalitarian rule. Their study explains that fear, emotional repression, and language control shape individual behavior by encouraging citizens to internalize obedience as a natural response to political authority. Similar patterns appear in the present research, where the constant narrative of danger organizes individual perceptions within the same framework and limits the possibility of questioning authority. Society gradually adopts a shared orientation toward protection and security, resulting in the reduction of independent perspectives and the emergence of collective conformity (Kamini & Komal, 2025).

Despite these similarities, the present study offers a broader interpretation through Claude Lefort's concept of People as One. Rather than understanding propaganda and psychological conditioning merely as instruments of political control, this study demonstrates that they function as mechanisms for constructing a unified social body. The continuous reproduction of war narratives and collective fear does not simply maintain obedience but gradually dissolves differences in social orientation by directing individuals toward a common understanding of reality. Society therefore no longer appears as a plurality of individuals with diverse interests and viewpoints but increasingly functions as a homogeneous collective identity centered upon a single political authority.

The findings on People as One indicate that totalitarian power in *1984* constructs society as a homogeneous collective identity organized around a single center of authority. Claude Lefort argues that totalitarianism attempts to represent society as a unified body without internal divisions, where differences

between individuals and groups are absorbed into a singular collective identity. Under this structure, society no longer appears as a plurality of positions and perspectives but as an entity imagined as possessing one shared purpose and one center of meaning. The findings suggest that this mechanism operates through symbolic authority and collective narratives that organize how individuals perceive themselves within the social order.

The findings regarding the Big Brother symbol in datum 19 and datum 20 correspond with Lefort's concept of People-as-One as a symbolic construction of social unity. Lefort explains that totalitarian systems attempt to occupy the symbolic place of power by presenting authority as the embodiment of society itself. Big Brother functions not merely as a political leader but as a unifying symbol through which individuals experience their relationship to authority collectively. The repeated visibility of this symbol creates a shared orientation where all members of society stand within the same structure of meaning. Authority therefore becomes represented as something inseparable from collective existence rather than as one institution among others. This symbolic arrangement reduces the possibility of recognizing social distinctions because individuals increasingly understand themselves through a common relationship to centralized power.

The findings concerning propaganda of community unity in datum 21 and datum 22 further reinforce Lefort's argument regarding the elimination of internal differences within society. Lefort argues that totalitarian power constructs social unity by removing distinctions that may generate alternative positions or independent orientations. Narratives emphasizing collective danger

and the insignificance of individual experience reorganize social perception around a common framework shared by all members of society. Individual subjectivity gradually loses political relevance because collective identity becomes more important than personal perspectives or experiences. The production of a shared orientation toward authority therefore does not simply create social solidarity but transforms unity into an ideological condition through which centralized power becomes accepted as natural and necessary.

E. Unification of power, law, and knowledge

The element of unification of power, law, and knowledge is used to identify how totalitarian power centralizes authority by controlling systems of knowledge, defining truth, and regulating social order. The analysis focuses on mechanisms represented in *1984* that enable the Party to establish a dominant structure in which power determines what is accepted as truth and reality.

Table 4.6 Unification of power, law, and knowledge

Totalitarian mechanisms	Indicators in Novel <i>1984</i>
Unification of power, law, and knowledge	Historical manipulation, Determination of the Truth by the Party

Based on the data presented in Table 4.6 above, table 4.6 shows the indicators used to identify unification of power, law, and knowledge as one of the study elements under the aspect of totalitarian mechanisms. The indicators consist of historical manipulation and the determination of truth by the Party. These indicators are used to explain how totalitarian power.

In order to provide a comprehensive overview of how the unification of power, law, and knowledge operates as one element of study under the aspect of totalitarian mechanisms, an in-depth analysis is presented sequentially based on each of the datums below.

Datum 23

The third message relates to a very simple mistake that can be corrected in just a few minutes. Just last February, the Ministry of Abundance issued a promise (the official term 'absolute oath') that there would be no reduction in the chocolate ration during 1984. In fact, as Winston knows, the chocolate ration will be reduced from thirty grams to twenty grams by the end of this week. They only need to replace the original promise with a warning that the allotment may need to be lowered in April (p. 58)."

Based on datum 23 in the novel *1984*. Changes in the content of speeches and official data are carried out by adjusting past statements to be in line with ongoing conditions. Promises that were previously expressly stated are changed to warnings that appear consistent with the final result, so that prediction errors never appear in the record. The numerical and redaction adjustments present a new version that replaces the previous statement without leaving any trace of difference. The history of events is reshaped to always appear correct from the start, while memories of previous versions become irrelevant as they are no longer supported by official documents.

Datum 24

"Once all the corrections necessary for any number in any Times have been collected and arranged, the number is reprinted, the original edition destroyed, and the corrected edition placed on file in its place. This process of constant adjustment applies not only to newspapers, but also to books, magazines, pamphlets, posters, flyers, films, soundtracks, cartoons, photographs—to any literature or documentation that may be politically or ideologically important. Every day and almost every minute, the past is up Datumd. In this way, any estimate made by the Party can be shown to be true from documentary evidence, while any news, or any expression of opinion, which does not correspond to the needs of the moment, is never allowed to remain recorded. The whole of history is an overlapping parchment that has been repeatedly erased clean, then rewritten as often as possible (p. 58)."

Based on datum 24 in the novel *1984*. The constant changes to archives, newspapers, and various forms of documentation demonstrate the practice of systematic rewriting of the past. The previous version was destroyed and replaced with a modified version, so there was no trace that allowed comparison.

The event history is rearranged to always align with the latest statements, while inappropriate information is removed from circulation. Up Datums that take place all the time make the past flexible and dependent on prevailing interests. The historical record does not function as a record of events, but rather as the result of a reorganization that continues to change according to the direction of power.

Datum 25

"Winston never imagined that those who were convicted during the purge had actually committed the crimes they were accused of. But this is concrete evidence, this is a snapshot of the past that has been erased, like a fossil bone that appears in the wrong soil layer and collapses a geological theory. This evidence is enough to destroy the Party to pieces, if there is a way to publish it throughout the world and spread its meaning. ... There is only one possible conclusion: their confessions are false (p. 108)."

Based on datum 25 in the novel *1984*. The conclusions that emerge do not gain legitimacy in the public sphere because official recognition has been established as the prevailing truth. Personal statements that contradict the official narrative lose their position as legitimate sources of knowledge, so the truth is not determined by evidence, but rather by the authority that authorizes a statement. The recognition produced in the power structure serves as the basis for the determination of reality, while the rational judgment of the individual has no power to change it. Knowledge, law, and power are on the same line, where what is declared by the Party is at the same time a fact, rule, and truth that must be accepted.

Datum 26

*"'In the records. Written.'
'In the notes. And...?'
'In the mind. In the memory of man.'
'In memory. Alright, then. We, the Party, control all records and all memories. That means we are in control of the past, right? (p.323)'"*

Based on datum 26 in the novel *1984*. The existence of giant faces on the walls of public spaces puts Big Brother figures as the center of attention that is constantly present in daily activities. The gaze directed at the figure shows the position of the individual who is always under the gaze of power, even in seemingly ordinary situations. The inscription "Big Brother Watches Over You" affirms the one-way relationship between rulers and individuals, where supervision becomes an integrated part of the social space. The Big Brother figure is not just present as a visual symbol, but as a representation of authority that penetrates personal experience and forms an awareness of the existence of power that continues to watch.

Discussion

The findings concerning the symbolic presence of Big Brother are consistent with Shabbir's (2026) study, which argues that Big Brother, the Thought Police, telescreens, and the Ministry of Truth operate as interconnected panoptic mechanisms that produce a controlled and obedient society. Shabbir explains that continuous surveillance extends beyond physical observation by shaping individual psychology and encouraging conformity through the constant awareness of authority. This argument supports the present findings that the giant image of Big Brother in public spaces functions not merely as an object of surveillance but as a permanent representation of authority that penetrates everyday experience. The inscription "Big Brother Is Watching You" reinforces an unequal relationship between rulers and citizens by embedding the awareness of power into ordinary social life and making supervision an inseparable part of public existence (Shabbir, 2026).

The present findings also correspond with research that explains a totalitarian power operates through bio-political mechanisms that simultaneously regulate the body and the mind. Their study demonstrates that continuous surveillance encourages self-censorship, emotional control, and conformity to the Party's expectations, allowing political authority to shape individual behavior without relying solely on physical coercion. Similar patterns appear in the present research, where the symbolic presence of Big Brother extends beyond visual propaganda and becomes a mechanism that influences personal consciousness. The continuous visibility of authority encourages individuals to internalize political control and adjust their behavior according to the norms established by the Party (Bibi et al., 2025).

Despite these similarities, the present study offers a broader interpretation through Claude Lefort's concept of the unification of power, law, and knowledge. The figure of Big Brother is understood not only as a symbol of surveillance or political domination but also as the embodiment of a unified authority that simultaneously exercises power, determines legitimacy, and shapes social truth. The continuous presence of Big Brother in public space symbolizes the disappearance of boundaries between political authority, legal order, and knowledge production, allowing the Party to function as the sole reference for social reality. Through this symbolic unification, power becomes inseparable from the production of truth and the regulation of social life, reinforcing the totalitarian structure represented in *1984*.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

The final part of the study includes a summary of the research, findings, and suggestions. The conclusion summarizes the researcher's answer to the formulation of the problem as well as the theoretical significance of this research as explained in the previous chapters. This chapter also provides suggestions for future researchers who will use the same research object. The suggestions include methodological approaches that can be applied as well as new aspects that can be explored to enrich the understanding of the representation of totalitarianism in literary works.

A. Conclusion

This study examined the mechanism of totalitarian power represented in George Orwell's *1984* through Claude Lefort's perspective. The findings show that totalitarian power operates through five interconnected mechanisms that organize social life and integrate individuals into a unified social structure. First, ideology as a discourse of power functions through the Party's doctrines, political slogans, and the production of truth. Second, total organization of society is manifested through surveillance systems, Party structures, and the control of collective activities. Third, elimination of plurality occurs through the suppression of opposition, the standardization of language and thought, and the regulation of social relations. Fourth, People as One is constructed through symbolic representations such as Big Brother and narratives that shape a shared collective identity. Finally, the unification of power, law, and knowledge is

represented through the manipulation of history and the Party's determination of truth, establishing a single framework that governs authority and social reality.

The perspective employed in this study demonstrates that the mechanism of totalitarian power in *1984* does not merely maintain domination through direct forms of control but also operates by integrating ideology into social life. Power no longer appears as an authority existing outside society; instead, it becomes embedded within social structures that shape how individuals understand reality, relate to others, and position themselves within collective life. Totalitarianism is represented as a system that extends throughout social life to the point where individual differences are gradually absorbed into a broader collective identity.

B. Suggestion

This study focuses on examining the mechanism of totalitarian power represented in George Orwell's *1984* through Claude Lefort's perspective. The analysis is limited to the mechanisms through which totalitarian power operates in the novel, particularly through ideology, social organization, plurality, collective identity, and the integration of authority within society. Future researchers are encouraged to explore other dimensions of Lefort's thought or employ different theoretical perspectives to develop broader discussions concerning power relations and totalitarianism in literary studies.

Further studies may also examine different literary works or compare *1984* with other texts that represent authoritarian and totalitarian systems. Such approaches may provide a broader understanding of how mechanisms of power operate within different social and literary contexts. Future research is also expected to investigate the relationship between power, ideology, and society

from perspectives that extend beyond institutional and repressive forms of domination.

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