

**POLITICAL HEGEMONY OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT
REPRESENTED IN GLENN GREENWALD'S
*NO PLACE TO HIDE***

THESIS

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG
2019**

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THESIS

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in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.)

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APPROVAL SHEET

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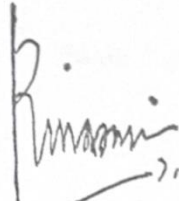
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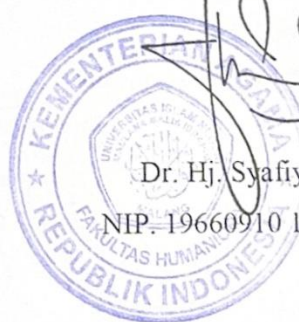
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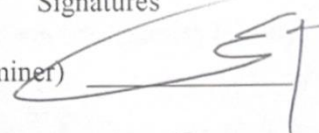
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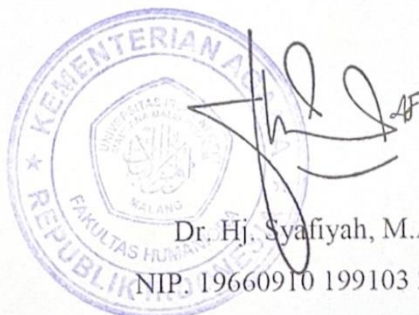
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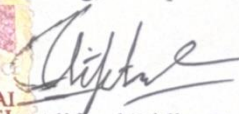
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Hereby, declare that the thesis I wrote to accomplish the requirement for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S) in English Letters Department, Humanities Faculty, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University entitled *Political Hegemony of American Government Represented in Glenn Greenwald's No Place To Hide* is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by other person, except those indicated in quotations and bibliography. Due to that fact, I am the only person who responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, 20 April 2019




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MOTTO

“be the person what you want to be”

“don't listen to other people”

“just do it”

Unknown Person

DEDICATION

This thesis is especially dedicated to my sweet and loving parents my mother and my father, my sister, my brother, and also my friends Basit, Edward, Fariq, Faris, Hamzah, Arip, Wawan for their support and encouragement.

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This thesis entitled is intended to fulfill the requirement for achieving the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S) in English Letters and Language Department, Faculty of Humanities, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang.

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Finally, I truly realize that in this thesis still need the constructive criticism and suggestions from the readers in order to make it perfect and hopefully it can be more useful to the readers, especially for the English Letters Department students.

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ABSTRACT

Fadlullah, Alifatul Ridho (2019) Political Hegemony of American Government Represented in Glenn Greenwald's *No Place To Hide*. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum.

Key word: political hegemony, ideology, surveillance.

The American government through the NSA has developed with sophisticated surveillance programs. These programs are made with reasons for state security, but these programs have actually been used far from their main purpose. These programs have been used illegally to monitor the public and cause privacy violations in the internet world. All activities carried out through the internet can be known by the American government. This surveillance system has made the American government violate the civil liberties that are the right of every citizen. *No Place To Hide* is a book by Glenn Greenwald about Edward Snowden in leaking secrets of the American government about the massive surveillance. This research was made to find out the ideology of the American government in carrying out practices of political hegemony towards its people and even the international world.

This research uses the theory of political hegemony to find out the ideology and form of government programs in conducting massive surveillance of the people represented in the book. Through Hegemony, Antonio Gramsci offered a more "subtle" approach: coercion by consent. Basically, politics is concerned with matters of power, decision making, public policy, and allocation or distribution. In general, it can be said that politics is an attempt to determine regulations that are acceptable to the majority of citizens to achieve a good life. Politics is not always good, in this case it can be seen from human nature that also has a bad instinct where personal interests can be more important than mutual interests, such as the American government which has other goals in carrying out the sophisticated programs they have developed. After 9/11 the government has an ideology that state security is the main thing, so people are not aware that their privacy has been violated by the government in carrying out massive surveillance. The leaked of the secret of the American government by Edward Snowden to the public will help the public in addressing these government policies.

Based on research results, the government has built a sophisticated surveillance system so that it can enter the people's privacy illegally. These surveillance programs have been running for several years without knowing by the public until Edward leaked them to the public. This case has caused serious debate and caused resistance to the American government to reform these programs.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

This chapter presents study background, study problem, study objectives, study significance, scope and limitation of the study, and definition of the key terms.

The American government has perfected a technology to monitoring message in the air. Senator Frank Church, Chair, Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities 1975, in the book *No Place to Hide* by Glenn Greenwald (2014):

The United States government has perfected a technological capability that enables us to monitor the messages that go through the air... That capability at any time could be turned around on the American people, and no American would have any privacy left, such is the capability to monitor everything—telephone conversations, telegrams, it doesn't matter. There would be no place to hide.

Internet or electronic media is a space that promises freedom and opportunity for exploration for the society, if everything can be monitored there is no more privacy for the society. Anything that is privacy in the form of telephone conversations and messages in the air will be easily known by the government. Many people feel that the US government violates the civil liberties that are the right of every citizen. *No Place To Hide* is a book by Glenn Greenwald about Edward Snowden in dismantling the secret of the American government about a mass surveillance system.

The New York Times dropped a bombshell: in 2001, it reported, the Bush administration had secretly ordered the National Security Agency (NSA) to eavesdrop on the electronic communications of Americans without obtaining the

warrants required by relevant criminal law. At the time that it was revealed, this warrantless eavesdropping had been going on for four years and had targeted at least several thousand Americans. The government tried to justify the secret NSA program by invoking exactly the kind of extreme theory of executive power (Greenwald, 2014). The US government adopted the principles of power that are radical and extreme by reason of upholding security above all else so that abuse of power is vulnerable to occur.

The colonists agreed, for the state to obtain specific, targeted warrants to search individuals when there was evidence to establish probable cause of their wrongdoing. But general warrants the practice of making the entire citizenry subject to indiscriminate searches were inherently illegitimate. The Fourth Amendment enshrined this idea in American law. Its language is clear and succinct: “The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.” It was intended, above all, to abolish forever in America the power of the government to subject its citizens to generalized, suspicionless surveillance (Greenwald, 2014). The misappropriation United States Government is an act which ought to be blaming. Working together with international internet companies such as Microsoft, Yahoo!, Google, Facebook, Paltalk, AOL, Skype, YouTube, and Apple makes monitoring the American government easy. Even the supervision is done not only to citizens of the United States and even to other citizens.

Glenn Greenwald is a lawyer who later became a journalist and also a writer. In the fall of 2005, he created a political blog. The radical and extremist theories of power the US government had adopted in the wake of 9/11, and he hoped that writing about such issues might allow him to make a broader impact than he could in his then-career as a constitutional and civil rights lawyer. He spent the next two years covering every aspect of the NSA warrantless wiretapping scandal, on his blog and in a bestselling 2006 book. His position was straightforward: by ordering illegal eavesdropping, the president had committed crimes and should be held accountable for them. That background then made Edward Snowden, several years later, to choose him as his first contact person for revealing NSA wrong-doing on an even more massive scale (Greenwald, 2014).

Edward Snowden is a professional computer who is also a former contractor for Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and National Security Agency (NSA). In 2004, he had enlisted in the US Army intending to fight in the Iraq war. His skill in technology made him rise to the rank of technical expert for the CIA in 2005. After several years working for the CIA, Edward Snowden returned to work for the NSA. During his work he was educated to become a top technical and cyber security expert which then made him feel suspicious in doing his work. There were many things that made no sense he found while working with the American government, and finally in 2013 he decided to divulge confidential documents from NSA (Greenwald, 2014). Edward Snowden's betrayal made him as the international attention and made him became a threat and wanted for the American government.

This research uses the theory of hegemony which is also related to political theory in looking at the cases in this book. Hegemony is a theory that has a concept to regulate social life, Hegemony is a political approach that has a different style than Machiavellian politics. If Machiavellian during the renaissance separated politics from the ethical dimension so that the ruler can do everything to perpetuate power, Antonio Gramsci who is also a politician, member of Italy and leader of the communist party in Italy (*Partito Comunista d'Italia – PCI*) offered a more "subtle" approach: coercion by consent (Wiryasono, 2015). The American government conducts surveillance against American citizens illegally and as it's known that this system had been carried out without being known by American citizens before finally being leaked by Edward Snowden. The concept of hegemony is the power held by a particular social group against other social groups to gain power and maintain power. Hegemony emphasizes ideology, forms of expression, methods of application, and mechanisms used to survive and develop (Wijakangka, 2008). The term Hegemony is used by Gramsci to describe the dominance of a class against other classes caused ideologically and politically. Although political coercion always plays a role, ideology is more significant in getting conscious consent from a dominated class (Abercombrie, 2010: 253). In this case the American government is the perpetrator of hegemony, and the credibility of the system created by the American government the impact not only for American society but also can for other society in conducting surveillance.

Representation is a process in which meaning is produced using language and exchanged between group members in a culture. Representation connects

concepts that exist in our minds by using language that allows us to interpret objects, people, real events, and the world of imagination from objects, people, objects, and events that are not real (Hall, 2003). In this case, the hegemonic power of American government represented from the book has a concept which means that the government has the power to violate the privacy rights of its citizens and even foreign nationals. The surveillance system that is represented in this book is very large considering the many secret programs hidden by the government to monitor the community.

To provide this research, therefore some previous studies that analyzed about hegemony and representation. The first is thesis by the title: *“Hegemoni Kekuasaan dalam Novel Bibir Merah karya Achmad Munif”* written by Shalikatin Pawestri a graduate student from Study Program of Language and Literature, Faculty of Language and Art, Yogyakarta State University (2015). Her study analysis aimed to describe ideological formation, the form of hegemonic power in operation and the fictional elements used to present hegemonic power in the novel *Bibir Merah*. The second is Journal of Articulation Vol.5 No.1 *“Analisis Hegemoni Kekuasaan dalam Novel Pabrik karya Putu Wijaya”* written by Angga Ramses Wijakangka from Malang State University (2008). His study analysis is the result of a descriptive analysis the power of hegemony in the novel *Pabrik* which is reflected in the relationships between characters. The third is Journal of Communication Science Vol.3 No.1 *“Representasi Perempuan Metropolitan dalam Film 7 Hati 7 Cinta 7 Wanita”* written by Sigit Surahman from Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Serang Raya University (2017). His analysis is to find

and see how the portrayal of metropolitan women represented from that film. The last is Journal of The Messenger Vol 2, No.1 “*Kajian Media Massa: Representasi Girl Power Wanita Modern dalam Media Online (Studi Framing Girl Power dalam Rubrik Karir dan Keuangan Femina Online)*” written by Gita Aprinta E.B (2011). Her study of representation is about working women, through their careers, they try to find meaning, identity, and achievements that bring confidence to their life, but there are still problems regarding the bias gender related to the quality and capabilities of women in the field of work.

As it says in the book of *No Place To Hide* about the political hegemony of American government represented in the book, his power over society as though the government could do everything without seeing a law that applies. Policies that have been out of bounds in carrying out their duties have become a reasonable thing for them. Therefore, this learning is very interesting because it can add insight for the society, to be wiser in observing the policies by the government. Sometimes in form of government policies there are several hidden intentions in running the program. And it is done by the government to take advantage over society. Well, this research is interesting to be more understanding about a condition that happen around us.

B. Problem of the Study

Based on the background of the study above, this research is conducted to answer the following questions:

1. What is the ideology of American government’s hegemony towards the society according to Edward Snowden in the book *No Place To Hide*?

2. What is the form of political hegemony that has been done by the American government represented in the book *No Place To Hide*?

C. Objective of the Study

Based on the problem of the study the objectives of study are:

1. To find out the form of political hegemony of the American government towards the community according to the data represented in this book.
2. To find out the ideologies of the American government towards society through hegemony politics in order to be accepted by society.

D. Scope and Limitation

Based on the background of the research, this study focuses on the form of political hegemony by American government that represented from the book *No Place To Hide*. According to the theory of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci about politics, power, ideology, and domination. This research discusses limited the problem of the American government in conducting political hegemony towards its people.

E. Significance of the Study

Based on research objectives, the benefit of this study is to understand the shape of political hegemony and also to know all forms of power committed by the American government in running the various programs.

F. Definition of Key Term

There are key terms to facilitate understanding in this research concept, such as Hegemony, Power, Ideology, Representation:

1. Hegemony: the influence of leadership, domination, and power in a country by using leadership (power) and ideological.
2. Politics: an attempt to achieve a good life in a country related to issues of power, decision making, public policy, and allocation or distribution
3. Power: the ability to force people as want it either negatively or positively.
4. Ideology: fundamental conception of life that collection of basic ideas, concepts, beliefs and confidences that are systematic in accordance with the direction and goals to be achieve

G. Research Method

1. Research Design

This study uses a type of literary criticism research, because the results obtained in the form of data description, words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs. In this study, researchers used the theory of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci which was narrowed into political hegemony by the American government in conducting surveillance. This research produces the perspective of the community towards any kind of policy or action by the government either in America or other countries that sometimes exceeds the limit so that it harms the people.

2. Data Source

The subject of this study is the book *No Place To Hide* by Glenn Greenwald with 273 pages and published by LLC publisher 2014.

3. Data Collection

Technique of taking data in this research is technique of read and record.

The technique used by repetitively reading carefully on the part related to hegemonic power that represented from the book *No Place To Hide*. The reading is continued with the recording that is appropriate to the purpose of the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In the second chapter of this study, there will be several reviews of the theories underlying the research on hegemony theory and representation theory. Through a sociological approach to literature, this chapter will briefly explain the theory of hegemony which also includes power and ideology and also the theory of representation that will discuss in this chapter.

A. Sociology of Literature

Sociology as a science in a way to view and as a way for scientific understanding (Faruk, 2010). In this discussion we will explain the sociology of literature as an approach in analyzing or understanding a literary work. Sociology of literature is one of the critical tools of literature. Literature itself is part of society, so it is not strange to say that literature is a product of culture so that literature cannot be separated from human civilization because literature speaks about the life of the community itself. The sociological approach to literature is clearly a relationship between literature and society, literature is an expression of society, meaning that literature is an expression of feeling or reflection (mirror) of society.

In general, sociology can be said as an objective study of humans and society which includes the social processes. This discipline certainly puts all social phenomena as study material that must be scientifically parsed, including; cultural, economic, language, literary and other patterns. From this process, it will be known how an individual can interact with his community and his social mechanism so that he can be accepted in a certain way. Thus, sociology can be briefly understood

as a discipline that aims to examine human behavior, the formation of a social structure and mutual agreement in economics, politics, culture, and other patterns. (Durkheim, 1958: 24, in Wahyudi, 2013). Basically, literature is a science that puts literature on aspects outside of themselves, namely society. This of course will contribute greatly to the functions of literature as a product of society while discovering the benefits of the social structure that produces it. The scientific sociological literary that moves from the autonomous region of work is very relevant considering that literary works are not born of cultural emptiness. Literary works can be said to represent a particular culture (Wahyudi, 2013).

The Sociology of Literature, Swingewood 1972 (in Faruk, 2010) defines sociology as a scientific and objective study of humans in society, the study of human institutions in society, the study of institutions in social processes, through research on social institutions, religious, economic, political and family. Ritzer 1975 (in Faruk, 2010) regards sociology as a multi-paradigm science. The paradigm serves to determine what must be learned, what questions must be asked, how to advance them, and the rules that must be followed in the interpretation of the answers obtained. Ritzer found at least three paradigms which are the basis of sociology, namely the paradigm of social facts, the paradigm of social definition, and the paradigm of social behavior (Faruk, 2010).

Literary work as a social reflection according to Swingewood is a sociocultural document that can be used to see a phenomenon in society at that time. This is what termed as literary documentation which refers to the reflection of the era. Swingewood cites Luis De Bonald's statement, which assumes that close

reading a literary work 'national' will also know what applies to that society. Likewise, Stendhal's statement that the novel is "*mirror journeying down the high road*" (Swingewood, 1972: 13 in Wahyudi, 2013).

Swingewood explains "*it is the task of the sociologist of literature to relate the experience of the writer's imaginary characters and situations to the historical climate from which they derive. He has to transform the private equation of themes and stylistic means into social equations*" (Swingewood, 1972: 14 in Wahyudi, 2013). That connecting the experience of imaginary figures with history, themes, and styles is the most relevant way to find out the connection of literary works with social patterns that are located outside the text. Literary works as a reflection of values and feelings show the degree of change in society and their response to that experience. Swingewood (1986: 16 in Wahyudi, 2013)

"Thus literature, as reflection of values and feeling, points both to the degree of change occurring in different societies as well as individuals become socialized into the social structure and their response to this experience".

Literary creation can tell the life of the community, for example the social background or the community place is told. The social background of creator of literature also influences the creation of literature. Changes and developments in society can also be raised into literary stories. The taste of society towards literary creation can change as there are developments and changes in society so that it can influence the formation of a literary copyright which also adapts. Society as a connoisseur or reader of literature is able to provide an assessment of the literary copyright of an author (Wijakangka, 2008).

Meanwhile, according to Wellek and Warren (in Wijakangka, 2008) regarding the several of sociological approaches to studies of literature has three classifications:

1. Sociology of Author

Concerning issues regarding social status, political ideology, author's social ideology, and orderliness of authors outside of literary works that concern authors as producers of literature.

2. Sociology of Literary Works

Regarding the existence of the work itself, which contains the contents of literary works, goals, and mandates contained in the literary work itself, and which relates to social problems.

3. Sociology of Reader

Regarding the problem of the reader and social influence of the work, the extent of the impact social literature on the reading community.

This study will use the sociology of literary work by studying literary works in relation to social problems that live in society. The focus of sociology of literary work is on the contents of literary works, goals, and other things that are implicit in the literature itself and which are related to social problems.

Based on the brief explanation above, it can be concluded that the sociology of literature is a science that tries to uncover the phenomena of society contained in a literary work in order to provide an objective view in the assessment of literature work.

B. Non-Fiction in Literary Works

Literary works can also be regarded as an important part of social and cultural processes. Literary works also relate various life problems such as religion, philosophy, psychology, sociology, ethics, law, and politics. Literary works are known in two forms, namely fiction and non-fiction. A fiction literary work is an imaginary literary work while a non-fiction literary work is a reality literary work. Kurniawan in Abrams (1981: 61) mentions that works of fiction based on fact stories that occur are actually works of nonfiction fiction literature. Nonfiction fiction literary works can be divided into three types, namely historical fiction, biographical fiction, and science fiction. Historical fiction if the basis of writing is historical fact, this historical fiction can also be called a historical novel. Biographical fiction if the basis is biographical facts. Science fiction if the basis is science facts. A biographical fiction can also be called a historical literary work because someone's biography is also a historical work. Kurniawan in Kuntowijoyo (2013: 203) biography is also a work of history. This shows us that the division of nonfiction fiction as said by Abrams can combine historical elements with literary elements. Imaginative literature is fully fictitious, while non-imaginative literary content is dominated by facts. Imaginative literary languages tend to be connotative, whereas non-imaginative literary languages tend to be denotative.

No Place To Hide is a nonfiction literary book by Glenn Greenwald that tells the biography of an Edward Snowden. This book tells the story of Edward Snowden as an NSA computer security expert who then leaked a secret surveillance system created by the American government. This book tells how he initially joined

the government security agency and worked until at the end he found many irregularities in the programs he was running so that he intends to leak these government secrets. According to Snowden the internet is a room that promises freedom without violation of privacy rights in that freedom.

C. Hegemony and Politics

In this research, the writer will explain a little about the theory of hegemony and politics that will be used in this research. Hegemony and politics are the two things needed to lead a country.

1. Hegemony

The first theory is about Gramsci's Hegemony. The term of hegemony comes from the ancient Greek language 'eugemonia'. Hegemony comes from the word Hegisthai (Greek) which has the meaning of leading, leadership, power that exceeds others power (Nyoman Kutha Ratna in Launa, 2014: 19). The concept of hegemony is the power held by certain social groups towards other social groups to gain power and maintain power. Hegemony emphasizes ideology, form of expression, method of application, and mechanism used to survive and develop (Wijakangka, 2008).

The term Hegemony is used by Gramsci to describe the dominance of a class against other classes caused ideologically and politically. Although political coercion always plays a role, ideology is more significant in getting conscious consent from the dominated class (Abercombrie, 2010: 253). Hegemony is a chain of victories obtained through consensus mechanisms rather than through

oppression. In essence, hegemony is an attempt to lead people to assess and view social problems within the specified framework without any coercion by force (Patria, 2015: 120-121). The concept of hegemony describes and analyzes how modern capitalist societies are organized. According to Gramsci, hegemony is a complex unity of theoretical and practical activities, in which the competent class not only justifies and maintains its dominance but also regulates to win the active consensus of the regulated (Sari and Indra, 2017).

This theory in the last century has produced so many and various serious debates, both in philosophical studies, politics, sociology, literature, cultural studies, and other studies. The concept of hegemony began to be widely known in studies in Europe and North America since John M. Cammet published his book *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism* in 1967, which was previously a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University, USA. The concept of hegemony itself was born and developed in the flow of thought of Marxism and has a close relationship with the concepts of power and ideology (Hatugalung, 2004). The theory of hegemony is actually nothing new for the Marxist tradition. According to Femia, such understanding was already known by other Marxists before Gramsci, such as; Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Sigmund Simmel. What distinguishes the concept of Gramsci's hegemony with the concept of hegemony by other characters is: First, he applies the concept more broadly to the highest power of one group or more above another in each social relationship, while the use of the term previously only refers to the relations between the proletariat and the other groups. Second, Gramsci also characterizes hegemony in terms of "cultural

influence", not just "political leadership in an alliance system" as understood by previous Marxist generations (Femia, 1983).

There are also levels of hegemony which are divided into three (Femia, 1983), namely:

1. Total hegemony, is a hegemony that is characterized by a period of affiliation that approaches totality, the Society shows a strong level of moral and intellectual unity.
2. Declining Hegemony, according to Gramsci, at this stage there is potential for disintegration or the potential for hidden conflicts beneath the surface, meaning that even though the existing system has reached its needs and objectives, the mass mentality is not really in harmony with the dominant thoughts and subjects of hegemony.
3. Minimum Hegemony, is the lowest level of hegemony, this hegemony relies on the ideological unity between economic, political and intellectual elites.

While the concept of hegemony itself is divided into three fields (Bocock, 1986), namely:

1. Economy is a term used to define the dominant form of production in a region at a time. This economy consists of technical means of production and social relations of production which are built on a distinction in classes that are associated with ownership of production facilities, either as substantial owners or as people employed in organizations related to production.

2. The state, consisting of means of violence (police and military) and a certain area, together with various bureaucracies funded by the state (civil service or government institutions, various legal, welfare and educational institutions).
3. Civil society can be defined as areas of organized social life made by society outside the influence of the state. Meanwhile, non-governmental organizations, social religious organizations, associations and interest groups are manifestations of civil society institutions.

A dominant view of life and way of thinking, in which a concept of reality disseminated in society both institutionally and individually (ideology) dictates all tastes, moral habits, religious and political principles, and all social relations, especially in intellectual and moral meaning (Valas, 2009, in NunikWidya, 2011).Based on Gramsci's thinking, it can be explained that hegemony is a power or domination over the values of life, norms, and culture of a group of people which eventually turns into a doctrine of other groups where the predominantly group consciously follows. Groups that are dominated by other groups (rulers) do not feel oppressed and feel it is something that should happen. Thus, the dominant community mastery mechanism can be explained as follows: The dominant class controls the lower classes using ideology. The dominant class society manipulates the consciousness of the lower classes of society so that they are unwittingly, they are willing and support the power of the dominant class (Nunik Widya, 2011).

Based on what has been described above, it can be concluded that hegemony is a theory that has a concept to regulate the role of life of the people as people who are under something power and ideology so that they want or do not want and are

conscious or unconscious, they are subject to the dominant or dominant people who have power and ideology.

2. Politics

Politics is an attempt to achieve a good life, Peter Merkl: Politics, at its best is a noble quest for a good order and justice. In a state, politics is concerned with matters of power, decision making, public policy, and allocation or distribution. In general, it can be said that politics is an attempt to determine regulations that are acceptable to most citizens, to bring the community towards a harmonious common life. However, in carrying out political activities there are also negative things as said by Peter Merkl as follows: Politics at its worst is a selfish grab for power, glory and riches (Budiardjo, 2007). Politics is not always good, in this case it can be seen from human nature that also has a bad instinct where personal interests can be more important than mutual interests.

Antonio Gramsci as one of the figures of state hegemony with the rise of reactionary fascism over the hegemony has put forward many brilliant political ideas in state hegemony. In politics, the state is a tool that guarantees the position of the upper class with its role that can politically dampen the efforts of the lower classes to free themselves from the upper class. In that context, the state with its hegemony does not serve the needs of the whole community but only serves the interests of certain social classes. According to Antonio Gramsci, politics is not just an autonomous activity in the context of the historical development of material forces, but politics is more than that, namely as a center of human activity with the same awareness. Then the problem is when politics is used for hedonist-pragmatic

interests so that it is far from the substance of democracy as a medium for the fulfillment of citizens' rights without looking at class differences. Antonio Gramsci argues that the state with its hegemonic structure can be understood as a complex unity of a blend of theory and practice in which the ruling class not only strengthens the justification for its dominance but also regulates that domination to win an active consensus from what is regulated. Antonio Gramsci's political ideas suggest that state hegemony needs to be directed at efforts to provide social awareness for all citizens to be actively involved in the development of a country that is based on mutual awareness (Kurniati, 2018).

Antonio Gramsci was a politician, member of Italy and leader of the communist party in Italy (*Partito Comunista d'Italia – PCI*) of his time. Hegemony is a political approach that has a different style than Machiavellian politics. Hegemony is a political approach that has a different style than Machiavellian politics. If Machiavellian during the renaissance separated politics from the ethical dimension so that the ruler can do everything to perpetuate power, Gramsci offered a more "subtle" approach: coercion by consent. Gramsci saw a transition from maneuver warfare that was no longer effective because it was too frontal. War in politics becomes a position war that uses mass channels because in social networks can include ideologies that cannot be penetrated before in a frontal manner (Wiryasono, 2015).

In a state system, political hegemony is very important for the government to include their ideologies in society so that they are accepted without coercion. The American government uses political power to hegemony the people in developing

surveillance systems that they do under the pretext of protecting the country from the threat of terrorism is one way that they can enter the privacy of the community without permission is a form of violation of the privacy rights of the people.

D. Power and Ideology

A brief discussion of power and ideology that will be explained can deepen the understanding of the theory of hegemony that has been explained. Because power and ideology are closely related to the concept of hegemony that works simultaneously, and hegemony as a central analysis in seeing the relationship between power and ideology.

1. Power

Humans certainly have various desires and goals to be achieved. For this reason, the frequent willingness of others or other groups to impose their wishes, according to Budiarjo creates a feeling for him that controlling others is an absolute requirement for personal safety. Power is the ability of a person or group of people to influence the behavior of another person or group in such a way that the action becomes in accordance with the desires and goals of the person who has that power (Budiarjo, 2006: 35, in Pawestri 2015). Max Weber defines power as an opportunity for someone or a number of people to carry out their own will in a social action, or get a challenge from someone else involved in the action. While opportunities (or possibilities) can be related to economics, honor, political parties, or anything that is a source of power for someone (Pawestri, 2015). Even though in this case the power does not always run smoothly, because in society there must be those who disagree and even, they fight against people who have that power.

Power according to Foucault is not understood in the context of ownership of an institutional group as a mechanism that ensures the submission of citizens to the state. Power is also not a mechanism of domination as a form of power over others in dominating relations with predominant or powerful ones with powerless.

“Power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process, which through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reserves them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategy in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemony.” (Foucault 1990: 92-93, dalam Mudhoffir, 2013).

In his book *The History of Sexuality Vol. I*, Foucault shows that there are five propositions about what he means by power, namely (Foucault 1990: 94-95, in Mudhoffir, 2013):

1. Power is not something that is obtained, achieved, used, or shared as something that can be grasped or even extinct; but power was carried out from various places of the relations that kept moving.
2. Power relations are not hierarchical structural relations which indicate that there are those who are controlled and controlled.
3. That power comes from below which presupposes that there is no longer the distinction of binary oppositions because that power covers both.
4. Power relations are intentional and non-subjective.
5. Where there is power, there is also anti-resistance. And resistance is not beyond that power relation, everyone is in power, there is no way to get out of it.

As Weber's conception of power in the context of the state, where the state exercises power uses a *sovereign power* model that underlies the legitimacy of its operations on the validity of the law and the authority or rights of the state in regulating its citizens and resources. Sovereign power is carried out by the state through negative means, because the state is seen as having the right or authority to do so. Whereas *governmentality* is a form of rationalization of how power is carried out by the state so that it can be recognized or legitimate. Governmentality is also called the *conduct of conduct*. That is, the state regulates the actions or behavior of the community by internalizing the submission so that it becomes an obedient population. As a form of rationalization of the operation of power, governmentality is nothing but also seen as a *legitimate* and correct way of regulating things, namely population and resources (the right manner of disposition of things) (Mudhoffir, 2013).

Although there are many differences of opinion according to experts about the concept of power, but based on what has been explained above, it can be concluded that the concept of power is a power possessed by a person or group or institution (state government) towards the intended person through a means positive or negative way.

2. Ideology

Ideology has an important function, which is to instill the belief or truth of a group struggle or unity that clings to that ideology. The term ideology is a word consisting of "ideo" and "logi". The word "ideo" comes from the Greek *eidos*, in Latin, which means "understanding", "idea" or "idea". The verb in Greek is *oida*

which means knowing, seeing with kindness. In Javanese we find the word *idep* with the meaning of knowing, seeing. The word "logi" comes from the Greek *logos*, which means "ideas", "understanding", and "science". So etymologically it can be explained that ideology means "science of ideas" (Hujayyana, 2009).

The field of ideological studies has a very broad scope. About this, Thompson (1990: 56, in Takwin, 2002) suggests: "*to study ideology is to study the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination*". Antoine Destutt de Tracy who first used the term ideology and tried to work on it systematically. Destutt de Tracy views ideology as a science of ideas. Here ideology is a branch of science that is considered neutral. The field of study includes the origin of ideas, why an idea appears, how it develops, and what strategies can be done to spread the idea (Takwin, 20002).

In this case a state ideology by people in power cannot be separated from political ideology, in Marx's view ideology is defined as "*The expression class in which an individual finds himself*". According to Marx and his followers, ideology is a term that is highly disliked because it is identified with the needs of certain elites to protect their economic interests by rationalizing what is called ideology through a series of theories that are not in accordance with public interests (Harichayono, 1991: 119, in Pawestri, 2015). As in the case of this analysis, the American government imposed extreme theories to protect their interests. This is a number of ideologies that are often related to power as follows:

1. Authoritarianism is a notion or stand that holds to authority, power, authority included in the way of life and action (Mangunhardjana, 1997: 174, in Pawestri, 2015).
2. Feudalism is a social system that glorifies position or rank and does not glorify work performance (KBBI, 2008: 408, in Pawestri, 2015).
3. Capitalism, in KBBI (2008: 637) is a system and understanding of the economy whose investment comes from the private capital or capital of private companies with competition in free markets (Ali, 1966: 444, in Pawestri, 2015).
4. Socialism is a notion that requires change from the present situation to a just and prosperous society, so that the state (government) needs to interfere in the economy (Sumantri, 1966: 17, in Pawestri, 2015).
5. Vandalism in KBBI is an act of destruction of works in a crude and cruel way (KBBI, 2008: 1604, in Pawestri, 2015).

Ideology can also be understood as a reaction to one dominance. Every oppression will result in an effort on the part of the oppressed to escape. One important and necessary tool in this liberation effort is ideology, a belief that was built to move the group of oppressed people. When the oppressed parties succeed in being free and powerful, their ideology can be used to oppress others who are weaker, so constantly. Antonio Gramsci sees that the oppression of one party by another is not merely in the form of physical oppression or control in the economic field, but also with persuasive approaches through various media and aspects of people's lives. Gramsci's condition of mastery is called hegemony which is defined as a dominant view of life and way of thinking, in which a concept of reality

disseminated in society both institutionally and individually (ideology) dictates all tastes, moral habits, religious and political principles, and all social relations, especially in meaning of intellectual and moral. The hegemony here is used as a substitute for the term ideology to distinguish it from previous ideological concepts (Takwin, 2002). Hegemony is an ideology from the dominant people or rulers who are shown to the intended people to be obedient without any form of physical coercion but through an ideology created they will follow it.

Ideology in the form of guidelines means to be the pattern and norm of life. But at the same time become ideal or ideals. The realization of ideas is seen as greatness, human glory. By carrying out ideology, humans are not just wanting to do what they realize is an obligation. With human ideology pursuing nobility. Therefore, humans are able to sacrifice property, even their lives for ideology, because ideology becomes a pattern, norms of life and pursued by its implementation as ideals, it is not surprising if ideology becomes a form of life (Hujayyana, 2009).

E. Representation

In this discussion, we will discuss the second theory of representation theory. Representation theory is put forward by Stuart Hall, showing a process in which meaning is produced using language and exchanged between group members in a culture. Representation connects concepts in our minds by using language that allows us to interpret objects, people, real events, and the world of imagination from objects, people, objects, and events that are not real (fictional) (Hall, 2003).

Language in this case is defined more broadly, namely as any system that uses verbal and nonverbal signs.

Giles (1999: 56-57, in Surahman, 2011) in chapter 3 of the book *Studying Culture: A Practical Introduction*, there are three definitions of the word "represent" namely:

1. *To stand in for*. This can be exemplified in the event of a country's flag, which if raised at a sports event, the flag indicates the existence of the country concerned in the event.
2. *To speak or act on behalf of*. For example, the leader becomes the person who speaks and acts on behalf of his people.
3. *To re-present*. In this sense, for example historical writing or biography that can bring back events in the past.

The theory put forward by Hall is very helpful in understanding further what the meanings of representation are and how they operate in cultural societies. Hall in his book *Representation* (2003: 17):

Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices "Representation connects meaning and language to culture.... Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of culture.

Through representation, a meaning is produced and exchanged between community members. So, it can be said that, representation in a nutshell is one way to produce meaning. Representation works through a representation system that consists of two important components, namely concepts in mind and language. These two components are correlated with each other. The concept of something that is owned

and exists in the mind, makes a person or someone knows the meaning of something. However, the meaning will not be communicated without language (Surahman, 2017).

Stuart Hall (2003: 17) in his article, *"things don't mean: construct meaning, using representational system-concept and signs*. Therefore, the concepts in (mind) and signs (languages) become important parts that are used in the process of construction or production of meaning. So, it can be concluded that representation is a process to produce meaning from a concept that is in our mind through language. The process of producing meaning is made possible by the presence of a representation system. Representations are not present until

they are represented, representation does not occur after an event. Representation is constitutive of an event. Representation is part of the object itself; it is constitutive of it. Representation is the relationship between concepts of mind and language that allows the reader to refer to the real world of an object, reality, or to the imaginary world of fictitious objects, human beings or events. So, representation is a process in which members of a culture use language to produce meaning (Surahman, 2017).

There are three approaches to explain how production of meaning through language to use in social construction (Hall, 1997: 13, in Aprinta, 2011):

1. The reflective approach explains that meaning is understood to fool objects, people, ideas, or events in real life. In this view, language functions are similar to mirror functions. A mirror that reflects the true meaning of everything in the world. So, this approach says that language works with simple reflections about

the truths that exist in normal life demanding normative life (Hall, 1997: 13). In this approach, reflective emphasizes more on whether language has been able to express the meaning contained in the object in question.

2. The second approach is an intentional approach. This approach sees that the language and the phenomenon are used to say the purpose and have meaning for the person. It does not reflect but it stands on itself with all its meaning. Words are interpreted as the owner of what he means (Hall, 1997: 24). So in this intentional approach, it is more emphasized on whether language has been able to express what the communicator means.
3. While the third approach is constructionist. This approach emphasizes the process of constructing meaning through the language used. In this approach, language and language users cannot define meaning in language through themselves, but must be confronted with other things to bring up what is called interpretation. Social construction is built through social actors who use the system of language culture concepts and are combined by other representational systems (Hall, 1997: 35).

Thus, representation is a social process of representing as well as a product of representing itself. Representation refers to the process and product of the meaning of a sign. Representation is a concept used in the social process of meaning through available marking systems, such as dialogue, video, film, text, photography and so on. Representation is the production of meaning through language (Aprinta, 2011).

F. National Security Agency (NSA)

The roots of the National Security Agency have existed since World War I as a code and cipher decryption unit. It wasn't until October 1952 when the Armed Forces Security Agency was replaced by the new NSA. The NSA became the management system for the many cryptology agencies throughout the military and researchers into new computer technology and communications infrastructure (Verble, 2014). The National Security Agency leads the U.S. Government in cryptology that encompasses both signals intelligence (SIGINT) and information assurance (now referred to as cyber security) products and services, and enables computer network operations (CNO) in order to gain a decision advantage for the Nation and our allies under all circumstances. NSA activities include wiretapping and security. The tapping of the NSA includes telephone, Internet communications, radio communications, and other communications that can be tapped. The NSA's security covers military, diplomatic and secret or sensitive communications from the government (<https://www.nsa.gov/about/mission/>). As a national-level intelligence agency from the United States Department of Defense, the NSA has an extraordinary ability in its function as a collector of all forms of data that are even confidential. With the advancement of the NSA's technological system, the NSA can easily tap into all forms of communication, but in this case the NSA also has limits so as not to violate the privacy rights of its people.

The important piece of legislation was the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (FISA). The purpose of FISA was to limit the amount of domestic spying in the US. FISA was amended in 2008 to include electronic surveillance,

and in its current form prohibits targeting US citizens, targeting foreign citizens in order to get to a US citizen and communication coming from abroad to US citizens. Those same amendments also allow for “telecom companies blanket immunity from prosecution for participating in domestic surveillance” (McAllister). Strict foreign targets can still be spied on under these rules. The most controversial of its problems stemmed from their post-9/11 warrantless wiretapping programs and recently its numerous domestic spying programs. After the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001, the NSA was granted more powers in order to combat terrorism. The Bush Administration covertly authorized the NSA to spy on American citizens and others without warrants from the FISA court (Verble, 2014). FISA should be an example of how the government performs its obligations without violating the privacy rights of its people, because there are legal limits that must not be violated. The government's pretext for state security after a terrorist attack seems to make the government free to do anything for the country's security.

G. Previous Study

In this chapter, there are also previous studies that are used to compare topics or themes of this research with some of the studies used in previous research, to obtain topic gaps. The previous research was in the form of a final assignment (minor thesis) or journal.

The first is minor thesis “*Hegemoni Kekuasaan dalam Novel Bibir Merah karya Achmad Munif*” was written by Shalikatin Pawestri, a graduate of the Indonesian Language and Literature Study Program, Faculty of Language and Art, Yogyakarta State University (2015). The second is journal “*Analisis Hegemoni*

Kekuasaan dalam Novel Pabrik karya Putu Wijaya” was written by Angga Ramses Wijakangka, State University of Malang (2008). The third is Lontar: Journal of Communication Studies 3 (1) “*Representasi Perempuan Metropolitan dalam Film 7 Hati 7 Cinta 7 Wanita*” written by Sigit Surahman, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Serang Raya University (2017). The last is The Messenger Journal 3 (1), 12-27 “*Kajian Media Massa: Representasi Girl Power Wanita Modern dalam Media Online (Studi Framing Girl Power dalam Rubrik Karir dan Keuangan Femina Online)*” written by Gita Aprinta E.B (2011).

The first is Shalikatin Pawestri, his study which aims to describe ideological formation, the form of hegemony in power that operates and fictional elements used to present power hegemony in the novel *Bibir Merah*. The second is Angga Ramses Wijakangka, his study of the analysis of power hegemony in the novel *Pabrik* which is reflected in the relationship between characters. The third is Sigit Surahman, his study to find and see how the metropolitan women portrayed the film *7 Hati 7 Cinta 7 Wanita*. The last Gita Aprinta EB, his study of representation in “*Kajian Media Massa: Representasi Girl Power Wanita Modern dalam Media Online*”, about working women who through their careers, they try to find meaning, identity, and achievements that bring trust to their lives, but there are still problems regarding gender bias related to the quality and ability of women in the field of work.

CHAPTER III

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter will explain research results and research problems from the book *No Place To Hide* which was formulated at the beginning of the chapter. This study will discuss two main points. The first is about the ideology of the American government and the second is a form of political hegemony of the American government and also the effects that will be explained in this chapter.

International politics is fundamentally different than domestic politics. States enjoy sovereignty and are not legally bound to an overarching authority the same way citizens are bound to their states. This makes it difficult for any one state to conduct surveillance on the citizens of a different state. Secret programs like those run by intelligence services offer one way to mitigate such difficulties. States can also try to work together. After all, there are incentives for states to cooperate on transnational issues such as terrorism and crime. Cooperation on surveillance matters, however, does not come easy. One way the US has been able to get other states and institutions to cooperate on surveillance, is through its hegemonic position in world politics (Keiber, 2015). Political differences are what make the American government more flexible in moving than its citizens who tend to be tied to state politics. In international politics, the American government cooperates with their allied countries or big internet and technology companies to show the power of the American government to the world.

Hegemony does not simply mean dominance in material power. It refers also to dominance in the way things are done. Hegemony is reflected in a particular

constellation of power, ideas and institutions which together produce stability. A materially powerful actor by itself is not a hegemon. Hegemony also requires a foundation in ideas that provide at least a veneer of legitimacy to the dominant actor's power and influence. Institutions, in turn, provide transmission belts for the proliferation of ideas and venues for other actors to participate in—and not resist—the social order (Keiber, 2005). The hegemonic power of the American government has made America the main actor and cooperates with its allies to share profits and establish cooperation with large technology companies or the internet. America has an idea that state security is the main thing which then makes these programs a weapon for the government and global elites so that they can control the situation both politically, diplomatically, and economically.

A. The Ideology of American Government against Society According to Edward Snowden

The Marxist theory of ideology was perhaps developed furthest by Antonio Gramsci (see p. 125). Gramsci ([1935] 1971) argued that the capitalist class system is upheld not simply by unequal economic and political power, but by what he termed the 'hegemony' of bourgeois ideas and theories. Hegemony means leadership or domination and, in the sense of ideological hegemony, it refers to the capacity of bourgeois ideas to displace rival views and become, in effect, the common sense of the age. Gramsci highlighted the degree to which ideology is embedded at every level in society: in its art and literature; in its education system and mass media; in everyday language; and in popular culture (Heywood, 2017: 8). Antonio Gramsci sees that the oppression of one party by another is not merely in

the form of physical oppression or control in the economic field, but also with persuasive approaches through various media and aspects of people's lives. Gramsci's condition of mastery is called hegemony which is defined as a dominant view of life and way of thinking, in which a concept of reality disseminated in society both institutionally and individually (ideology) dictates all tastes, moral habits, religious and political principles, and all social relations, especially in meaning of intellectual and moral (Takwin, 2002). Ideology is a way of thinking, through ideology in hegemonic practice, the American government tries to maintain its power not by war or violence, but through subtle approaches that can be accepted by society as a form of government domination in its hegemonic practices.

The 'Founding Fathers' were influenced by concerns and sympathies that had an unmistakable liberal character, meaning that the US Constitution became perhaps the classic example of liberal constitutionalism in practice (Heywood, 2017: 52). America is a liberal country that upholds freedom in life without any restrictions from government or religion. Liberals believe that human beings are, first and foremost, individuals, endowed with reason. This implies that each individual should enjoy the maximum possible freedom consistent with a like freedom for all. Liberal societies are organized politically around the twin principles of constitutionalism and consent, designed to protect citizens from the danger of government tyranny (Heywood, 2017: 32). Politically, a liberal society is bound by state law while the government is more bound to international politics so that abuse of power is prone to happen.

Today it is the US which exercises global hegemony. It runs a “political order built on ‘liberal hegemonic’ bargains [...] public goods provision, and an unprecedented array of intergovernmental institutions and working relationships” (Ikenberry, 2004: 611). The seeds of US hegemony were sown after World War II with the creation of the United Nations, the IMF, the World Bank, and GATT/WTO. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the US with its preponderance of power became the unchallengeable supporter and protector of this liberal order. As a result of this broader hegemonic political order, the US has been able to establish what I call “surveillance hegemony” (Keiber, 2005). Surveillance which should be used to protect state security from terrorist threats or enemies becomes a violation of privacy against society.

Since September 11, the American government has adopted the principle of power that is increasingly radical and extreme.

The New York Times dropped a bombshell: in 2001, it reported, the Bush administration had secretly ordered the National Security Agency (NSA) to eavesdrop on the electronic communications of Americans without obtaining the warrants required by relevant criminal law. At the time that it was revealed, this warrantless eavesdropping had been going on for four years and had targeted at least several thousand Americans (p.7).

In this case, it can be seen that the Bush administration has ordered the NSA to conduct tapping illegally, and surprisingly, this wiretapping has been running for four years without being aware by public. What the government has done for years in violating the privacy rights of its citizens without being realized by its people is a form of hegemony in which the government freely monitors its citizens secretly.

For his actions the government tried to justify his actions by looking for reasons such as the following:

The government tried to justify the secret NSA program by invoking exactly the kind of extreme theory of executive power that had motivated me to begin writing: the notion that the threat of terrorism vested the president with virtually unlimited authority to do anything to “keep the nation safe,” including the authority to break the law (p.7).

This article reinforces the hegemonic power of the American government that tries to find reasons to justify his extreme theories with the pretext of maintaining the security of the nation. After the events of September 11, the government had a radical and extreme theory or ideology to protect their interests including the authority to violate the law in order to monitor society without permission.

Violations committed by the American government do not only happen to American citizens themselves, but also can happen to other citizens as follows:

The fear of terrorism—stoked by consistent exaggerations of the actual threat—has been exploited by US leaders to justify a wide array of extremist policies. It has led to wars of aggression, a worldwide torture regime, and the detention (and even assassination) of both foreign nationals and American citizens without any charges. But the ubiquitous, secretive system of suspicionless surveillance that it has spawned may very well turn out to be its most enduring legacy. This is so because, despite all the historical parallels, there is also a genuinely new dimension to the current NSA surveillance scandal: the role now played by the Internet in daily life (p.10).

It was said that justifying the extreme policies of the American leaders led to wars of aggression, regimes, torture throughout the world, and the detention of both citizens and foreign nationals without clear accusations. In this case shows the reach of the government in conducting surveillance not only for American citizens themselves but also for other citizens and even leaders of other countries.

In addition to the aftermath of September 11, like what the writer said about the dangers of the American government's very secret attitude in fighting terror.

On April 18, I flew from my home in Rio de Janeiro to New York, where I was scheduled to give some talks on the dangers of government secrecy and civil liberties abuses done in the name of the War on Terror (p.14).

In this case the author of the book Glenn Greenwald said about the secret attitude of the American government in the war on terror is one of their political ways to hide the government's actions against violations of civil liberties, especially their privacy rights in the internet world.

Actions taken by the government in violation of people's privacy made Edward aware. Having succeeded in convincing the writer, Edward also spoke about his desire to spark debate about this and he also had a motive to confirm the public about this.

I want to spark a worldwide debate about privacy, Internet freedom, and the dangers of state surveillance,” he said. “I’m not afraid of what will happen to me. I only have one fear in doing all of this,” he said, which is “that people will see these documents and shrug, that they’ll say, ‘we assumed this was happening and don’t care.’ The only thing I’m worried about is that I’ll do all this to my life for nothing (p.21). My sole motive is to inform the public as to that which is done in their name and that which is done against them. The U.S. government, in conspiracy with client states, chiefest among them the Five Eyes—the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand—have inflicted upon the world a system of secret, pervasive surveillance from which there is no refuge. They protect their domestic systems from the oversight of citizenry through classification and lies, and shield themselves from outrage in the event of leaks by overemphasizing limited protections they choose to grant the governed.... (p.25).

Edward wanted to spark a debate about the right to privacy in freedom of surfing and the dangers of surveillance carried out illegally by the government, and to confirm to the public that the people's interests had been used as an excuse for them

to protect their surveillance systems by classification and lies. But that might be a difficult thing. In this case the community will consider it a reasonable thing and not too concerned about it, because they do not want to interfere with matters relating to government as what was said by Glenn Greenwald:

“I wasn’t convinced I really believed that. I knew from my years of writing about NSA abuses that it can be hard to generate serious concern about secret state surveillance: invasion of privacy and abuse of power can be viewed as abstractions, ones that are difficult to get people to care about viscerally. What’s more, the issue of surveillance is invariably complex, making it even harder to engage the public in a widespread way” (p.21).

The ideology of the government as the highest authority seems to make the government like God who always knows what the people are doing. The ideology of the government in carrying out surveillance is a natural thing for the community because they are already accustomed to small forms of surveillance such as CCTV. CCTV installed in various places for a surveillance or security. The increasing number of CCTV installed everywhere such as in homes, malls, markets, or roads make people accustomed to it. Ideology like this is what makes it easy for the government to supervise its people in the internet or digital world to enter their privacy because they are already accustomed to being monitored.

Governments around the world have made vigorous attempts to train citizens to disdain their own privacy. A litany of now-familiar platitudes has convinced people to tolerate severe encroachments into their private realm; so successful are these justifications that many people applaud as the authorities collect vast amounts of data about what they say, read, buy, and do—and with whom (p.147).

Several years ago, I attended the bat mitzvah of my best friend’s daughter. During the ceremony, the rabbi emphasized that “the central lesson” for the girl to learn was that she was “always being watched and judged.” He told her that God always knew what she was doing, every choice, every action, and even every thought, no matter how private. “You are never alone,” he said, which meant that she should always adhere to God’s will. The rabbi’s

point was clear: if you can never evade the watchful eyes of a supreme authority, there is no choice but to follow the dictates that authority imposes (p.149).

The community is proud of the progress made by the government, this makes things that should be sensitive become general to the public, because they are familiar with CCTVs that are located everywhere in monitoring their activity. This is what has always been emphasized by the government so that people get used to it so that the government can reach their privacy. The government always knows what the people are doing, this kind of ideology has entered the community unnoticed. Ideology like this is what makes people will always obey the government as the highest authority holder.

The fourth amendment clearly said the protection of the safety and comfort of the community of their rights to their belongings or other matters of a personal and sensitive nature which constitute privacy for them.

The Fourth Amendment enshrined this idea in American law. Its language is clear and succinct: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized." It was intended, above all, to abolish forever in America the power of the government to subject its citizens to generalized, suspicionless surveillance (p.8).

In the fourth amendment, it is clear that the government must not suspect its citizens without any evidence to keep safe their citizens. The fourth amendment was made to protect the privacy rights of Americans society from any form of unreasonable search and wiretapping. The government also does not care about this law because this law protects individuals, while the government has a greater reason to protect the country. The law is opposed to the law that is what happens when the fourth

amendment as a protector of society is challenged by the Patriot Act which allows the government to search for someone's data and information. The interests of the state are greater than those of individuals.

Ideology belongs to those who dominate over the people who are dominated. The government and global elites in their hegemonic practices will continue to maintain their power. America, although this country has a liberal ideology in upholding individual freedom, the ideology of society can never oppose the ideology of the government.

B. The Form of Political Hegemony of American Government

The American government has technology that will continue to grow and become more sophisticated. In the digital age the internet is not just space to explore, but the internet or technology has become a necessity for humans. In modern times that are all technology, humans need the internet or all forms of media technology to communicate, access the things they need, and also to save their personal things in the internet. NSA as a form of American government security agency in terms of technology has developed various types of secret programs that can monitor all forms of activities that exist on the internet.

This research will explain several NSA programs, the secret programs are carried out by the NSA as a form of political hegemony of the American government which will be explained as follows:

1. Boundless Informant is a government program to collect all telephone calls and emails from all over the world.

BOUNDLESS INFORMANT was the name of the NSA program designed to quantify the agency's daily surveillance activities with mathematical exactitude (p.30). The BOUNDLESS INFORMANT program was one of the first such revelations, showing that the NSA counts all the telephone calls and emails collected every day from around the world with mathematical exactitude. A BOUNDLESS INFORMANT slide showed that a single unit of the NSA, Global Access Operations had collected data on more than 3 billion telephone calls and emails that had passed through the US telecommunications system. Overall, in just thirty days the unit had collected data on more than 97 billion emails and 124 billion phone calls from around the world. Another BOUNDLESS INFORMANT document detailed the international data collected in a single thirty-day period from Germany (500 million), Brazil (2.3 billion), and India (13.5 billion). And yet other files showed collection of metadata in cooperation with the governments of France (70 million), Spain (60 million), Italy (47 million), the Netherlands (1.8 million), Norway (33 million), and Denmark (23 million) (p.78-79).

Boundless Informant is a government program that shows NSA statistics in collecting millions of calls and emails from all over the world. The program is designed to analyze quantitatively from the agency's reconnaissance activities from day to day which amounts to billions of data collected. This program is a form of the power of the American government that has secretly monitored through telephone and email networks around the world which is the privacy of everyone, because all forms of communication they make via telephone and e-mail networks can be known by the American government through this program.

2. BLARNEY, FAIRVIEW, OAKSTAR, and STORMBREW are programs run by SSO (Special Sources Operations). SSO is a division within the US National Security Agency (NSA) that is responsible for all programs aimed at collecting data from major fiber-optic cables and switches, both within the US and abroad, and also through corporate partnerships. Its existence was revealed in documents provided

by Edward Snowden to media outlets in 2013 and he said was the NSA's "crown jewel".

BLARNEY, FAIRVIEW, OAKSTAR, and STORMBREW are some of the programs overseen by the SSO within its Corporate Partner Access (CPA) portfolio. The core purpose of BLARNEY is depicted in one NSA briefing: leverage unique key corporate partnerships to gain access to high-capacity international fiber-optic cables, switches and/or routers throughout the world. BLARNEY relied on one relationship in particular—a long-standing partnership with AT&T Inc., according to the Wall Street Journal's reporting on the program (p.87-88).

The NSA took advantage of these programs to collaborate to gain access that owned by certain telecommunication companies over the international system. The NSA entered into contracts with these foreign or private telecommunications companies to build, manage and upgrade their domestic networks which were then exploited. According to NSA data, BLARNEY relies on the NSA's partnership with a company AT&T Inc., in working with these companies the NSA has succeeded in targeting several countries such as Brazil, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, South Korea, and Venezuela, as well as the European Union and the United Nations.

In its description of the BLARNEY program, the NSA lists the types of information it is supposed to provide to its customers as “counter terrorism,” “diplomatic”—and “economic”. Provides collection against DNR and DNI FISA Court Order authorized communications. Key targets: diplomatic establishment, foreign government, economic (p.115-116).

The BLARNEY program has provided the NSA with three types of information, namely about counter terrorism, diplomacy, and the economy of NSA targets regarding diplomatic formation, foreign governance, and the economy so that the American government can find out the political, diplomacy and economic situation that is happening in the other country.

FAIRVIEW is another program runs by SSO illegally which has the same task as BLARNEY, collaborating with a company partner that has a communication system to foreign countries to collect large amounts of data from around the world.

FAIRVIEW, another SSO program, also collects what the NSA touts as “massive amounts of data” from around the world. And it, too, relies mostly on a single “corporate partner” and, in particular, that partner’s access to the telecommunications systems of foreign nations. The NSA’s internal summary of FAIRVIEW is simple and clear: access to massive amounts of data, controlled by variety of legal authorities, most access are controlled by partner. Key corporate partner with access to international cables, routers, and switches. Key targets: global (p.88-89).

FAIRVIEW is a program with a unique aspect, which is legal and can provide access to any data managed by partner companies that have access to cables, routers and switches internationally making the whole world a key target. FAIRVIEW is among the top five of the programs that can provide the most data to the NSA sustainably. Thanks to this cooperation, FAIRVIEW is able to collect hundreds of millions per day with a total of more than six billion archives per month for the US government.

OAKSTAR and STORMBREW are two other programs run by SSO which are basically the same, namely by taking advantage of access to one of the company's partners and close partners with the FBI.

The OAKSTAR program similarly exploits the access that one of the NSA’s corporate partners (code-named STEELKNIGHT) has to foreign telecommunications systems, using that access to redirect data into the NSA’s own repositories. Another partner, code-named SILVERZEPHYR, appears in a November 11, 2009, document describing work done with the company to obtain “internal communications” from both Brazil and Colombia (p.90).

Meanwhile, the STORMBREW program, conducted in “close partnership with the FBI,” gives the NSA access to Internet and telephone traffic that

enters the United States at various “choke points” on US soil. According to the NSA, STORMBREW “is currently comprised of very sensitive relationships with two U.S. telecom providers (cover terms ARTIFICE and WOLFPOINT).” Beyond its access to US-based choke points, “the STORMBREW program also manages two submarine cable landing access sites; one on the USA west coast (cover term, BRECKENRIDGE), and the other on the USA east coast (cover term QUAIL-CREEK)” (p.91-92).

OAKSTAR basically is same as other SSO programs that collaborate with companies with code-named STEELKNIGHT and SILVERZEPHYR which have succeeded in getting internal communications from Brazil and Colombia. Meanwhile, STORMBREW is working with two US telecommunications providers on cover terms ARTIFICE and WOLFPOINT to provide the access for NSA to the internet and telephone traffic entering America at narrow points and also to manage two access points on undersea cable landings.

SSO runs these programs in collaboration with the largest and most important internet and telecommunication providers around the world who provide access to the NSA to protect their systems from exploitation and to exploit foreign signals. So, the programs carried out by SSO have an important role to always monitor the situation that occurs both at home and abroad to strengthen America's position in controlling politics, diplomacy, and also the economy in the world.

3. PRISM is an American government program to collect data by collaborating with major internet companies such as Facebook, Google, Yahoo!, Skype, and Microsoft in collecting data directly.

The documents pertained to one specific story about a program called PRISM, which allowed the NSA to collect private communications from the world’s largest Internet companies, including Facebook, Google, Yahoo!, and Skype (p.20).

“PRISM/US-984XN Overview.” Each page bore the logos of nine of the largest Internet companies, including Google, Facebook, Skype, and Yahoo!. The first slides laid out a program under which the NSA had what it called “collection directly from the servers of these U.S. Service Providers: Microsoft, Yahoo, Google, Facebook, Paltalk, AOL, Skype, YouTube, Apple.” A graph displayed the dates on which each of these companies had joined the program (p.22-23).

Most famously, his archive included the PRISM documents, which detailed secret agreements between the NSA and the world’s largest Internet companies—Facebook, Yahoo!, Apple, Google—as well as extensive efforts by Microsoft to provide the agency with access to its communications platforms such as Outlook. Unlike BLARNEY, FAIRVIEW, OAKSTAR, and STORMBREW, which entail tapping into fiber-optic cables and other forms of infrastructure (“upstream” surveillance, in NSA parlance), PRISM allows the NSA to collect data directly from the servers of nine of the biggest Internet companies (p.92).

The PRISM program is a program where the American government cooperates with large internet companies as mentioned above making it easier for them to collect all data, because these companies are internet companies that are used by everyone in the world. This program shows how the power of the American government in collecting data is very strong, so it is difficult to protect personal data that is privacy for the community, seeing how large companies that work closely with the government are internet companies that have been needed and used every day by the public. This program can present data directly and does not require tapping of cables, fiber optics, or other forms of infrastructure such as programs run by SSO, because these internet companies will directly provide the data needed by the NSA. US government employees authorized to access PRISM can perform searches and receive results without interacting with company staff. This program shows how the power of the American government has been secretly monitoring the public through these companies without any contact that arouses public suspicion.

Such congratulatory proclamations do not support the notion of PRISM as only a trivial technicality, and they give the lie to Silicon Valley's denials of cooperation. Indeed, the New York Times, reporting on the PRISM program after Snowden's revelations, described a slew of secret negotiations between the NSA and Silicon Valley about providing the agency with unfettered access to the companies' systems. In the end, though, many cooperated at least a bit. But other companies were more compliant, according to people briefed on the negotiations. They opened discussions with national security officials about developing technical methods to more efficiently and securely share the personal data of foreign users in response to lawful government requests. And in some cases, they changed their computer systems to do so (p.95).

Expanding PRISM sharing with FBI and CIA by name redacted on 2012-08-31 0947. Special Source Operations (SSO) has recently expanded sharing with the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) on PRISM operations via two projects. Through these efforts, SSO has created an environment of sharing and teaming across the Intelligence Community on PRISM operations (p.99).

The American government is also working with Silicon Valley, the southern part of the San Francisco Bay Area in Northern California, as a global development center for high technology, innovation, venture capital, and social media. Silicon Valley-based companies include Adobe Systems, Apple Computer, Cisco Systems, eBay, Google, Hewlett-Packard, Intel, and Yahoo!. The collaboration shows the relationship between the US government and these technology companies from behind the scenes in developing their technology and sharing all forms of information that can be generated or obtained for their benefit. The information the NSA has obtained is also shared with other intelligent agencies such as the FBI and the CIA to increase information deployment to other intelligent agencies.

The types of data that the NSA can retrieve through PRISM are as follows: email, text conversations, audio-video conversations, videos, photos, data stored by

customers in the cloud, VoIP (telephone conversations via the internet), file transfers, teleconferencing, logs activity, and social personal account information.

4. X-KEYSCORE is a program developed by NSA that functions to collect the actual content of e-mails, web searches, search history, and also chat.

The need for ever-larger facilities is particularly pressing given the agency's current invasions into global online activity, which extend far beyond the collection of metadata to include the actual content of emails, Web browsing, search histories, and chats. The key program used by the NSA to collect, curate, and search such data, introduced in 2007, is X-KEYSCORE, and it affords a radical leap in the scope of the agency's surveillance powers. The NSA calls X-KEYSCORE its "widest-reaching" system for collecting electronic data, and with good reason (p.129-130).

In this case, X-KEYSCORE does not only collect data as above but in its search X-KEYSCORE has its own program which is "plug-ins" as a search tool that allows NSA to search in detail and specific IP addresses such as email addresses, HTTP parser, user activity, and document metadata.

Beyond collecting comprehensive data about the online activities of hundreds of millions of people, X-KEYSCORE allows any NSA analyst to search the system's databases by email address, telephone number, or identifying attributes such as an IP address. The range of information available and the basic means an analyst uses to search it. Another X-KEYSCORE slide lists the various fields of information that can be searched via the program's "plug-ins." Those include "every email address seen in a session," "every phone number seen in a session" (including "address book entries"), and "the webmail and chat activity". The program also offers the ability to search and retrieve embedded documents and images that were created, sent, or received (p.130-131).

X-KEYSCORE not only enhances the NSA's ability to spy and collect data, X-KEYSCORE can also retrieve document data and images on the internet. The ability of this program is really impressive, in terms of searching this program can search specifically and take the data needed. The scope of the personality of this program is very broad in entering the lives of individual communities because this

program has the ability to monitor social media networking activities which are a reflection of a person.

One of X-KEYSCORE's most valuable functions to the NSA is its ability to surveil the activities on online social networks (OSNs), such as Facebook and Twitter, which the agency believes provide a wealth of information and "insight into the personal lives of targets". The methods for searching social media activity are every bit as simple as the email search. An analyst enters the desired user name on, say, Facebook, along with the date range of activity, and X-KEYSCORE then returns all of that user's information, including messages, chats, and other private postings. (p.135-136).

Social media is an online media that is often used by the public to communicate and share many things with colleagues, friends, family, and even others. Lots of personal information that we can find out from someone's social media. X-KEYSCORE, this program shows the technological progress that has been developed by the American government can easily find out the personal life of a target.

NSA and GCHQ (Government Communications Headquarters) a British intelligence agency they are working together to find unmonitored loopholes to develop programs to fill in those gaps.

Beyond social media networks, the NSA and the GCHQ continue to look for any gaps in their surveillance net, any communications that remain outside their grasp, and then develop ways to bring them under the agencies' watchful eye. Both the NSA and GCHQ have been consumed by their perceived need to monitor Internet and phone communications of people on commercial airline flights. Because these are rerouted via independent satellite systems, they are extremely difficult to pinpoint. At the 2012 Five Eyes conference, the GCHQ presented an interception program named Thieving Magpie, targeting the increasingly available use of cell phones during flights (p.140-141).

Thieving Magpie is a program targeted for mobile phone users during the flight by GCHQ, because on a business class flight or long-haul flights, many airlines provide access to data and SMS services but not voice (telephone).

Travel Tracking: We can confirm that targets selectors are on board specific flights in near real time, enabling surveillance or arrest team to be put in place in advance. If they use data, we can also recover email address, Facebook Ids, Skype address (p.143).

The services provided by the airline can be monitored by the Thieving Magpie program, all forms of activity will be known such as the SMS service they send and receive and even if a passenger activates data services on an airplane it will make it easier for the program to access their personal matters during the flight such as email, Facebook and Skype.

The NSA also introduced the Homing Pigeon program which is used to monitor communications in the air.

A related NSA document presented at the same conference, for a program entitled Homing Pigeon, also describes efforts to monitor in-air communications. The agency's program was to be coordinated with the GCHQ, and the entire system made available to the Five Eyes group (p.143).

These programs were introduced to Five Eyes countries (America, Australia, Great Britain, Canada, New Zealand) so that they can be used by them to monitor electronics activity in the air.

These programs have been approved by the FISA court, which is very secretive and is known to only a few people.

One of the first I read was an order from the secret Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) court, which had been created by Congress in 1978, after the Church Committee discovered decades of abusive government eavesdropping. The idea behind its formation was that the government could

continue to engage in electronic surveillance, but to prevent similar abuse, it had to obtain permission from the FISA court before doing so (p.28).

The 2008 FISA Amendments Act is the current governing law for NSA surveillance. It was enacted by a bipartisan Congress in the wake of the Bush-era NSA warrantless eavesdropping scandal, and a key result was that it effectively legalized the crux of Bush's illegal program. As the scandal revealed, Bush had secretly authorized the NSA to eavesdrop on Americans and others within the United States, justifying the order by the need to search for terrorist activity. The order overrode the requirement to obtain the court-approved warrants ordinarily necessary for domestic spying, and resulted in the secret surveillance of at least thousands of people within the United States (p.64).

The FISA court, which should be able to impose limits on the government in electronic surveillance, has assisted the government in illegal surveillance which has become legal because it has been authorized by this court with the aim of seeking terrorist activity and then become a surveillance against thousands of Americans and even foreign nationals.

These programs are supported by the Patriot Act law which makes it easier for the government to collect various kinds of data. This law was formed after 9/11, a law that made it easier for the NSA to collect sensitive and invasive data such as medical history, business records, banking transactions, and telephone history.

Almost more than the ruling itself, this radical interpretation of the Patriot Act was especially shocking. What made the Patriot Act so controversial when it was enacted in the wake of the 9/11 attack was that Section 215 lowered the standard the government needed to meet in order to obtain "business records," from "probable cause" to "relevance." This meant that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in order to obtain highly sensitive and invasive documents—such as medical histories, banking transactions, or phone records—needed to demonstrate only that those documents were "relevant" to a pending investigation (p.28).

The court's subservience to the NSA is demonstrated by other statistics as well. Here, for instance, is the FISA court's reaction over the last six years to various requests made by the NSA under the Patriot Act to obtain the business records— telephone, financial or medical—of US persons (p.110).

The Patriot Act law makes it easier for the permission of the NSA's programs to collect data showing that the power of the government in carrying out its role as the highest authority is becoming stronger and harder to fight. The Patriot Act law shows the hegemonic power of the American government in committing violations of civil rights (violations of privacy) also under existing laws.

NSA under the Patriot Act law will be very easy in collecting data of someone who is become their target, because internet companies will easily provide the requested data.

The Internet companies' claim that they hand over to the NSA just the information that they are legally required to provide is also not particularly meaningful. That's because the NSA only needs to obtain an individual warrant when it wants to specifically target a US person. No such special permission is required for the agency to obtain the communications data of any non-American on foreign soil, even when that person is communicating with Americans. Similarly, there is no check or limit on the NSA's bulk collection of metadata, thanks to the government's interpretation of the Patriot Act—an interpretation so broad that even the law's original authors were shocked to learn how it was being used (p.95-96).

But what happened was very different: the Patriot Act has been applied well beyond its ostensible purpose. In fact, since its enactment, it has been used overwhelmingly in cases having nothing at all to do with terrorism or national security (p.172).

Programmatically or legally, in fact it was created to maintain the security and peace of the community. That programs are supposed to be created to guarantee the security of the nation become a program of violation of privacy rights, as well as existing laws, laws that should protect the interests of the people become law that is detrimental to society. The American government has moved away from its original purpose, the noble goal is only an excuse for the interests of the elite to be fulfilled.

C. The Impact of Hegemonic Power of American Government on Society

The internet is an important thing, a place where we can freely communicate with friend, family, or business partners who are far from us, not only for communication, the internet is also a place where we store personal things in the digital world. The development of the times, making the internet is also one of the important tools for conducting transactions in the business world. The internet is a place where to explore and to find out the new things, anything we can access through the internet can also build someone's character or intellectual, so the internet is a very important thing, awareness in maintaining privacy security in the internet or digital world is our responsibility considering how important privacy for every individual in this digital age.

“I do not want to live in a world where we have no privacy and no freedom, where the unique value of the Internet is snuffed out,” Snowden told me. He felt compelled to do what he could to stop that from happening or, more accurately, to enable others to make the choice whether to act or not in defense of those values. I worry that mine was the last generation to enjoy that freedom (p.43).

This world no longer has privacy, everything we do, everything we store, everything we keep secret that is on the internet can be known by the American government. The lack of public awareness for the freedom of privacy as making all of this is normal.

Government will always look for excuses, government will always make promises that never keep, that's how the world works like what the American government does.

When the NSA revelations first came out, the US government tried to defend its actions by saying that, unlike foreign nationals, American citizens

are protected from warrantless NSA surveillance. On June 18, 2013, President Obama told Charlie Rose: “What I can say unequivocally is that if you are a U.S. person, the NSA cannot listen to your telephone calls ... by law and by rule, and unless they ... go to a court, and obtain a warrant, and seek probable cause, the same way it’s always been.” Aside from being a strange strategy, the claim is also patently false. In fact, contrary to the repeated denials of President Obama and his top officials, the NSA continuously intercepts the communications of American citizens, without any individual “probable cause” warrants to justify such surveillance. That’s because the 2008 FISA law, as noted earlier, allows the NSA without an individual warrant—to monitor the content of any American’s communications as long as those communications are exchanged with a targeted foreign national. The NSA labels this “incidental” collection, as though it’s some sort of minor accident that the agency has been spying on Americans (p.107-108).

The collaboration between the government and these companies shows a huge lie about the privacy protection they promise for internet users. In fact, these companies can easily provide the information, data, or access they need secretly in violating the privacy rights of American citizens or foreign nationals, both legally and illegally. Accidentally is not the right reason for the fact that the American government continues to spy on its own citizens because they think that the data on American citizens is more interesting than foreign citizens because it is more affordable personally than foreign nationals.

This also has an impact on society for obedient and fear of the government because they realize that the government is always watching them.

And history shows that the mere existence of a mass surveillance apparatus, regardless of how it is used, is in itself sufficient to stifle dissent. A citizenry that is aware of always being watched quickly becomes a compliant and fearful one (p.8).

By reducing differences in opinion, the government will not fear resistance from the people, so that they can continue what they are doing without fear of protests from the community.

Violation of privacy on the internet can also affect the quality of people's lives, because through the internet they are free to express themselves without shame to be seen by others.

What is lost when the private realm is abolished are many of the attributes typically associated with quality of life. Most people have experienced how privacy enables liberation from constraint. And we've all, conversely, had the experience of engaging in private behavior when we thought we were alone—dancing, confessing, exploring sexual expression, sharing untested ideas—only to feel shame at having been seen by others (p.149).

The impact given by the American government in the internet world is very influential on the quality of someone's life. Because privacy is important and always kept for someone as their secret. On the internet, freedom of expression without being afraid to be seen by others is a right for every individual. The decline in the quality of life due to violation of privacy rights is a very influential effect on the community, because whatever they explore on the internet will be easily seen so that in the internet world there will be no term privacy for the community.

The American government applies a comprehensive surveillance system indiscriminately as if the government gained control over the individual, because with the full supervision will make the individual consciously or unconsciously obey the people who have overseen them, namely the government. This clearly has an impact on every movement carried out by the community will be limited because they feel what they do is always supervised by the government either consciously or not.

Another effect of massive surveillance for every American citizen is to make it more dangerous for them than a terrorist attack.

Most remarkably, Americans now considered the danger of surveillance of greater concern than the danger of terrorism: Overall, 47% say their greater concern about government anti-terrorism policies is that they have gone too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties, while 35% say they are more concerned that policies have not gone far enough to protect the country. This is the first time in Pew Research polling that more have expressed concern over civil liberties than protection from terrorism since the question was first asked in 2004 (p.169).

According to the data above it can be seen that the public is more worried about the government's policy in conducting surveillance that exceeds the limits against its citizens more than the threat that can be caused by terrorists. The government's ideology of its policy on doing surveillance also makes the public feel worried that is not enough to protect the country according to what they say as if only to cover their interests.

In history, secret surveillance programs carried out by the state are increasingly dangerous. A country with a good democracy should have a system of transparency towards society rather than blocking it with a large wall of secrets that cannot be known by the public.

The danger posed by the state operating a massive secret surveillance system is far more ominous now than at any point in history. While the government, via surveillance, knows more and more about what its citizens are doing, its citizens know less and less about what their government is doing, shielded as it is by a wall of secrecy. It is hard to overstate how radically this situation reverses the defining dynamic of a healthy society or how fundamentally it shifts the balance of power toward the state. Bentham's Panopticon, designed to vest unchallengeable power in the hands of authorities, was based on exactly this reversal: "The essence of it," he wrote, rests in "the centrality of the inspector's situation" combined with the "most effectual contrivances for seeing without being seen" (p.178).

A leader's responsibility towards his people should be able to make the government more transparent to his people about what is done by the government to maintain public trust in maintaining common security and building comfort in state life, not

covering it with a large wall. At least with a few exceptions the people have the right to know about government activities behind the secret wall. Humans as individuals who have independence and rights and the government as humans who are given power as representatives of the people should act transparency, while privacy is a personal matter for each individual not for the state.

Edward Snowden's action had a huge impact on American society and even the international world which sparked debate everywhere.

Indeed, the effects of this unfolding story have been far greater, more enduring, and more wide-ranging than we ever dreamed possible. It focused the world's attention on the dangers of ubiquitous state surveillance and pervasive government secrecy. It triggered the first global debate about the value of individual privacy in the digital age and prompted challenges to America's hegemonic control over the Internet (p.208)

The leak of secrets has become the world's attention about the massive surveillance system by the American government in carrying out state practices that are full of secrets. Edward's expositions gave birth to debates and even serious issues about the importance of privacy in the digital age and gave birth to a coalition to challenge and encourage reforms over the control of American government hegemony in the internet world.

The debate about the importance of privacy still continues and more intense in society and the international world, because the importance of protecting privacy in the digital age is the right of every individual.

Over the following months, as more and more NSA stories were published around the world, many pundits predicted that the public would lose interest in the subject. But, in fact, interest in the surveillance discussion only intensified, not just domestically but internationally. The events of a single week in December 2013—more than six months after my first report

appeared in the Guardian—illustrate just how much Snowden’s disclosures continue to resonate and just how untenable the NSA’s position has become (p.209).

The impact of the expose made the NSA even more pressured, because the elite had to aware what they had done was a big mistake for the community. After this leaked, hope that the privacy rights of every individual in the digital world can be maintained again by the awareness of both the government as a legal agent or the community.

Less than a year after the leak, there have been many fundamental changes that gave birth to specific steps to reform the NSA program, of course this is also the responsibility of individuals who also play a role in reclaiming their privacy rights.

And individuals also have a role to play in reclaiming their own online privacy. Refusing to use the services of tech companies that collaborate with the NSA and its allies will put pressure on those companies to stop such collaboration and will spur their competitors to devote themselves to privacy protections. Already, a number of European tech companies are promoting their email and chat services as a superior alternative to offerings from Google and Facebook, trumpeting the fact that they do not—and will not—provide user data to the NSA (p.211).

Individuals in their role to reclaim their privacy rights as a community certainly can reject companies that collaborate with the government to pressure these companies not to cooperate again in matters that can harm the community and guarantee their privacy will not be sold and stay gated.

The impact of the political hegemony of the American government not only affects the violation of privacy or the decline in quality of life, but also has an impact on the international world.

Some of the surveillance was ostensibly devoted to terrorism suspects. But great quantities of the programs manifestly had nothing to do with national security. The documents left no doubt that the NSA was equally involved in economic espionage, diplomatic spying, and suspicionless surveillance aimed at entire populations. Taken in its entirety, the Snowden archive led to an ultimately simple conclusion: the US government had built a system that has as its goal the complete elimination of electronic privacy worldwide. Far from hyperbole, that is the literal, explicitly stated aim of the surveillance state: to collect, store, monitor, and analyze all electronic communication by all people around the globe. The agency is devoted to one overarching mission: to prevent the slightest piece of electronic communication from evading its systemic grasp (p.80).

With a surveillance system that has been built by the NSA that can collect, store, monitor, tap, and analyse all electronic communications all people throughout the world, then with these programs the government also gives an impact on the international world in the economic, diplomatic, and even political. As if to protect the country, the government has other interests for themselves and the elite.

The impact given by the government on hegemonic practices in general may not have much impact on society, society are only people who are dominated by the government who consciously or not they will support government programs even though they actually know that the program can also attack them. Edward Snowden's leak of US government top secrets may have an impact on the internet and digital world. The public must be aware and the government must reform these programs and there are no more violations of privacy in the internet and digital world.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

After analyzing this book *No Place To Hide* using political hegemony and representation, finally comes to the last part of the study which consists of conclusion and suggestion. In this part, will give the conclusion which deals with the analysis which has been done in the previous chapter. Besides, the researcher is also going to give suggestion to this study for the readers, especially for the next researcher who will use the same theory as used in this study.

A. Conclusion

No Place To Hide is a book by Glenn Greenwald that tells the story about Edward Snowden who dared to leaked the top secrets of the American government. The American government has an ideology that is the national security is the most important, the ideology is what makes people believe in the government. The public did not know about the invasion of privacy in the internet world that had been committed by the government and the programs had been carried out for several years without the public knowing, until finally Edward Snowden leaked it to the public so that the public knew and demanded the government to reform these programs.

BOUNDLESS INFORMANT, SSO, PRISM, X-KEYSCORE, FISA, Patriot Act are several programs and laws that show the form of power of the American government in the practice of political hegemony in controlling the internet and digital world. All forms of activities carried out through internet and

digital media can be known even all forms of data stored or sent and received through the internet and other digital facilities can be taken by the government.

The law which should be a protector of the community becomes the government's main weapon in surveillance. Less than a year after 9/11, the Patriot Act relaxed the FISA requirements for wiretapping people and created a new law for the government agencies to get information or documents from someone. The Constitution, through the Fourth Amendment, protects people from unreasonable searches and seizures by the government. The Fourth Amendment, however, is not a guarantee against all searches and seizures, but only those that are deemed unreasonable under the law. Whether a particular type of search is considered reasonable in the eyes of the law, is determined by balancing two important interests. On one side of the scale is the intrusion on an individual's Fourth Amendment rights. On the other side of the scale are legitimate government interests, such as public safety. Law is contradicted by law; the fourth amendment clearly states the protection of the society and however the government's interests based on the interests of the state or the public are considered more important.

The internet is a space that promises freedom for every individual, the society has the right to their privacy in the internet and digital world. When everything can be monitored, there will be *No Place To Hide* for every individual to maintain their privacy, however that secret government programs are not only shown to individual American society, but these programs are made and shown to everyone in the world that can be targeted by the American government. Of course this has an impact on the international world, America as a country with high

capabilities has a major influence on other countries such as the influence of global politics, diplomacy, and also economy. The United States as a super power country that has strong dominance over other countries, to demonstrate the power of political hegemony, the American government collaborates with allied countries and large-scale companies in terms of the internet or technology. This cooperation is carried out to maintain America's position as a superpower country and the programs they create are tools for them to control and monitor all forms of situation in the world in terms of politics, diplomacy, economic and other matters.

B. Suggestion

In a democratic country, a leader or public official is elected by the society, a person who is elected and trusted by the society should be able to maintain his mandate and become a good leader. Political Hegemony is an attempt to achieve a good life. The government as a group that has the power to lead the country so that the policies carried out by the government has a great influence on society. All forms of policies carried out by the government should be benefit for the state and society, although in practice the government must make mistakes because it is a natural thing for humans. America should be a country that can maintain the freedom of privacy for its people. The American government must be aware and begin to reform its policies, because the internet is an important thing for humans today.

A book is a literary work that can be analyzed from various aspects, *No Place To Hide* is an excellent book to analyze. In analyzing this book, the researcher uses hegemony theory to find out the hegemonic practices of the American

government in committing privacy violations through programs run by the NSA. In addition to using the theory of hegemony, there are many theories that can be used to analyze this book and hopefully this research is useful and can be used as a reference for next researchers to discuss other aspects of this book.

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