

## IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY

*Javeria Kiran*

MS Research Scholar, Department of English, Lahore College for Women  
University.

Email: [javeriakiran15@gmail.com](mailto:javeriakiran15@gmail.com)

*Farieha Saeed*

Senior Lecturer, Department of English, Lahore College for Women University.

Email: [Farieha.Saeed@lcwu.edu.pk](mailto:Farieha.Saeed@lcwu.edu.pk)

### **Abstract**

*This research study aims to decode the reinforcement mechanism of ideological indoctrination responsible for the subjectification of citizens of Jidada. The objective of this research is to examine how ideological indoctrination is responsible for subjectification of individuals of Jidada in Glory. The present research study unveils the working of evil machination of the political elite in Jidada. The theoretical framework engaged in this qualitative research is Louis Althusser's "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)" in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays. The result proclaimed that the political elite of Jidada controlled their subjects through Ideological State Apparatus. It includes the reinforcement of religious ideology, fragmented nationalist ideology such as the ideology of Chimurenga, patriarchal ideology, media advertisements, and illegal laws to control and coerce the subjects of Jidada. Through violence, the Repressive State Apparatus ingrained fear and trepidation among the subjects of Jidada. In conclusion, these different state apparatuses are used as tools to create subjects and maintain the status quo through consent and coercion.*

**Keywords:** coercion, ideological indoctrination, Jidada, state apparatuses, subjectification.

### **INTRODUCTION**

*The word ideology has ancient Greek roots. Idea means form or pattern whereas logos means to study. Ideology is a conceptual template that studies ideas, forms, concepts, and notions. Destutt de Tracy brainstormed the term ideology in the 19th century. "Marx's penetrating mind for the first time made the concept of ideology part of a systematic doctrine, analyzed the dependence of our ideologies upon our environment, and emphasized especially the importance of the socioeconomic setting of*

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

---

*ideologies” (Roucek 482). In The German Ideology, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels consider ideology is not all about beliefs, traditions, or ideas. They regard it as a false consciousness and a camera obscura that disengages the working class from the ground reality. This mapping of thought takes shape from social relations and connections. According to the Oxford Dictionary, conditioning means a behavioral action. An action by which a response becomes more recurrent in a provided environment due to reinforcement. Therefore, ideological conditioning is a device that results in the subjectification of individuals. So that individuals do not work against their desired interests. The individuals are curbed and compelled to live in the defined and accepted conventions in a submissive manner designed by the dominant ideology of a certain society.*

*Louis Althusser explores “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)” in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays. He investigated various types of apparatus that govern a society or state. One is repressive which comprises the army, police, courts, and prisons because they administer through atrocity and violence. On the contrary, there is an Ideological State Apparatus that generates subjects in society through ideological conditioning. It comprises religion such as different systems of churches and educational institutions like public and private schools. Likewise, family, legal system, political system, trade union, communication media, radio, television, and culture covering arts, literature, and sports all are major sources of the creation of subjects. Althusser believes that the Ideological State Apparatus is firstly governed by ideology and then by repression. It is the ruling class that not only influences the Ideological State Apparatus but also influences the Repressive State Apparatus. It is the ruling class that shapes the dominant ideas and sustains their hegemony. Therefore, the ruling class, state authority, and state apparatus go arm in arm to make individuals as subjects. The process of interpellation transforms individuals into subjects. They agree to work in the given societal roles and structures believing they have freedom and are not bound by any ideology.*

*Alex Clark in “NoViolet Bulawayo: I’m encouraged by this new generation that wants better” interviews Bulawayo related to her second work Glory published in 2022. This novel has been short-listed for Man Booker Prize which carries excellent political satire. Bulawayo in her interview with Clark describes the turbulent elections of 2018 in Zimbabwe. It had crumbled and crushed the hope, faith, and dreams of the common people of Zimbabwe. She noticed people were often using George Orwell's Animal Farm to contrast the political turmoil happening in Zimbabwe. She intermingled it with her memories of her grandmother's stories about animals and*

constructed the world of *Jidada* inhabited by strong and weak animals. In *Glory*, she in a meticulous manner examines the post-Mugabe phase in Zimbabwe which is surrounded by complete failure. Bulawayo both as a writer and as a Zimbabwean is engrossed with a feeling of hopelessness. She thinks that the future of Zimbabwe is not promising. Since, those who are in power and governing the country are incapable, incompetent, and corrupt. They are not bothered by the lives of ordinary Zimbabweans. Therefore, the despair remains constant. She contemplates that in the end there is a need for optimism to keep one moving.

*Glory* is a historiographic metafiction that unfolds the political turmoil that has taken place in Zimbabwe after the fall of Robert Mugabe. It covers the traumas of the past like Gukuruhundi violence. The haunting past parallels with the present events taking place in Zimbabwe's social and political circle. All the characters in the novel are depicted as animals deliberately to ridicule Zimbabwean political figures like Robert Mugabe, Grace Mugabe, Emmerson Mnangagwa, etc. This novel highlight how national history is distorted in Zimbabwe. Religion, media, gender discourse, power politics, and nationalism are central thematic concerns. Moreover, figurative language, dramatic irony, and satire are used to expose the duplicity of the political elite.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

One needs to explore the existing literature to understand the philosophy of Ideological Conditioning. It is the process of transforming humans into subjects by internalizing ideology. The French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser laid the foundation of Structural Marxism. His notions and thought processes have heavily influenced other philosophers. He revisited, renovated, and revised the Marxist framework in his studies. He also incorporated Gramsci and Lacan in his theoretical framework to elucidate the workings of ideology. He took forward Karl Marx's idea that ideology is a materialistic weapon or persuasive tool that sustains capitalism and fascism in society.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Part One of *The German Ideology* highlight instead of analyzing abstract ideas one needs to study the material conditions that generate ideas. Ideology is not just a certain set of beliefs or ideas. It is an illusion, a camera obscura, and a veil that detaches the working class from the actual reality. The ideas and thought processes are shaped by individual interactions and interpersonal connections.

Marx and Engels examined the exploitative capitalist economic mode. This economic structure reflects the interest of ruling strata that helps to sustain the status quo. "Civil society as such only develops with the bourgeoisie; the social organization evolving directly out of production and commerce, which in all ages forms the basis of the State and of the rest of the idealistic superstructure" (Marx and Engels 57). In every type of society, it is the ruling class that owns material production and shapes the

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

---

*dominant ideas. The proletariat or working class never rebels against the economic structure because they internalize the ideology fed by the bourgeoisie. In this way, the benefit-oriented class keeps itself in power to extract surplus value from the labour as much as it can. In addition, when the ruling class competes with each other they try to impose their hegemonic ideas. Thinking each ruling class best describes the common interest of the no ruling classes and the entire society. The aristocratic class talks about honour, mastery, and royalty. However, the bourgeoisie class glorified their ideas related to liberalism and equality. Therefore, Marx and Engels considered ideology a false consciousness. It leads to a certain degree of crises discussed in the context of the economy:*

*The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. (Marx and Engels 64)*

*Marx and Engels manifested the real basis of ideology in the context of the division of labour presented in the formation of towns and countries. The creation of a town means the need for an administrative body, political body, institution of police, functional municipal affairs, and effective tax collection. Whereas, the country is more isolated. "The separation between town and country can also be understood as the separation of capital and landed property" (Marx and Engels 69). Marx and Engels deliberated the mode of production is a base that gives rise to superstructure. The superstructure encompasses social institutions like family, religion, education, media, and government. This superstructure also shapes the base making it a two-way process to oppress the labor class.*

*However, in the 20th century, a shift took place in the concept of ideology. Louis Althusser's breakdown of "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)" in Part Two of Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays. He gives his analysis related to the working of Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. He considers ideology is not internalized or ingrained unconsciously. It is reinforced to make individuals subjects in society. So, that these individuals do not go against their interests. They are obliged to live in the defined and accepted norms, tamed demeanor, and submissive manner set by the capitalist society. Louis Althusser explains the reproduction of labour power isn't not only relied on the skills taught by educational institutions. These learning institutions not only prepare the workforce. It also reinforces them to submit and work in the given structure designed by the ruling class.*

*“In other words, the school (but also other State institutions like the Church, or other apparatuses like the Army) teaches 'know-how', but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its practice” (Althusser 133).*

*Althusser states that to understand what is society he refers back to the concept of state given by Marx. Marx believes society has an economic base and superstructure. However, the superstructure works on two levels. One is politico-legal and the other encompasses ideology. Althusser from a topographical point of view considers base and superstructure a metaphorical representation of society. Where economic base is a lower floor that influences superstructure which is an upper floor. Althusser disagrees with this Marxist metaphorical representation. He considers if superstructure has relative autonomy meaning a certain degree of independence, then how a reciprocal interaction exists between the two. Althusser explored the working of superstructure that becomes the source of maintaining a capitalist approach in society. To cultivate his theoretical approach, he reviewed social institutions. He considered ideology itself to be materialistic which results in the subjectivity of individuals. He categorizes the social institutions that utilize ideology to generate subjugated minds either through coercion or consent. He highlighted the Marxist theory of state and outlined that it is repressive. It allows the dominant class to sustain its hegemony over the working class dealing with them as subjects. He calls it a descriptive theory:*

*In order to advance the theory of the State it is indispensable to take into account not only the distinction between State power and State apparatus, but also another reality which is clearly on the side of the (repressive) State apparatus, but must not be confused with it. I shall call this reality by its concept: the ideological State apparatuses. (Althusser 142)*

*Althusser explores state is run by various kinds of apparatus. One is repressive meaning Army, Police, Courts, and Prisons because they govern through violence. On the other hand, there is Ideological State Apparatus which creates subjects in society through Ideological Conditioning. Like religion, different systems of churches, and educational institutions be it public and private schools. Family, legal system, political system, trade union, communication meaning media, radio, television, and cultural covering arts, literature, and sports all act as sources of production of subjects:*

*I shall say rather that every State Apparatus, whether Repressive or Ideological, 'functions' both by violence and by ideology, but with one very important distinction which makes it imperative not to confuse the Ideological State Apparatuses with the (Repressive) State Apparatus. (Althusser 145)*

*Althusser gives his insight that the Ideological State Apparatus primarily functions by ideology and secondarily by repression. “Schools and Churches use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection, to 'discipline' not only their*

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

---

*shepherds but also their flocks. The same is true of the Family. The same is true of the cultural IS Apparatus censorship, among other things" (Althusser 145). Althusser highlights that though both apparatuses work separately. There is a unifying factor that binds both apparatuses. It is the ruling class that is present not only in the Ideological State Apparatus but also in the Repressive State Apparatus. It is the ruling class that shapes the dominant ideas calling it a hegemony. Therefore, the ruling class, state power, and state apparatus go hand in hand to create individuals as subjects. Althusser believes one might think in a blooming capitalist society that the political ideological apparatus is more dominant however, that's not the case. He thinks it is an educational state apparatus that plays a more crucial role in producing subjects for a longer period. "It takes children from every class at infant-school age, and then for years, the years in which the child is most vulnerable" (Althusser 155). The school has replaced the Church and has impacted the family system by becoming one of the dominant Ideological State Apparatuses.*

*Althusser in the next chapters presents a complete discourse related to Ideology. He explains the term ideology was coined by Cabins, Destutt de Tracy, and their friends. Marx utilizes this word to formulate the framework of ideology. Marx believed ideology has no history. It is nothing but an imaginary construction. Althusser takes ideology from two perspectives. "I shall first present two theses, one negative, the other positive. The first concerns the object which is 'represented' in the imaginary form of ideology, the second concerns the materiality of ideology" (Althusser 162).*

*According to his first thesis ideology portrays an imaginary connection of individuals to their real condition of existence. Althusser argues if ideology is an imaginary construction, then the individual gives meaning to it. Here Lacanian perception is invoked when an individual at the mirror stage starts to perceive themselves as an autonomous being ready to experience social apparatus. Therefore, they establish their relationship with it and this relationship is named an imaginary order.*

*Even this ideology is manipulated by the ruling class Althusser states that ideas are more about how one adapts themselves according to the assigned roles in the society. Then he asks the question of why individuals need an imaginary outlook to meet their real condition of existence in society. Therefore, he negates his first thesis and comes to his second thesis. He claims ideology doesn't hold a spiritual existence but a material existence. He thinks if ideology has an imaginary relation to a real relation, then it has a material existence. Althusser gives various examples by delineating the aspect that the impression of an idea lives in minds and it is expressed through action giving a material existence to that idea. If someone believes in God, he goes to church prays, and*

*Confesses his sins. If someone believes in Duty then he can identify between wrong and right. If someone believes in Justice, he can sense the violation of law.*

*Therefore, the observed actions give a material touch to the ideas:*

*I shall therefore say that, where only a single subject (such and such an individual) is concerned, the existence of the ideas of his belief is material in that his ideas are his material actions inserted into material practices governed by material rituals which are themselves defined by the material ideological apparatus from which derive the ideas of that subject. (Althusser 169)*

*Althusser connected his two theses by stating ideology is created for the subjects that exist in material ideological apparatus. Then, he moves to his main idea of how ideology interpellates individuals as subjects. He defines interpellation by creating an imaginary scene and invites his readers to comprehend the concept. He asserts imagine one of you is just walking and you are called by patrolling police. You immediately turn around to see because you're well aware that the police have addressed you. Even though you have done nothing wrong, your action of turning and responding to the call makes you a subject. This is how ideology operates and people often assume they're not influenced by ideology and contemplate they are outside of ideology. Althusser claims that things might sound paradoxical, but no one can detach or evade themselves from ideology. An individual is always a ready subject even before their birth. He highlights the working of family structure and how they come up with their rituals for the unborn child like carrying the father's name and continuing the family's legacy. Therefore, the child becomes a subject in the family ideological apparatus:*

*Individual is interpellated as a (free) subject in order that he shall submit freely to the commandments of the Subject, i.e. in order that he shall (freely) accept his subjection, i.e. in order that he shall make the gestures and actions of his subjection 'all by himself'. (Althusser 182)*

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS:**

*How do Jidada's Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses play a pivotal role in subject formation?*

*What is the reality of New Dispensation ideology and how subjects of Jidada are governed by this ideological framework?*

*How a fragmented nationalist ideology of Chimurenga is inculcated to justify the Gukurahundi genocide?*

*What sort of leverage political elite of Jidada enjoy by subjugating the ordinary subjects of Jidada in Glory?*

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY :**

*The research method used in this research study is qualitative in nature. It is solely based on textual analysis. The conceptual framework of this research lies in Structural Marxism. The theoretical framework in this research study includes Louis*

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

---

Althusser's "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)", which is discussed in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. This qualitative research aims to discover the mechanism of ideological indoctrination and distorted language responsible for the subjectivity of individuals. The research objectives are to examine the role of state apparatuses which results in subject formation and subjectification. The primary source consulted for the research is text. Secondary sources include articles, books, journals, videos, and interviews. A bulk of reading materials are managed through browsing, narrowing down the relevant work, and filtering out unnecessary material. Note-taking and mind mapping have been done to record the required and relevant material. For meticulous discussion, ideas are paraphrased to avoid plagiarism.

### **ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION:**

The fundamental purpose of ideological reinforcement is to create subjects governed by the dominant ideology set by the ruling elite. Since ideology is a weapon materialistic in nature that sustains the status quo and cycles of exploitation in society. NoViolet Bulawayo in her historiographic metafiction *Glory* examines how the state of Zimbabwe uses state apparatuses either in an ideological way or repressive way to ensure the subjectivity of the individuals. *Glory* is basically, a political satire against various tyrannical figures. She uses anthropomorphic narrative techniques to poke humor and satire to describe political figures of Zimbabwe like Robert Mugabe. He is depicted as an authoritarian Father of the Nation through the animal persona of the Old Horse. He ruled on his subjects for forty years in a fictional farmland called Jidada. He distorted the national history and manipulated the masses by utilizing ideological and repressive state apparatuses. He presented himself as an anti-imperial crusader, a saviour, and inculcated nationalist ideology in his subjects. However, in reality, he was the main culprit behind Gukurahundi violence. He used state apparatuses to keep in check the subjects of Jidada. Similarly, in the Jidada political structure, male hegemony through patriarchal ideology is maintained to silence the voice of female subjects.

Grace Mugabe wife of Robert Mugabe is portrayed as the Donkey called Dr. Sweet Mother. She tries to defy patriarchal ideology to come into power. But later she faces the repercussions of her actions. Her character is paralleled with Eve responsible for Old Horse downfall. However, at the same time, she shames and mocks Sisters of the Disappeared and becomes radicalized in her tone and behaviour. Talking about, Prophet Dr. O.G. Moses, a pig who uses religious ideology to ensure the docility of the Jidada individuals. Ironically, Prophet Dr. O. G. Moses religious ideology is in constant change. His religious ideology frequently supports the oppressive regime and tyrannical leaders. Similarly, Bulawayo portrays Emmerson Mnangagwa as Tuvius Delight

Sasha, a crocodile underwater ready to attack his prey. He becomes President by illegal means through military support. He internalizes among his subjects that a military coup happens to defend the Revolution. He popularized New Dispensation and Free and Fair Elections ideology to promise the new beginning of Jidada. Surprisingly, Bulawayo through Tuvius character unveils the appearance versus reality factor to delineate the working of the political parties. Bulawayo also discloses how subjects like Destiny and her mother Simiso both depicted as goats who endured and faced the long-term ferociousness of the Jidada Party. Through these characters, Bulawayo highlights that the resistance of the subject is not an act of terrorism.

In addition, Bulawayo shows how various individuals of Jidada became the victims of the atrocities committed by Defenders who are wild dogs. Like Commander Jambanja who is the part of repressive state apparatus responsible for mass slaughtering, torture, and forced disappearance. Red Butterflies are the recurrent symbol throughout the novel emphasizing those subjects who resisted and were murdered by the government. Not only this, Bulawayo also looks at how social media has become the only safe haven for those who have been quite vocal against the government. She calls social media the "Other Country" where there are no subjects only free individuals who can exercise their freedom of speech. Contrastingly, the "Country Country" meaning the real, physical Jidada is occupied with subjects who are forcibly silent. They prefer not to speak against Tuvy because subjects are inculcated with the belief that Tuvius is the Savior of the Nation.

In the opening scene of the novel the citizens of Jidada are present at Jidada Square for Independence Day celebrations. They are eagerly waiting for the arrival of the Father of the Nation. Bulawayo shows a sharp contrast between the rich elite and poor subjects. Rich elite adorned with exquisite clothes and jewelry are the representatives of the Seat of Power Inner Circle of the Jidada Party. They are sitting under a large white tent. Whereas, the poor subjects with their dry throats are at the mercy of the scorching heat of the sun. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in *The German Ideology* stated that the status quo is sustained in society because the materialistic production and dominant ideology are shaped by the elite class. Henceforth, this pattern of exploitation continues because Marx and Engels believed that ideology is nothing but a false consciousness. It detaches the poor subjects from the actual reality.

This dominant ideology carved by the elite class ensures the subjectivity of the individuals. The subjects of Jidada who faced endless oppression for forty years from the autocratic regime of the Father of the Nation called Old Horse are so ready to catch his glimpse or sight again. This is because the Old Horse has engrossed and enthralled subjects of Jidada with nationalist ideology. The Old Horse is struggling with his memory. He is reminded by his wife Dr. Sweet Mother that he is the ruler and the

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

---

*citizens of Jidada are his subjects. One needs to comprehend that the foundation for any ideological conditioning is to create subjects. "Ah-ah, but what kind of question is that, Your Excellency?! They're your subjects ka, every one of them!" (Bulawayo 11). The word subject used by Dr. Sweet Mother for the citizens of Jidada indicates that they are not free individuals. They are governed and controlled by the hegemonic ideas designed by the Old Horse addressed as Your Excellency.*

### **REINFORCEMENT OF RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY:**

*Prophet Dr. O.G. Moses endorses the autocracy of Old Horse and uses religious ideology to create an illusion. This illusion makes the subjects of Jidada blind from the current reality. Subjects of Jidada find solace in the words of God. They were already frustrated because of unemployment, despair, hopelessness, and the country's economy which has been in the doldrums for a long time. Therefore, Dr. O.G. Moses initiated his business by selling the religious ideology. Subjects of Jidada were moved by his teachings that carry the message of hope and prosperity. Through his religious ideology, he made his subjects buy his anointed water, purses, wallets, underwear, and bricks. Since subjects of Jidada are forced to believe that his prayers and products can heal and remove the evil spirit of poverty. They were so moved that like flocks of sheep, they used to attend his church called Soldiers of Christ Prophetic Church of Churches. Interestingly, Prophet Dr. O.G. Moses lived a luxurious life. Meanwhile, his followers or devotees were poor subjects. "As it is he'd attended the celebrations in a private jet ... you may have been forgiven to think he was a church full of the wealthy in a land of gold-paved streets and homes packed with diamond-dust-speckled toilet paper" (Bulawayo 15).*

*At the Independence Day celebration, Prophet Dr. O.G. Moses reads the Bible Roman thirteen verse one. By inculcating in the minds of the subjects of Jidada that God appoints the leader and everyone should act as an obedient subject. If any subject goes against the government they are labeled as rebellious and should be punished. "Good leaders, like the Father of the Nation, like our honorable First Femal and Dr. Sweet Mother – come from none other than God himself" (Bulawayo 16). He ingrains in the mind of the subjects that leaders are God's servants and their obedience is obligatory. Louis Althusser in "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)" discussed in Part Two of Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays explains the dynamics of Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. He unleashes ideology that is not internalized or ingrained unconsciously. It is reinforced to create individuals as functional subjects in society. Althusser analyzes state is governed by various kinds of apparatus. One is the Repressive State Apparatus which comprises the army, police, courts, and prisons because they function through*

ruthlessness and violence. Similarly, there is the Ideological State Apparatus which creates subjects in society through Ideological Conditioning. Some religions encompass different systems of churches, and educational institutions be they public and private schools. Family, legal system, political system, trade union, communication meaning media, radio, television, and cultural covering arts, literature, and sports all act as sources of formation of subjects. Althusser implies that the Ideological State Apparatus primarily functions by ideology and then by repression. "Schools and Churches use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection, to 'discipline' not only their shepherds, but also their flocks" (Althusser 145). Althusser contemplates that ideology is a materialistic weapon that is persuasive in nature.

Subjects of Jidada to ensure their better lives must believe in the false miracles and teachings of Prophet Dr. O.G. Moses. Since their physical action defines the tangibility of the abstract ideas or beliefs religion is an Ideological State Apparatus that influences their behaviour.

### **REINFORCEMENT OF NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY :**

If one examines the speech of Old Horse the use of nationalist ideology is reflected when he addresses the subjects of Jidada at Independence Day celebration. He ingrains in the minds of the subjects of Jidada that God has given him the position of leader. He is an anti-imperial crusader. He is appointed by God to protect the natural resources and jewels of Africa which was once looted by the British colonizer. He deplores and criticizes the West for its evil practices like neocolonialism, capitalism, and racism. He makes West accountable for the brain drain, energy crisis, and social problems present in Jidada. He emphasizes that West wants to oust his government because he is a liberator and freedom fighter. He considers his opposition to be the agents and allies of the West. "Because, have you woken up one day and looked at your parent and said, You're old ... I'm getting another parent, it's time for Change? No, you don't! Never! It's the Father of the Nation for Life!" (Bulawayo 24). He bashes White colonizers in his speech.

However, irony and duplicity are reflected in his speech when he justifies the actions of Dr. Sweet Mother making subjects homeless. She like a White colonizer removes the subjects of Jidada forcibly to construct her farm. Old Horse thinks it is not an upsetting act because Dr. Sweet Mother is not a colonizer. "And why are the Chinese and these multinational companies swarming all over this country like flies?! It's because they know a jewel when they see it!" (Bulawayo 25). Inculcating this nationalist ideology, he ruled on his subjects for four decades. At the end of his speech emphasizes those regimes are weak and vulnerable where fear is absent. He believes a true leader makes his subject ingrained with fear to crush any action of resistance. Teun A. Van Dijk in "Are Ideologies Negative?" elucidates ideologies socially and politically function. Discourse analysis is a gateway to understanding the structure of ideologies

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

---

*because they are the mental representation of some power elite group that controls the flow of ideas. Like Old Horse his Party of Power controls the thought patterns of the subjects of Jidada to ensure their subjectification by instilling fear and terror in them.*

*Van Dijk recognizes the one who is in power decides ideologies should prevail either positively or negatively. Nationalist ideology is positive celebrating shared common beliefs, culture, history, and language arousing a sense of national consciousness among subjects. However, it turns negative by infusing the subjects with distorted history and lies. The Old Horse through instilling nationalist ideology is making his subjects believe that the West is responsible for the failure of Jidada's growth and prosperity. He stresses after his forty years of rule they have not taken the ladder of success because the West has hindered their progress. Ironically, Jidada Chosen One lives an opulent life because of their connection with the Old Horse. It creates a binary of rich elite versus poor subjects. The Old Horse has engrossed hatred for the West among his nationalist subjects, but simultaneously using Western brands. His wife wears Gucci heels and the Tuvius sorcerer wears a Versace chain.*

*Althusser unveils that a state uses both ideological and repressive apparatuses side by side to ensure the interpellation of the subjects. The Repressive State Apparatus works through the deliberate use of force and coercion. During the speech of Old Horse, a naked group of twelve females identified as Sisters of the Disappeared barged in. They were chanting to bring back those subjects of Jidada who were forcibly disappeared because they resisted the tyrannical regime. "Bring back Jidada's Disappeared! – but softly, softly, ever so softly so the sound would not leave their teeth, because their fear was greater than their voices" (Bulawayo 19). Unfortunately, Sisters of the Disappeared faced a heavy backlash. The Defenders accompanied by wild dogs pounced on them. They were being dragged off the stage. Here the Defenders consisting of wild dogs become the symbol of the Repressive State Apparatus because they function with atrocity and ferociousness. "Did you hear, Mother of God, what they did to the Sisters of the Disappeared at the Jidada Square, how they almost took out MaMlovu's eye with batons?" (Bulawayo 92). The Old Horse has used his Repressive State Apparatus to silence all those pointing fingers against him.*

*Old Horse also assassinates his close allies who were once his loyal comrades. But they turned into a dreadful threat against Old Horse long reigning glory. Therefore, Red Butterflies become the recurrent symbol throughout the novel. It symbolizes the fortitude and strength of those subjects of Jidada who resisted tyranny and oppression. Though they have been brutally murdered by the government. Their recurrence becomes a reminder that though they are physically dead their spirit of laid resistance is still alive.*

## **REINFORCEMENT OF PATRIARCHAL IDEOLOGY :**

*Dr. Sweet Mother tries to defy and oppose patriarchal ideology to rise into power. She tried to build her power base. However, duplicity exists in her actions. In her speech, she mocks, shames and satirizes Sister of the Disappeared and ideologically conditions the female subjects on how to behave. At this point, she becomes the tool to sustain patriarchal ideology in Jidada. She tells Sisters of the Disappeared who displayed nakedness are asking for rape because they belong to brothels. She uses derogatory language and passes harsh comments against the naked bodies of the Sisters of the Disappeared. She accuses that these women are the tools of the West and the opposition trying to sabotage the cultural values of Jidada society. They just try to seek the Western media attention. Despite, making West accountable she wears Western brands like Gucci heels. The most ironic thing is Dr. Sweet Mother claims that she has a Ph.D. in Sociology. But surprisingly, knows nothing about the certain social factors that led to the outrageous protest led by Sisters of the Disappeared.*

*Dr. Sweet Mother shows no empathy in her behaviour. She never comprehends the factor of how oppressive and helpless a female is that she has to strip her clothes to become the center of attention or to make sure her voice is heard. The imagery of the naked body as an act of protest symbolizes solidarity for the disappeared subjects. The disappeared subjects who lost their rights to reclaim their existence and retain their bodies back to their families. Sisters of the Disappeared have to put their dignity at stake to challenge the status quo. Bulawayo politically satirizes the former first lady of Zimbabwe who allegedly finished her PhD dissertation in a few months. The Guardian in "Grace Mugabe's Ph.D. investigated by Zimbabwe's anti-corruption watchdog" explains that most of the critics argued that Grace Mugabe was part of corruption. She has been lavishly spending and her earned PhD degree is fraudulent. Through this degree, she aspires to succeed her husband, Robert Mugabe. Grace Mugabe has been subject to many controversies and her main rival in Zimbabwean politics is Emerson Mnangagwa. Bulawayo in Glory with the use of humor and satire unravels the political rivalry between Dr. Sweet Mother and Tuvius Delight Sasha. Certain terms and conditions are required to have the Seat of Power. The worthy one must be a male first and secondly, must have participated in the liberation war. Irrespective of the set criteria she gets the support of Old Horse and is engaged in the verbal war against Tuoy.*

*Esther Mavengano in "The phallogocentric paradox and semantics of Eve's myth in Zimbabwe's contemporary national politics: An ecofeminist reading of Bulawayo's novel, Glory" explores that Zimbabwean politics is male-dominated. She highlights when Robert Mugabe was ousted in 2017 by a military coup a narrative emerged that Grace Mugabe is like a biblical Eve. She led to Mugabe's downfall. "Which goes to show that a femal has no business whatsoever outside her home, specifically outside the*

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

---

*kitchen ... she's put the Father of the Nation in, what she's put us all in, what she's put Jidada in, they said" (Bulawayo 76). This kind of idea has always been injected that a woman always has a corrupting influence over a man. Mavengano highlights that such kind of sexist remarks give feminists a solid point to argue that the phallogocentric structure of power is the main reason behind sustaining patriarchal ideology. "The novel also reveals how some religious leaders endorse female silencing in the socio-political arena and demonstrate their harmful gender-insensitive traits and/or tendencies" (Mavengano 3). Prophet Dr. O.G. Moses partially endorses Dr. Sweet Mother's leadership. However, after the coup, he addresses his congregants and uses religion to support patriarchal ideology. He considers naked Sisters of the Disappeared as transgressors. He considers them ungodly because they didn't follow the religious teachings. They should be shunned because they are sinners.*

*Similarly, a Nigerian Prophet addressed Prophet Dr. O.G. Moses congregants and asserted females should know their limitations. Again, religious ideology is incorporated to ensure that female subjects never think to resist the patriarchal setup. He quotes various Biblical stories where women were disobedient and wretched in their actions. He refers to Eve who didn't listen to God's commands in the Garden of Eden, Delilah, who betrayed Samson, and other devilish female figures like Lot's wife, the Witch of Endor, and Queen Jezebel. The Prophet stresses that Old Horse who was once hailed as Father of the Nation is ousted because he was tempted by a woman. His wife incurred the disgrace of God. He ideologically conditions the female subjects that they should be meek, docile, tractable, and subservient in their behaviour. They should not act like Dr. Sweet Mother who was ambitious to challenge the patriarchal ideology. "The prophet is apparently of questionable character because he brainwashes his congregants and enriches himself by selling perceived anointed oil that offers no solution to the impoverished believers" (Mavengano 3). Henceforth, religious ideology is used as a compelling weapon to suppress the voice of female subjects. The religious ideology is used in a cunning and deceiving manner to ensure the status quo of male dominance and the flourishing of patriarchal ideology in Jidada politics.*

### **MILITARY COUP AND NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY:**

*Furthermore, Bulawayo gives an insight into the recurrent military coups taken place in Africa. She politically satirizes the military coup that happened in Zimbabwe in 2017 to overthrow the regime of Robert Mugabe. After Mugabe Emmerson Mnangagwa becomes the president leading to further chaos, uncertainty, and political crisis in the country. ZANU-PF Party in Zimbabwe was having a power struggle about who would get the Seat of Power. Where Mugabe on the one hand is championing his wife and on the other Mnangagwa had played his trump card when he*

was removed from the party by Mugabe. Bulawayo dissects the psyche of the military coup and its purpose in her novel. She explores the military generals of Jidada like General Judas Goodness Reza, a pit bull who is the part of Repressive State Apparatus. He frames and executes a military coup and house arrest Old Horse and Dr. Sweet Mother. To install another tyrannous ruler called Tuvius Delight Sasha. Now, Bulawayo uses dramatic irony here to portray the difference between appearance versus reality. It is quite evident that Tuvius and General Judas Goodness Reza along with other military personnel had a closed-door meeting to put an end to the Old Horse government. They concocted the plan that Tuvius had gone into exile but would soon return. However, the subjects of Jidada are internalized with the ideology that a military coup is not meant to take over the government but to defend the Revolution in which their forefathers participated. Their forefather's bones are restless inside their graves because the ruling power has forgotten their real values. It is high time to protect the narrative of national heroes who sacrificed their lives for national freedom and liberation. To ensure the nation's integrity military coup is conducted to defend the forefather Revolution. "As we speak the bones of the Liberators are rattling under this very earth, which tells us what time it is" (Bulawayo 61). Again, the subjects of Jidada are fed with nationalist ideology by making them believe that a coup isn't harmful. Military intervention in politics is essential so the right leader can step in such as Tuvius Delight Sasha. Therefore, the subjects of Jidada started cheering for the military coup thinking they had freed themselves from a tyrannous ruler. They were singing revolutionary songs and took selfies with the soldiers believing the military had restored national cohesion and social justice.

### **REINFORCEMENT OF NEW DISPENSATION IDEOLOGY:**

Tuvius Delight Sasha by illegal means becomes the President of Jidada. He uses religious ideology alongside the ideology of change called as New Dispensation and free and fair credible elections. He uses these ideologies as a persuasive tool to imprint in the minds of the subjects of Jidada that he is the real saviour that God has decreed upon them. Prophet Dr. O. G. Moses and his followers called Soldiers of Christ Prophetic Church of Churches gathered to listen to the Nigerian Prophet's sermon. In this rally, Tuvius is presented as a God-sent saviour, an angel of change, and regarded as the Prophet of New Dispensation. Most of the subjects of Jidada like the Duchess are well aware that he has butchered so many innocent lives. But they still hail him as a President. "That what they heard that day was a brand-new voice of power, tholukuthi a voice of a true Savior of the Nation" (Bulawayo 94). This is what Althusser points out while discussing the role of state apparatuses in the formation of subjects. Subjects assume that he has detached himself from the ideology and is not influenced by it. Henceforth, ideology interpellates individuals as subjects and reinforces individual subjectivity.

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

---

*The ideas are once again crafted and shaped by the dominant class of Jidada by making poor subjects of Jidada believe that Tuvius can change the fate of Jidada with his ideology of New Dispensation. "My dear Jidadans. Without eating into your service, I came here in the flesh, and in the presence of the Lord, to deliver the tremendous news of a New Dispensation, a New Jidada" (Bulawayo 94). Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Part One of The German Ideology emphasized that ideas originate from the ruling class because they own material production and at the same time have control over mental production. Therefore, the subjects of Jidada despite knowing the role of Tuvius in the Gukuruhundi massacre still support his idea of New Dispensation and consider him Prophet of change who will bring progress and prosperity in Jidada. "Only we have to convince Jidada of the exact opposite, which is that this is a New Dispensation election, which is #freefairncredible" (Bulawayo 123).*

### **REINFORCEMENT OF MEDIA AS AN IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUS**

*Media also becomes one of the materialistic and influential tools to prevail over the workings of Ideological State Apparatus. During election campaigns in Jidada where Tuvy inculcates a sham ideology of free and fair credible elections. The media advertisements propagate in the minds of the subjects of Jidada that Tuvy is the true saviour so vote for him. "Giant billboards greeted the Father of the Nation wherever he looked. He read: A Savior Is Come" (Bulawayo 157). Media advertisement is used as a strategic ideological tool to persuade the subjects of Jidada. It reinforces them to buy Tuvius narrative of change and credible democratic elections. Norman Fairclough in Language and Power discusses the nexus between ideologies, power, and language. He believes ideology works in best function when its working is less visible to the subjects. It means the subjects remain ignorant that their behaviour is governed by a specific ideology. "Ideology is the prime means of manufacturing consent" (Fairclough 4). The elections are nothing but just a random formality to tell the subjects of Jidada and the West that Jidada is a democratic nation. However, in reality, Tuvius was already selected as the President when the military coup had taken place.*

*Clough takes forward Althusser's idea that how ideology basically, galvanizes the process of subjectification. Clough pinches an idea of how media advertisements sell ideologies making the subjects buy them. Advertisements due to their paid nature promote and sell the novel and innovative idea more effectively. This is how Tuvy wins the election against President Goodwill Beta. Soon his image is present everywhere on various billboards, banknotes, clothing labels, postage stamps, cigarette packets, government buildings, cereal boxes, posters, sacks of maize meal, government vehicles, tins of various products, school textbooks and exercise books, medicine bottles, fertilizer*

bags, examination papers, public toilets, buses, tea packets, church entrances, brothels, hospitals, bars, restaurants, football stadiums, toy packages, toilet paper covers, license plates, and more. His image is also even decorated and adorned in the flag of Jidada where the stone bird was once used to be present. The ubiquitous presence of Tuoy's face in the surroundings constructed the impression that he was persistently watching over the citizens of Jidada from various angles and directions. Reminding his presence everywhere is just God alike. Observing his every subject from all the corners and through his images present everywhere makes the subjects internalize that there is no other true saviour rather than him. "Tholukuthi, he decreed himself Jidada's President for Life, effectively making sure he would indeed rule and rule and keep ruling" (Bulawayo 304). Ironically, the New Dispensation ideology for change turns out a complete sham. There was uncertainty and restlessness throughout Jidada. The subjects faced continuous repression. However, some citizens in the Other Country Bulawayo call it an online space where certain rebels express frustration related to the country's situation and become loud and vocal against the government. They rant and express those ideas and perceptions that they would never dare to voice in the physical world. Bulawayo terms the physical land of Jidada as "Country Country" which is the original, physical farmland of Jidada. Here citizens are nothing but silent subjects and are living their lives in a more subdued and fearful manner. They cannot even contemplate challenging the regime openly.

Since, Tuvious has passed certain orders where several decrees are meant to tighten control over the entire Jidada. Tuvious acts as a gatekeeper to censor the material that maligns his image. Therefore, certain steps are taken especially, to control media for its purpose. These decrees included suppressing basic rights and completely banning activity on the internet against the government. Furthermore, orders were passed to outlaw media outlets that are hyper-critical of the government snubbing the freedom of speech in every possible manner. He also puts an end to the opposition and other civil society organizations by calling them dark or evil forces. He banned any form of opposition or activism that is subjected against the government which includes various kinds of demonstrations and protests. He reorganized the top government positions by placing the most outrageous supporters of the regime in charge.

#### **NEXUS OF GUKURAHUNDI GENOCIDE AND IDEOLOGY OF CHIMURENGA:**

Bulawayo in *Glory* discloses how the national history of Zimbabwe is distorted by using ideological and repressive state apparatus. Gukurahundi violence is one of the dark chapters of Zimbabwean's history. The Gukurahundi violence in Zimbabwe started from 1983 to 1987 due to political reasons. Robert Mugabe and his political party ZANU-PF party wanted to establish oneparty rule so, that Mugabe could be a President for life. To achieve this objective political opposition called the Zimbabwe

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

---

*African People's Union was to be pushed out. William J. Mpfu in "Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe: An Epistemicide and Genocide" states "Genocide is not only the killing of people in large numbers but it also is the murder of truth and knowledge" (Mpfu 43). He quotes the opinions of different scholars like Emmanuel Eze who believed that to initiate any evil such as genocide an ideology is used as a base to do evil action. He terms it an epistemic condition for genocide to come up with a reason why there was a need for a massacre and bloodshed. "Much like other genocides before it, the Gukurahundi Genocide of Zimbabwe was not unfolded as the crime against humanity that it was. It was dressed up in a national security cause and presented as just" (Mpfu 46). Mpfu backs his argument by quoting the opinion of a scholar called Ndlovu-Gatsheni who analyzed that the ZANU-PF party has used the ideology of Chimurenga.*

*The ideology of Chimurenga is about the liberation struggle against the colonizers. The same ideology was used to defend the Gukurahundi genocide. Mugabe used this ideology to get rid of the native political opposition describing them as a danger and threat to the country's security.*

*"An international image of ZAPU as a terrorist organization was constructed by ZANU-PF that sought to discredit Nkomo and isolate ZAPU from the world" (Mpfu 48). This is what Bulawayo projects in Glory how a state used ideology to distort national history. Genocide was represented as a service to the nation by using the Repressive State Apparatus against the subjects. Emmerson Mnangagwa meaning Tuwoy was an ally of Old Horse meaning Robert Mugabe in this madness and massacre of Ndebele who were labelled as Dissidents. They played a vital and paramount role in the liberation war against the colonizers. Mpfu analyzes the tribal hostility and opposition towards the Ndebele people as a part of history that is often looked over to understand the Gukurahundi genocide in Zimbabwe. They were not given the respective share in the formation of government and were regarded as illegitimate citizens and Dissidents. Therefore, the state used coercion and trained the fifth brigade in North Korea. They were the loyalist of Mugabe who was deployed to carry out mass slaughtering and bloodshed of the Ndebele people. "Even today, I salute that unit – 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, they did the work, I'm talking proper artists of killing! Pure angels of death! True prophets of terror!" (Bulawayo 116). Mpfu quotes Martin Meredith who explained villagers were not only just slaughtered or raped they were forced to sing songs in the Shona language that praised the ZANU-PF party. They were compelled to sing and dance on the mass graves of their respective families and other fellow villagers. "Forcing the Shona language on villagers that spoke other languages including Kalanga, Ndebele, Tonga, Nambya and others was the violent work of epistemicides that accompanied the genocide" (Mpfu 45). Ben Kiernan gives his*

genocidal ideology in *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* where he discusses that certain factors contribute to genocide. Such as the presence of cults of antiquity, ethnic factors, fetishization for land, and expansionism. Therefore, such factors as ethnicity played a role in the clash between Shona versus Ndebele.

Bulawayo describes the fear, gruesome horror, and trauma of subjects who survived the Gukurahundi genocide. Through the character of Simiso, she discloses the genocide trauma to her daughter Destiny. Destiny is also a victim of state oppression and violence. The two weak goats have faced the atrocity of Old Horse oppressive regime. Bulawayo uses the flashback technique to delineate Simiso's traumatic past. A horrific, ruthless, and brutal incident that had taken place on April 18, 1983. One day, when she returns home, she finds the entire village disintegrated and dilapidated. Each part and structure was consumed in the fire. "Even from my hiding place I could see blood fly. Hear shrieks and cries mingled with the hysterical voices of the students" (Bulawayo 208). Fifth Brigade was everywhere looking for the Dissident. The inhabitants of Bulawayo village begged for mercy from the defenders by asserting that they were also children of God. "I went home. And when I got there, there was no home, I mean there was nothing. I thought I was lost" (Bulawayo 220). A next-door neighbor Hlangabeza, survived and escaped with the Simiso newborn child, Destiny. Hlangabeza describes to Simiso how the Fifth Brigade killed innocent ones, all the way searching and hunting for Dissidents. The Simiso father bravely confronted them but was atrociously beaten. Whereas, the rest of the family was tied up inside the house which was later, then set on fire. Hlangabeza watches in horror as the flames engulf the entire house with the Simiso family inside. The repeated Dhikondo song was played on the radio and Simiso's father despite being in massive pain managed to regain his consciousness and manage to flee. But unfortunately, he was shot and dragged towards a militia jeep. "First, they made all the femals take off our clothes. But when I tell you that they beat us, I'm not really telling you anything" (Bulawayo 223).

Now, Destiny develops a sense of realization that how her mother's persistent ironing is not just a random house chore but a type of coping mechanism to overcome her grief and trauma. Destiny who was also subjected to state violence back in 2008 her silence scars on the body, develops a trauma bond with her mother's scars. "She turns around to give her back to her daughter, who gasps, covers her mouth at the terrible scars, the angry lines, furrows that cross and uncross all over the long back, the holes on the older goat's behind" (Bulawayo 224). Althusser stresses that though both state apparatuses work separately. However, there is a binding factor that unifies both state apparatuses. Since it is the ruling class and their respective ideas that are present not only in the Ideological State Apparatus but also in the Repressive State Apparatus. This

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

---

*is how Old Horse established his hegemony ideologically and through the use of repression or violence so, that his subjects would not go against the set ideals. The repeated references to the Gukurahundi genocide throughout the novel are a constant reminder of how the totalitarian regime of Old Horse has silenced the voices of subjects. They used repressive state apparatus against those who resisted and tried to oppose the authoritarian rule. "The refusal to acknowledge the truth of the genocide is part of the systemic epistemicides, the killing of the truth that accompanies genocide and other forms of large-scale violence" (Mpofu 52). Bulawayo through her narration stresses that this Gukurahundi genocide was nothing but state terrorism which got legitimacy by imbibing the corrupt nationalist ideology.*

### **USE OF VIOLENCE THROUGH REPRESSIVE STATE APPARATUS :**

*There is an aggressive use of Repressive State Apparatus on the day of remembrance for the forcibly disappeared subjects in Jidada. The mourning subjects gathered in Lozikeyi to honor those whose existence has become invisible. The subjects present here raise questions about the disappeared ones and demand answers from the government. Despite facing different threats, they are ready to risk their lives for the lost one. They decided to march peacefully towards the government building, where they faced heavy opposition from the present authorities. Destiny with full confidence arrives at the stage. She walks with the same composure and poise just like her mother, Simiso. The audience acknowledges and recognizes her courage to be brave enough to unveil the government's atrocity and brutality. "Up to today the fear that the genocide instilled in the victims is still politically usable by ZANU-PF that now only needs to remind the people what happened to them in order to force them to docility and obedience" (Mpofu 52). Destiny opens her notebook and addresses the gathered crowd. She announces that she will read from the upcoming book she has been working on called *The Red Butterflies of Jidada*. She has dedicated her magnum opus to her butchered family members in the Gukurahundi genocide. Especially, her very own grandfather who disappeared in the 1983 series of massacres. The mention of the date stirs up powerful feelings and emotions among the crowd. They are reminded and haunted by past tragedies they have faced. They develop a trauma bond and feel a collective discontent and uneasiness. Still, there is also a sense of determination prevailing in them to speak out about the unjustness and exploitation happened in the past they have constantly faced. Her reading hints at the lived experiences that incurs the effect of those who have been disoriented and lost. Meanwhile, when this was taking place, the Defenders arrived at Uhuru Park. A sense of terror was spread that scattered the crowd. Those who witnessed the event later give an account that what had happened. When Destiny was reading about her grandfather's disappearance the*

Defenders tried to silence her voice. Even as Defenders surrounded her, she continued reading. "That Commander Jambanja barked for her to step away from the podium and lie face down, but that Destiny stood there and read in that voice that was full of the dead" (Bulawayo 329).

Commander Jambanja a wild vicious dog who is the representative of the Repressive State Apparatus shot the fire from his bullet to silence the voice of Destiny forever. Destiny's white dress with the blink of an eye was turned into red. When her spirit was leaving her body, she was still reading to complete her part and utter thank you to the audience who were brave enough to defy the rules of the tyrannical ruler. Simiso silently requested Golden Maseko to bring red paint and a brush. Golden Maseko brought the red paint and brush as Simiso had told and asked Golden Maseko to follow her outside. Simiso looked at Golden Maseko and without uttering any words Simiso hinted she wanted him to do. This reflects their strong sense of communication. Golden Maseko comprehended and started to paint the wall silently. He kept applying paint layer after layer without saying any word, expressing the shared emotions without words. Golden Maseko silently painted and created red butterflies on the wall. Underneath each butterfly, he writes down the names of people who had been slaughtered by the government. Others present there joined him by adding more names to the wall in silence. Soon, the wall was filled with red butterflies and respective names. It symbolizes those who had died and were persecuted by the government and labeled as terrorists. The dead live in the minds and souls of their loved ones. People from nearby areas and even faraway places came to add names to the wall silently. The wall became known as Lozikeyi's Wall of the Dead. Tuvius oppressive government declared it propaganda and commenced new laws to develop full control over the subjects of Jidada. "It was thus declared illegal for private citizens to take it upon themselves to create unauthorized memorials on Jidada soil" (Bulawayo 332).

#### **REINFORCEMENT OF ILLEGAL LAWS AS AN IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUS :**

Again, Althusser emphasizes that the legal system is the part of Ideological State Apparatus that is designed in such a manner to serve the cause of the ruling elite and to oppress the poor subjects. The illegal and unjust laws are designed to protect the hegemony and to make poor subjects accountable by using unjust ways and illegal treatment. The law reinforces the ideological conditioning of the subjects to work in the domain of the existing power structure in order to preserve the status quo. Althusser examines that almost every social institution be it law, media, or army uses ideology to create subjugated minds to influence their behaviour either through coercion or consent. Fairclough also believes that it is a pivotal role of ideology in sustaining power relations. Ideology intermingles with institutional practices which are often deep-rooted and never made accountable for their actions.

## **IDEOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WITHIN JIDADA STATE APPARATUSES IN NOVIOLET BULAWAYO'S GLORY**

### **CONCLUSION**

By taking the entire discussion into account this research explored various forms of state apparatuses and language abuse that are responsible for the subjectification and subjugation of the citizens of Jidada. The theoretical framework used in this research study is Louis Althusser's "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)" in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. It proclaims the result that ideology is not abstract it is a persuasive weapon materialistic in nature. Ideology is internalized first through the Ideological State Apparatus and Repressive State Apparatus. Through religious ideology, fragmented nationalist ideology, patriarchal ideology, media advertisements, and illegal laws the subjects of Jidada are controlled by the political elite. These different Ideological State Apparatuses are used as compelling tools to ensure the subject formation in Jidada who oblige with the narrative set by the political elite. They have no autonomy and liberty and are governed according to set ideologies. Similarly, the Repressive State Apparatus like Defenders and military use force and violence to maintain the status quo. To silence those subjects of Jidada who show any act of defiance and resistance. Every political deception and shenanigans appear reliable and political crime seems morally upstanding and admirable. The findings of this research study have not only filled the research gap in the existing literary canon. It also has given an outline for future researchers to examine Ben Kiernan's genocidal ideology to better comprehend the Gukurahundi genocide which took place in Zimbabwe. They can do stylistic analysis and critical discourse analysis of political speeches to unravel the dystopian elements prevalent in Jidada.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

### **References**

- 1- Althusser, Louis. *Lenin and Philosophy and the Other Essays*. 1971. Translated by Ben Brewster, Monthly Review Press, 2001, [www.marx2mao.com/Other/LPOE70ii.html](http://www.marx2mao.com/Other/LPOE70ii.html) . Accessed 27 Mar. 2024.
- 2- Clark, Alex. "NoViolet Bulawayo: "I'm Encouraged by This New Generation That Wants Better." *The Guardian*, 19 Mar. 2022, [www.theguardian.com/books/2022/mar/19/noviolet-bulawayo-animal-farm-styleallegory-important-hope-zimbabwe-orwell-glory](http://www.theguardian.com/books/2022/mar/19/noviolet-bulawayo-animal-farm-styleallegory-important-hope-zimbabwe-orwell-glory).
- 3- "Conditioning Noun - Definition, Pictures, Pronunciation and Usage Notes | Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary at OxfordLearnersDictionaries.com." *Oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com*, 2023, [www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/conditioning?q=conditioning](http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/conditioning?q=conditioning)
- 4- Fairclough, Norman. *Language and Power*. 2024. Longman Group UK Limited, 1989, [www.okehamptoncollege.devon.sch.uk/uploads/6/1/4/4/61443371/ebooksclub.org\\_\\_language\\_and\\_power\\_\\_language\\_in\\_social\\_life\\_.pdf](http://www.okehamptoncollege.devon.sch.uk/uploads/6/1/4/4/61443371/ebooksclub.org__language_and_power__language_in_social_life_.pdf) . Accessed 27 Mar. 2024.

- 5- *Learner’s Dictionary at OxfordLearnersDictionaries.com.”*  
*Www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com,*  
*www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/ideology .*
- 6- *Kiernan, Ben. Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur. Yale University Press, 2009.*
- 7- *Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. The German Ideology. Edited by C.J. Arthur, Lawrence & Wishart, 1974,*  
*static1.squarespace.com/static/5e0185311e0373308494e5b6/t/5e082fad41180e2960d8cf09/1577594807378/the\_german\_ideology.pdf. Accessed 27 Mar. 2024.*
- 8- *Mavengano, Esther. “The Phallogocentric Paradox and Semantics of Eve’s Myth in Zimbabwe’s Contemporary National Politics: An Ecofeminist Reading of Bulawayo’s Novel, Glory.” Theological Studies/Teologiese Studies, vol. 79, no. 3, AOSIS, Mar. 2023, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v79i3.8070>. Accessed 30 Sept. 2023.*
- 9- *Mpofu, William J. “Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe: An Epistemicide and Genocide.” Journal of Literary Studies, vol. 37, no. 2, Apr. 2021, pp. 40–55, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02564718.2021.1923695>. NoViolet Bulawayo. Glory. Viking, 2022, file:///C:/Users/admin/Downloads/Glory%20(NoViolet%20Bulawayo)%20(ZLibrary).pdf . Accessed 5 Oct. 2023.*
- 10- *Naseem, I., Jaffar, S., Tahir, M., & Bin Saeed, B. (2023). Evolution of Research Culture in Pakistan: A SWOT Analysis from the Perspective of Humanities and Management Faculty. FWU Journal of Social Sciences, 17(2).*
- 11- *Roucek, Joseph S. “A History of the Concept of Ideology.” Journal of the History of Ideas, vol. 5, no. 4, 1944, pp. 479–88, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2707082>.*
- 12- *Van Dijk, Teun. Language and Power: Essays in Honour Of. Amazon, Independent Publication, 2021, pp. 147–55, [discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-2021-Are-ideologies-negative.pdf](https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-2021-Are-ideologies-negative.pdf). Accessed 27 Mar. 2024.*