Reification of Bourgeois Ideology in Bhattarai’s *Muglan*

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**Abstract**

This paper aims to explore how innocent Nepali youths reify the elitist bourgeois ideology of the Nepalese society that forces them to go to Muglan, a term, denoting foreign country for Nepali people, and confront unexpected blows there in Govinda Raj Bhattarai’s novel, Muglan. Reification signifies the ideology and perception of people residing in a capitalist society. The study of the impact of reification demonstrates the reality of a society. Bhattarai is critical to the way Sutar Kanchha, the protagonist of the novel, obsessed with the dominant capitalist ideology, goes to Bhutan to earn. But he gets robbed there and he is forced to do tough physical labor like an animal. To survey terrific effects of the dominant capitalist ideology of the Nepalese society over the life of the poor Nepali people, the research paper applies neo-Marxist insights, with special focus on Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci. The chief finding is that Bhattarai is critical to persisting capitalist ideology of the Nepalese society that forces innocent Nepali youths to leave their country just for survival. But, in turn, they get robbed and are compelled to work like slaves in the cruel Muglan. It is expected that researchers intending to explore on Nepali literature from the neo-Marxist perspective will find the paper a useful reference.

**Keywords:** Bourgeois; exploitation; ideology, reification.

**Introduction**

This research study is concerned with noticing the impacts of the reification of the capitalist ideology by people in Govinda Raj Bhattarai’s novel, *Muglan*. Reification connotes the social consciousness of the people living in a capitalist society (Lukacs, 1971; Marx & Engels, 1994). It is a representation of social consciousness which identifies the human relationships with thing-like characteristics (Mehmood, 2018). After the demise of semi-feudalism in Nepal led by the political movements in the first decade of the twenty-
first century, Nepali people have obsession with adopting the lifestyle of the capitalist class (Bista, 2008). Mishra (2014) argues, “Potentially, and in a specific sense, the recognition that Nepal is a capitalist state constitutes no less than a revolutionary recognition” (para. 2). The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been reflected by many Nepali writers such as B. P. Koirala, Parijat, Govinda Raj Bhattarai and so forth. The term, ‘Muglan’ refers to the Mugal Empire of India between the 16th and 19th centuries. For Nepali people, Muglan connotes a foreign country where youths go to earn. The publication of Muglan in 2012 heightened Bhattarai’s place as a canonical writer in Nepali diaspora literature (Hutt, 1998: Mishra, 2021; Neupane, 2021). Govinda Raj Bhattarai is a “novelist, essayist, linguist, literary critic, and translation consultant of Nepali literature” (“Govinda Raj Bhattarai”, n. d., para. 1). Muglan is compared to the great works of Nepali literature like Ramayana by Bhanubhakta, Muna Madan by Laxmi Prasad Devkota and Tarun Tapasi by Lekhnath Poudyal. Muglan is “the first book, a fiction detailing the road construction works in Bhutan and the harsh life of the innocent people of Nepali origin that were suppressed, exploited, and terrorized there” (“Criticism is a parasitic plant...” 2020, para. 13).

The novel, Muglan is “set in the early 19th century, partly in India and mainly in Bhutan” (Mishra, 2021, p. 50). It relates a pathetic tale of the Nepali youths who go to Muglan with the high ambition of earning money. At the outset, Sutar Kanchha and Thule go to Dorling, that is, Darjeeling, West Bengal, India, from the eastern border of Nepal for marketing. But instead of coming back home, they flee to Muglan with the high ambition of being recruited into the army, so that they can earn money and support their families. But their expectations are shattered by the end of their journey to Muglan. They have to work as road diggers in the form of the bonded laborers in the the Ha Paro Mountain at Bhutan where they meet their tragic death (Atam & Baral, 1999). The paper is concerned to depict how the proletariat youths of the Nepalese society are always betrayed by the brutal and inhuman elitist bourgeois people living in different parts of the world. They are purchased and sold like cattle in the filthy capitalist world of human trade. They become bondage laborers and are compelled to work as road builders in the dark forests and rocky hills of Bhutan. The research questions the paper raises are: Why does Sutar Kanchha run away from his own society? Or why does Sutar fail to resist against the elitist bourgeois ideology? Thus, the rational of the research lies in observing what is not addressed by other researchers. It is how Bhattarai critiques the capitalist ideology of the Nepalese society that forces the energetic youths of Nepal to go to Muglan in the text, Muglan.

There are some writers who have narrated the stories of the Nepali people going to abroad for accumulating wealth and accomplishing their desire for material possession. Laxmi Prasad Devkota’s renowned poetic play Muna Madan, published in 1936, depicts a man’s obligation to go abroad to supply wealth to his family. Mishra (2021) observed Madan, the protagonist of the play, going to Lasha leaving his beloved, Muna, and his old mother back in Kathmandu to in his material passion and finally meeting his tragic death. Other noted Nepali diasporic novels such as Yamapuriko Mahal [Effisice of Yampuri], Muluk Bahira [Out of the Country], Sarañ ārthi [The Refugee] also expose how the materialistic drive force Nepali people to suffer in foreign country (Koirala, 2011). Govinda Raj Bhattarai’s debut novel, Muglan is regarded as “a pioneering work of Diaspora Studies in Nepal” (Neupane, 2021, p. 57).

Now, let’s assess the critics’ evaluation and reviews made on the novel, Muglan, from multiple perspectives. The novel is mainly taken as one of the significant migration literatures by a group of critics. Muglan, like many other Nepali novels, chronicles the story of Nepali youths migrating to foreign countries as breadwinners so as to accomplish the family’s economic problems (Subedi, 2007; Neupane, 2021). Mishra (2021) marked Bhattarai dealing with gender issues in the novel in these words: “Muglan deals with the problems faced by men in patriarchy. Though the protagonist and his companions have emulated traditional masculinity and hoped to live like men, they fail” (p. 44). Koirala (2011) appreciated Bhattarai for creating such a
powerful fiction and securing his position as a canonical writer in Nepali literature. Subedi (2014) surveyed the linguistic aspects of the novel, Muglan, and finds Bhattarai switching and mixing codes, that is, using words and phrases from Indian and Bhutanese languages. The power of Muglan lies in its magnetic appeal because it is written with ink of blood, paper of skin and the pen of bone (Atam & Baral, 1999). The critic, Subedi (2007) marked the novel dealing with the tragic tale of Nepali youths who are forced to meet a premature death in the foreign-land, Bhutan.

In this way, some renowned critics have analyzed the text, Muglan from diverse perspectives. However, sufficient study of the novel from the neo-Marxist perspective has not been made. Here lies the research gap. Hence, the present paper aims to study the impact of reifying the elitist bourgeois ideology by ordinary people in a society in the light of Muglan.

Methodology

The analytical procedure of the paper is textual as it is constructed and guarded by the circumference of neo-Marxist approach. Neo-Marxism is the post-Marxist criticism emerged in 1960s to address the issues social inequality and exploitation of the monopolistic capitalism (Black & Anderson, 2004). It applied the qualitative approach to research method. Regarding the textual approach, Belsey (2005) remarked, “There is no such thing as ‘pure’ reading: interpretation always involves extra-textual knowledge” (p. 160). The hypothesis is to be tested through textual analysis. Apart from the intensive study of the text, Muglan by Bhattarai, as the primary data, the related materials from the secondary resources such as articles on the text published in websites, journals, and magazines are analyzed to discuss the impact of imitating the capitalist ideology by poor and common citizens of a society.

Reification is a central concern of neo-Marxism that stemmed from the Marxist thought in the 1970s and 1980s. If Marxism, theorized by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, views society as the endless history of class struggle, neo-Marxism regards that economic exploitation is an external cause (Tyson, 2006). A researcher, Postone (2003) believed that Marx’s idea of class struggle is related to reification because it is a product of social consciousness. Marx and Engels (1994) stated: “All science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of things directly coincided” (p. 592). He implied that human ideology is always evolving because of the changing mode of economic foundation. Neo-Marxists question that the present trend of capitalist mode of production that has given birth to capitalist ideology. Neo-Marxists demand for competent labor. Althusser (1999) contended,

*It is not enough to ensure for labor power the material conditions of its reproduction if it is to be reproduced as labor power. I have said that the available labor power must be competent, that is, suitable to be set to work in the complex system of the process of production. (p. 1485)*

In the capitalist society, the repressive state apparatuses force to do complex job. The poor people enjoy in their imagination rather than in their real life situation. Therefore, the ideology of the state impels the poor people to make a beautiful dream of their happy existence. Althusser (1999) stated:

*There is, therefore, a cause for the imaginary transposition of the real conditions of existence: that cause is the small number of cynical men who base their domination and exploitation of the people on a falsified representation of the world which they have imagined in order to enslave other minds by dominating their imaginations. (p. 1499)*

Capitalist bourgeois society imposes its ideology to the proletariat people through its subtle and powerful mechanism.

Marx and Engels (1994) believed that people would change the existing system one day by revolting against the bourgeois class. But neo-Marxist critics believe that people support the capitalist system consciously because they have no alternative to reject it. Zizek (1999) remarked, “The most elementary definition of ideology is probably the well-
known phrase from Marx’s Capital: ‘sie wissen das nicht, aber sie tun es’ – ‘they do not know it, but they are doing it’ (p. 312). Classical Marxism advocates that false consciousness persuades general people to remain under capitalistic ideological shadow. A notable neo-Marxist philosopher, Gramsci (1994) ruminated that ideology is a means or tool of hegemonizing the proletariat. The civil society and political society, according to Gramsci (1994), operate in a society to maintain their hegemony:

What we can do, for the moment, is to fix two major super-structural levels: the one that can be called ‘civil society’, that is, ensemble of organisms commonly called ‘private’, and that of ‘political society’ or ‘the state’. These two levels correspond on the one hand to the functions of ‘hegemony’ which the dominant group exercises through the state and ‘juridical government’ (p. 12).

The capitalist ideology of the elite group is either maintained forcefully or through consensus.

The neo-Marxist approaches, discussed above, are the key theoretical tools used to analyze how the poor people in Muglan reify the capitalist ideology and suffer later on.

**Results and Discussion**

The study explores how Bhattarai’s *Muglan* portrays the tendency of the innocent Nepali youths to reify the dominant bourgeois ideology which forces them to flee abroad for earning more without being conscious of its aftermath consequences. The dominant bourgeois ideological system of a society makes the people aware of their economic limitations and forces them to argue that economic prosperity brings happiness (Althusser, 1999). At the same time the patriarchal society of Nepal aids the young to go abroad for earning. The father of Pakhe Kailo in the novel, *Muglan*, assesses that Kanchha can go to foreign country for earning because he is a male. Pakhe Kailo states: “It is alright for a son to leave home and go to foreign land” (*Muglan*, p. 118). This signifies that reifying the capitalist ideology is not a new phenomenon in Nepal. Generations of people from Nepal have been going abroad for making money. Sutar Kanchha and his friends see no trace of happiness in the land of Nepal because there are no job and income opportunities (Koirala, 2011). They, therefore, adhere to the contemporary Nepalese bourgeois ideological system that reminds them of their obligation. The social consciousness is an inevitable human phenomenon that stems from the socio-economic base (Lukacs, 1971; Marx & Engels, 1994). The tendency to reify the bourgeois is rooted in the Nepalese vein for a long time.

Althusser (1999) believed, “Ideology has a material existence in the sense that it is embodied in all sorts of material practices” (p. 1490). This, in turn, generates the idea in their minds that economic growth enhances happiness. The young boys of the novel plot to go to Muglan, foreign country, expecting to obtain better job opportunities, such as armies, and better economic status. In the exposition of the novel, *Muglan*, the narrator describes, “Sitting in the truck loaded with goods, they experienced adventurous moments. They fancied descending down towards Muglan and were swept away by the imagination of being recruited in the army” (*Muglan*, p. 2). They feel as if they have obtained eternal joy. When Sutar is becomes more imaginative, Thule says, “Wow! How wonderful it is, Kanchha, to be in the lorry! This reminds me of being in a cradle” (*Muglan*, p. 2). It is wonderful to go abroad and serve in difficult for the Nepali people because the reification of the dominant bourgeois ideology has influenced their mentality. In the novel, Muglan, the Nepali people are unaware of the bitter truth that they are victimized by the capitalist system. Instead, they are not only reifying dominant bourgeois ideology but also ignoring the importance of home, family, and doing simple work without surrendering to the capitalists. Neo-Marxists believe that we do not act out of free will. Instead, we are acted by the system in reality. Althusser (1999) argues, “It, therefore, appears that the subject acts insofar as he is acted by the system” (p. 1491). The desire of the youths to go to Muglan for recruitment seems to be acted out of their freewill. But, in reality, it is the social system, manipulated by the capitalists, that causes
them to reify the capitalist ideology and go there.

Bhattarai demonstrates the truth in these lines:

*The boys, who had spent their lives quite pleasantly working at home and amidst the cattle and who were drunk with their youth and vigor, might have been carried away by wild dreams. They could not control themselves from the temptation of getting lost in this colorful world of Muglan, away from home* (Muglan, p. 2).

The minds of the innocent Nepali youths float into the horizon of imagination to make their future bright. They are compelled to conceive in such a way because of the predominant capitalist ideological system of the state.

Nepali worker go abroad with a great dream of earning much money. But they do not know how they are exploited in the foreign land. Zizek (1999) claims that poor people, in their obsession to reify bourgeois, do not know what they are doing in capitalist society. This situation is marked in this line: “Neglecting to carry the salt back home after selling ghee in ‘Dorling’, they got into a truck heading for Siliguri” (Muglan, p. 2).

The Nepali youths are so obsessed by the conception of a happy future that they are even ready to confront all the obstacles that might come in their way. Pitkin (1987) connects associates reification with social evil because individuals “treat themselves and others, as if they were things, not people” (p. 123). They can’t fight against the existing capitalist system of the country that is indifferent to their unemployment and poverty. Bhattarai further reports:

*Their minds were possessed by the unprecedented imagination of reaching Muglan, recruiting themselves and becoming lahures [foreign army]. They followed that man with trembling legs, supporting themselves solely on the sweet fantasy of trotting in their boots once they became lahures* (Muglan, pp. 22-23).

The sweet fantasy makes the simple Nepali youths forget their pain, their hunger, and their exhaustion. They have a conviction that every misery and obstacle they tackle today results in material reward tomorrow.

The ideology of adhering to the elitist bourgeois trend is not a new phenomenon. It is trans-historical. Althusser (1999) contends, “in its Freudian conception this time, our proposition: ideology has no history, can and must be related directly to the Freudian proposition that the unconscious is eternal, that is, it has no history” (p. 240). The pervasiveness of reifying the capitalist ideology is marked in the mentality of the Nepalese youths earlier because they had the trend go to Muglan to make their life materially prosperous. They don’t bother where there Muglan might be. But they have no problem leaving their family, village and native land for employment. When the driver’s helper demands twenty rupees per head as the fare for their journey to foreign country, Thule consoles himself and Sutar says, “It might be right, yes, our father used to say it took him five koris while going to Assam” (Muglan, p. 3). This justifies that the process of leaving house to support one’s family has been exercised for a long time in Nepal. In Laxmi Prasad Devkota’s *Muna Madan*, the Muglan of the unemployed Nepalese youths is the Lasha (Mishra, 2021). The Muglan the Nepalese youths in the early 21st century is Arab, Quatar, Iraq, and Korea and so on. Some of them suffer in war affected countries as Sutar in Muglan in Bhutan and Madan in Devkota’s *Muna Madan* suffer in Lasha. This condition of experiencing pain has become an ongoing process and eternal process in Nepal.

It is ironical that the bourgeois capitalists take advantage of ruling over the proletariat because the ideology of the proletariat is hegemonized to be ruled. A notable neo-Marxist philosopher, Gramsci (1994) ruminates that ideology is a means or tool of hegemonizing the proletariat. He holds the opinion that civil society and political society exercise “through the state and juridical government” (p. 12) in order to maintain their hegemony.

In Muglan, almost all the characters are exploited by the system of the elitist
bourgeois society. The protagonist, Sutar Kanchha and other youths are exploited by the capitalists because they blindly reify the capitalist ideology. They suffer from the brutality, cruelty and inhumanity of the capitalist ideology. In the elitist bourgeois society, the capitalists control the state and every system to exploit the proletariat as the commodities. Adorno and Horkheimer (2005) state:

_As naturally as the ruled always took the morality imposed upon them more seriously than did the rulers themselves, the deceived masses are today captivated by themyth of success even more than the successful are. Inmovably, they insist on the very ideology which enslaves them._ (p. 238)

Honneth (2005) is right in his conception that “reification is a modified form of human behavior” (p. 93). Human beings are treated like lifeless things in capitalist society. When the youths attempt to run away from Bhutan, they were recaptured by the human traffickers treated inhumanly. We can observe the bitter truth in this scenario:

_After the sound of every whipping, another one would twirl his moustache and ask- 'Will you run away like this?' The man would merely whisper something in an inindistinguishable manner. He ordered, Go to work from tomorrow. As a penalty, your twomonths' salary will be deducted. And you will receive only half of your ration. Understood?' The four laborers stood sobbing there with scars of canning all over their bodies (Muglan, pp. 74-75).

The labors are canned by the atrocious boss to impose their power on them. This justifies how the capitalists treat the proletariat as commodities. Capitalists treat the labors as commodities in the culture industry disregarding what is correct or what is incorrect (Walker & Gray, 2007). In pre-capitalist society, the rich practiced slavery. They used to purchase poor as slaves or the cheap laborers for imposing them with heavy work.

The repressive state apparatuses are not unified in the capitalist society (Gramsci, 1994). The police and the prison system, the military, the state and government are not homogenized. And they not only operate their industry privately but also attain their power through implicit consent of the state apparatuses. Kanchho and Sutar have to perform the complex work in Muglan because they have no any option to challenge the existing order of the authority. The reification of the bourgeois ideology makes one powerless (Blackledge & Anderson, 2004). The Jimdar commands the youths to do whatever the work they are assigned to. The irony of the repressive state apparatuses can be perceived in the novel in these lines:

_The Jimdar kept telling Kanchho and Sutar, 'Now you have to work. The work is digging the road. You have to work from six o’clock in the morning to five in the evening. You will have to do whatever you are assigned' (Muglan, p. 48)._

Kanchho and Sutar are the poor youths who have to obey the harsh command of the capitalists. Though their job is tough and beyond their expectations, they can’t deny. The proletariat can’t challenge the authority and power in a society manipulated by the bourgeois society. Walker and Gray (2007) highlight the adverse impacts of the reification in these words: "Human qualities, relations, actions and even human beings themselves are transformed in the course of capitalist production into things, and these things come to have power over human beings" (pp. 194). Kanchho and Sutar are transformed as objects.

Kanchho and Sutar have to obey when the Jimdar iterates, "You will have to do whatever you are assigned" (Muglan, p. 48). They have no potential to reject the command of the authority. In a capitalistic society, the labors become powerless, subalterns (Gramsci, 1994). The elitist bourgeois compel the subalterns them to do the tough, complex and risky task so as to accomplish their motif. The working class laborers have to carry on completing the task though it is difficult and unbearable. It is not that they were not cautioned. An experienced laborer alarms them saying, “You all have come here with such
an enviable physiques and are full of dreams, but they will suck every drop of blood out of you and kill you” (Muglan, p. 61). But their insistence to reify capitalistic dream there makes them tolerate the subjugation from the contractors. Here lies Bhattacharja’s intention, that is, to criticize the materialistic society where human treats human as inhuman.

The youths in the novel, Muglan, are assured that they will be recruited in the army. Althusser (1999) does not like the way the small number of powerful men dominate and exploit poor labor and enslave their imaginative minds with their materialistic drives. Though domination and exploitation lurk in the life of the proletariat, though the proletariat cannot dominate the bourgeois in their real life situation, they build an imaginary world to cherish their lives. Then they are kept in Raini Didi’s hotel. The youths start recreating thinking how pleasant the world of the army would really be. This illusion is rendered in these lines:

Looking at his mates and smiling, Karki said, ‘This is the rice of bageda and this, the lentil soup of musur. Now the government will provide us with ration like this daily. Nothing to worry about. Now the diet of dhindo is over, right”? (Muglan, p. 32)

Here, Karki acts as if he knew everything like a leader and commander of the group. Karki and his friends soar into the world of illusion that after their recruitment, they are going to obtain good payment and facilities. This displays how their minds are baffled by the reification of the capitalist ideology. And the new source of income would transform the standard of their. But the irony is that they are ignorant of the filthy world of the culture industry. They are going to live a sorrowful and helpless life. In the culture industry, bourgeois seek to sell labors as cheap objects. Though the capitalists require labor, they have no problem paying low wages to the labor. The feelings and sentiments of slaves trampled in materialistic society. The possession of power by the bourgeois assists keeping proletariat stay isolated like an outsider.

When the Nepalese youths succeed in escaping from the imprisonment of the Bhutanese in Muglan, they are tagged “tipaite” (Muglan, p. 48). They are tagged as offensive criminals and looked for everywhere by the police. Althusser (1999) holds the opinion that the unjust treatment exercised by the bourgeoisie is found in all cultures of the world. It has been directly or indirectly aid by the state authorities and judiciary. As soon as the Nepalese youths are noticed, the police will punish them badly. This justifies how the law becomes blind and brutal for the poor youths in the mercilessness foreign land.

Gradually, all the characters become alienated in the novel, Muglan. Feenberg (2015) opines that reification generates fragmentation and distance among the dosed fellows in the society. The road contractors appoint Kanchha and other Nepali youths to blast the rocks at Bhutan. Thule and Lale do not come back to the tent from the worksite. Thule must have been killed by the blast, and Lale Subba “was biting his teeth forcefully, as if he was still shivering and rattling his teeth with cold” (p. 76). He might have been frozen to death. Rai Kancha dies too. The narrator describes the death of Rai poignantly:

Rai who had left his parents, home and village with a hope of seeing them again after being recruited into the army and earning money, and making his and their life comfortable, was lying lifeless today, offering the last breath of his life to the ‘Ha Dzong’ on a bare hill, without even being noticed by the vultures and jackals. (Muglan, p. 80)

The capitalists are so merciless that they never consider about the problems of the poor people. There is no one to understand the problem of Rai. The capitalists know that construction of road demands tough labor in the extreme weather with minimum supply of food. So, many of the Nepali workers have
unexpected accidents or die because they are forced to work in an adverse situation.

Capitalist ideology gives the false impression that human progress is possible only through the material prosperity (Gramsci, 1994). Though Sutar Kanchha succeeds in escaping narrowly from the police, he is penniless. Then he thinks of going back to his home: "Despite enduring so much I had almost lost my life. I think of my home, my old father and mother, my wife in her parents' house" ([Muglan], p. 105). Therefore, he decides not to go home, but stay working at Chengmari tea state. He is influenced by the reification of the capitalist ideology till the end. The narration justifies this: "He was in his late twenties, how could he go back home empty-handed. His parents might have very high hopes of him. He thought it better to die than go back home empty-handed" ([Muglan], p. 151). One is so trapped in discourse of capitalism that his identity and existence is lost before he can escape from the capitalist ideology (Honneth, 2005). He commits suicide in his disappointment because he was badly trapped by the elitist ideology of capitalism. Sutar Kanchha loses his life in his attempt to reify the superficial capitalist ideology.

Bhattarai's [Muglan] displays the irony of the situation of our life that capitalist ideology is predominant in the social, political and economic systems of our state. Innocent Nepali people have been losing their family, society, and lives in their passion for reifying the bourgeois ideology.

Conclusion

Analyzing Bhattarai's novel, [Muglan], the researcher comes to the finding that novel depicts impacts of reifying the contemporary socio-economic system of Nepal on the poor Nepali people. The Nepalese youths from the 1960s to the present era have been so influenced by the elitist bourgeois ideology of the Nepalese society that they reify the superficial capitalist ideology and intend to go to Muglan. The Muglan was India or Bhutan in the past because they needed no passport and visa to go and work there. But today Qatar, Dubai, Malaysia are the modern destinations where Nepalese youth go to find job. Every year, thousands of poor Nepali die working in the foreign country because they can't resist the massive load of the work imposed on them. The ideology of the youth is a production of the contemporary capitalistic society. The working class people of Nepal are forced to go abroad for employment. But they also have an elusive dream that Muglan offers them better economic gain. They aren't aware of the bitter reality behind working environment in foreign countries. Bhattarai depicts the pitiful condition of Nepali proletariat dominated, exploited, and tormented by the bourgeois. In the novel, [Muglan], Bhattarai main concern is the critique of tendency of the Nepali people to reify capitalism. Sutar Kanchha commits suicide because in utter disappointment because he can't escaping from the bourgeois ideology. Like Sutar Kanchha, other Nepali people lose their identity, value, and meet tragic death in the capitalist society.

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