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# Resisting and Reconstructing the Borders of Patriarchal Culture in Pragati Rai's Thaangraa [A Creeper's Stand]\*

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#### Abstract

This article analyses the Nepali novel Thaangraa written by Pragati Rai aiming to explore the conflict and sufferings that are created by the borderline of rigid patriarchal culture in general. Particularly, this study aims to interpret perpetual resistance to the normative values and standards of patriarchal culture that are deeply rooted in Nepali society for centuries. The study also explores how defiant characters deconstruct the established borderline of the patriarchal culture and reconstruct the alternative morals against the patriarchal beliefs that is only the male children (sons) can continue the clan of particular family. Textual analysis method has been used to interpret the novel. From the lens of Cultural Studies, Michel Foucault's concept of resistance and Antonio Gramsci's notion of counter-hegemony have been applied as theoretical tools to analyze the novel. The defiant character such as Soma resists sturdily established patriarchal values and its domination as Foucault argues, where there is power there is resistance. Moreover, she deconstructs the normative values of patriarchal culture by reconstructing alternative values as Gramsci opines counter-hegemony emerges when hegemony is in crisis. In Thaangraa, female characters, mainly Soma resists and reconstructs the borderlines of Patriarchal culture to claim identity, equality and dignity of women who have been

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suffering from the cultural values of patriarchy. For this, she keeps her husband in her maternal home and gives her father's surname to her children claiming that daughters can support and continue the clan of the family. This study helps see dominant cultural values critically and gives insights to adopt alternative values and ideologies.

*Key words*: Cultural Studies, counter-hegemony, hegemony, patriarchal culture, reconstruction, resistance

#### Introduction

Literary creation itself functions as socio-cultural and political movement in which the writers engage themselves in resisting and challenging the thematic issues and portrayal of the characters that are found in the dominant writing styles. In such literary movement, the writers produce resistance literary works by challenging the established parameters of literary creation. In this regard, Barbara Harlow infers the purpose of resistance literature saying that; "resistance literature calls attention to itself and to literature in general, as a political and politicized activity. The literature of resistance sees itself further more as immediately and directly involved in a struggle against ascendant or dominant forms of ideological and cultural production" (28-29). Enaging in this issue, the writers directly oppose the dominant ideologies and presentations in their writings, and impose oppositional forms and issues as they dismantle the limitations of prevailing writing styles. Harlow further explains the nature of resistance literature that "presents a serious challenge to the codes and canons of both the theory and the practice of literature and its criticism" (xvi). Harlow's explanation clarifies that the writing for resistance challenges the traditional practices of literary creations.

In the same way, defining resistance literature, Jayita Sengupta expresses her view saying that resistance literature is a form of literature that resists the subjugation and it becomes an arena of struggle to claim identity (39). The forms of resistance literary works discard the domination of traditional values in terms of thematic issues and depictions of characters. Conneting this movement of literary writing to the context of Nepali literary tradition, only after the decade of 2000s, the paradigm of Nepali literary writing shifted from the glorification of dominant social class, particularly in patriarchal parameters, to the depiction of marginalized groups, specifically women and Dalits. In other words, the creation of resistance literary works

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began only after the socio-cultural and political movements of the 2000s, mainly Maoist movement. Then, gender and racial issues became the major themes of the writers in their literary works. In this context, Hrishi Raj Baral opines that the writers, particularly novelists raised gender issue as major theme of their works due to the political changes that changed the power relations in the society and brought awareness regarding to gender equality and rights (87). Likewise, after the political movements of 2000s, the writers have expressed the experiences, desires, and consciousness of identity and existence of those marginalized people who have remained under the oppression of dominant culture for centuries (Giri 144). In such resistance writings, the marginalized social groups, such as female characters get represented at the central roles with their defiant nature. Otherwise, in traditional narratives, females are presented as a weaker sex (Subedi 68). Opposing the traditional themes, characterization, and roles given to the females, the writers resist the dominant trends in the making of their fictional narratives.

The writings of Pragati Rai, Nepali novelist as well as a poet, has also challeged the borderline of traditional literary writing. In her literary creations, she explores the issues of females who have been suffering for centuries in the society due to the rigidity of patriarchal values. As she raises gender issues, she gives voices to the women through the portrayal of defiant female characters. Regarding this point, Asmita Bista evalutes Pragati Rai and her works with her critical view, "Pragati Rai, a significant writer and a poet has strongly advocated the rights of women in her literary works" (214). For the advocacy of the women, she prvides central space to the famale characters in their rebellious acts and manner. In the same line, Kshitiz Pratap Shah critically observes Rai's literary works saying that, "She discusses the complexity of feminine realities, with the added inclusion of racial elements" (Par. 1). Rai highlights the gender and racial issues in her fictional works by expressing the lives and experiences of women, their sufferings, and their revolt against the domination of patriarchal culture. Rai's novel *Thaangraa* has been written in the same issue in which she has explored everyday experiences and problems of women in patriarchal Nepali society. She has portrayed two opposite characters - traditional males oriented with patriarchal culture and progressive females with defiant nature. The borderline of rigid patriarchy becomes an arena of conflict and sufferings where some females characters

are mute who tolerate the pains, but some not only defy the traditional values, but also they assert oppositional ideas as they are represented as eloquent and rebellious. This article tries to explore and analyse the same issues raised in the novel *Thaangraa*.

### Problem, Objectives and Methodology

In *Thaangraa*, the characters, both male and female family members engage in coflict. Females characters suffer through tensions and tortures. Though they suffer in their day-to-day life, some female characters such as Numa remain silent. But some do challenge, resist, and reconstruct the dominant patriarchal values such as Soma and her aunty, Devi. Regarding this problem that exists in the text, this research article tries to address the specific questions — What are the factors that cause conflicts and sufferings to the characters, particularly the female ones? Why do some female characters remain silent though they suffer? How do the female characters particularly Soma, resist and reconstruct the dominant patriarchal values and why? The general objective of this study is to analyse the causes and conditions of conflict and difficulties that the characters face. Specifically, this research articles aims to find out causes of conflict and sufferings into which the character go through, analyse the reasons why some female characters remain silent inspite of being in domination, and explain how the defiant character defy and recontruct the dominant values of patriarchy, and assert the counter values.

To meet the aforementioned set objectives and derive the conclusion of the study, the researcher uses qualitative research design in which textual analysis method has been used to analyse the primary text *Thaangraa*. The secondary material such views of the critics on the novel, books on Cultural Studies, and previous research works have been used as secondary sources to support the claims made in the study. These secondary materials were colleted by visiting library and websites. The text *Thaangraa* has been analysed from the perspective of Cultural Studies. Specifically, the researcher has used Michel Foucault's concept of resistance and Antonio Gramsci's idea of hegemony and counter-hegemony as theoretical stands to substantiate the arguments made in the textual analysis part of this research article. Foucault argues that there is perpetual power relations between dominationation and resistance. In other words, there is no power relations withot resistance - pulling and pushing between two bodies of forces. In the same way, Gramsci's concept of hegemony refers to the strategy of the dominant social groups that they use to maintain their dominance over subordinates.

The supremacy is retained by either consent or coercion. In this power relations, consent is taken and maintained by the practices of dominant cultural values where as coercion (force) is used when consent is in crisis. Counter-hegemony refers to the act of defying and resisting the prevailing values; and assertion and establishment of oppositional or counterr values. In other words, counter-hegemony refers to the sociocultural and political movements from the subordinates that dismantles the dominance of existing values and set the oppositional values up.

### Rigid Boderline of Patriarchy: A Site of Conflict and Sufferings

In *Thaangraa*, the writer has shown the rigid borderline of patriarchy that is drawn by the traditional culture in traditional society. This borderline divides male and female in opposite poles by assigning them traditional gender roles in which males are given superior positions and value to the females. Males are supposed to be essential or significant being as the source of continuing the clan or legacy of the family. It is believed that they are protector and pride of the family. In contrast, females are supposed to be subordinate, insignificant being, and not more than a sexual object. They are bahaved as an object of someone's possession or property, and an inessential being. Criticising this patriarchal values, Simone de Beauvoir rightly posits her idea, "She [woman] is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute- she is the Other" (16). As the notion of Beauvoir, the daughters of Sushant Sunam do not have their value in the family. Particularly, for Bir Bahadur Sunam, they are inessential beings who can not continue the clan of the family.

As Beauvoir's claim, Bir Bahadur Sunam, the father of Shusant, a patriarchally oriented traditional grandfather devalues his grand daughters and he wants grandson believing that only the son can continue the clan or legacy of the family because woman is insignificant being. He expresses his intense wish, 'ma jaanu aghi vansa herna chaahanchhu, I want to see the clan/legacy of Sunam family before my death' (my trans.; Rai 52). His expression shows that male is an essential being, not only for the pride and dignity in the society, but also for the contuation of the family's clan. As daughters are inessential beings, Bir Bahadur devalues and takes them not more than objects and property of males in the society. Pointing out to Soma, the youngest grand daughter, he degrades her, 'yee bhanekaa arkaakaa

huna, 'she is the property of others' (my trans.; Rai 286). Bir Bahadur Sunam is rigid in his traditional thinking because of the cultural orientation of patriarchy that has shaped his mind. Due to this patriarchal values deeply rooted in his mind, he does not find happiness, peace, and completeness in the family because of the lacking of grandsons. Rather, the house, for him, is empty and barren having no joys and happiness. In such situation, he expresses his intense wish of having grandsons and unfulfilled desire infront of Soma:

Teemee chhoro bhaidieko bhaye yetibelaa vansakaa naatinaatinaale mero ghara haraabhaaraa hune thiyo. Teemeeharu chhori bhaekai kaarana yo ghara ritto chhaa, if you were a boy (son), my house would be verdant with grand children. The house is empty now as you are daughters, not sons.' (my trans., Rai 287)

Bir Bahadur Sunam locates himself in the rigid borderline of patrichal culture. Therefore, none of the daughters have been significantly valued in the family as they are taken as inessential beings. For him, the house is empty and barren due to the lack of sons in the family.

The rigid borderline of patriarchal culture is not only simply draw an opposite poles of masculine and feminine concepts, but also this borderline becomes a space of conflict where two opposite values - traditional culture of patriarchy and progressive ideas - are always in dispute. In other words, it is the site of power relations in which dominant patriarchal belief system and emerging progressive idea contest. On the one side, Bir Bahadur Sunam tries to impose traditional patriarchal values and Soma, the youngest granddaughter perpetually defies the rigid values. Soma, a defiant grand daughter asks her grandfather, 'Chhorile garna nasake kaama ke chha, testo hajurbaa?... Malaai naati samjhinos. Parikshaa linus. Ma ke maa phela hundi rahechhu, what works are there that the daughters cannot do? . . . suppose me your grandson. Take a test upon me in which work I am inferior to son' (my trans.; Rai, 287-89). She further challenges her grandfather saying that, 'Ma tapaaiko vansa dhaanna chaahanchhu, I want to take responsibility of continuing your clan' (my trans.; Rai 141). Then, the grandfather gets angry and challenges her to be a son saying that, 'Lu awasara bho talai. Kasari chhor hunchhes, dekhaa, 'ok, you are given opportunity, then show how you can be a son' (my trans.; Rai 288). As the grandfather is sharply oriented by patriarchal culture, this very rigid culture becomes

a site of conflict in which two opposite ideas - traditional and progressive - values get perpetually conflicted. Consequently, the rigidity of patriarchal values becomes the main root of conflict and tension in the family.

In the Sunam family, the family members have lost mutual respect, understandings, peace, and happiness. Rather, they engane in conflict, quarrelings, and restlessness due to agitated behavior of the grandfather and his camplains about not having grandson in the family. For instance, Soma quarrels with Saya, the elder sister. As she cannot tolerate the cruel behavior of her grandfather to her mother, she expresses her anger saying that:

Chhoraa chhoraa vaattij chhoraa . . . Chhoraa bhaena bhanera paraayaa maanchhele mero aamaalaain tokeso gareko ta maile sahekai theeye. Tara aafnai gharako hajurabaale pani mero aamaalai khot dekhaako ma sahana saktina. Aafnai baaule haamro saatha chhodna laageko ma sahana saktina, 'Son, Son, Son, What is Son . . . I have tolerated the blames of other people upon mother due to not having son. But, I cannot tolerate the blames of own grand father. I cannot tolerate own father is about to give up supporting to us'. (my trans.; Rai 137-38)

Soma loses her patience and gets anger as her grandfather blames her mother and pressurises her to have son in the family. Moreover, Sushant, her father doesnot support her mother and daughters.

On the one hand, the borderline of patriarchal culture becomes a site of conflict in which two opposite ideas, patriarchal and anti-patriarchal, collide. As a result, the Sunam family loses joys and peace at home. On the other hand, the same values and hegemony of patriarchy causes sufferings to both male and female characters. They go through pains and sufferings such as mental tension, humiliation, psychological pressures, restlessness, and quarrelings. Particularly, Numa, the mother of two daughters, suffers much in the family and becomes a victim of patriarchal hegemony because she could not have sons, only the daughters. Bir Bahadur Sunam, father-in-law of Numa, time after time gives mental torture to Numa. He enforces her to free his son (her husband) to get second marriage, 'timro logne chhorolaain phukkaa garideu. Chhorolaain dosro bibaaha garna, leave your husband, my son, free to get second

marriage' (my trans.; Rai 52). Numa goes through the series of torture of her father-inlaw. She is enforced to leave her husband and let him do second marriage to fulfill his wish of having son and continue the Sunam clan.

The blames and tortures of Bir Bahadur leads Numa to her difficult and restless conditions in which she cannot perform her everyday duty well. She can do nothing except expressing her painful emotions. When her father-in-law repeatedly tells her to set her husband free to get second marriage, She responds him with lamentation: 'ma baata chhoro bhaena. Laijaanos, baa tapaaiko chhorolaai ... bihaa gardiera yetraayetraa chhoro janmaaunus. Mera chhoriharule vansa dhaanena, I could not have son. Take your son and get him second marriage and have sons because my daughters were not able to continue the clan of family' (my trans.; Rai 55). Numa is compelled to suffer and face difficulties because of the patriarchal values, in which males are highly valued as suprior, Subject and essential beings. In contrast, females are supposed to be inferior, objects and inessential beings. So, though Numa has two daughters, Saya and Soma, they are valueless individuals who cannot continue the family clan. It is because they are female - inessential beings.

In the same way, Soma also goes through tension and agitations because of the blames and complains about not having sons in the family. When she finds complains towards her mother, she gets angry. She quarrels with her elder sister Saya and does intense arguments with her grandfather. She expresses her tension: 'baarambaar pariwaaramaa tanaava banera aaune eutai kuraa chha, gharamaa chhoro bhaena. Vansa bhaena. Yasale malaai laastai tanaava dieko chha, 'only one tension that frequently occurs in the family is not other than the complain - ther is no son and no source of family clan. This issue has given me extreme tension' (my trans., Rai 117). The main reason of trouble and restlessness in the family is deeply ingrained by patriarchal values in which son is an essential being to keep and continue the clan of Sunam family. The same values by which grandfather is oriented causes quarreling and tension. Female characters, mainly Numa and her son daughter Soma suffer much.

The cultural borderline between rigid patriarchal and progressive ideas becomes a site of conflict in which female characters become the victims of sufferings. The conflict occurs between Bir Bahadur, the grandfather and Soma, the youner grand daughter because of the rigid patriarchal values that is deeply rooted in grandfather's mind and manner. The frequent complains and blames of Bir Bahadur to Numa bring

conflict in the family, and the same conflit and blames leads particularly Numa to extreme tensions and tortures. She never enjoys peace, happiness and respect in the family. Ultimately, the family members lose peace and happiness, mutual respect and dignity in the family.

## Reconstructing the Patriarchal Values: An Assertion of Identity

In the novel *Thaangraa*, the characters are not mute and helpless, rather defiant and eloquent who defy patriarchal hegemony and reconstruct the established norms and values of the patriarchal society by asserting oppositional ideologies - a counter hegemony. Mainly, the female characters Soma and Devi Aunty are rebellious. Particularly, Soma is so defiant that she dismantles deeply rooted patriarchal cultural values and asserts counter values in the society for the freedom and identity of women.

Soma, very powerful, aggressive and self-decisive character, resists and reconstructs the patriarchal thoughts towards daughters. She wants to eliminate patriarchal tradition of sending the daughters to others home as a housemaid to serve in the new family. In this context, She asserts her oppositional idea saying that: 'Chhori arkaako ghara taalne jaata bhanne chalanko antya garna, janma ghara ra karma ghara dubaiko uttaradhikari hune sanskar basaauna chahanchhu, 'I want to eliminate the old tradition of sending the daughters to others house, I want to establish a new culture for the daughters who can be legacy of both families - legacy of maternal house and in-law's house' (my trans., Rai 223). Here, Soma resists the dominance of patriarchal power networks as Foucault argues, "Where there is power, there is resistance" (95). She posits her voice that daughters can also be legacy of the family. For her, daughters are not the housemaid for providing service to others' family.

In the same way, Soma resists and reconstructs the patriarchal tradition of marriage and its rituals. Instead of waiting an arrival of prince for her, Soma wants to find a boy herself and do court marriage. At this point, She boldly tells her father: 'ma ketaa khojera court marriage garchhu', I will find a boy and do court marriage' (my trans., Rai 141). She further desconstructs the rigid patriarhal norms about the lagacy and clan of the family. She declares her plan with a question saying that: 'due vaa chaara chhorachhori janmauchhu. Dui janaako thara Sunaam banaauchhu...

hajurbaalaai vanksa chahieko hoina ta' 'I will make two or four children. I will give my surname to two children . . . as grandfather needs the clan of the family' (my trans., Rai 141). This is how Soma strongly asserts voice as Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski argues, "To speak is to take up a subject position and to be subjected to the regulatory power of that discours" (13). Here, she dares to break the patriarchal values and belief system that doesnot count the daughters. It is believed that only the sons can give their surname to their children and continue the family clan.

Likewise, Soma resists and reconstructs the traditional values and rituals of marriage cermony, too. She does not confirm that only the sons can keep and continued the family clan. Moreover, She boldly rejects the ritual of groom's procession coming to take bride, and sending the daughters to groom's house with tears in the eyes of parents. In this regard, She asserts her decisive voice saying that: 'chhoribaata pani vanksa nirantara garna sakingchha bhanne ma udaaharana banna chahanchhu. chhorilaai gharabaata ruwaaidai nikaaline ghinalaagdo sanskaarko antya garna chaahanchhu, 'I want to be an example of the norms that daughtes can also keep and continue the family clan. I want to break the dirty culture of the marriage ritual in which daughters are being sent out of the home with tears' (my trans.; Rai 223). She further challenges the old patriarchal tradition of marriage ritual with her bold proclamation: 'No janti, no mehendi, no puja, no goddhuwa, no kanyaadaan, kehi hunechhaina, 'There will be no groom's procession, no worshiping, no washing feet, no hand overing the daughter, nothing will happen' (my trans.; Rai 238). This is how Soma conters the patriarchal hegemony as Michalinos Zembylas explains Gramsci's idea of counter-hegemony which "is essentially the process that challenges normative views about social and political reality" (8). Soma, a defiant daughter challenges the established norms and values of the patriarchal society and asserts new values regarding to the concept of keeping family legacy and marriage rituals.

Eventually, Soma acts in her practical life what she believes. She finds a boy named Dipak Kulung for her and gets married to him in the court. Instead of going his home, she brings him at her maternal home. When they have two children, a daughter and son - Saya and Rupak respectively. She gives her fathers surname to Saya, and Saya becomes Saya Sunam. Rupak is given his father's surname, and he becomes Rupak Kulung. Then, she declares that 'Aadhaa santaan peetaakaa laagi, aadhaa

santaan patikaa laagi, 'half descendant for father and half for husband' (my trans.; Rai 309). Soma negotiates to bring changes in the society it is because "counter-hegemonic forces are in a constant state of negotiation, compromise and change" (Jones 79). Then, she tells her grandfather, 'hajurko biraasata dhalna dine chhaina ...ma chhoro hoina chhori nai hun. Baaubaajeko biraasata thaamna santaanle linga phernu pardaina, 'I will never let your legacy fall down . . . I am daughter, not son. But, it is not necessary to change gender to keep the legacy of forefathers' (my trans.; Rai 303). Adding to this point, Devi Aunty also asserts her voice saying that 'Vansakaa laagi chhorai chaahinchha bhanne chhaina, 'it is not necessary to have a son for the clan of family' (my trans.; Rai 108). Both Soma and Devi Aunty reconstuct the rigid idea of family legacy and claim oppositional one and establish that daughters can also keep her husband at maternal home and they can keep and continue the legacy and clan of the family.

Similarly, Soma deconstructs the traditional gender roles and responsibilities which are assigned to the male and female in the society. Generally, males are assigned to do the works of public sphere where as females are supposed to do household works. But, reconstructing the traditional gender roles, Depak Kulung, the husband of Soma stays at home looking after the children and doing household works. Breaking the traditionally assigned gender role, Soma performs her role in the public sphere as a social reformer and activist in her father's birth place, Baitadi where she devotes herself in the campaign of social movement against dowry system, racial discrimination, and development of the village. She liberates herself through her exercise of power as Foucault argues, "liberty is what must be exercised" (245). Since Soma is in complex network of power relations, she challenges the limitations of patriarchy and liberates herself.

Soma does have not only progressive ideas in her mind but also she performs her defiant actions in her manner, too. Her parrents' marriage is intercast - mother is Kiranti and father is Sunam. Challenging the traditional social norms, Soma takes the surname of her mother and she proudly writes her name 'Soma Kiranti' instead of 'Sunam'. Moreover, though she is girl biologically, but her acts and manners challenge the traditionally assigned roles. Breaking the so called feminine game, she plays cricket as a national player. In addition, She is carefree, protective, aggressive and

self-decisive. For instance, she threatens Ramesh, the boyfriend of Saya, her elder sister, 'mero pariwaarama kasaile daggaa dieko sahana saktina, bujhiraakha, 'I can not tolerate to those who torture my family, keep it in mind' (my trans.; Rai 148). Likewise, she challenges and resists the so called feminine dress up and styles imposed by patriarchy. She never uses cosmetics, always puts on sporty dresses, keeps short hair-style, and even never puts on inner garments in her upper body parts as generally girls are supposed to do.

As defiant character, both Soma and Devi Aunty resist and reconstruct the rigidly established traditional patriarchal norms and values of the society by asserting oppositional ideas and values regarding to the issue of the essentiality of sons for keeping and continuing the family clan. They proclaim that it is not necessary to have a son in the family to maintain legacy and clan of the family. The daughters can also perform this role. Being a rebellious daughter, Soma deconstructs traditionally assigned gender roles and responsibilities. She searches a boy for herself, gets married to him in the court, brings him at her maternal home, gives her father's surname to her daughter, and sets out to public sphere as social reformer and activist involving in social movement against dowry system and racial descrimination. She resists and reconstructs the patriarchal norms and values by constructing counter hegemony for equality, self-dignity and freedom of the women who have been suffering from rigid patriarchal culture.

#### **Conclusions**

In Pragati Rai's novel *Thaangraa*, the writer has portrayed female characters who face problems and difficulties due to the traditional patriarchal norms and values that are deeply rooted in the society where they dwell. This research article has identified the pains and sufferings in which the female characters go through in their day-to-day life. The study has also explored defiant and powerful female characters such as Soma and Devi Aunty who perpetually resist and reconstruct the established norms and values of patriarchy.

In the novel *Thaangraa*, the rigid cultural borderline of patriarchy becomes a site of conflic where two opposite ideas and values - traditionally rooted patriarchal and progressive ideas - collide. In this borderline, Bir Bahadur Sunam, the grandfather of Soma, is the representative generation of traditional patriarchy. Soma, the younger daughter of Numa and Sushant represents progressive young generation. As Numa

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and Sushant do not have son, only two daughters, Bir Bahadur always complains and blames to Numa for not having son to keep and continue the legacy and clan of the family. The rigid patriarchal cultural values causes conflict and sufferings in the family, particularly, Numa suffers from tension and tortures. Moreover, Sunam family loses peace and happiness, mutual respect and dignity.

However, Soma, a defiant character, perpetually resists and reconstructs traditionally established patriarchal norms and values. Dismantling the patriarchal hegemony, she constructs counter hegemony by defying traditional patriarchal norms and establishing oppositional values. She challenges traditional marriage rituals by finding a husband herself for her and brings him in her maternal home. Likewise, she gives her father's surname to her daughter to counter the patriarchal belief that only the can keep and contiue the family clan. In her counter hegemony, she proclaims that daughters are also capable for keeping legacy of the family. Further, she sets out to public sphere as a social reformer and activist and involves actively in social movement against social vices - dowry system and racial discrimination, instead of staying inside the home caring her children and family members. This study helps see dominant culture and belief system critically and provides insights to adopt new ideas and alternative vaues for the transformation of the traditional society.

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