

- Peer-Reviewed, Open Access Journal
- Index in NepJOL
- Permanantly Archived in Portico



## **Incarcerated Body and Political Self in Tek Nath Rijal's *Torture Killing Me Softly: Bhutan Through the Eyes of Mind Control Victim***

**Mohan Dangaura**

Lecturer at Global School of Science at Kathmandu, T.U., Kathmandu

---

Corresponding Author: Mohan Dangaura, Email: mdangaura6@gmail.com

Copyright 2023 ©The Author(S). The publisher may reuse published articles with prior permission of the concerned author(s).

---

### **Abstract**

*Tek Nath Rijal's prison narrative Torture Killing Me Softly: Bhutan Through the Eyes of Mind Control Victim narrates the story of a Bhutanese captive in one's own state. The prison narrative describes the holocaust-type imprisoned life and state tortured politically willed refugee. The captive accuses the state for secretly monitoring, and manipulating his state of mind through some highly sophisticated, lethal and anti-human ultra-modern "Mind Control Machine" (specific title is unavailable in the narratives). Adds on, the captive is seen to be fighting with his state-owned body's involuntary actions through his own body's voluntary conscience. The fight between voluntarily and involuntarily controlled self becomes so confusing that it brings readers doubt his objective narration. As the sociologist Anthony Giddens concerns that in the time of high modernity individuals reflect on their self-body to define the reliable sense of identity and sane-self, the captive's narration attempts to justify the his sanity and 'politically correct self'. The captive's allegation on the machine-technology for reconstructing his body restrains him into a controlled and split subject.*

**Keywords:** Body-identity, Bhutanese-refugee, captivity, high-modernity

### **Introduction**

Tek Nath Rijal's *Torture Killing Me Softly: Bhutan Through the Eyes of Mind Control Victim* narrates the prison narrative of a Bhutanese inmate. The novel chronicles the torture inflicted by the state on a rebel mindset body advocating for the monarchy-less state. The narrator blatantly speaks against Bhutan's "Citizenship Act" in 1985 which provided that "anyone born after 1959 and who had one Bhutanese parent had to apply for citizenship, demonstrate fluency in the national language Dzonkgha and produce documentary evidence of 15 to 20 years of residence in Bhutan" (Shakoor 35). Rijal disagrees with the justification of the state and the king and thus desires to actively participate in the mainstream politics of Bhutan. The novel states the state's imprisonment as inhumane and compare the jail tenure as the holocaust suffering. Rijal's primary agenda seems

to expose the invincible “Electronically Magnetic Radiation” emitting ultra-sophisticated weapon that controlled his thought process. This vigilance and weaponry that attack made the prisoner feel mentally restricted by it. The prisoner explains the state’s policy as against Nepali language ethnicity and willfully out-casting them.

Rijal’s alleges the royal elite and the discriminating state policy for making the southern Nepali speaking group as the illegal immigrant. Though the narrator explains the state’s secret weaponry responsible for making his thought process and the unsound body, the narrative sounds much more like a traumatic eruption of an extremely restricted behavior of the inmate during his imprisonment for ten years. The narrative doesnot describe the physical torture like beating, thrashing and lynching, however it describes more to an invisible inexplicable and confidential military weapon.

The eruption of the sub-conscious pain and torture being inflicted during the imprisonment and the king getting pre-informed about the decisions and thoughts of the inmate makes Rijal’s autobiography a good subject to be studied by divulging thee concept of state and resources, prison narrative and refugee doctrine.

### Literature Review

Rijal’s political self demands justice against state sponsored imprisonment. Rijal’s pathography revolves around some secret light emitting machines that was directed towards his mind and which would scan his thoughts and even make him process his acts according to the state’s manipulation.

Bhutan’s internal crisis and refugee problems arose when the monarch opposed the changing order of politics. As Harvir Sharma states such was supposed to order of change and modernization of Bhutan was preferred by Dorji family (29). According to the family relationship, the relationship between monarch and Dorji family was good and Dorji descendants had been promised even for a good settlement in Kalimpong. However, the problem and the crack into the relationship grew larger when Dorji family exiled in Nepal as the king got complete authority to control the internal matters of Bhutan.

Similarly, the peace and ongoing normal affair of Bhutan’s internal politics got tremored when in September 1990, few Bhutanese of Nepali origin demonstrated against the state’s Drukpa dominated socio political order. As SD Muni states, behind the raging insurgency of those Nepali Bhutanese, three primary reasons emerge: an explosion of kingdom’s ethnic divide, Royal Government’s move to undertake a fresh census to identify illegal immigrants who were mainly of Nepali origin, democracy and human rights sweeping through the whole third world (145-50). The situation of imprisonment Rijal goes through explicitly arise from his political movement; a freedom demanding a political privilege for Nepali speaking Bhutanese in Bhutan itself.

Bhutan’s unwillingness to take the returnees back to home and its hardcore policy of disallowing third party organization to interfere gave birth to refugee crisis (Shakoor 33). However, it was all evident that it was the account of ethnic and political ideology that harvested refugee problem into Rijal’s imprisonment and traumatic narration of invincible weapon. From the very beginning of the novel, Rijal starts explaining the presence of evil in the breeze of the state. The Buddhist monks, stupas and the freezing breeze flowing in the mountains of Bhutan contrast with the electromagnetic rays striking Rijal’s serenity by creating unpleasant noise in him. He describes the valley as the newly-wed bride but condemns the monarch for hiring the labors form abroad and exploiting them for one’s state development.

The beginning of the novel puts the narrator on the nostalgic mode of how the rural and underdeveloped Bhutan flowed with the development from the imported human-resource. He also presents his dissatisfaction towards the rich and powerful as they would pass the time on their favorite sports:

As I reached at the worksite, I was stunned to see people wearing Gho and Kira and also talking in a language I could not understand. I felt as if I had come to a different world. People were clad in old, torn clothes.... A group of women sang in a chorus while working. The song echoed through the mountains. To me, it sounded like an expression of their agony. On the contrary, the rich and the powerful would play archery (the national sports). This made me sad. (Rijal 18)

Prison narrative reconstruction are important for the narrator to express his desires, commitments, behavior, beliefs and values. According to Hardie-Bick, self-narratives are equally empowering and divisive. On the one hand it empowers and provides agency to the story teller, and on the other hand speaks against the authority inflictors (567). Moreover, the primary function of story-telling is of course to create one's sense of existing and assimilating the life-goals. Thus, from Hardie-Bick's perspective Rijal's narrative discusses the dialogical and ontological dimensions of imprisonment.

Prison narrative is necessary for understanding the inmate's identity. To understand identity one has to understand one's lifestyle and culture and value of those behavior for the survival. As Scott defines: "identity is a set of integrated ideas about self, the roles we play and the qualities that make us unique" (568). Thus, identity involves the process of becoming incorporates our feeling, attitude, values and desires. Ernest Becker emphasizes that human beings reflect on their past experiences through primary and secondary observations. Where primary observation focuses on the present, secondary observation focuses on one's side past experiences (Hardie-Bick 572). While contemplating through this process, the inmate contemplates on his/her family, income and life. Thus, secondary observation puts the prisoner into transformative mode.

Similarly, Hardie-Bick argues that the autobiographical narrative construction provides the coherent sense of to the composer. "People reflexively construct their own biographical narrative to unify their lives. A unified sense of self relies on autobiographical memories, private thoughts, actions and feelings, and certain experiences and memories will be considered to be particularly important and significant" (Hardie-Bick 573). Thus, the narrative development includes all those scattered moments of one's life. Thus, such experiences help the author to reflect and express his ideas more strongly with the sense of just and capable agent.

Similarly, Crawley and Sparks explain the disgusting experience of imprisonment. They point out that: "The pervasive experience of imprisonment can result in severe emotional disturbance. These are not disturbances that can be easily resolved. When people face such dreadful circumstances, one's whole sense of self may become uncertain" (qtd. in Hardie-Bick 576). Rijal in his narrative remembers his experience about the magnetic ray attack. During the attack, Rijal would feel helpless, his body would ache and he would vomit. Thus, whenever his narratives are analyzed, his traumatic past seems to have made him behave somewhat awkward. As the trauma of imprisonment was disturbing to his mental serenity, the novel presents his chaotic life as he struggles to regain his serene sense of cognizance.

Similarly, on an interesting note on prison food narratives, Rebecca Godderies observe on the crucial role that food plays on prison narratives. She represents and attaches the consumptive ritual as the resistance, agency and the exploration of power play (61-62). However, food inside also

functions as an important tool to control and discipline the inmate. To control the body, prisoner's consumptive culture is strictly controlled. Rijal's description of very low quality food relates with the point how he finds the state authority being very dominant on him. Rijal interprets such act of the prison authority completely commanded by the monarchy against whom his resistance and political uprising had been. Thus, such narratives help us to explain the strategy through which food becomes a proven tool to restrict the revolutionary.

Similarly, Elisa Scaraggi in her analysis of the political prison writing discusses the political writing as an agency for empowering the individual and community. Scaraggi states: "When dealing with texts written by political prisoners, one of the issues to investigate is how the awareness of being part of a larger political struggle influences the individual experience of incarceration and therefore, the account that prisoners give of it" (45). Narrative experience of Rijal vehemently depends on his southern Bhutanese community for their active participation in mainstream politics. Rijal narrates an event where workers' faces had to be stamped every day for a month. The situation would become harsher for them if they had less than 30 stamps in a month (18). Thus, he portrays the state's atrocity against the exploitative labor system. From the beginning of his autobiography, his narrative becomes voice for political resistance.

Similarly, Marie-Laure Ryan discusses about the very fashioned out trick of the narrative story writers. She defines such tricks as Cheap Plot Tricks, Plot Holes (CPT). To explain her idea, she argues that most of the prison narrative comprises the narrative plot that holds the very established trick of portraying the major character or the narrator as the state victim and uses Holocaust imagery to arouse the pity and emotions among the readers (57). Similarly, Cohen and Taylor argue: "Prisons are spaces of intensely managed emotions where institutional interests in formal order coincide and conflict with the raw exigencies of ontological survival in an alien and austere environment" (364). Prison confines the human endeavor which makes an inmates contemplate and develop various ideas on life and survival. Similarly, Doran Larson discusses about the impact of material conditions responsible for the birth of peculiar jail narratives (152). Rijal lodges his writing for the cause of all those Nepali speaking Bhutanese community. Thus, when one interprets the prison narrative, one explores and becomes aware about the material condition shaping that particular fiction.

Similarly, Mary Phillips discusses about the power of the first person narrative and states that storytelling functions as a form of self-defense and personal agency despite historical silences and targeted violence by governmental authority (26). Therefore, the first person narrative holds a great potential to affect the readers as the readers love to hear the story. Similarly, Thomas S. Freeman in his discussion on the rise of prison literature distinguishes between the prison writing trend of past and present. The modern day narratives incorporate spiritual authority and moral superiority. Rijal's prison narrative falls under the category of modern narrative building that incorporates state notoriety for his suffering.

Prison narratives develop the overwhelming sense of being victimized, tortured and subjugated. Hardie-Bick, Becker, Godderies, Scaraggi, Ryan, Larson, Phillips and Freeman discuss and reemphasize their justification for the prison narrative as the medium for developing agency and exposing the state torture. Such prison narratives implore the readers to propel the resistive power to speak for the politically motivated arrests, imprisonment and suppression.

## **Methodology**

In this study, interpretive method has been adopted to discuss the prison narrative of Rijal.

Using the narrative construction purpose, style and its impact on the readers, how the author becomes able to differentiate the state-controlled body and his inner self becomes the major discussion goal. Similarly, the concept of institutive dimension from Anthony Giddens's book *The Consequences of High Modernity* has also been applied to justify the state-controlled mechanism in the modern time. According to Giddens, the modern state has control on institutions: industry, capital, surveillance and military power (59). By using the new codes of criminal law, as it appears in the case of Rijal's resistance, "The Citizenship Act of 1989, the Bhutan's regime appear to be super-cautious about the civil-conflict that may arise in their territory. Thus, the study incorporates reviews and theoretical insights on modernity to discuss the incarcerated body and empathic prison narrative of Rijal.

Giddens basically portrays the states sponsored medium to restrict the overwhelming resistance against itself (8). Similarly, the concept of the body as the unfinished project from the social theories of Chris Shilling's book *The Body and the Social Theory* is also be applied. Chris Shilling's idea from Anthony Giddens is that in conditions of high modernity the body tends to become aware about the sense of self-identity (1). Similarly, the study will also shed its light on how the body in modern social systems has become the principal field of political and cultural activity. As Norbert Elias argues: "It is our bodies which allow us to act, to intervene in, and to alter the flow of daily life. It is impossible to have an adequate theory of human agency without taking into account the body" (8). Thus, the study uses the interpretive discussion model to examine the composition of narratives of incarcerated body.

## Discussion

Rijal in his autobiography describes Bhutan's initial days of modernization. His description visualizes the laborers' pathetic condition. He compares such state oppression as the barbaric and animistic practice: "Such dehumanizing practice reminded me of numbering animals in the herd by tattooing onto their bodies" (18). From the very beginning of his narrative, his resistance of state authority is compared with a demonstrative mood. He even narrates the state's attractive scheme of giving a Panasonic radio-set as a gift to those who worked for three consecutive years.

Rijal wants to justify the conflict between Ngalongs, the ruling group, who control the monarchy, the government and dominate economy and Lhotsampas; Nepali speaking people of the south. Economy plays crucial role in possessing control over the state autonomy and authority. Max Weber writes: "Material progress can only be obtained only at the cost of an expansion of bureaucracy that crushed individual creativity and autonomy" (qtd. in Giddens 7). Thus, Giddens states that modern industrial work has degrading consequences, subjecting many human beings to the discipline of dull, repetitive labor" (18). Such forces of authority to control and restrict the labor freedom brings the labors and suppressed unable to raise the voice of resistance.

Rijal documents his narrative as the result of trying to expose the corruption of high officials closely related with monarch. He considers himself as the victim of King's biased attitude towards him. "The king branded me as an instigator and antinational... I was removed from my positions, and then arrested and detained in the prison without a trial for three days. No official warrant was issued against me" (23). Rijal declares it as the organized conspiracy of the monarch to save their relatives and dignity. Larson in discussing prison poetics writes: "The prison writer's autobiography is always an implicit testament to the success or failure of system of justice" (149). Thus, Rijal's narrative demonstrate the state's injustice cornering him inside the jail.

Rijal mentions the first day of his imprisonment by describing the jailroom which had

cold concrete floor with torn sack, foul smell wafting from the dilapidated toilet. Rijal narrates a situation of prison whose definition does not seem to come from discipline but rather from torture. Rijal's primary concern connects with his suffering caused by magnetic radiation. He narrates about completely modern military vigilance device causing him discomfort in jail:

I was lying on the sacks in my usual position. Suddenly, I heard a noise. It was as though somebody had switched on a radio-set near me. It was just a sound without any words- hsssssssss. It was like the sound from a radio when it is not tuned into any station. As the sound reverberated and echoed in my ears; I felt good at the beginning, thinking that somebody had probably switched the radio-set on. I kept on waiting for it to play some music or even news. But the sound continued to ring in my ears atrociously.... The realization that I was the only victim of this deafening sound made me immensely terrified. (28)

Rijal narrates one of his jail life when his sane state of mind was disturbed. He mentions the state's sophisticated and confidential way to use the military technique to control his thought process in a jail. In similar terms, Foucault states: "Prisons seek to control bodies through the control of minds... that makes apparent on otherwise invisible apparatus of power (qtd. in Larson 157). Rijal's narrative discusses slow graduation of the torture through his proclaimed invisible weapon of radiation. Rijal's expression of his suffering also makes him feel alienated. Thus, he wants to share the unbearable psychological pain inflicted on him.

Rijal explains about all thoughts controlling device that was able to absorb all the data of his past, present and future. By extracting all the data about his weakness, friends and acquaintances and his future plans, he feels that he was being weakened. Whatever he used to think and question about, everything would be communicated to the king. These narratives function as the textual evidence presented in fictional way in front of the authority. Foucault believes, "The prison text is the body of the condemned brought out of hiding; it is a running habeas corpus brief against states that allow prisoners to be run as theatres of violence (qtd. in Larson 157). However, for Rijal the major obstacle was to be able keep his thoughts confidential. He believes that every thought process was monitored and if he did try to hide anyone of them, severe pain would be inflicted on him.

Rijal also narrates about the low quality of prison food and how it was one of the major tactics of the prison for maintaining discipline and inflict torture on prisoner. "The Royal Bodyguard (RBG) adulterated the food with nails, pieces of glass, fish bones and dead insects, among other hazardous materials" (37). Food inside prison is also one of the prime issue to change the sense of self and identity. Godderies states: "Consumptive choices provide a sense of authority over who we are, presenting us with the occasion to develop and express our individual and collective identities" (63). Rijal discusses his food consumption behavior inside the jail to express the overwhelming torture and regain a credibility of true living martyr for his community.

Remembering traumatic experience, Rijal wants to pass through the traumatic physical and mental injury. In one of the incidents he remembers: "I was positioned with the barrel of a gun pointed at me through a hole in the wall. I was living in constant fear of being shot any time. At times, I was blindfolded after being told that I was sentenced to death....The image of the gun barrel still haunts me today" (37). Prison writing also functions as the medium to express the traumatic survival and suffering. Meanwhile, prison narratives function as the working through of trauma. However, sometimes the traumatic injury becomes so much disjointed that it risks the victim to remember and describe the state of suffering exactly. As Agamben argues, silences, hiatus and dissociation in memory reflect the witness bearer's aphasia to describe the moment acutely (Scraggi 45). Rijal also fails to describe the sort of conversation and the speaker with him in the

mind-controller bothering him through the machine.

Even during inhuman condition inside jail and being provoked constantly for committing suicide he endured and found strength to resist. “First, they made me depressed through mind-control technique and then conditions conducive for me to commit suicide were created. Thanks to my immense inner strength, I could resist the regime’s relentless efforts to end my life. That is how I survived ten years of rigorous torture inside jail” (42). As Scaraggi argues that prison writing shows how even in inhuman condition, prisoners tend to carve out some space for themselves, a space not controlled nor supervised by the authority (45). Rijal narrates the imprisoned history with the authority of his incarcerated body.

Scaraggi writes that prison writers write to call upon a society and denounce their suffering (41). Rijal also calls for the attention from his community member to bear the witness of his freedom fighting, “My dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters! For a people’s representative like me who was always committed to the good of the country, the king and the people, the type of punishment I’m receiving from the government is not justified at all” (46). Thus, his incarcerated body primarily functions as a body fighting for collective resistance and identity. Rijal depersonalizes his experiences. He removes the writing from just autobiographical trope to testament writing.

Similarly, same narrative addressed to the larger community also arouses the emotions and in story telling the readers are enthralled by the affect element. Phillips also discusses about empathy and brings Sara Ahmed’s argument on humanity, action and emotion together. Emotions do things, and they align individuals with communities or bodily space with social space through the very intensity of their attachments (qtd. in Phillips 46). Rijal could be seen utilizing the empathy of torture, identity and community to arouse the political support in his favor.

Similarly, Crawley and Sparks in their discussion of experience of imprisonment discuss that pervasive experience of imprisonment can result in severe emotional disturbance. They argue: “When people face such dreadful circumstances, ones whose sense of self may become uncertain” (qtd. in Hardie-Bick 576). Rijal time and often narrates similar experience caused by the mind-control machine. “I was affected by the mind-control so much so that I was restless and disoriented. Since my mind was being controlled, I was bound to follow the directions received in my mind” (54). Rijal’s narrative transpose similar events of challenge to restore stable sense of personal agency.

Rijal also develops a kind of redemptive narrative during his tenure in Rabuna jail. In the jail, argued by Liebling and Maruna, redemptive narrative is a coherent, meaningful, and persuasive narrative used by the inmates to convince both themselves and others they are capable of living very different, more productive life (qtd. in Hardie-Bick 578). Rijal gets involved in such a similar incident where he finds himself elevated, and blessed when he started keeping himself busy with creatures of and around prison like mice, birds and dogs, many of whom he raised himself. “My fondness coupled with boredom attracted me toward the animals that are sometimes called man’s best friends. With the co-operation of other inmates, I started to take their special care. In the beginning, the canine population under our care was small but with the passage of time, their number began to swell” (Rijal 65). Rijal develops close bond with the dogs in the jail who transform him into a compassionate human and help him to establish the fact that how his inner self still possess the sense of humanity.

Furthermore, with the growing prison tenure, Rijal also presents himself as the spiritual

leader. In the jail, he starts motivating his other new inmates: “I also developed warm relationship with them which finally became a motivating factor for our friendship. I urged them not to remain silent in that they were incarcerated in the most barbaric manner for crimes they had not committed” (66-67). Rijal presents himself as the savior and the regenerative leader acknowledges, incorporates and attempts to alter the cruelty of imprisonment.

Talking about body, Chris Shilling argues that body is a corporeal phenomenon which is not only affected by social systems, but which forms a basis for and shapes social relations. The body is seen as ‘unfinished’ at birth, an entity which changes and develops throughout an individual’s life” (88). Rijal’s imprisonment body establishes his relationship with refugee community struggling socio-political rights. He invests his own body for the imprisonment and resistance in a state where he inhabits.

Rijal questions the state on his after-prison life. In a conversation with high-court judge who brings him news of his amnesty, he expresses his insecure feelings, “Who is going to be responsible for my security after the release? I could be physically attacked, as there is a widespread propaganda that I am responsible for plunging the nation into the present crisis. There is a threat to my life from people having vested interests” (70). Giddens in his discussion of high modernity argues that humans have a fundamental and unchanging need to feel secure about the basic parameters of themselves and the world around them (153). He becomes threatened imagining a situation where he could be exterminated even after his death. Moreover, Rijal also raises the issue of body defamed and suppressed. He talks about the children of prisoners who were exiled in the forest to live. During such instances, Rijal raises the issue of identity of sociological body. “Since the prisoners’ children were living in the forest, they were deprived of education. As the children were kept aloof from their society, they were devoid of any socialization” (70). Such instances, as discussed by Rijal were enough to raise the breed of more anti-nationals. Karl Jasper also terms such situation as the marginal situation and argues that marginal situations push us to the borders of our existence; they force into our consciousness knowledge that the human world is open-minded and unstable” (qtd. in Shilling 155). Rijal experiences the absurdness of human morals, ethics and accountability after getting imprisoned just for being vocal for the political rights for his community.

Rijal’s imprisoned body constantly seeks identity for himself and his community asking questions to oneself. He describes such incident of self-enquiry when he watches the news of his release on Television: “As I heard these words, I became upset and thought, ‘If I am innocent, what does the word pardon mean? Hence, king’s kindness and magnanimity does not bear any value. If I am innocent, then who is responsible for ruining ten years of my life by putting me behind the bars? Would the king now punish the judges and his uncle?’” (78). Even after release, the suffering continued and Rijal had perplex idea about his sane body identity and political orientation.

Overall, Rijal narrates his painful prison journey together with identity politics and severe pain inflicted by the state through unknown mind-controlling technique. Rijal’s prison narrative vocalizes the torture inflicted by the state and the after math of release. The struggle for survival with social prestige became challenging for him aftermath of his release, he unequivocally demand a well-documented research, compensation and readdressing of his political demands and individual suffering in those ten years.

## Conclusion

Rijal’s imprisonment narratives discuss the state sponsored atrocity upon the political



agitators. He jots down his experience from his initiation of job into Royal Advisory Board to being imprisoned. The fragmented narratives are woven into such a string that keeps the narrative flow undisturbed and coherent. Moreover, the foundation of his prison narratives focuses on the state-sponsored torture. Discussing from multiple theoretical insights on prison narrative and sociological body, it can be concluded that the major purpose of Rijal's body rests on the reflexive identity disturbed by the force of the state. The incarcerated body of Rijal concentrates on being manipulated and controlled by the by the totalitarian authority to sanction his individual freedom. His narratives of a tortured body perfectly embodies the resistance, identity and the sociologically dehumanized body.

### Works Cited

- Freeman, Thomas S. "The Rise of Prison Literature." *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 72, no. 2, 2009, pp. 133-46. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.1525/hlq.2009.72.2.133>. Accessed 20 Aug. 2022.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Polity Press, 1996.
- Godderis, Rebecca. "Food for Thought: An Analysis of Power and Identity in Prison Food Narratives." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, vol. 50, 2006, pp. 61-75. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41035612>. Accessed 20 Aug. 2022.
- Hardie-Bick, James. "Identity, Imprisonment, and Narrative Configuration." *New Criminal Law Review: An International and Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2018, pp. 567-91. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26530574>. Accessed 20 Aug. 2022.
- Larson, Doran. "Toward a Prison Poetics." *College Literature*, vol. 37, no. 3, 2010, pp. 143-66. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20749607>. Accessed 20 Aug. 2022.
- Muni, S. D. "Bhutan in the Throes of Ethnic Conflict." *India International Centre Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1991, pp. 145-54. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23002126>. Accessed 20 Aug. 2022.
- Phillips, Mary. "The Power of the First-Person Narrative: Ericka Huggins and the Black Panther Party." *Women's Studies Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 3/4, 2015, pp. 33-51. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43958548>. Accessed 20 Aug. 2022.
- Rijal, Tek Nath. *Torture Killing Me Softly: Bhutan Through the Eyes of Mind Control Victim*. HRWF & GRINSO, 2009.
- Ryan, Marie-Laure. "Cheap Plot Tricks, Plot Holes, and Narrative Design." *Narrative*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2009, pp. 56-75. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30219290>. Accessed 20 Aug. 2022.
- Scaraggi, Elisa. "Witness Narratives in Context: Analysing the Political Prison Writings of Graciliano Ramos and José Luandino Vieira." *Context in Literary and Cultural Studies*, edited by Jakob Ladegaard and Jakob Gaardbo Nielsen, UCL Press, 2019, pp. 37-54. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvfrxrhb.9>. Accessed 20 Aug. 2022.
- Sharma, Harvir. "Bhutan and Its Regional Security Environment." *India Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 3, 1994, pp. 25-42. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45072621>. Accessed 20 Aug. 2022.
- Shilling, Chris. *The Body and Social Theory*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Sage Publications, 2003.