

Displacement as a Racial Project: Critical Race Analysis of Hazara Exclusion in *The Kite Runner*

Kabita Subedi¹
Indra Bahadur Bisokarma²

Abstract

This article explores race-based displacement in Khaled Hosseini's The Kite Runner using Critical Race Theory (CRT). This study shows how structural racism works in Afghan society at both material and symbolic levels by highlighting the racialized experiences and perceptions of Hazara characters, particularly Hassan and Sohrab. This study uses CRT ideas like racial realism, interest convergence and counter-storytelling to highlight that race in Afghanistan is socially constructed way to control people, not a biological fact. The novel's portrayal of the Pashtun-Hazara divide demonstrates how the minorities are pushed to the side, silenced and compelled to move to other places. This study, in addition critiques the concept of color-blindedness that tends to erase visibility of racial differences and imposes systematic inequalities. Moreover, this article finds that the idea of racism sustains itself through politics and narratives that show how it happens through institutional violence, social betrayal and cultural exclusion.

Key Words: Colorblindedness, Displacement, Critical Race Theory, Race.

Conceptualizing Race and Displacement

This article examines the displacement of Hazaras in Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner* due to entrenched racial differences in Afghanistan society where Pashtuns dominates the economic and social structure through the lenses of Critical Race Theory. We demonstrate that racism is embedded not only in institutional set up but also in every day interactions in which Hazaras are treated as servants in their own homeland. The narratives of pure blood and impure blood pertaining to majority Pashtuns and minority Hazaras justify the displacement of Hazaras. This article argues that such displacement is not only an outcome of individual bias but is produced of racism engrained in social structure that operates by colorblind thinking and so called superiority.

Race is generally conceptualized as a group the members of which are distinguished as privileged and subordinated based on social, political or economic dimensions marked by certain observed or imagined body features having connected with their ancestry inhabiting certain territorial belts (Haslanger 44). People are not born in a certain racial group naturally. Racial identity is formed through social and cultural values. Desmond and Emirbayer define race as a symbolic category which is based on ancestry constructed socially and historically. This is not a natural category (Desmond and Emirbayer 336).

1. Asst. Professor of English, Department of Humanities and Liberal Arts, St Xavier College, Maitighar Kathamndu,
Email: kabita.subedi2010@gmail.com

2. Asst. Professor, Bhairahawa Multiple Campus, T.U.

Long-standing divide prevails in biological and social sciences' debate about the way race could be defined. Biological Science emphasized the features of ancestry as the prime loci to define the term race. On the contrary, Social Science research defines race in terms of cultural differences. However, the common understanding developing among the scholars to conceptualize the race is that adaptation becomes the major determinant to form race. The long debate about the primacy of either the issue of adaptation or ancestry has been resolved in the genetic theory of evolution. This theory holds that culture is more significant than the biological differences in shaping race (Fortney 53).

Racial discrimination happens when some particular groups of people don't enjoy the privileges as others in similar circumstances on the basis of their perceived race which is formed with different physical traits. Discrimination in every respect eventually leads the subjugated sections of populations into miserably displaced circumstances (Feagin, 2020). Racism is a belief that different races own different biological and physical qualities or abilities that distinguish them as inferior or superior to one another. Abdul Wodood Hakim states:

Racism is a global phenomenon that identifies certain people as superior and others as inferior in social cultures based on physical characteristics, ethnicity, race, and nationality. *The Kite Runner* is a novel that depicts racial discrimination, racism, and ethnic strife in Afghanistan's society between Pashtuns and Hazaras, two different races and ethnic groups (192).

Race displacement is undoubtedly the outcome of ruling groups' mentality to push the minorities from the place of their belonging to the place of uncertainty. Such pushing up with the use of force embodies physical and social displacement alike. Moreover, displacement is the process in which some certain communities are dispossessed from the place they originally belong to be placed in another location (Marouan and Simmons 7). The displacement takes many forms like imprisonment, physical assault, political and social dispossession, disappearance, and many more. To put in place explicitly, when the process of negotiating between two groups becomes weak, displacement begins. This does not happen in large social institutions only. The mundane lives of the people are deeply entrenched with the violence and terror created by the dominant groups. Displacement tortures the people as their freedom of movement is squeezed, their political and civil rights curtailed and their property confiscated. This also intervenes in the personal space of intimacy like kitchen, beds, houses, jobs, friends and neighbors (Celestina 24). The argument of the author further captures the picture that real physical displacement follows from consequential events of turbulence. This is what he calls displacement before displacement.

This article examines the multi-layered phenomenon of race-based displacement as it unfolds in *The Kite Runner* by Khaled Hosseini drawing upon Critical Race Theory. By situating the lived experiences of Hazara characters within Afghanistan's broader racial hierarchy, the study highlights how structural racism undergirds both social exclusion and forced migration. The racialization of the Hazara community, particularly through their representation as both domesticated servants and political scapegoats, reflects deeply entrenched systems of privilege and oppression. In this article, we will draw upon Critical Race Theory to analyze how racism is embedded in legal, political and cultural institutions.

Theoretical Review of Critical Race Theory: Foundations and Debates

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is the theoretical tool to study and transform the relationship among race, racism and power. It was introduced in the 1970s realizing the need for strategies to combat the subtle form of racism as argued by Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic in *Critical Race Theory*.

Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic put forward the following basic tenets of Critical Race Theory; ordinariness which means racism is difficult to address or cure because it is not acknowledged; interest convergence that means racism advances the interests of white elites and working class elites; construction thesis that races are the social products; notion of unique voice of color holds that because of their different histories and experiences with oppression black, American Indian, Asian, and Latino writers and thinkers may be able to communicate to their white counterparts matters that the whites are unlikely to know.

Critical Race Theory began in the late 1960s, in the aftermath of the civil rights movement in America, with a series of writings by Derrick Bell. Tommy J. Curry states that “Bell developed two theories which laid the theoretical foundations of the CRT movement. The first, racial realism, recognized the onerous racial reality of the United States and held that Black Americans are by no means equal . . . and that racial equality is in fact not a realistic goal” (1). He further explains interest convergence is “not only the futility of Blacks’ efforts to gain legal rights through the law, but also the slow-paced social and political reforms dictated by legal doctrine in the name of racial progress” (2). Bell further explains the bitter reality of the then American society in which the blacks were not equal to their white counterparts and even dreaming of equality was futile. In second principle, Bell does not look clear since on the one hand, he argues that Blacks’ efforts to achieve legal rights were in vain and on the other hand, he opines that slowly political and social reforms were taking place. We can connect the bitter reality of Black Americans with the refugees throughout the world whose attempts for self-respect have gone meaningless.

Critical Race theorists are divided into two camps. The first camp is idealist school and the second one is termed as realistic school. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic argue “idealists hold that racism and discrimination are matters of thinking, mental categorization, attitude, and discourse. Race is a social construction, not a biological reality, they reason” (29). Therefore, we need to change discrimination by changing words, attitudes, images etc. so that we can fight the conceptions that some people are more intelligent and virtuous than others. This sounds somehow unrealistic. It does not accept the underlying reality of the existence of racism. This school claims that it is just the feeling that shows racial discrimination. Another contrasting school of thought is realism, economic deterministic thought of racism. “For realists, racism is a means by which society allocates privilege and status. Racial hierarchies determine who gets tangible benefits, including the best jobs, the best schools, and invitations to parties in people’s homes” (29). Racism is a reality of society which is manifested in every activity of society.

Idealism is associated with ideals and realism is concerned with practices. The leading scholars argue the need to combine both ideas. They are against both extremisms. According to Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic:

[s]ome critics, such as Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman, even argue that our system of civil rights law and enforcement ensures that racial progress occurs at just the right slow pace. Too slow would make minorities impatient and risk destabilization; too fast could jeopardize important material and psychic benefits for elite groups. When the gap between our ideals and practices becomes too great, the system produces a contradiction-closing case. (37)

Critical Race Theory helps to understand how racism in America is constructed as an ideology to elevate white supremacy, and subordination of people of color is created and maintained. Left-race theorists criticize conventional American theory as lacking an attitude of objectivity as what Edward Said had called antithetical knowledge, proposed development of counter accounts of social reality.

Critical Race Theory that emerged in the sixties and seventies in American society excluded the radical thought which could possibly pose a challenge in status quo institutional practices. Alan Freeman (qtd. in West) termed the “Perpetrator perspective” that conceived racism as an intentional and irrational entity. Cornel West, in this context, believes:

Critical Race Theory aims to reexamine the terms by which race and racism have been negotiated in American consciousness, and to recover and revitalize the radical tradition of race-consciousness among African-Americans and other peoples of color-a tradition that was discarded when integration, assimilation and the ideal of colorblindness became the official norms of racial enlightenment. (4)

Thus, color blindness has been the current theme in Critical Race Theory. Color blindness is a form of racism since it views that color does not matter at all. The concept of colorblindness stands in opposition to multiculturalism indicating that race should be acknowledged and racial differences should be addressed. Therefore, color blindness posits the ignorance of race. This largely lacks color consciousness. The assumption that color consciousness is meaningless reinforces displacement of certain racial groups at the benefit of dominant racial groups. Existing literature has extensively dealt with the concept of colorblindness.

Color blindness shares negative implications detrimental to interracial interactions, exchanges of diverse racial groups in multicultural climate, inclusion and protection of minorities' rights. Moreover, this appeals for insensitivity to racial discrimination. Above all, color blindness promotes racial inequality and opposes the recognition of multiracial reality (Plaut et al. 1). Based on the case study of American middle school students, Schofield studied that school allegedly planned the institutional value to reduce the race prejudice and create the conducive environment to welcome the black students. Unlike the school's claim, he found out that black students were harshly punished and intentionally altered the exam result in favor of white ones to humiliate the black students (241). Therefore, color blindness acts as the strategy to subjugate the minorities in disguise of falsely setting the assumptions that color does not matter.

Color blindness imposes the approach of active ignorance. This means not seeing the color in racialized societies is like a social fiction. Somebody does not see others as the particular race largely means that he/she is not going to address the racial differences. Being ignorant of the real existence

of racial diversity is in another way creating the racial prism that exaggerates some particular races and undermines some others. Being failed in seeing positionality ultimately leads to the realm of racial inequality. In this context of describing color blindness in contemporary American Society, Jose Medina writes:

Insofar as processes of racialization in the United States have been (and to some degree still are) structured around the black/white binary, the color blindness of white subjects can be considered a double blindness: white blindness, that is, white's blindness with respect to their own racial identity; and color blindness proper, that is, blindness with respect to those who have been colored or racialized as nonwhites. Notably it is only the latter kind of blindness that is explicitly professed in the ideology of color blindness because the object of perception of white blindness (i.e., whiteness itself) is not even registered, whereas the object of perception of color blindness (i.e., racialized colors) is in fact registered but disavowed and brushed aside. (Medina 43)

The discussion of color blindness often ends in controversy since the emotional sensation is closely associated with this. In American life, from the eyes of White people, color blindness becomes the means through which the racial and ethnic discrimination is erased. However, at the same time, black American differences are yet to be addressed.

Critical Race Theory today challenges the so-called claims of objectivity, neutrality and meritocracy. The practice of objectivity and neutrality is a fake story in terms of treating different races. Objectivity and neutrality represent the voices of the ruler and the majority. Prominent critical race theorists Delgado and Stefancic argue that race is necessary to be considered in the social and legal world since the assumption that all races are equal in front of the legal lenses is impossible (23). In the American case, this reflects the superiority of whiteness. They emphasize the need of equality in opportunities, not in the equality of results. They mean to say in the name of objectivity, neutrality and meritocracy, the highhandedness of the ruling race is recognized at the expense of subjugation of the race in minority.

The theme of naming one's own reality or voice is entrenched in modern day critical theorists' works who hold the view that reality is socially and culturally formed in society. Critical Race theorists blatantly voice that political analysis of society is contextual within the boundary of specific time and space. Racism is constructed in the course of exchanging the stories of particular individuals' in particular historical context. Stories from teller to listeners keep on getting transferred from one generation to another. As a consequence, the feeling of racial superiority and inferiority also passes through generations. "The story of one's condition leads to the realization of how one came to be oppressed and subjugated and allows one to stop inflicting mental violence on oneself" (Billings et al. 57). Story telling of the dominant groups is established in society which aims to maintain their privileged status. Stories of dominant groups attempt to compel the marginalized ones to perceive self-condemnation because they possess natural elements of inferiority. "Thus, oppression is rationalized, causing little self-examination by the oppressor. Stories by people of color can catalyze the necessary cognitive conflict to jar dysconscious racism" (57). Finally, Critical Race Theory provides the way to exchange the experiences and realities of the marginalized.

Racialized Displacement and the Pashtun–Hazara Divide in Khaled Hosseini’s *The Kite Runner*”

Divya Joshi states, the leading characters in *The Kite Runner*, Amir, and Hassan belong to different ethnic groups. Amir is Pashtun, of the upper class whereas Hassan is a Hazara, an underclass, racially inferior, who are always demarcated for their different appearance and religion’ (66). The discriminatory behavior faced by Hassan is an example of racial displacement. Though both of them are presented in the novel in close friendship, Amir’s reluctance to treat him as equal is the sign of embarrassment. He looks to neglect Hassan in many incidents for he has a sort of superiority that compels him to give him company in discomfort. It is shown in the novel that Amir stays mute when Hassan is mistreated by Assef, a Pashtun boy. He does not respond, rather escapes the terrible condition which Hassan has to undergo. They both look like they are playing together, roaming in the city and watching the movie. “Though it’s a well-known fact that Hazaras are historically demeaned and prosecuted, still this act of a Pashtun out of the way helps, and excessive kindness leads to doubts and confusions” (70). From the surface, Amir looks as if he is benevolent enough to accept a Hazara as a true friend but in reality, he has hatred towards Hassan which is evident in the novel when he denies to accept so-called friendship in public. It creates a lot of doubt and confusion in Amir.

Hosseini’s magnum opus *The Kite Runner* depicts the incongruous behavior of majority ruling Pashtuns towards Hazaras. They are ultimately compelled to face neurosis. Nobody finds any rational grounds for merciless and inhuman treatment towards Hazaras. They are dominated on the ground of their different racial characters and religious beliefs. The researcher in this novel as a primary text has explored the race displacement of Hazaras by Pashtun.

Racial Supremacy and ethnic displacement in Pashtun- Hazara Relation

Khaled Hosseini brings the reference of a sociopath, a racist-bully character Assef, who is the son of a German mother and Afghan father. He threatens Hassan for being a Hazara and Amir for being friendly with Hassan. He thinks that non-Pashtuns pollute the so-called sacred land of Afghanistan because of their impure blood. He expresses distrust and disdain against Hazara calling them “fat-nosed” (49). He sees the danger of spooling the land with the stigma of dirty blood. He insults Hassan with the phrases “slant-eyed donkey, fag” (49) . The novel reads the following lines to justify the hatred of Assef towards Hazaras. He states, “Afghanistan is the land of Pashtuns. It always has been, always will be. We are the true Afghans, the pure Afghans, not this flat-nose here. His people pollute our homeland, our *watan*. They dirty our blood . . . Afghanistan for Pashtuns, I say. That’s my vision” (40). These words of Assef represent the thoughts and perspectives of Pashtuns who are heard and never displaced in the society. Hazaras having Mongol root and different facial structure even though sharing the same religion and nation are pushed towards hatred and displacement.

The novel characterizes Assef as the supporter of race-based autocracy just to dominate the minority as critical thinkers Delgado and Stefancic view that racism serves the racial interests in favor of American White people (29). This expression can be contextualized in the case of Afghanistan in such a way that Pashtuns are an upper race who keep on discriminating against the minority Hazaras. In the novel, this is presented with the mindset and action of Assef who is depicted as a fan

of Hitler, a German racist dictator. Hitler is notoriously known for his racist actions. Asif dreams of cleaning all blood from Afghanistan for Pashtuns to live. He wishes that the new president, after the overthrow of the monarchy with the help of Russian invasion, will wash up all dirty blood. He mentions, "I'll ask the president to do what the king didn't have the quota to do. To rid Afghanistan of all the dirty, Kasseef Hazaras" (40).

Moreover, racial supremacy from the Pashtuns' characters is manifested against little bit of liberal Pashtuns like Baba who has let the Hazaras live in his house. On this ground, Assef hates Amir and his father for being friendly with a Hazara, Hassan. He tells, "You are a part of the problem Amir. If idiots like you and your father didn't take their people in, we'd be rid of them by now. They'd all just go rot in Hazarajat where they belong. You are a disgrace to Afghanistan" (41). Assef wishes complete cleaning of Hazarat from Afghanistan. He blames Amir and his father, Baba for promoting Hazara by putting them at home and providing them support. Therefore, he considers Amir and Baba a villain to the campaign to force Hazaras to vanish from the scene. This shows conflict between Pashtuns. Baba and Amir, represent a soft line that they are in a way friendly to Ali and Hazaras whereas Assef shows extreme antagonism and desires perfect racial cleansing to wash up the land of Afghanistan with pure blood and Pashtuns.

Amir, though soft towards Hazaras and having a bond with Hassan, also gets confused with his association with Hassan. He doesn't publicly accept Hassan as his friend, but he rarely expresses it openly. After being threatened by Asif for his association with Hassan, he admits:

But he isn't my friend! I almost blurted. He's my servant! Had I really thought that? Of course, I hadn't. I treated Hassan well, just like a friend, better even more like a brother. But if so then why, when Baba's friends came to visit with their kids, didn't I ever include Hassan in our games? Why did I play with Hassan only when no one else was around? (41)

The humiliating statement against Hassan and Amir mounted by Assef after Hassan resists the irrational and inhumane treatment. He says, "You should know something about me, Hazara," ... I'm a very patient person. This doesn't end today, believe me." He further points to Amir by station, "This isn't end for you either, Amir. Someday, I'll make you face me one on one. . . Your Hazara made a big mistake today, Amir."

The author of the novel, Hosseini presents Hassan's dream to foreshadow the human monster. In Hassan's dream, the monster is an irrational fear of being Hazara who is all set to encounter racial discrimination in every step of life. Real life monster is Assef, a sociopath who always torments Hassan because of his different racial features. Hassan wishes Amir to win the kite running tournament though he is more powerful than Amir. His wishes for Amir show loyalty and honesty. It also may refer to the challenge a Hazara has to undergo in any social abilities. The extreme violence Hassan has to suffer in the moment when he is raped by Assef and remarkable misery is that his rape wouldn't be acknowledged publicly. This shows his powerlessness of Hassan. Assef represents Pashtuns having ultimately legitimate social power to use their physical violence over Hazaras who are powerless even to resist the atrocities exercised upon them. Heroic nature of Hassan is extremely

supreme and he is proven to be a non-human character. Racial division of society divides the people into powerful and positional who are privileged and powerless and exploited who are excluded even to have a living. The description of Amir about Hassan's rape is more miserable. He narrates:

Assef knelt behind Hassan, put his hands on Hassan's hips and lifted his bare buttocks. He kept one hand on Hassan's back and undid his own belt buckle with his free hand. He unzipped his Jeans, dropped his underwear. He positioned himself behind Hassan. Hassan didn't struggle. Didn't even whimper. He moved his head slightly and I caught a glimpse of his face. Saw the resignation in it. It was a look I had seen before. It was the look of the lamb. (76)

Hassan's rape is the example of discrimination, and very pathetic situation is when Hassan can't resist the inhumane action. It shows how Hazaras are compelled to tolerate criminal actions against them. Hassan's "look like a lamb" is a symbol of his powerlessness.

Amir doesn't make himself ready to protect Hassan from being raped due to his racial mentality. He doesn't dare to struggle with Assef and his groups for his rescue because he ultimately thinks that Hassan is Hazara and this is normal behavior to go through such a shameful experience. He states about himself that:

I ran because I was a coward. I was afraid of Assef and what he would do to him. I was afraid of getting hurt. That's what I told myself as I turned my back to the alley, to Hassan. That's what I make myself believe. I actually aspired to cowardice, because of the alternate the real reason I was running was that Assef was right. Nothing is free in the world. Maybe Hassan was the price I had to pay, the lamb I had to slay, to win Baba. Was it a fair price? The answer floated to my conscience before I could thwart it; He was just a Hazara, wasn't he? (77)

The reaction of Amir while asked about Hassan by Ali is more discriminatory. Though he is informed of all the harms caused to Hassan by Assef and his racist group, he lies to Ali. He responds, "How should I know?" (81). Hassan is not freed to the extent that he openly admits the pain. When asked about what has happened to him, he responds that, "it was nothing, that he's gotten into a scuffle with some kids over the kite" though he "comes back home little bloodied and torn shirt" (81). What compels Hassan to not reveal the truth that he is sexually and physically assaulted with a sociopath for his biological features is a serious question in the novel. It shows the pain and suffering a Hazara has to encounter on the basis of racial identity.

The attempt of Amir to get away from the house for a trip to Jalalabad indicates his hidden hatred towards Hassan. He now loves avoiding Hassan from his company. As a result, Amir realizes that he can't look at "Amir and Hassan, the sultans of Kabul" (87), notwithstanding that those words have been carved by himself. The culmination of his hatred towards Hassan is exposed in the novel when he tells, "I want you to stop harassing me. I want you to go away" (91).

After the departure of Baba and Amir from Afghanistan, Rahim Khan is entrusted with Baba's house. Rahim Khan in the novel makes a visit to Hazarajat to request Hassan to be back

to the birthplace. The description of the house of Hassan in Hazarajat shows the excluded and poor condition of Hazaras. He states, “. . . the hut had a walled garden. The mud wall, short and poked with holes, enclosed the tiny house—which was really not more than the glorified hut. Barefoot children were playing on the street, kicking a ragged tennis ball with a stick” (205). The room where Hassan lives with visibly pregnant wife, Farzana, indicates an impoverished condition. “There was nothing in the room, just a frayed rug, a few dishes, a pair of mattresses and a lantern” (206).

There is tradition belief in rearing the children especially among so-called high race. Baba, father of Amir in novel has predetermined thought about the evolving personality of Amir. The author does not highlight about the molding of Hazaras personalities because social context is highly biased and discriminatory. The Pashtuns children should incorporate certain cultural values as the superior human beings. They are expected to be strong, assertive and bold containing high values. Amir lacks such values which has disappointed Baba. He expresses his dissatisfaction who is strongly opposed by Ali, “Children aren’t coloring books. You don’t get to fill them with your favorite colors” (21). The mindset of Baba shows the so-called superiority of Pashtuns.

Racial Betrayal, Powerlessness, and Amir’s Inner Conflict

Betrayal gives comfort to the Pashtuns rather than accepting the truth. Lies become the reality of life. Amir’s assertion that he knows nothing of sexual assault of Hassan shows the carelessness of Amir to the mistreatment of his loyalty. As he lies, “But better to get hurt by the truth than comforted with a lie.”(58), he feels comfort in denial. This line however implies the beginning of his transformation of the thought. He cannot escape the denial. Later on, he has to face the lies that brings shame and prolonged regret rather than the lasting peace for hiding the secrets. In the beginning of the novel, a sense of jealousy and hatred grows in Amir regarding the false understanding of pouring love of Baba over Hassan. He remarks, Maybe Hassan was the price I had to pay, the lamb I had to slay, to win Baba” (77).

The superficiality of most of the Pashtuns in understanding the real picture of Afghan society is expressed in the words of Farid that reveal the lack of Amir upon returning from America to see the structural inequality Hazaras are destined to pay, “You’ve always been a tourist here, you just didn’t know it” (232). This shows how so-called ruling race is shielded from the hard struggles of the ruled race. Privileged blinds their consciousness to grasp the displacement underprivileged endures over the years.

Taliban Brutality and the Final Displacement of Hazara Identity

The survivors of violence from racial displacement lose the hope even after freeing from the violence. Though violence ceases, the wounds it makes will never be forgotten and its impact long lasts. Amir asserts that Sohrab still has the fragile hope towards future which requires to be healed. He said, “It was only a smile, nothing more. It didn’t make everything all right. It only made everything seem bearable” (370). Furthermore, Amir captures the facial expression of Sohrab that his smiles are lifeless after trauma. His smile tells many things how vulnerable he has been with the psychological trauma. Physical wounds may be healed sooner but psychological harms persist so

deep in victim's mind that they make person lifeless. Amir reflects Sohrab eyes, and as it is stated "people say that eyes are windows to the soul" (243). The pain, suffering, and loneliness being reflected in the eyes of the kid.

After the downfall of Russia and rise of Taliban rule in Afghanistan, exclusion over Hazaras mounted. They targeted for complete extermination of Hazaras from the land of Afghanistan, to purify the land. He sounds a little optimistic about the following. He tells, "God help the Hazaras now." The hope of Afghani that the Taliban would bring the war to an end with establishing lasting peace went in vain when "in 1998 they massacred the Hazara in Mazar-i-sharif" (23). Exclusion of Hazaras culminated after the downfall of Russian forces and Taliban coming to power as Taliban sought cleansing ethnic groups who they considered impure. The dim hope of some Afghans restoring peace went in vain when Taliban's conspiracy mounted and brutal atrocities rose..

Taliban's brutality brings the happiness of Hassan to an end, immediately after Rahim Khan leaves the house for Peshawar. He was blamed for lying to the militant Taliban that Hassan was not living in that house alone. Hazaras were not granted permission to live in the huge building alone. Blaming Hassan for lying and showing that they needed that house, they tortured him and murdered at the end. This was exposed to Amir with the help of Rahim's story. He narrated, "Soon after I took my leave, a rumor spread that a Hazara family was living alone in the big house in wazir Akbar Khan, or so the Taliban claim. A pair of Talib officials came to investigate and interrogated Hassan. They were accused of lying when Hassan told them he was living with me even though many of the neighbors, including the one who called me, supported Hassan's story. The Talibs said he was a liar and a thief like all the Hazaras, and ordered him to get his family out of the house by sundown. Hassan protested ... they took him to the street.

"... and order him to kneel ..."

"... and shot him in the back of the head ..."

"... Farzana came screaming and attacked them ..."

"... Shot her too. Self-defense, they claimed later ..." (219)

Hazara's rights to serve only as a servant was the assumption of the Taliban. Therefore, they couldn't withstand Hazaras living alone at the big house. The ordinary pretest of Hassan and wife priced their merciless assassination as an outcome of extreme exclusion. The Taliban in power justified their murder as evitable action of self-defense. This signifies shameful action and a big mockery over humanity.

Conclusion

Beyond the understanding of biological phenomenon, this paper explores how race is socially constructed system of classification that operates as a tool of domination often justifying marginalization and displacement. I argue that racism is persistent and normative expression of society promoted by structures of privilege, interest convergence, and the silencing of minority voices rather than historical anomaly applying the theoretical lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT).

Concepts from CRT such as racial realism, counter-storytelling, and critiques of colorblindness are useful tool for comprehending how systemic inequalities are engrained in cultural and legal structure.

Above all, this article underscores racial displacement of Hazaras in both material and symbolic way. The divide between Pashtuns and Hazaras and brutal violence imposed upon Hazaras reveals institutionalized violence, social silence and individual betrayal that gives rise to the sustainability of racial hierarchy. In a social system structured by ethno-racial privilege, Hazaras are often considered racialized ‘other’.

References

Celestina, Matteo. *Living Displacement: Forced Migration in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo*. Manchester University Press, 2019.

Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. 3rd ed., NYU Press, 2017.

Desmond, Matthew, and Mustafa Emirbayer. *Race in America*. W.W. Norton & Company, 2015.

Feagin, Joe R. *The white racial frame: Centuries of racial framing and counter-framing*. Routledge, 2020.

Fortney, Doug. “Adaptation, Culture and the Formation of Race: Rethinking Social Constructs.” *Journal of Social Thought*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2017, pp. 45–59.

Hakim, Abdul Wodood. “Ethnic Identity and Discrimination in The Kite Runner.” *International Journal of English and Literature*, vol. 6, no. 9, 2015, pp. 190–94.

Hosseini, Khaled. *The Kite Runner*. Riverhead Books, 2003.

Joshi, Divya. “The Voice of the Voiceless: A Postcolonial Reading of The Kite Runner.” *International Journal of English Language, Literature in Humanities*, vol. 3, no. 5, 2015, pp. 65–72.

Marouan, Maha, and Merinda Simmons. *Race and Displacement: Nation, Migration, and Identity in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Alabama Press, 2013.

Medina, José. *The Epistemology of Resistance: Gender and Racial Oppression, Epistemic Injustice, and the Social Imagination*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Plaut, Victoria C., Kecia M. Thomas, and Matt J. Goren. “Is Multiculturalism or Color Blindness Better for Minorities?” *Psychological Science*, vol. 20, no. 4, 2009, pp. 444–46.

Schofield, Janet Ward. *Black and White in School: Trust, Tension, or Tolerance?* Teachers College Press, 1982.

West, Cornel. “Foreword.” *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, edited by Kimberlé Crenshaw et al., The New Press, 1995, pp. xiii–xxii.