

 JOURNAL AKRA Akra Kùltür Sa- nat ve Edebiyat Dergisi (AKRA)	Akra Journal of Culture Art and Literature (AKRAJOURNAL)	
Yıl 14, Year 14, Cilt 14, Volume 14, Sayı 39, Issue 39, Ocak 2026, January 2026 e-issn: 2687-6361		
Özgünlük kontrolü		Authenticity process
DOI: 10.31126/akrajournal.1860532		
Makale türü: Araştırma makalesi		Article type: Research article
Geliş tarihi	10.01.2026	Submitted date
Kabul tarihi	10.05.2026	Accepted date
Elektronik yayın tarihi	Mayıs 2026	Online publishing date
Atıf Bilgisi / Reference information Asma BOULHOUT (2026) Deconstructing The East/West Binarism: Neo-Orientalist Representations and The Comprador Intellectual In Khaled Hosseini's <i>The Kite Runner</i> (2003) / <i>Akra Kùltür Sanat ve Edebiyat Dergisi AKRA / Akra Journal of Culture Art and Literature, AKRAJOURNAL / 2026 / C.14 / S. 39 / s. 143-166</i>		

**DECONSTRUCTING THE EAST/WEST BINARISM:
NEO-ORIENTALIST REPRESENTATIONS AND THE
COMPRADOR INTELLECTUAL IN KHALED
HOSSEINI's *THE KITE RUNNER* (2003)**

Asma BOULHOUT*

Abstract: It is a well-established supposition that the space where both the East and the West are affronted often results in the othering of the former. Orientalism is not a discovery of the day; however, it is an ever-transforming and evolving phenomenon. This research article, through a neo-Orientalist reading of Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner* (2003), claims that the novel operates as a cultural text that approbates U.S. intervention in Afghanistan. This is achieved by reinforcing a correlative set of East/West, secular-religious, and Afghan/American binaries. The framework of analysis conjoins Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, Mahmood Mamdani's "good Muslim/bad Muslim" conceptualisation, and Hamid Dabashi's criticism of the Comprador Intellectual in order to examine how the literary text discursively constructs Westernised secular characters as morally superior "good Muslims" and Afghan religious characters as inferior fanatic "bad Muslims", which emulates the post-9/11 mainstream discourse in literary work. In the novel Afghanistan is an embodiment of ethnic hierarchy, female oppression, and premodern temporality; America, at the other end of the dichotomy, is a land of egalitarianism, liberty, and modernity. Emphasising the narrative's binarism, this research work contends that Amir's Americanised rescue of Sohrab epitomises Bush's Freedom Agenda in the

*Doktora, Abu Al-Qasim Saadallah University - Algiers2 (AASUA)
ORCID ID: 0009-0004-8895-2360

Middle East, in which rescue missions are propagated as the ultimate path to redemption, while Afghan migration to the U.S. is the guaranteed choice for a better future. The neo-Orientalist scrutiny of *The Kite Runner* comes full perspective when Khaled Hosseini's native informant status contributes to the authentication of American foreign adventures in the East, through his diasporic fictional account.

Keywords: Neo-orinetalism, Native Informant, Good Muslim, Bad Muslim.

**DOĞU/BATI İKİLİĞİNİN YAPIBOZUMU: KHALED HOSSEİNİ'NİN UÇURTMA
AVCISI (2003) ROMANINDA YENİ-ORYANTALİST TEMSİLLER VE
KOMPRADOR ENTELEKTÜELLİK**

Öz: Hem Doğu'nun hem de Batı'nın karşı karşıya geldiği mekânın çoğunlukla birincisinin ötekileştirilmesiyle sonuçlandığı, yerleşik bir kabul olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Oryantalizm yeni keşfedilmiş bir olgu değildir; bununla birlikte sürekli dönüşen ve gelişen bir fenomen olmayı sürdürmektedir. Bu araştırma makalesi, Khaled Hosseini'nin *Uçurtma Avcısı* (2003) adlı eserinin neo-Oryantalist bir okuması aracılığıyla, romanın ABD'nin Afganistan'a müdahalesini onaylayan kültürel bir metin olarak işlev gördüğünü ileri sürmektedir. Bu işlev; birbiriyle ilişkili Doğu/Batı, laik-dindar ve Afgan/Amerikan ikili karşıtlıklarının pekiştirilmesi yoluyla hayata geçirilmektedir. Analiz çerçevesi, edebi metnin söylemsel düzeyde Batılılaşmış laik karakterleri ahlaki açıdan üstün "iyi Müslümanlar" ve Afgan dindar karakterleri ise aşağı konumda fanatik "kötü Müslümanlar" olarak nasıl inşa ettiğini incelemek amacıyla Edward Said'in Oryantalizm kuramını, Mahmoud Mamdani'nin "iyi Müslüman/kötü Müslüman" kavramsallaştırmasını ve Hamid Dabashi'nin Komprador Aydın eleştirisini bir araya getirmektedir; bu durum, 11 Eylül sonrası ana akım söylemi edebi alanda yeniden üretmektedir. Romanda Afganistan; etnik hiyerarşinin, kadın baskısının ve modern öncesi bir zamansal anlayışın cisimleşmesi olarak kurgulanırken, karşıtlığın öbür ucunda yer alan Amerika eşitlikçiliğin, özgürlüğün ve modernliğin diyarı olarak sunulmaktadır. Anlatının ikiciliğini ön plana çıkaran bu araştırma, Amir'in Amerikanlaşmış kurtarma misyonunun Bush'un Orta Doğu'daki Özgürlük Gündemi'ni simgelediğini savunmaktadır; bu gündem çerçevesinde kurtarma operasyonları kurtuluşun nihai yolu olarak propaganda edilirken, Afganların ABD'ye göçü daha iyi bir gelecek için güvenceli tercih olarak sunulmaktadır. *Uçurtma Avcısı*'nın neo-Oryantalist açıdan tam bir perspektife kavuşması ise Khaled Hosseini'nin yerli muhbir statüsünün, diasporik kurgu anlatısı aracılığıyla Amerika'nın Doğu'daki dış politika serüvenlerini meşrulaştırma sürecine katkıda bulunmasıyla gerçekleşmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Neo-Oryantalizm, yerli muhbir, İyi Müslüman, Kötü Müslüman .

Introduction

Unequivocally, Khaled Hosseini's literary career has been one of great success both within the American and international scenes. Much of this success is indebted to his debut novel, *The Kite Runner* (2003), which enraptured crowds of literary enthusiasts and literary critics alike. As a matter of fact, its publication concurred with the turbulent events of the 9/11 attacks' aftermath, for that, the novel came on a socio-political scene, puzzling with inquiries

about the new imminent threat of the Islamist Middle East. American and international audiences' burgeoning curiosity laid the ground for endorsing Hosseini's fictional work as a bona fide voice. Like many diasporic writers, Khaled Hosseini, an Afghan-born American, stands at the crossroads of an enduring civilisational exchange between the East and the West. Serving as an authentic interpreter, Hosseini sketches a narrative of his homeland, Afghanistan, its history and social makeup. He paints the latter through universal themes of human trials and tribulations and of people's entangled faiths, which award the novel its bestselling status.

Imbued with much complexity, Hosseini's novel emblematises a tapestry interwoven with multiple layers of thought and paradox. For selling his homeland's story as a cultural artefact, the author has often been criticised for also trading his native identity for his American upbringing and education. Critics of his ideological underpinnings co-occurred with the resurfacing and revival of the orthodox Orientalist inquests into the Middle East, within the American post-9/11 cultural and media milieu. Under the rubric of the neo-orientalist discourse, a system of oppositional binaries, privileging a Western perspective, can be discerned through Hosseini's writing of his novel's characters, spatial representations and narrative trajectory. Therefore, the present work contends that *The Kite Runner* serves as a neo-orientalist text that provides a logical rationale for American intervention in Afghanistan. The narrative's fabric is affixed through an array of interconnected binaries, subsuming the "good" secular westernised Muslim set in opposition to the "bad" fundamentalist violent Muslim; the dominant Sunni Pashtun contrasted with the subservient Shia Hazara, all the while asseverating the stereotyped dichotomy of Afghanistan as an irreparable Eastern dystopia in juxtaposition to American auspicious Western Utopia. The story's essence is notably materialised through Amir's, the protagonist, redemptive journey of the rescue mission to Afghanistan as solely dependent upon Americanisation, which can be interpreted as an allegory for U.S humanitarian imperialism.

Considering the manifold ideological dimensions of *The Kite Runner*, the present analysis adopts a multi-layered theoretical schema that synchronously conjoins classical Orientalist critique, post-9/11 neo-Orientalism, the good Muslim/bad Muslim binary, and the native informant paradigm to scrutinise

how the author depicts Afghanistan as in need of American intervention. Firstly, the analysis draws upon Edward Said's foundational contention that Orientalism is a discourse of "power, domination, and varying degrees of complex hegemony" (Said, 1978, p.5). Secondly, the paper broadens the Saidian classical model to encompass Behdad and Williams's actualisation of Orientalist discourse, in which they conceptualise its transfiguration in the post-9/11 context as neo-Orientalism. Thirdly, the research incorporates Mahmood Mamdani's critique of the War on Terror's typology of the good Muslim, a worthy ally for the United States and a bad Muslim, intolerable foe for the liberal world binary, which can be traced through the novel's representational strategies. Additionally, the analysis, in capturing Khaled Hosseini's authorial positionality as an Afghan native informant who serves to authenticate America's imperial narrative, relies on Hamid Dabashi's critique of the comprador intellectual as "cultural broker, a commissioned operator". Thereof, the integrated analytical model grounds the study's cross-examination and debunking of the novel's binary constructs.

1.Neo-Orientalist Discourse and its Authentication Through the Native Informant

Preeminently, Edward Said's epistemological endeavour to deconstruct Orientalist discourse, as articulated in his seminal works such as *Orientalism* (1978), *Covering Islam* (1981), and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), characterises Orientalism as both "a discourse and as the product of hegemony" (Vandeviver, 2020). On the West's production of knowledge regarding the Orient, Said explicates that due to its generation "out of strength, in a sense creates the Orient, the Oriental, and his word", through which "the Oriental is contained and represented by dominating frameworks" (1978, p.40). Such frameworks sustain certain stereotypical representations of the Orient whereby it is portrayed as "lamentably under-humanised, antidemocratic, backward, barbaric, and so forth" (Said, 1978, p.150). On account of this criticism, Said devises an examination paradigm for dissecting Western narratives dealing with the East, which he denounces as "a Western style for dominating, restricting, and having authority over the Orient" (1978, p.4).

Al-Qaeda's September 11th terrorist attacks against the United States in 2001 have rattled the international stage and spurred profound changes in the East/West relationship, whereby traditional practices of othering the East,

insistently the Islamist East, have been promulgated in intellectual and media circles. These discursive practices of representing the “Islamic Threat” ushered in a new mode of orientalising the East, namely neo-Orientalism. The latter new discourse, while it shares noteworthy similarities with its precursor, definitely introduces new tropes of othering, bringing Islam and the “War on Terror” into disrepute (Behdad & Williams, 2010, p.284). On this account, Mubarak Altwaiji discloses that “Neo-Orientalism is more closely linked to the post-9/11 American cultural transformations and the retaliatory actions that ensued following the attacks”, concretising an American cultural shift wherein “Islam is perceived as a threat to the Western way of life” (Altwaiji, 2014). Hamid Dabashi, in sequence, contests that the West’s new orientalist mode is not limited to territorial conquest; instead, it extends to “the ideological management of the Muslim world. It is no longer the Orient that is constructed as barbaric – it is Islam” (2009, p.12). This enacts a remarkable divergence from classical Orientalism’s focus on “philological, cultural, and formalistic unapologetic investment in and engagement with the politics of the Middle East” (Behdad & Williams, 2010, p.285). Consequently, such a discursive practice induces a misrepresentation of “important aspects of recent events in the region while obscuring the neo-imperialist relationship of the United States to the Middle East” (Behdad and Williams, 2010, p.285). Distinguished American scholars such as Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington are academic agents for the Western inclination to conflate “indiscriminately Islamic political and social movements under the umbrella of Fundamentalism or Islamism, with little or no distinction between mainstream and violent extremist movements” (Esposito, 2008, p.13). For that matter, Shahid Alam notes that “the target of the war that the new Orientalists seek to wage is what they variously label as Islamists, Islamic fundamentalists, Islamic militants, Islamo-fascists, or Islamic terrorists. Regardless of the term employed, it encompasses all Islamicate movements- irrespective of their stances on the political uses of violence” (2003).

Within the new paradigmatic configuration of neo-Orientalist discourse, the “native informant” is inaugurated as an essential conduit for the production and authentication of the new orientalist *savoir*. In alignment with contemporary post-9/11 socio-political conditions, Hamid Dabashi contends that the

War on Terror urgently mobilised what he calls “comprador intellectuals”, who are accomplished writers and intellectuals, from a Muslim majority nation’s background, in order to carry through “a critical function for the militant ideologues of the US Empire” (2006). These individuals are tasked with “feigning authority, authenticity, and native knowledge” to “inform the US public of the atrocities” occurring in their regions of origin, thereby “justifying the imperial designs of the US as liberating these nations from the evil of their own designs” (Dabashi, 2006). Importantly, Dabashi demonstrates that “for the American imperial project to claim global validity it needs the support of native informers and comprador intellectuals with varying accents “because accents from targeted cultures and climes Orientalize, exoticize, and corroborate all at the same time; they accentuate that supremely self-alienating moment when by offering their services native informers authorize and authenticate the dominant accent – which no longer hears its own imperial accent” (2011, p.36). According to this analysis, the comprador intellectual functions as “a cultural broker, a commissioned operator, a ‘ten-percenter’ paid to facilitate cultural domination and political pacification” who “has some familiarity with the dominating culture, which he serves out of self-interest; he speaks its language, and by virtue of the proximity he seeks to power becomes abusive of his own compatriots” (Dabashi, 2011, p.40).

Operating within the overall Orientalist discourse order, the native informant emerges as an indispensable asset for endowing a great credibility, as a cultural insider, to the barbaric portrayals of Islam. Correspondingly, El-Sherif clarifies that “Orientalism is not just something that Westerners do to Arabs/Muslims, but also can be internalised and mobilised by Arabs/Muslims themselves, consciously or unconsciously” (2016, p.28). Accordingly, writers with a Muslim background, active deployment of Orientalist tropes and binaries in their narrative accounts about their own cultures and communities, in fact, effectuate an internalisation process for orientalist frameworks. In this case, Orientalists’ discursive formations are not only extremely imposed; however, they are also reproduced from within as well. On a similar premise, Lisa Lau and Ana Cristina Mendes conceptualise this phenomenon as “re-Orientalism” and define it as “the process by which the East continues to be constructed – not by Westerners – but by Eastern authors themselves, often writing from a diasporic or globalised perspective” (2011, p.3). In this case,

diaspora writers assume an intricate role in the formation of neo-Orientalist representation, for their transnational locality permits both critical distance and internalised Orientalist frameworks. Ali Behdad and Juliet Williams affirm that neo-Orientalism “is not merely produced by Western subjects” but rather that “Middle Eastern writers, scholars, and so-called experts participate in its production” and “play an active and significant role in propagating it” (2010, p.286). Consequently, the diaspora writer of Muslim background occupies a privileged position within the neo-Orientalist discourse, able to authenticate claims regarding Islamic culture’s backwardness, violence, or incompatibility with modernity through the apparent authority of lived experience.

Author of *The Kite Runner*, Khaled Hosseini represents par excellence the complex positionality of the Afghan-American writer navigating between two cultural worlds in the post-9/11 space. Born into a privileged life in Afghanistan, he later immigrated to America to continue his education and career. It is, therefore, through personal memory and diasporic narrative that Hosseini conceived stories of his homeland rather than a direct exposure to the nation’s transformation. Ostensibly, the novel is written in English for a Western readership at a time where the American military was crusading in Afghanistan, offering them a rich and satisfactory account of Islamic Afghanistan to meet a hungry cultural marketplace. Hosseini’s diasporic identity, therefore, locates him within the Lau and Mendes’s site of re-Orientalist production. This falls in line with Dabashi’s observation that the post-9/11 climate constantly demanded “authentic” Muslim and Middle Eastern voices, launching “a compelling case of such selective memories” manifesting through “an increasing body of *mémoire* by people from an Islamic background that has over the last half a decade ever since the commencement of its ‘War on Terrorism’ flooded the US market” (2006).

It can be discerned that the Kite Runner’s far-reaching success and popularity are attributed to its time of publication and its labelling as an “authentic Afghan voice”, which, succinctly, offers insights into the War on Terror’s epicentre lands. In this matter, Hosseini’s Afghan lineage infuses the novel’s authenticity, where the portrayed facets of Afghanistan appear as vivid testimonies in lieu of othering stereotypes. Timothy Aubry’s critique for the novel

advances that “certain sections of the text, most notably depictions of the Taliban, lend tacit support for the neoconservative vision of the United States’ interventionist prerogatives” (2009, p.26). The established American mainstream cultural institutions engaged sought to enlighten the public about the mysteries of the dangerous Eastern lands; however, they still lacked a grounded understanding of their history, politics, and culture. The Kite Runner precisely answered for that ignorance, and most importantly, it did not contradict Western mainstream stereotypes but reinforced inferiorising narratives such as Afghanistan as a nation entangled in ancient ethnic conflicts, Islam as a religion of violence and oppression, while America is the sole saviour for this nation.

2. The Good Muslim/Bad Muslim Binary and the Post 9/11 Order

Upon the terrorists’ attacks against America, President George W. Bush diligently took a mission to eradicate this evil from its own origins, under the premise of a “crusade of liberty in the Middle East. Initiating his mission, Bush sat apart two categories of Muslims: “good Muslims”, who must exonerate themselves from the malicious actions of Al Qaeda, and “bad Muslims” who are complicit with terrorists’ activities (Bush, 2002). As a matter of fact, Bush’s designation of an “axis of evil” served as a pretext for the adopted neoconservative agenda by American officials in the Middle East in conjunction with War on Terror the military operations (Gordon, 2003). In retaliation of this ideologically charged political narrative, scholar Mahmood Mamdani denotes that President Bush’s post 9/11 rhetoric inaugurated an apprehensible dichotomy in which “unless proved to be good, every Muslim was presumed to be bad” (2005, p.19). The Kite Runner, with much appraisal, echoes this neoconservative binary whereby the author juxtaposes two pivotal characters: Baba, a secular, Westernised Afghan who signifies enlightened modernised Islam, and Assef, a religious extremist who embodies Islamic barbarism. Interestingly, Hosseini’s contraposition of these two characters amplifies the War on Terror’s ideological reasoning that ascertains moral superiority to Western secular values on the expense at the perilous fanaticism of religious extremism.

The introduction of the characters of Baba and Assef through inherent and essentialist attributes suggests a narrow portrayal of predetermination.

Primarily, it is through Amir, the protagonist's retrospective view of his admirable Baba that the novel offers a peek into his character. Baba is portrayed as a figure of strength, generosity and high morality with "a presence, a self-assurance that bordered on arrogance" and as a person who is "everybody's friend" (Hosseini, 2003, p.12). The narrator discloses that "lore has it my father once wrestled a black bear in Baluchistan with bare hands" (Hosseini, 2003, p.12), idealising him as a heroic figure in possession of natural power and courage. Conversely, the character of Assef is presented in a detrimental way from the first instance as a person whose "word was law, and if you needed a little legal education, then those brass knuckles pounded it into you" (Hosseini, 2003, p.38). The oppositional frame of the two characters designates Baba's strength as a source for protection and Assef's as a manifestation of sadism and predation. On a similar premise, Baba is portrayed as a model for virtuous masculinity, whereas Assef's is depicted as an embodiment of toxic violence; thus, the narrative establishes a moral binary through which their relationship with Islamic practice is imparted. The novel's paramount discernment of positioning Baba's secular, Westernised worldview against Assef's religious ethnonationalist extremism is purely ideological. This delineation aligns with Mamdani's identification of the post-9/11 tendency to "read people's political behaviour from their religion" (2005, p.768), in which a religious identity serves as an indicator of moral character.

a. Secular Liberalism vs Islamic Fundamentalism

The central moral distinction between the characters Baba and Assef is their relationship to Islamic religious practice. Unlike Baba, who excogitates his virtue through the rejection of Islamic teachings, Assef validates his monstrosity through his Islamic identity. Baba institutes his proper moral code, through which he repudiates laws in favour of his personal secular judgment. He explains his reasoning to Amir, "No matter what the *mullah* teaches, there is only one sin, only one. And that is theft. Every other sin is a variation of theft... when you kill a man, you steal a life... When you tell a lie, you steal someone's right to the truth" (Hosseini, 2003, p.18). The use of the phrase "no matter what the *mullah* teaches" charges the narrative with a critical ideological load which suggests that Islamic authority is an impediment to understanding genuine morality. The latter authorial choice is explained by Amir

Mozami as the necessity for Muslims to “reveal their loyalty to the liberal secular contrast by bracketing their religious sensibilities for the sake of secular reason” (2022, p. 375). Baba’s remarkable wisdom is characterised by his ability to transcend Islamic fundamentals and to appeal to universal ethical principles through personal reasoning. The character’s secularism is emphasised through his lifestyle of consuming alcohol despite Islamic prohibition, dismissal of prayer as a meaningless ritual and expressing his disdain for religious authority with abrasive remarks such as “piss on the beards of all those self-righteous figures monkeys” outwardly (Hosseini, 2003, p.17). The disregard of “bearded” religious personage mobilises what scholars identify as the post 9/11 “Bearded Terrorists” stereotype, which harbours all negative connotations of Muslims within the discourse of the War on Terror (Schmidt, 2014).

Contrastively, as the narrative proceeds with the story of Assef’s evolving atrocity, it fully converges with Islamic religious identity, casting his transformation from childhood sociopathy into religiously adult barbarism. The narrative’s introduction of Assef as a child is delivered with his idolisation of Hitler and the adoption of his ethnic supremacist values (Hosseini, 2003, p.40); nevertheless, Assef’s maturing into a Taliban official elucidates his savagery as a materialisation of Islamic practice. Upon his confrontation with Amir years later, Assef justifies his ethnic cleansing with religious testaments: “Afghanistan is like a beautiful mansion littered with garbage, and someone has to take out the garbage... We’re just being good Muslims” (Hosseini, 2003, p. 284). This subsumption of genocide with religious duty effectuates what Mamdani declares as the “culturalization of politics”, which attributes political vehemence to Islamic culture instead of acknowledging it as “a modern political phenomenon” with its own historical determinants (2004, p.17). Assef’s involvement with the Taliban, notably being a leader of the terrorist organisation in Kabul, is portrayed in the novel as a natural ascendance of his inherent evilness without providing Afghanistan’s historical context of war, American funding of Islamist extremists during the Cold War and the social calamity that bred chaos for the Taliban’s rise to power. Most importantly, the novel’s representational emphasis on his beard, religious rhetoric, and evocation of Islamic rule paint a barbaric image of the character in sharp contrast to Baba’s liberal secularism. This contrast metamorphoses into

an illustration of ideological polarity where Baba's renunciation of Islamic practice symbolises moral enlightenment, and Assef's endorsement of Islamic identity denotes immorality and premodern violence. Therefore, this representation resonates with Mamdani's assertion that "good Muslims are modern, secular, and Westernised, while bad Muslims are doctrinal, antimodern, and virulent" (2005, p.25).

**b. Violence between Humanist
Protectiveness and Religious Fanatism**

A striking dimension to the "good Muslim" vs "bad Muslim" binary in the novel is the contradistinction between Baba's protective, secular masculinity and Assef's predatory, religiously-coded violence. In essence, the novel argues that ethical masculine behaviour depends on secularism. Baba's display of violence is characterised as honourable and valiant, which is exemplified during the family's escape journey, where Baba defends an Afghan woman against the sexual harassment of a Russian soldier. Despite the pressing danger of being executed, Baba intervenes physically, shouting that "Tell him I'll take a thousand of bullets before I let this indecency take place" (Hosseini, 2003, p.122). Baba's act of heroism in protecting the woman against rape and defending her dignity at the expense of endangering his life demonstrates his courage and morality; nonetheless, it does not stem from Islamic principles, but it is grounded within his personal and universal humanist ethics. On the other hand, the novel associates Assef's violent behaviour with his religious affiliation identity as demonstrated in his predatory and sexual acts. Earlier in the story, as children, Assef sexually assaults Hassan, manifesting a racialised sexual domination against a Hazara boy (Hosseini, 2003, p. 75-76). Morphing into a Taliban official as an adult, Assef resumes his pervasive ways, for he keeps Hassan's son Sohrab, dressed in a woman's clothing, as a sex slave boy who dances for him while bells ring around his ankles (Hosseini, 2003, p. 280). In his full righteousness, Assef declares that "Afghanistan is the land of Pashtuns. It always has been, always will be. We are the true Afghan, the pure Afghans, not this Flat-Nose here. His people pollute our homeland, our watan. They dirty our blood" (Hosseini, 2003, p.40); thereof, his acts of paedophilia are justified through religious and ethnic supremacy. The juxtaposition is stark and ideologically systematic, in which secular Baba risks death to prevent

rape, while religious Assef wields power to commit rape. Baba defends women and acts from humanist principles; Assef enslaves children and invokes religious-ethnic authority. Such an opposition insinuates that secularisation produces ethical, protective masculinity, while religious affiliation engenders sexual predation and barbarism. For this matter, the characterisation reproduces the post-9/11 binary identified by Mamdani, wherein “good Muslims” demonstrate loyalty to Western liberal values, including women’s rights and opposition to sexual violence. At the same time, “bad Muslims” embody premodern barbarism and patriarchal violence (2005, p.25).

Through the systematic opposition of Baba and Assef, representing the secular protector versus the religious predator, as well as the Western-aligned hero versus the Islamic extremist, the novel reproduces the good Muslim/bad Muslim binary that Mamdani identifies as central to the ideology of the War on Terror. This characterisation performs a critical political function of naturalising the assumption that Islam inherently produces violence and barbarism, while secularisation and Westernisation are portrayed as enabling virtue and modernity. Most significantly, the novel provides no counter-example of an observant Muslim who is simultaneously moral, intelligent and practical; nor does it present an Islamic framework that fosters justice or compassion.

3. Social Disparity between Orientalist Afghanistan and Western America

Transitioning from the binary construction of character, *The Kite Runner* establishes a comprehensive binary opposition between Afghan and American societies as totalities. On one hand, Hosseini builds an image of rigid hierarchies, ethnic oppression, gender inequality, and social quiescence as deep-seated afflictions of his homeland. On the other hand, American society is pictured as a land of freedom, social well-being, multiculturalism and progressive values. Operating as a multidimensional binary, the construction of both societies encompasses ethnic relations, gender dynamics, class structures, and cultural practices; the narrative frames Afghan society as lacking justice, equality, or progress while American society is focalised as the kernel of human dignity and social affluence. This follows Edward Said’s account of how Western grand narratives always write off “the Orient” as “static, frozen, fixed

eternally", in contrast to the dynamism and progression ascribed to the West (1978, p.208). The Kite Runner verily eternalises this binary, in which Afghan social dilemmas are inbuilt and perpetual, while the American social landscape is portrayed as inherently liberating.

Regarding the delineation of ethnic hierarchy, the author ascribes it to Afghan society as a natural and unchanging attribute. While the American social space reversibly dispenses with any form of hierarchy, this authorial impartiality equivocates the underlying political forces governing the nation's established ethnic hierarchies. The primary hierarchy is the Pashtun/Hazara divide, which is crystallised in the relationships between Baba/Amir and Ali/Hassan, taking roots in Afghanistan's ancient times: "Pashtuns had persecuted and oppressed the Hazaras" (Hosseini, 2003, p. 10). The novel indeed sheds light on the conflict, as demonstrated in the previous quote; however, it treats it as Amir's naïve misunderstanding as a child and fails to provide an in-depth critique of its dynamics. The narrative proceeds to portray Hassan as an uneducated, loyal boy, fully submissive to Amir's will and servitude. Despite the systematic oppression and imposed societal structures, neither Hassan nor his father, Ali, develops any political consciousness or expresses any dissatisfaction or anger toward their situation. Moving to the American social realm, the novel draws a nation's model unblemished by ethnic hierarchies. The narrative's scene at the San Jose flea market captures the essence of this illustration, wherein Afghans of varying backgrounds socialise freely as members of the same diasporic community. For instance, General Taheri, an aristocratic Afghan, collaborates with other immigrants, and Amir's subsequent adoption of a Hazara boy transcends Afghan cross-ethnic constraints, which are only permissible on American soil (Hosseini, 2003, p.136, 391). This account of the Afghan society downplays the intricate historical and political junctures that provoke Afghan ethnic tensions, including decades of warfare, state disintegration, and the deliberate manipulation of ethnic identities by competing powers, The primarily the U.S. On similar premises, the novel conceals the dark side of American society with the complexities of its ethnic relations and a long history of slavery, racism, segregation and persistent systematic inequalities that continue to shape access to resources, safety, and opportunities.

Women's social standing comes to occupy a chief position within the novel's construction of binarism between the two nations, where Afghanistan subjugates women; America offers them emancipation. By way of unmasking the Afghan oppressive gender relations, the novel presents women as targets for male violence as well as subjects in desperate need of rescue. The attempted rape of an Afghan female passenger by a Russian soldier during their escape route illustrates women's bare vulnerability to male predatory acts (Hosseini, 2003, p.122). Following the narrative's line, Afghanistan, under Taliban rule, infallibly expelled women from public life by imposing mandatory burqa, prohibiting employment and education, and carrying out executions for sinful acts. A scene in the novel where a Taliban official screams and curses a woman for speaking, claiming that "the Ministry of Vice and Virtue does not allow women to speak loudly" (Hosseini, 2003, p.164), offers a glimpse of Afghan women's daily hurdles, but it is charged with great connotation of what these women have to survive of male subjugation. The issue within this account on Afghan women's lives is the absence of any female resistance or feminist consciousness; therefore, it denies them the right to own selfhood and voice within a discourse of oppression. On the other end of the social dichotomy, the novel delivers a naturally liberal social space for women with guaranteed freedom and agency. The character of Soraya, although having a "shameful" past, is able to attend university, hold a job as an educator, and participate in social life; certainly, this is permissible for Afghan women on egalitarian American lands. This cultural disparity of women's standing in each country is loaded with ideological significance, in which the oppression of Afghan women is fully ascribed to Afghan/Islamic culture. Abu Lughod contends that this strategic "instrumentalisation of women's issues" provides legitimacy to Western interventionism as liberators of Muslim women from barbaric Muslim men; in other words, the activation of the feminist rhetoric serves as a cover and provides consent for imperial projects in the Middle East (2013, p.45).

4.Unredeemable Eastern

Dystopia vs. Promising Western Utopia

In constructing a binary of geographical incompatibility between Afghanistan and America, *The Kite Runner* actively mobilises classical

Orientalist frameworks that represent the East and the West as opposites at the temporal, moral, and existential levels. The driving discursive practice for this spatial discernment is carried out purposefully by dominant Western powers to exclude non-Western societies from their temporal space, for they are “not sharing the same Present” (Fabian 1983, p.31). Fabian clarifies that this temporal distancing “reduces cultures studied to the status of objects” and deprives them of contemporaneity, presenting as “static, frozen, fixed eternally” in the past (Fabian, 1983, p. 47; Said, 1978, p.208). The Kite Runner’s narrative structure attributes this denial, by which Afghanistan is a reflection of premodern barbarism, unlike America’s modern and progressive outlook. Undoubtedly, the storyline dislocates Afghanistan’s desolate state from its historical and political contexts; for that, Steve Coll, in his work *Ghost Wars* (2004), documents the background to the country’s road to destruction. Mainly, the writer procures American operative measures such as the CIA’s secretive funding of Mujahedin fighters for ten years, the weaponry supply funnelled through Pakistan, and the prodding for Islamist extremists to fight against Soviet forces; while the novel presents the state collapse as generated from within, it definitely overpasses the persisting conditions mentioned by Coll. In this matter, the literary account of Afghanistan’s trajectory to ruins indeed fails to acknowledge the nation’s full experience and liberally participates in upholding the unredeemable dystopian Afghanistan vs idealised utopian America geographical juxtaposition.

While Afghanistan is systematically afforded an anachronistic depiction, through the narrative lines, America is endorsed as an ultramodern nation. Namely, it is the Taliban governance which assigns attributes of regression to Afghanistan’s political life through medieval practices such as public stoning, judicial amputations, and prohibition of music and kite-flying, mirroring a premodern barbaric sight. The state of Afghan life, therefore, is incompatible with modern civilisation. Upon Amir’s return to his homeland, his drivers inform him that he has “been gone a long time... Afghanistan is not the same you left” (Hosseini, 2003, p.231), implying that the change is not simply an alteration of the country but it is a deep dive into temporal regression into a far more violent historical episode. The American landscape, on the contrary, is composed of modernised civilisational markers including highways,

commercial centres, educational institutions and medical facilities. Baba and Amir's migration to California indicates a shift both in geography and time, as Amir's pursuit of an education, a professional literary career, and a suburban lifestyle signifies their detachment from Afghanistan's premodern tribalism and their embrace of America's enlightened modernity. Withstanding their displacement, the Afghan diasporic community is able to guard its linguistic, culinary, and social traditions through newly founded spaces for exchange, as exemplified by the flea market's liveliness. These cultural traditions, as the novel demonstrates, exclusively flourish under the providence of American democratic life, whereas they lead to chaos and destruction when performed on their lands of origin.

Another striking facet of the opposition binary is the novel's construction of Afghanistan as a generative space of trauma, in contrast to America's healing space. Evidently, the narrative appropriates the characters' traumatic and violent experiences on Afghan soil, including Hassan's rape in Kabul, the slaughter of Hassan and his wife by the Taliban in their Afghan home, Baba's deterioration of physical and psychological state commencing in Afghanistan and Sohrab's sexual enslavement by Assef in Kabul. On such a premise, Afghan geography hosts all the novel's acts of violence, traumatic incidents, and poignant deaths, which render it a conditioned space of suffering (Hosseini, 2003, pp.75, 76, 245, 280). The simplest of executed acts, even religious rituals, transform into an agonising experience on Afghan grounds, such as Amir's horrid recollection of the sheep's annual sacrifice in their Kabul yard "I see the sheep's eyes. It is a look that will haunt my dreams for weeks. I don't know why I watch this yearly ritual in our backyard; my nightmares persist long after the bloodstains on the grass have faded. But I always watch. I watch because of that look of acceptance in the animal's eyes" (Hosseini, 2003, p.81). The quote illustratively suggests that the Afghan Islamic ritual marks a traumatising sight which provokes psychological unrest for Amir. The selective use of the phrase "bloodstains on the grass" which lingers in memory is an allusion to marked violence on Afghan soil, for upon his return to rescue Sohrab, Amir melancholy mentions that "Kabul had become a city of ghosts for me. A city of harelipped ghosts" (Hosseini, 2003, p.245). Khaled Hosseini metaphorically connotes that the dead have taken the place of the living which,

in other words, suggests that Afghanistan is reduced to lifelessness and uninhabitableness.

American geography, by contrast, offers grounds for healing, progress, and futurity. Following the characters' move to America, their lives take an easy course of affairs: Baba, despite his terminal illness, dies with reserved dignity, while Amir witnesses great success in his education, career, and life. The most significant change is Sohrab's admission to U.S grounds, which in turn permits his psychological recovery, for, in Afghanistan, his severe traumatic experiences rendered him speechless and even suicidal. Near the narrative's closure, a scene at a California park demonstrates signs of Sohrab's healing through Amir's words, "A smile. Lopsided. Hardly there. But there" (Hosseini, 2003, p.391). Hosseini's final imagery ideologically seals the geographical binary code through the propagation that Afghan cultural practices, such as kite-flying and Afghan children's inner healing, exclusively take effect in an American location. This, as a matter of course, frames Afghanistan as a land entrenched in violence and trauma vis-à-vis America's healing and redemptive territory.

5. Redemption and Humanitarian Rescue

The novel's climax carries much the narrative's meaning beyond its stylistic necessity, as the distressing events culminate in Amir's rescue mission for Sohrab in Taliban-governed Afghanistan. Principally, Amir's mission to save Sohrab allegorises the United States' intervention in Afghanistan as an articulation of humanitarian discourse. The operative interventionist doctrine advocates for the West's responsibility to liberate victimised subjects from the grip of barbaric oppressors; all the same, it justifies the use of violence as a viable means and Western spaces as the ideal sanctuary. The aforementioned ideological construction in the novel parallels the Bush administration's "Freedom Agenda", which champions regime change in other nation-states under the premise that it "helped establish an emerging democratic Afghan government and improved the lives of Afghan people, particularly women and children" (the White House, 2009). Interestingly, *The Kite Runner* procures a cultural narrative for legitimising Bush's agenda through its representational strategies of an inherently oppressive Afghan society, coupled with a limiting

geography, all the while bisecting its populace into good secular Muslims and bad religious Muslims. Faced with such a vilified portrayal of Afghanistan, American intervention, thus, comes to be a moral imperative rather than an imperial aggression.

Upon the call of Rahim Khan, Baba's old friend, to Amir, he intimates to him that "there is a way to be good again" (Hosseini, 2003, p. 202), sparking the rescue mission. Such a statement, in fact, carries a double meaning, in which Sohrab's rescue is transformed from a voluntary human act into an ethical requirement for self-atonement for past cowardice and betrayals. Beyond neither questioning nor justification, the novel advances the rescue moral imperative as an integral proceeding for conforming to human goodness. Therefore, Amir's guilt for betraying Hassan is positioned as a burden for his soul, and its desertion is dependent on his atoning himself through a salvation mission. In the novel's rescue narrative, Abu-Lughod states that these narratives function as self-justifying projects that "preclude the serious consideration of alternative paths" by stressing that the proper and permissible countermeasure for suffering communities is intervention (2013, p.31). In the case of Afghanistan's predicament, the novel perpetuates the necessity of Western foreign meddling in its affairs as the natural course, rather than voicing Afghans' self-determination and structural reform from within.

At the other end of the moral imperative of rescue, *The Kite Runner* conditions its realisation with the necessity of violence implementation, echoing the War on Terror indoctrination. The protagonist's own view on U.S retaliation against Afghanistan is approving as he states that "Soon after the attacks, America bombed Afghanistan, the Northern Alliance moved in, and Taliban scurried like rats into the caves" (Hosseini, 2003, p.366). The author's evocation of this imagery alludes to the efficiency of the American bombing in eroding Afghanistan's plight. Similarly, his metaphorical animalisation of the Taliban falls in line with the post-9/11 rhetoric that designates U.S enemies as animals while rationalising their violence as fair. By framing military confrontation as a prerequisite within the novel's ideological schema, Amir and Assef's encounter allegorises the need for violence against barbarism to achieve liberation, with the implication that American violence is an epitome of moral triumph. The violent quarrel signifies the cathartic and purifying essence of violence; as Amir suffers the beating of Assef, he erupts in laughter,

declaring that "My body was broken ...but I felt healed. Healed at last" (Hosseini, 2003, p.289), construing his physical pain as spiritual cleansing. Henceforth, this violent physical engagement by the end of the narrative propends that the process of healing requires confrontation instead of legal justice. Reproducing yet again another oppositional binary, *The Kite Runner* paints Amir's violence as defensive and reluctant while Assef's is depicted as sadistic and ravaging, thereby insisting upon the divergence between Western liberating violence and Islamist oppressive violence. In short, Amir's fight is carried out for the protection of Sohrab, whereas Assef's fight is executed for mere pleasure and domination.

Distinctively, Sohrab's character is of great significance to the construction of the rescue narrative, as his voicelessness allegorises Afghanistan itself. The novel portrays him as a victimised, mute, and damaged boy who is in desperate need of protection, especially Western emancipation; thus, it embodies Abu-Lughod's critique of the rescue fantasy as a pretext. The storyline traces Sohrab's voicelessness to the horrid experiences he lived through, namely being orphaned and enduring sexual abuse, which traumatised him. His inability to vocalise his trauma or to condemn his oppressor actually reveals the absence of agency, although he carries an assault against Assef with his slingshot, it operates with Amir's Americanised rescue. The novel's response to Spivak's essential inquisition "*Can the subaltern speak?*", is infallibly structured around the subaltern's being spoken for, rescued, and relocated by those possessing agency (1988). This is outwardly demonstrated in Sohrab's caged psychological condition while in Afghanistan, which only sees signs of hope upon his move to America. This geographic determinism once again represents Afghanistan itself as a space incompatible with healing or future possibilities. The novel's final image crystallises this allegory of Sohrab flying a kite in an American park. At the same time, Amir runs toward him, repeating his friend Hassan's childhood pledge "For you a thousand times over" (Hosseini, 2003, p.391).

Conclusion

The *The Kite Runner*, as its analysis demonstrates, functions not merely as a poignant narrative of personal guilt and atonement but as a paradigmatic neo-Orientalist text that aligns affective identification with U.S. power by

encoding Afghanistan and America within rigid civilisational hierarchies. The author effectively stigmatises his own homeland while simultaneously proposing a means of alleviating its plight. Through characterisation, social representation, and spatial coding, the novel consistently contrasts secular, westernised “good Muslims” with pious, doctrinal “bad Muslims”, thereby reproducing Mamdani’s post-9/11 “good Muslim/bad Muslim” dichotomy and Wahid’s critique of neo-Orientalist presumption of Western cultural superiority. The Afghan nation is portrayed as structurally and temporally deficient, while American society is depicted as inherently egalitarian, temporally advanced, and uniquely equipped to facilitate equality and future prospects. In light of the humanitarian “rescue narrative”, Amir’s Americanised saving mission of Sohrab from Afghanistan mirrors the Bush Freedom Agenda in which the rescue is grounded as the ultimate and exclusive ticket for moral redemption, violence is marked as imperative and purifying, and migration to the U.S. is a reassured promise for a better life. This ideologically imbued representation of Afghanistan poses a critical issue for its forbearer, Hosseini, is an Afghan diaspora writer whose account as a native informant further validates the global view of Afghanistan as a nation lacking self-determination. In parallel with that view, American interventionism is argued for as a moral duty rather than an imperialist ambition. Hosseini’s tale of Amir’s personal redemption journey along the Eastern/Western route serves as an attestation to the mainstream claim that Afghanistan cannot save itself; only America can save Afghanistan.

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Deconstructing The East/West Binarism: Neo-Orientalist Representations and The
Comprador Intellectual In Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner* (2003)
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Extended Abstract

Purpose

Similar to its predecessor, orthodox Orientalism, neo-Orientalism evokes and reconfigures old East/West binary oppositions within the post-9/11 discourse. Its point of convergence, nevertheless, is mainly the construction of the Islamic world as a backward and barbaric civilisation which is in persistent need of Western intervention. This research article offers a cross-examination of Khaled Hosseini's novel *The Kite Runner*, arguing that it is a complicit neo-Orientalist text that authenticates process of the American agenda in Afghanistan, given his position as a diasporic Afghan voice. The study is set to investigate, through the deployment of Edward Said's foundational framework alongside Mahmood Mamdani "good Muslim/bad Muslim" paradigm, and Hamid Dabashi's critique of native informants, how the Novel builds its narrative around three interlocking dichotomies of secular vitreous Muslim vs religious barbaric Muslim, Afghan social dystopia in opposition to American social utopia, and Afghan traumatising geography contrasted with American redemptive space.

Method

The article opts for a qualitative approach to carry out the textual analysis of *the Kite Runner* (2003), with a critical focus on the narrative's segments that invoke the neo-Orientalist binaries.

Notably, the analysis model relies on a theoretical triangulation body that integrates Saidian Orientalism, Mamdani's post-9/11 culture critique, and Dabashi's comprador intellectual critical conceptualisation. The adopted method discloses that, through Hosseini's Afghan diasporic background, his literary text carries much authenticity in its representations, which draw a global frame for Afghanistan as incapable of self-determination and for America as its exclusive saviour.

Findings

Drawing on the conducted analysis of *The Kite Runner*, evidence suggests that Afghanistan is represented as defective across individual, social and spatial spectrums. Baba embodies secular virtue through explicit rejection of Islamic practices, while Assef's Taliban religiosity fused with sexual predation, reproducing Mamdani's post-9/11 Muslim typology. Against an ingrained American egalitarianism, the Afghan social sphere is characterised as ethnically hierarchical, female-oppressive and institutionally broken. Additionally, the novel instrumentalises the classical geographical disparity between the East and the West, while Kabul is a trauma-landscape, California is a land of healing and prosperity. As an allegory for the Freedom Agenda, Amir's rescue mission for Sohrab is achieved after his Americanisation; this implies that saving operations are necessary for complete redemption and that violence is a reasonable means. These binaries are substantially authenticated through the author's credentials as a native informant.

Conclusion and Discussion

Building *The Kite Runner*'s narrative on three interlaced binary oppositions, the author offers a diasporic literary account that supports American imperial reasoning through its humanitarian sentiment, in which geopolitical dominion is remoulded into moral redemption. Therefore, American interventionists' alleged cause is supplemented through a logical reasoning that encodes secular westernisation as an ethical precondition, Afghanistan as a traumatic space, and liberation as a moral obligation. The analysis's findings contribute to the neo-Orientalist scholarship by providing a literary exemplar of how comprador intellectuals participate in the authentication of interiorising discourses intentionally or unintentionally.

Geliştirilmiş Özet

Amaç:

Selefi olan ortodoks Oryantalizm'e benzer biçimde, neo-Oryantalizm de 11 Eylül sonrası söylem içinde köklü Doğu/Batı ikili karşıtlıklarını yeniden çağırarak yeniden yapılandırmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, söz konusu yaklaşımın temel odak noktasını İslam dünyasının geri kalmış ve barbarca bir medeniyet olarak kurgulanması oluşturmakta; bu medeniyetin kalıcı bir Batı müdahalesine muhtaç olduğu varsayımı ise söylemin merkezine yerleştirilmektedir. Bu araştırma makalesi, Khaled Hosseini'nin *Uçurtma Avcısı* adlı romanını eleştirel bir çapraz incelemeye tabi tutarak eserin, yazarın diasporik bir Afgan sesi konumundan hareketle, Amerika'nın Afganistan'daki gündemini meşrulaştıran suç ortaklığına dayalı bir neo-Oryantalist metin niteliği taşıdığını öne sürmektedir. Çalışma; Edward Said'in kurucu kuramsal çerçevesi, Mahmood Mamdani'nin "iyi Müslüman/kötü Müslüman" paradigması ve Hamid Dabashi'nin yerli muhbir eleştirisi bir arada kullanılarak, romanın anlatısını birbirine eklemlenen üç ikili karşıtlık etrafında nasıl inşa ettiğini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu karşıtlıklar şunlardır: laik ve erdemli

Müslüman ile dindar ve barbar Müslüman, Amerikan toplumsal ütopyasına karşı Afgan toplumsal distopyası ve Amerikan kurtarıcı mekânına karşıt olarak Afgan travmatik coğrafyası.

Yöntem:

Bu makale, *Uçurtma Avcısı*'nin (2003) metinsel analizini gerçekleştirmek amacıyla nitel bir yaklaşımı benimsemekte; analizde neo-Oryantalist ikili karşıtlıkları çağırın anlatı kesitleri eleştirel bir odak noktası olarak ele alınmaktadır. Analiz modeli, Said'ci Oryantalizm, Mamdani'nin 11 Eylül sonrası kültür eleştirisi ve Dabashi'nin komprador aydın eleştirel kavramsallaştırmasını bütünleştiren üçlü bir kuramsal çerçeveye dayanmaktadır. Benimsenen yöntem; Hosseini'nin Afgan diasporik arka planı aracılığıyla edebi metnin temsiller bakımından güçlü bir özgünlük taşıdığını ve bu temsillerin Afganistan'ı öz belirleme kapasitesinden yoksun, Amerika'yı ise onun biricik kurtarıcısı olarak konumlandıran küresel bir çerçeve çizdiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Bulgular:

Uçurtma Avcısı üzerine yürütülen analizden elde edilen bulgular, Afganistan'ın bireysel, toplumsal ve mekânsal düzlemlerde kusurlu bir yapı olarak temsil edildiğine işaret etmektedir. Baba, İslami pratikleri açıkça reddetmesi aracılığıyla laik erdemi cisimleştirirken; Assef'in Taliban dindarlığı cinsel yirtıcılıkla iç içe geçerek Mamdani'nin 11 Eylül sonrası Müslüman tipolojisini yeniden üretmektedir. Köklü bir Amerikan eşitlikçiliğine karşı konumlandırılan Afgan toplumsal alanı ise etnik açıdan hiyerarşik, kadın karşıtı ve kurumsal olarak işlevsiz bir yapı olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra roman, Doğu ile Batı arasındaki klasik coğrafi eşitsizliği araçsallaştırmakta; Kabil bir travma mekânı olarak kurgulanırken Kaliforniya, iyileşme ve refahın diyarı olarak sunulmaktadır. Özgürlük Gündemi'nin bir alegorisi işlevi gören romanda Amir'in Sohrab'ı kurtarma misyonu, ancak onun Amerikanlaşmasının ardından tamamlanabilmektedir; bu durum, kurtarma operasyonlarının tam anlamıyla kurtuluş için zorunlu olduğunu ve şiddetin makul bir araç olarak meşrulaştırıldığını ima etmektedir. Söz konusu ikili karşıtlıklar, yazarın yerli muhbir kimliğinden kaynaklanan özgünlük payesiyle büyük ölçüde pekiştirilmektedir.

Sonuç ve Tartışma:

Uçurtma Avcısı'nin anlatısını birbirine eklemlenen üç ikili karşıtlık üzerine inşa eden yazar, jeopolitik tahakkümü ahlaki kurtuluşa dönüştüren insancıl bir duyarlılık aracılığıyla Amerikan emperyalist mantığını destekleyen diasporik bir edebi anlatı sunmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda Amerikalı müdahalecilerin iddia edilen davasına; laik Batılılaşmayı etik bir ön koşul, Afganistan'ı travmatik bir mekân ve kurtuluşu ahlaki bir zorunluluk olarak kodlayan mantıksal bir akıl yürütme eşlik etmektedir. Analizin bulguları, komprador aydınların içselleştirici söylemlerin meşrulaştırılmasına bilinçli ya da bilinçsiz biçimde nasıl iştirak ettiğini somutlaştıran edebi bir örnek ortaya koyması bakımından neo-Oryantalist literatüre özgün bir katkı sunmaktadır.

Ethics Committee Approval: Ethics committee approval is not required for this study.

Peer Review: External and independent.

Author Contributions: Author contributed 100% of the work .

Conflict of Interest: the author declares no potential conflict of interest.

Funding Statement: the author recieved **no financial support** for the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

AI Use Disclosure: the author used Claude AI tool to translate the abstracts from English to Turkish.